

THE 'BOHEMIANS' IN  
NEW ZEALAND  
AN ETHNIC GROUP?

Wilfried Heller

in collaboration with James Braund

GERMANICA PACIFICA STUDIES No.1

SERIES EDITOR: JAMES N. BADE

RESEARCH CENTRE FOR GERMANIC CONNECTIONS WITH NEW ZEALAND AND THE PACIFIC

THE UNIVERSITY OF AUCKLAND

2005

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– An Ethnic Group?

# Germanica Pacifica Studies

A publication of the  
Research Centre for Germanic Connections  
with New Zealand and the Pacific  
(University of Auckland, Auckland, New Zealand)

*Series Editor:* James N. Bade

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ISSN 1176-8606 / ISBN 0-9582345-4-X

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## CONTENTS

|  |     |
|--|-----|
| Acknowledgements .....   | vii |
| 1. A visit of ‘Bohemians’ or New Zealand ‘Egerländer’<br>to Germany in 1982 – motives and backgrounds .....                | 1   |
| 2. Objective .....   | 4   |
| 3. Immigration of Germans to New Zealand<br>– a hitherto neglected subject of migration research .....                     | 5   |
| 4. Reason and cause for emigration from Bohemia<br>and the circumstances on settling in New Zealand .....                  | 9   |
| 5. Formation of a secondary settlement in New Zealand .....  | 13  |
| 6. Characteristics of the immigrant colonies of the<br>‘Bohemians’ in the initial decades after settling .....             | 16  |
| 7. Population and settlement of the former immigrant colonies today .....  | 22  |
| 8. Socio-economic structural change and geographical<br>distribution of the ‘Bohemians’ in New Zealand .....               | 30  |
| 9. The ‘Egerländer’ or ‘Bohemians’ as a group today:<br>Do they have more than a genealogical and cultural interest? ..... | 35  |
| 10. A separate language as a group feature .....   | 39  |
| 11. The significance of religion and specific values .....   | 40  |
| 12. The function of traditional music, old dances<br>and ‘new’ traditional costume .....                                   | 41  |
| 13. Self-perception – a central element of the formation of the group .....  | 45  |
| 14. The ‘Egerländer’ or ‘Bohemians’ as a genealogically<br>defined group and as a social organisation .....                | 46  |
| 15. The use of Puhoi as a ‘Bohemian Village’ by industry and commerce .....  | 48  |
| 16. Survival of the ‘Egerländer’ or ‘Bohemians’ as a group?<br>– scepticism and hope .....                                 | 49  |
| Notes .....  | 51  |
| Bibliography .....   | 52  |

## MAPS:

|           |   |    |
|-----------|---|----|
| Figure 1: | Birthplaces of the immigrants from northwest Bohemia (Egerland) to New Zealand 1860-1876 .....  | 2  |
| Figure 2: | Rodney District (North Island, NZ) .....  | 10 |
| Figure 3: | Land of the immigrants from Bohemia in Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) 1863 .....   | 11 |
| Figure 4: | Waipa District (North Island, NZ) .....   | 14 |
| Figure 5: | Farm locations of the immigrants from Bohemia and their descendants in Puhoi and surrounding area (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) c. 1900 and in 1971 and 2003 .....                        | 24 |
| Figure 6: | Land of the immigrants from Bohemia and of other German-speaking immigrants as well as their descendants in Ohaupo and Te Rore (Waipa District, North Island, NZ) .....                         | 26 |
| Figure 7: | Farm locations of the immigrants from Bohemia and of other German-speaking immigrants as well as their descendants in Ohaupo and Te Rore (Waipa District, North Island, NZ) 1971 and 2003 ..... | 27 |
| Figure 8: | <i>Homeland News</i> in New Zealand 1985 and 2003 – locations of subscribers .....  | 33 |

## PHOTOGRAPHS:

|          |   |    |
|----------|---|----|
| Photo 1: | Church of St. Peter and Paul in Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) .....                     | 18 |
| Photo 2: | Museum in Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) .....   | 19 |
| Photo 3: | Wayside cross at Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) .....                                    | 20 |
| Photo 4: | Farm belonging to immigrants from Bohemia at Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) .....        | 21 |
| Photo 5: | <i>Dudelsack</i> -player of the ‘Bohemian Band’ at Te Rore (Waipa District, North Island, NZ) ..... | 42 |
| Photo 6: | ‘Puhoi Bohemian Dancers’ at Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) .....                         | 43 |

## TABLES:

|          |  |    |
|----------|--|----|
| Table 1: | Employment by branches of industry in 2001 and 2003 respectively ...   | 31 |
| Table 2: | Ages of the interviewed descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia (Egerland) in New Zealand (as of 2003) ..... | 32 |
| Table 3: | Overview of interviews conducted for the present study (17 Oct. – 26 Nov. 2003) .....                                    | 36 |
| Table 4: | Descendants of the German-speaking immigrants from Bohemia (Egerland) in New Zealand (2003) .....                        | 38 |

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Special thanks are due to the following: Albert Reich (Stuttgart), President of the *Arbeitskreis Egerländer Kulturschaffender* [Association of Egerland Creative Artists] in Germany, who provided much oral and written information about the ‘Egerländer’ and ‘Bohemians’ in New Zealand, as well as crucial assistance in establishing contact with them; Christine Krippner (Te Rore, Waikato) of the Bohemian Association in New Zealand, and Jenny Schollum (Puhoi, Rodney District, New Zealand) of the Puhoi Historical Society, who compiled invaluable information and other literature, showed generous hospitality and arranged contacts with the ‘Bohemians’ in New Zealand; all ‘Bohemians’ who took part in interviews, as well as other people for their expert assistance with the research project and for the patience they found in doing so; colleagues from the Research Centre for Germanic Connections with New Zealand and the Pacific, along with its director James Bade, and the School of Geography and Environmental Science (both at the University of Auckland), who provided me with an academic ‘home’ during my visit to New Zealand; the numerous other people who assisted me and thus rounded off, as it were, in a pleasant way the extremely interesting and enriching research leave spent in New Zealand; and finally, last but not least, my wife Marie-Luise Heller for her company in New Zealand, for her lively interest in the subject of my research work and in the people at the centre of this, as well as for the discussions throughout all phases of the exploration of this topic.

The following study was originally written in German and was translated into English by James Braund, Department of German and Slavonic Studies, The University of Auckland.





# 1. A VISIT OF 'BOHEMIANS' OR NEW ZEALAND 'EGERLÄNDER' TO GERMANY IN 1982 – MOTIVES AND BACKGROUNDS

At first glance it does not appear unusual – apart from the unusually long distance that they had taken upon themselves in order to take part – that a small group of six people from New Zealand showed up at the Sudeten-German Day in Nuremberg in 1982. On closer examination, however, it turns out that this was a quite special group, for its members or their parents and grandparents had not been forced to leave their homeland in the course of the expulsions or resettlements that occurred after World War II. Rather, their German or German-speaking forebears had emigrated in the 1860s and 1870s, and all of them from one and the same region, namely from Bohemia – or more precisely, from villages situated in the vicinity of the town of Staab (in Czech: Stod) (Fig. 1). At that time, this area belonged to the German area of settlement that extended right to the boundary of the city of Pilsen. It had been settled by a population that spoke a German dialect – the Egerland dialect – which is regarded as a member of the North Bavarian dialect family.

While in Germany, this small group of New Zealanders received various invitations from representatives of Egerland communities in Germany. Its members also travelled to Czechoslovakia to the towns where their forebears had originated from; they visited cemeteries there, in order to search for the names of their forebears on gravestones, and made enquiries in the localities as to whether there were still relatives there, though this did not seem to be the case (*Reiss* 1984, p.8). There were thus two reasons which had essentially motivated these New Zealanders to undertake their trip: on the one hand, to see the country and the towns from where their forefathers came; and, on the other hand, to learn more about the history of their families and to locate relatives.

Why, though, did this visit come about so late – not until 1982? One reason can be given by the fact that, in the intervening period, the great distances between points on opposite sides of the globe could be overcome more quickly and more cheaply as a result of improved air travel. However, an interest in genealogy and the search for one's own roots have to be regarded as critical factors, a situation which has been observed since about the 1960s in the 'classic' countries of emigration such as the United States and Canada, and somewhat later in Australia and New Zealand as well (*Bönisch-Brednich* 2002a, p.17). This 'Back-to-the-roots' movement, which in the meantime has become noticeably stronger even in Europe and has been noted by academics and the general public (*Schröder & Hagedorn* 2004), is explained by social psychologists in both individual and social terms. As far as individuals are

# The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand

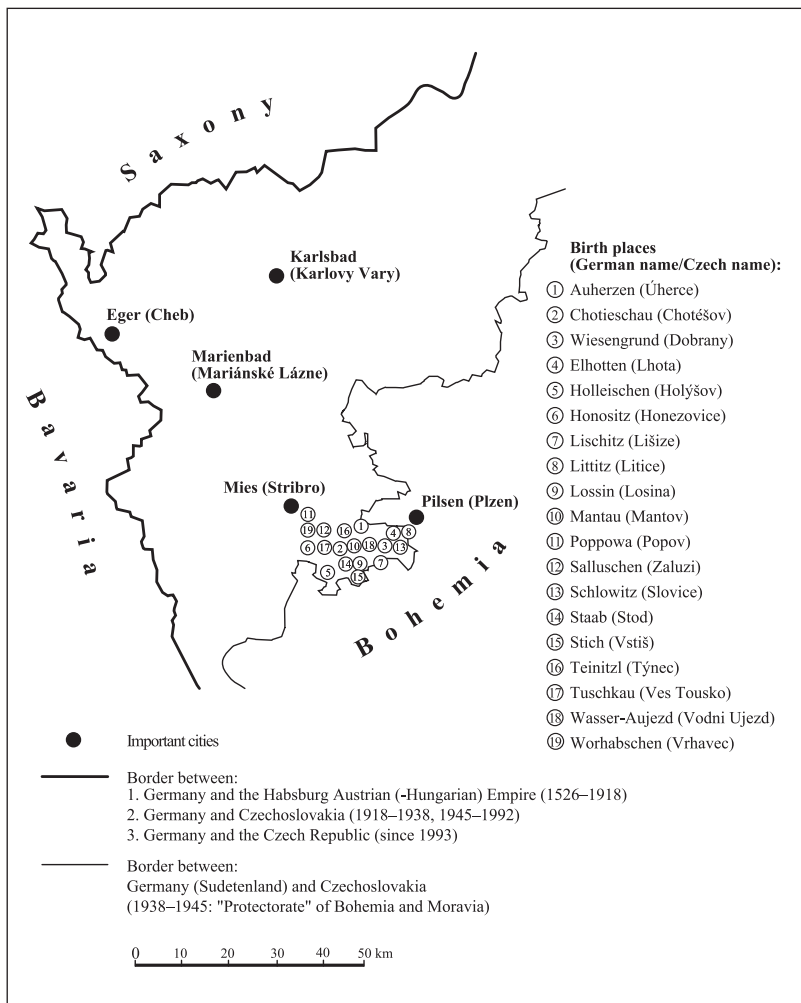


Figure 1: Birthplaces of the immigrants from northwest Bohemia (Egerland) to New Zealand 1860-1876

concerned, the following factors are cited. It is fun to conduct historical detective work into one's own background. This gives rise to the hope of discovering important forebears (*Schröder & Hagedorn* 2004, p.135). The interest in one's forebears has a social background, insofar as humans seek a firm hold on a microcosmic level, that is, in the regional and local world and thus in family history also, as a reaction to the social change through which they feel increasingly connected to complex economic, social and political conditions and processes that they have difficulty understanding. They endeavour, in doing so, to find a sense of self-certainty in order to overcome uncertainty that has arisen in planning their lives (*Keupp* 1997).

Political developments can also play an important part in genealogy. In New Zealand, this applies particularly to the descendants of German immigrants who often kept their German roots secret during the twentieth century because of the two world wars. Especially in World War I, often referred to as the 'Great War', and afterwards, the country was swept by a wave of strong anti-German sentiment (e.g. *Belich* 1996, *King* 1998, *Braund* 1999b and 2003). The descendants of the German-speaking immigrants from Bohemia therefore did not call themselves 'Germans' but 'Bohemians'. This term became so firmly entrenched that it was retained even after the anti-German mood died away, and although a quite different group of people is also described with this term, namely people who lead an unattached, free life-style, and writers and artists who live in a non-middle-class, non-conformist and unconventional manner. Even some neighbours of the modern-day descendants of the immigrants from Bohemia in New Zealand are unsure whether the latter are in fact descended from such groups of people, and in this context they refer primarily to the music made with the *Dudelsack* and the button accordion – unusual in New Zealand – that is fostered by the 'Bohemians'. From about the 1970s, however, the 'Bohemians' have, in general, no longer remained silent about their German origins. On the contrary: a German family background has even come to be regarded in New Zealand as something interesting in the meantime (*Bönisch-Brednich* 2002a, p.33).

This concludes our introductory sketch of the social and political background against which the journey of the six New Zealand descendants of German-speaking immigrants from Bohemia mentioned above took place.

## 2. OBJECTIVE

What kind of group are the 'Bohemians' of New Zealand? Why did they emigrate? How many members did this group have on immigrating and how large is it today? Where did they settle in New Zealand and where do they live at the present moment? Can they be understood at the present time as a separate ethnic group? What prospects does it have for the future? Before an attempt is made to answer these questions, some basic questions should be clarified in order to better understand the present-day situation of the group. In exploring all these questions, evaluation will be made of thematically relevant empirical literature and material from an empirical investigation conducted by the author in October and November 2003, namely tape recordings of qualitative interviews with group members and other persons (see the summary in Section 9), as well as the author's maps and miscellaneous information. In doing so, existing theoretical concepts of the immigrant colony and the ethnic group provide an important orientational aid.

### 3. IMMIGRATION OF GERMANS TO NEW ZEALAND – A HITHERTO NEGLECTED SUBJECT OF MIGRATION RESEARCH

What does migration research up till now have to say about the descendants of the Germans from Bohemia in New Zealand?

Although a German family background has come to be valued again in New Zealand to a similar degree as was the case prior to World War I, New Zealand migration research has until now paid hardly any attention to German immigration. This, of course, is by no means a phenomenon exclusive to German migration to New Zealand alone – the experience of immigrants from parts of the world other than Great Britain and Ireland has traditionally been given comparatively little attention by New Zealand researchers also – and in some respects local migration experts might well have given Germans even more cursory treatment than other minorities due to the fact that New Zealand was twice at war with Germany during the twentieth century. Having said this, though, German immigrants still deserve special investigation, primarily because of the sheer size of the numbers involved. Up till World War I, German immigration, which amounted to almost 20,000 people (*Bönisch-Brednich* 2002a, p.30), was so extensive that by 1945 Germans represented the largest immigrant group from the European mainland (*Braund* 2003, p.15).

Exceptions to the neglect of this area of research by academics are two volumes edited by *James Bade* (1998a and 1998b) which concentrate respectively on German-speaking settlers and visitors in the nineteenth century and the activities of German-speaking artists, academics and businessmen in the twentieth. The first volume also contains, among other things, a chapter on the German immigrants from Bohemia, the forebears of the six New Zealand visitors to Germany in 1982 mentioned above (by *Williams* 1998, pp.92-102).

However, in the new national museum of New Zealand in Wellington (Te Papa), which also includes a large section dealing with the topic of immigration to New Zealand, there are only two references to Germany as a country of origin, namely one referring to beer brewing and the other referring to a Jewish refugee from Nazi Germany (*Bönisch-Brednich* 2002a, p.17).

As another example of the scant consideration given to German immigration, we can cite one of the best-known standard works on the history of New Zealand, namely the 2003 study by *Michael King*, which, over more than 500 pages of text, mentions German immigrants on only two pages: i/ on page 175 they are described as the largest minority group, and having settled primarily in the area around Nelson, in the north of the South Island. By

'minorities', however, one understands all nationalities that do not come from England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland; ii/ on page 228 there is the reference that in 1878 more than 4,500 Germans were living in New Zealand.

The Auckland-based German scholar *James Braund* (2003) gives a similar figure for this period, namely more than 5,000. This number would mean that at that time approximately 1% of the population of New Zealand were Germans (*Statistics New Zealand*, New Zealand Official Yearbook 2002, p.90). At the present time, the absolute number of Germans currently resident in New Zealand is almost certainly larger, but difficult to quantify reliably, given the various ways in which 'German' can be defined either for official statistical purposes or indeed just informally. In a historical context at least, the proportion of the population of New Zealand which has German forebears, that is, both exclusively German forebears and German forebears along with other forebears, is clearly quite high. According to information supplied by the German sociologist *Brigitte Bönisch-Brednich* (2002a, p.460), who bases herself on a verbal communication from the Auckland-based historian *James Belich*, about one quarter of all New Zealanders at the current time would have German forebears. In a present-day context, there are of course other ways of determining statistically the number of Germans – or perhaps more precisely: German immigrants – living in New Zealand, but in each case, care needs to be taken in considering how the official figures should best be interpreted.

Acquisition of citizenship is, at the very least, a useful indicator in determining the number of Germans who have chosen to make a permanent commitment to a future in New Zealand, but it is a much less reliable means of determining the overall number of Germans (or German immigrants) currently resident in New Zealand. The primary reason for this is the fact that in the period since World War II, it has not been possible under German law for Germans to hold dual (or multiple) citizenship; as a result of this, German nationals wishing to become citizens of another country are effectively forced to renounce their German citizenship. Under such circumstances, it is therefore quite likely that Germans living in New Zealand would prefer to acquire permanent resident status as opposed to citizenship – especially, for instance, if they wished to give their children the option of living and working in Europe some time in the future (*Bönisch-Brednich*, 2002b, p.16). This almost certainly explains why the number of Germans acquiring New Zealand citizenship has remained very low compared with other migrant groups. For instance, among the 97,768 people who acquired citizenship in New Zealand in the four years from 1998 to 2001, only 386 (0.4%) were Germans. In this period, the majority of immigrants granted citizenship, namely 54.1%, came from Asia (primarily from China, Korea, Taiwan and India). They were

followed at some distance by immigrants from Europe (20.4% – primarily from England), the Pacific Islands (11.8% – primarily from Western Samoa and Fiji), Africa (9.6% – primarily whites from South Africa), North America (1.9%), Russia and other countries of the former Soviet Union (1.7%) and from South America (0.5%) (calculations based on: *Statistics New Zealand*, New Zealand Official Yearbook 2002, p.121).

Ethnicity is another criterion by which the number of Germans currently living in New Zealand can be estimated, but this too should be applied with caution, particularly when considering census results. In recent years, the question on ethnicity in the New Zealand census form has allowed respondents to state more than one ethnic identity, i.e. that they identify with more than one ethnic group (see *Statistics New Zealand*, 1996 Census of Population and Dwellings: An Introduction to the Census, pp.25ff). Given that the concept of ethnicity is both subjective and fluid, and can also be totally independent of the clearly more objective and more narrowly defined criterion of place of birth (or nationality), it is therefore quite possible, for example, for a person to claim that he or she identifies as being ‘German’ – perhaps because of family background – without having been born in Germany itself. This means, of course, that the number of persons living in New Zealand who claim to be of German ethnicity could well be higher than those who state their place of birth as ‘Germany’. Moreover, if one tries to estimate the absolute number of Germans living in New Zealand in recent years by the criterion of ethnicity alone, then this number would appear to fluctuate dramatically from one census to the next. According to census results for the years 1991, 1996 and 2001, the number of respondents who stated their ethnicity as ‘German’ rose sharply from 4,611 in 1991 to 13,410 in 1996 and then fell to 8,700 in 2001 (*Statistics New Zealand*, 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings: Ethnic Groups, p.27); these figures corresponded to approximately 0.1%, 0.4% and 0.2% of the total population of New Zealand, which in these years amounted to 3.4, 3.6 and 3.7 million respectively (*Statistics New Zealand*, New Zealand Official Yearbook 2002, p.90). At first glance, then, it would seem that there was a significant increase in German immigration to New Zealand between 1991 and 1996.

However, if we estimate the number of Germans in New Zealand on the basis of place of birth as stated in the census, we arrive at a somewhat different result. The criterion ‘place of birth’ is not without its limitations, of course – for instance: a person could have been born in Austria but spent all of his or her life in Germany before emigrating to New Zealand – but the figures obtained nevertheless reveal a steady overall increase in the number of Germans living in New Zealand and, one suspects, a rather more reliable picture of the true extent of German immigration to New Zealand at the



*The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

present time as well. According to the census results for the years 1991, 1996 and 2001, the number of respondents who stated 'Germany' as their place of birth rose from 5,394 in 1991 to 7,068 in 1996 to 8,382 in 2001 (*Statistics New Zealand, 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings: National Summary, p.38*). On the basis of such figures, then, it would therefore be reasonable to assume that at the time of writing, the true number of 'Germans' living in New Zealand is probably somewhere in the order of 8,500 to 9,000 persons.

#### 4. REASON AND CAUSE FOR EMIGRATION FROM BOHEMIA AND THE CIRCUMSTANCES ON SETTLING IN NEW ZEALAND

The emigration from Bohemia can be traced back to the personal life story of an ambitious and energetic captain in the Austrian army. (Note: the remarks on the story of the Bohemians' settling in New Zealand are based primarily on *Mooney* 1963, *Hurrey* 1986, *Williams* 1981 and 1998, *Felgentreff* 1989 and the *Bohemian Association*, [www.bohemian.orcon.net.nz](http://www.bohemian.orcon.net.nz) 2004. The information contained in these accounts are not always in total agreement with one another. The differences, however, are not major. They are of no importance as far as the topic of the present work is concerned, and can therefore be overlooked here). This was Martin Krippner, born in 1817, the son of a blacksmith in Mantau, a village situated west of Pilsen in Bohemia. After attending school and studying in a church boarding school, he joined the Austrian army in 1842. He quickly met with success, as a result of which, in the 1850s, he became one of the four assistants of the commander of the garrison of the German Federation in Frankfurt am Main. In this city, he made the acquaintance of a daughter of an English diplomat and married her. A brother of his wife, who had emigrated to New Zealand, succeeded in pressuring Krippner to follow him along with his family. What was enticing for Krippner was the suggestion that every new adult settler in New Zealand was able to receive 40 acres (approx. 16 hectares) of land from the government to own for free. Krippner resigned from the army, and emigrated with his wife and his two children to New Zealand. They were accompanied by some other residents of his native country whom he was able to persuade to emigrate, as a result of which in March 1860 a group of 14 people from Bohemia travelled to New Zealand and settled at Orewa, on the east coast of the North Island, a good 30 kilometres north of central Auckland (Fig. 2). Their living conditions in the area, however, which was characterised extensively by wilderness, were unexpectedly hard. Krippner possibly thought, in this situation, that it could clearly be improved if a larger-sized group of his countrymen were to settle en masse and form an immigrant colony as it were. At any rate, this is the interpretation with which one can explain the content of a letter he sent home to Bohemia. He made no mention of any problems and described, apparently in glowing colours, the possibility of being allocated land by the government for free and the prospects of establishing a farm of one's own.

The result of this recruitment was that in 1863 almost one hundred people from his own village and neighbouring ones took upon themselves the trials and tribulations of a more than three-month journey and followed

*The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*



Figure 2: Rodney District (North Island, NZ)

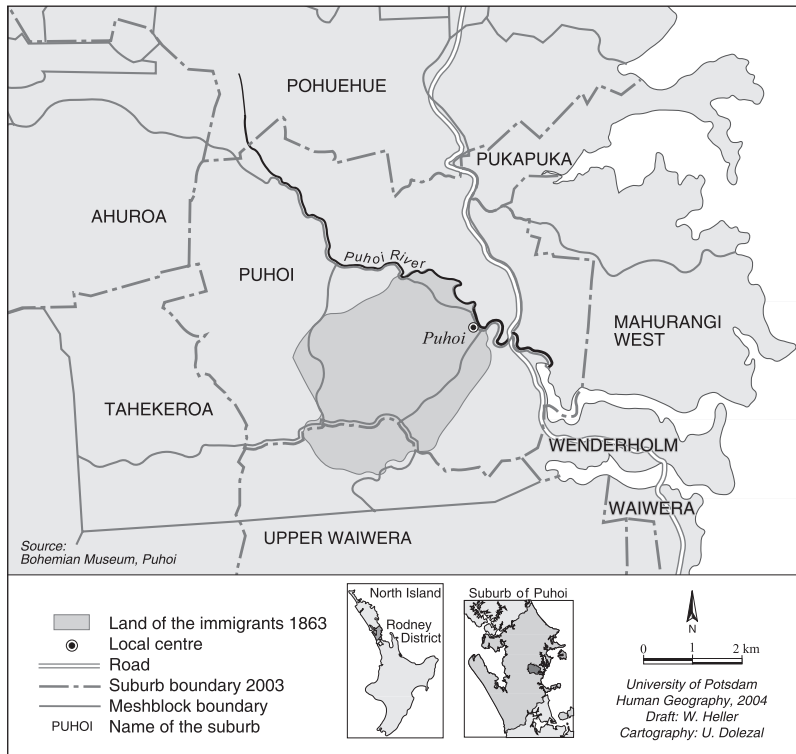


Figure 3: Land of the immigrants from Bohemia in Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) 1863

after him. The group of immigrants was indeed allocated the land they had been promised by the government for free – a single undivided block of land with an area of more than 2,000 acres (approx. 830 hectares) a few kilometres north of Orewa, not far from the coast, on a river which the local Maori population called Puhoi (Fig. 3). The migrants, though, were met by a scene of nothing but total wilderness. Returning to Europe, however, was not possible, so they struggled through. Without the help of the Maori population, they would probably not have survived. Through them they learned how to live off the land, to hunt, and to fish. By and by they cleared the bush. But

### *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

they too obviously wrote little in their letters back home about the toils they had to endure, just as Martin Krippner had done some years before. In this way, they also set off further waves of migration. Attracted by the prospect of owning a farm of one's own with plenty of land, almost a hundred people came once again from their home villages to Puhoi, their settlement that they named after the river, in several groups in 1866, 1872, 1875 and 1876. In total, there were 209 immigrants from Bohemia. They were primarily the families of small farmers, villagers without any land of their own, and craftsmen (e.g. shoemakers, blacksmiths). There was even a young teacher among them (*Droescher* 1975, p.3). The migrants who came after the first wave received land adjacent to the first area of settlement or close by. It is said that by 1878 approximately 1,000 acres had been under cultivation, and five years later approximately 3,000 acres or 1,200 hectares (*Williams* 1981, p.50; *Felgentreff* 1989, p.23). By 1900, all the valleys around Puhoi had been transformed into pastureland (*Mooney* 1963, p.89).

## 5. FORMATION OF A SECONDARY SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND

The settlement of the immigrants from Bohemia was part of the strategy of the government of New Zealand to have the land colonised by Europeans as quickly and as comprehensively as possible. Despite the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840, in which numerous Maori tribes recognised the sovereignty of the British Crown over the country (something which is portrayed somewhat differently nowadays by representatives of Maori who refer to an incorrect translation of the Treaty), and through which they received in return the protection of the Crown as well as certain special customary rights over land and sea, a series of Maori tribes actively opposed the expansion of British power in New Zealand into the 1870s. Resistance occurred primarily in the Waikato region (south of Auckland) and in the area around Mount Egmont (Taranaki) on the southwest of the North Island. Between 1860 and 1864, British troops even waged fierce warfare against the Maori. In doing so, they were occasionally supported by small numbers of New Zealand colonial troops. Up to 1872, these years of warfare were followed by a period of numerous armed skirmishes which the colonial troops fought by themselves against the Maori. These colonial troops were composed mainly of settlers of British origin, but there were some from a number of other countries as well. They had the task of exerting a police presence after the British troops had been withdrawn from New Zealand and, if necessary, of securing and pacifying the encroaching colonial frontier. Some German and German-speaking immigrants were also involved in this. After the clashes had subsided, the members of these forces were rewarded by the government with land that had been taken from the Maori. Among those who were rewarded there were also some men from Puhoi (*Braund* 2003). Their participation in the colonial troops came about as follows:

Martin Krippner was asked by the military leadership of the country, presumably on account of his professional past as an officer in the Austrian army, to join the colonial troops along with his compatriots from Puhoi and to take up position in the Waikato region against the Maori. Krippner followed the wish of the government, and in the latter part of 1863 was appointed captain of a company which was called ‘the German Company’, because as well as several men from Puhoi – there were probably seven in addition to Martin Krippner, including both his brothers (*Erbs* 2002) – some other Germans and German-speaking men were also involved. The company was stationed at Ohaupo, approximately 200 kilometres south of Puhoi and a few kilometres south of the present city of Hamilton, the centre of the Waikato region (Fig. 4). Fortunately, the company did not have to go into action.

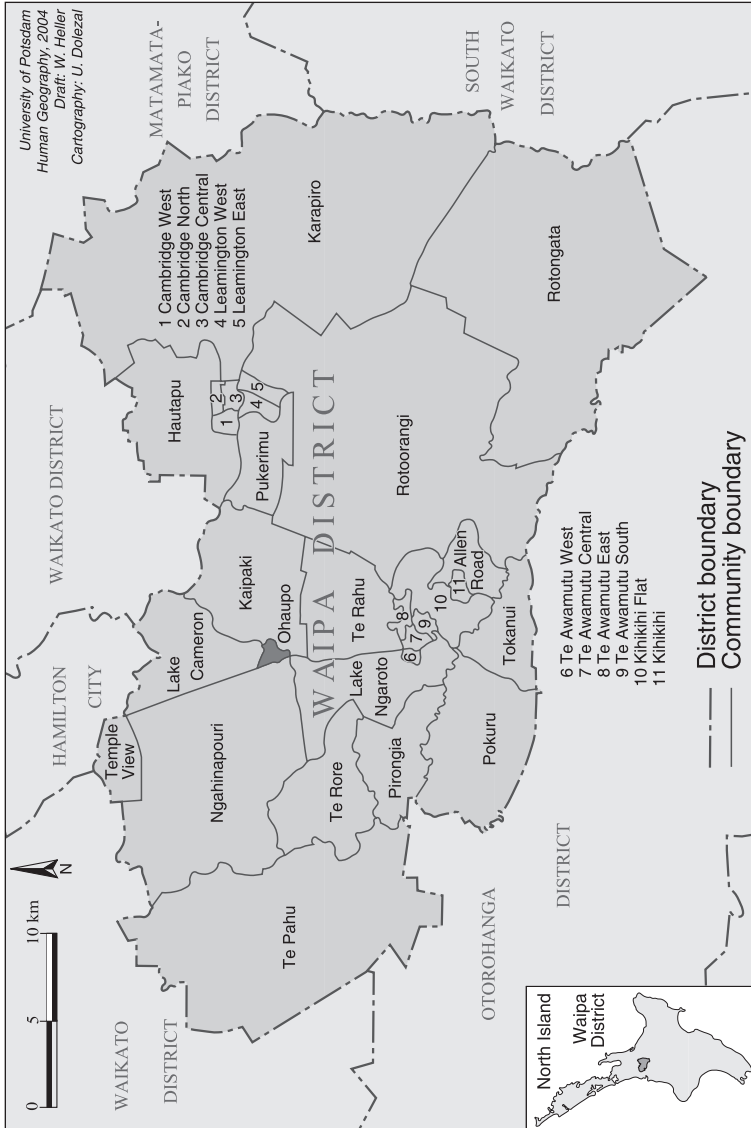


Figure 4: Waipa District (North Island, NZ)

After three years had passed, Martin Krippner and the other Germans completed their military service and received from the government the land at Ohaupo and Cambridge (southeast of Hamilton) that had been allocated to them: Martin Krippner received 300 acres as a captain, and his brother Hans was allocated 80 acres as a sergeant. The others, who were common soldiers, each got 50 acres. While Martin Krippner and another of the Germans from Bohemia sold or gave their land at Ohaupo to the other men from Puhoi and returned to Orewa and Puhoi respectively, their other countrymen took up residence in the Waikato region, particularly as much better conditions existed there for farming. (Note: Even today the Waikato region represents the most intensive dairy-farming area of New Zealand. The Puhoi area, however, is used more for breeding cattle and sheep). The men who remained in the Waikato region sold their land in Puhoi to the local residents, and arranged for their families in Puhoi to follow later, thereby founding a secondary colony as it were, which was centred on Ohaupo. Other German-speaking families settled at Ohaupo as well, among them even some men who were not soldiers. The other German-speaking migrants came from the area around Hanover, from Hamburg, Nuremberg, Dresden, as well as from Silesia, East Prussia and other areas. Some years later, in 1876, one of the Krippner brothers sold his land at Ohaupo to one of his sons-in-law and acquired land at Te Rore, which is situated approximately eight kilometres west of Ohaupo. He thus founded a small and geographically somewhat separate branch of the Ohaupo 'Bohemians' (*Krippner* 1989, p.27).

In addition to Ohaupo, one other early offshoot of Puhoi should be mentioned; this, however, is much smaller, so one cannot speak of a colony. By this we mean the members of two families who in 1867 were attracted by news of the discovery of gold in Thames (on the Coromandel Peninsula). They settled there, and did not leave the area, even after the gold rush died away. Some descendants of the first settlers still live there even today.

With the above summary we have thus described the story of how the immigrant colonies of Egerländer or Bohemians came to exist as far as is necessary to understand the further development and current situation of this population group.



## 6. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE IMMIGRANT COLONIES OF THE 'BOHEMIANS' IN THE INITIAL DECADES AFTER SETTLING

In the period of settlement, those criteria existed which permit the use of the terms 'colony' and/or 'immigrant colony' or 'ethnic colony'. The term 'colony' means in a historical-political sense a 'settlement founded outside their home area of a group of people who preserve their national traditions, even if they legally sever ties with the mother country or assume citizenship of the country that has taken them in' (*Brockhaus Enzyklopädie* 1970, vol.10, p.364). The terms 'immigrant colony' and 'ethnic colony' were coined by social scientists (e.g. *Heckmann* 1998; *Schader-Stiftung* 2004). Although they are different terms, they are used indiscriminately with the same meaning, particularly in examining the integration of migrant groups in the urban area of industrial societies (*Salentin* 2004, pp.96, 113). The following two elements, however, would have to be able to be used for the description of an immigrant society in a thinly settled rural area:

i/ common geographical points of reference, such as connected residential districts or settlement areas which the immigrants are not – or only partially – obliged to share with other groups of settlers: Such points of reference are not regarded in the cited literature as being necessary for the socio-cultural organisation of the immigrants, but they are regarded as conducive to it.

ii/ formal (institutional) and informal structures of an ethnic self-organisation of migrants: To test whether such an organisation exists and how is it made up, it is helpful to analyse this according to its structures. There is, however, a differentiation according to formal and informal structures, which can each be subdivided according to those of an economic and socio-cultural nature. Formal economic structures occur in an immigrant colony, for instance, if the production and distribution of goods are organised by one or several institutions. If, however, work is performed individually and regulated only by personal information and arrangements, then the structures are of an informal nature. Socio-cultural structures can be formed out of religious communities, political organisations, as well as ethnic associations and media. These are described as formal or institutional structures. In contrast to this, informal socio-cultural structures consist, for example, of groups of relatives, relationships with people in the neighbourhood, and meeting places in the community. Being related to someone is regarded as the most important structural element of an ethnic colony.

The remarks about Puhoi that have been met with up till now show clearly that the first element existed there, i.e. a common, connected settlement area represented the geographical basis for the immigrant colony.

As far as the second element is concerned, an ethnic self-organisation was the case in Puhoi at least up to the time of World War I. Its economic and

socio-cultural structures were informal from the beginning, apart from the institution of the Roman Catholic church. In addition, an Agricultural and Pastoral Association has existed since 1906, under whose patronage ‘shows’ are organised annually, i.e. annual markets with displays and demonstrations as well as the awarding of prizes and the marketing of products, primarily sheep and cattle. This institution, however, is not limited to Puhoi, but includes neighbouring areas also (*Turnwald* 1994).

The economic structures of Puhoi were largely characterised by the following features: In the first 15 to 20 years, when the population of Puhoi had to struggle primarily with clearing the bush, it was predominantly subsistence farming that was practised (*Silk* 1923, p.54). However, even in the earliest years some sources of income were found: firewood, timber, and wooden shingles were produced and sold to Auckland, where these goods were required because of the growth of the town. Charcoal was produced for the New Zealand economy, but also for export. Many men took on work as road workers. Fungi, which were gathered by children in particular, were dried and sold for export to China. The bark of a certain type of tree (tanekaha) was marketed for the manufacture of dye and tannic acid. The gathering of the resin of the mighty kauri trees, the largest trees of New Zealand, became very important. The resin, called ‘gum’, was at that time an important export commodity of New Zealand for the chemical industry of England and other nations. (It was used, for instance, in the production of linoleum). Despite these economically driven contacts with the outside world, however, the inhabitants of Puhoi kept largely to themselves.

Concerning the socio-cultural structures: For communication among one another, the majority of the population of Puhoi used the dialect of their area of origin – a local or regional variant of the Egerland dialect (cf. the remarks of the linguist *Droescher*, 1974 and 1975, who documents the Egerland dialect in Puhoi) – at least up until World War I. Martin Krippner, who taught in the village school of Puhoi until 1884, used the Egerland dialect in doing so (*Williams* 1981, p.24). However, from as early as 1869, the children were already being taught in English by his English wife, as it was considered necessary to master the language of the country (*Mooney* 1963, p.46), and from 1884 teaching was done only in English in Puhoi. In a technical sense, the fact that the people of Puhoi retained a separate language while living in relative isolation means that for a considerable period the community was essentially a linguistic enclave (see *Mattheier* 1994; cf. also *Clyne* 1994).

The common dialect and their descent from the same area in Bohemia are the two essential elements of the ethnic identity of the population of Puhoi. To these we can add the Roman Catholic religion. A common faith in an environment where a different religion prevailed strengthened the feeling of solidarity. Sunday mass, which had taken place in Puhoi since 1865 – initially in makeshift premises, and from 1881 in the newly built Church of St. Peter

## *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

and Paul (Photo 1) – was at the same time the most important medium for social communication. A lively parish community developed. Because of the widely drawn out and scattered nature of the layout of Puhoi, Sunday mass also had an enormous importance for social relations. The population lived with a radius of approximately 10 to 15 kilometres. It was thus often very time-consuming and difficult to visit other residents, unless they were one's own neighbours. Sunday masses were thus attended by a large number of people, particularly since the population of Puhoi grew rapidly in the initial decades as a result of the large number of children in the families. The following figures are given: for 1878, 62 families with 400 people (*Hurrey* 1986, p.78); for 1899, more than 500 inhabitants (*Auckland Weekly News*, 16 June 1899); and 600 inhabitants for 1913 (*Hurrey, loc. cit.*).

The great importance of religion is also evident in the fact that between 1923 and 1964, there was, in addition to the public school, a church one, in which nuns taught. Today, the local museum is housed in this building (Photo 2). A wayside cross at the approach to the settlement – the only one of this kind in New Zealand – gives the visitor the first clue, as it were, about the local denomination (Photo 3). (Note: the wayside cross, however, was not erected until 1953, on the occasion of the ninetieth anniversary of the founding of the settlement).

Without the mutual assistance on which the residents of Puhoi could always count, and without their faith and their trust in God, they would probably not have overcome – or not have overcome as well as they did – the difficult



Photo 1: Church of St. Peter and Paul in Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ)

living conditions of the initial decades – a view which is expressed in all the accounts of the story of Puhoi.

However, it was not only attending church that was important for community life but also get-togethers in the hotel at weekends for music and dancing. On such occasions the *Dudelsack* that had been brought out from Bohemia was played (e.g. *Droescher* 1975, p.2). The close sense of unity was strengthened further by the fact that the members of the first three generations who married in New Zealand chose their husbands and wives mainly from among the Bohemian immigrant families. These were people who were born mostly up to the time of World War I (cf. e.g. *Phillips & Karl* 2003; *Krippner* 1989, Appendix 2003; *Wenzlick* 2003). This applies particularly in the case of Puhoi. In Ohaupo and in Thames, the incidence of marriages to people outside the immigrant families and of children not being baptised in the Roman Catholic faith occurred earlier. Even here, though, a change in one's religious confession remained the exception.

The population of Puhoi obviously still remained in contact with their places of origin in Bohemia by letter for a long time after immigrating. Relatives in Bohemia were thus financially involved in the building of the new school, which was opened in 1884 (*Silk* 1923, p.90). In a letter dated 1 July 1885, a female resident of Puhoi writes that everyone is well and their children are receiving a much better education than back home (*Droescher* 1975, p.2). Since World War I, there has been no further evidence of such contact.



Photo 2: Museum in Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ)

## *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

After World War I, there followed several decades in which the 'Bohemians' concealed their ethnic background. This was a phenomenon which also occurred among other minority groups around this time (see e.g. *Bade* 1999, p.72; *Stoffel* 1999, p.275), and no doubt reflected the assimilationist mentality that then prevailed in New Zealand. In the case of the 'Bohemians', subsequent migrations from their area of origin, which are referred to in migration research as chain migrations and which are regarded as fundamental for the foundation and the existence of ethnic colonies (e.g. *Schader-Stiftung* 2004), came to a stop after 1876. Increasingly, the 'Bohemians' blended into other national groups through marriage. Strictly speaking, as this occurred, the immigrant colony was already beginning to disintegrate. Its population was becoming more and more assimilated with the dominant British majority of the population of New Zealand.

Conspicuously, institutions were only established on a socio-cultural level when the collective assimilation process was already concluded in principle (apart from some special cases, which, for a better overview, will not be explored until later – see Sections 12-14). The Historical Society of the Puhoi district and the Bohemian Association were not founded until 1984. The Bohemian Association publishes the *Homeland News*, which appears quarterly; this is a newsletter for 'Bohemians' living in New Zealand, in which there are primarily reports about family occasions, public events and even visits of Egerländer from Europe. The establishing of both these institutions



Photo 3: Wayside cross at Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ)

should be viewed as a consequence of the interest in one's origins described above. This interest occurred at the same time as the struggle of the Maori against assimilation and for their own unique cultural features, through which a major social appreciation of cultural diversity developed in New Zealand generally. In addition, the formation of institutions can still be understood as a feature of a post-modern multicultural society (Bukow 2000, p.33), which lives from formal structures (Giddens 1995, pp.102ff).

The interest in Puhoi in one's own origins, however, appeared more than twenty years before the founding of the two institutions mentioned. On the occasion of Puhoi's centenary, in 1963, links were even made, for the first time after a long period, to the region of origin and/or to Egerländer in Germany. A booklet written by *Mooney* (1963), which had appeared as the commemorative publication for the jubilee, reached representatives of the Egerland communities in Germany via the German Embassy in Wellington and the Foreign Office in Bonn (*Stich* 1984, p.5). As a result of this, a correspondence developed which led to the visit mentioned at the beginning of this study of six 'Egerländer' or 'Bohemians' from New Zealand to Germany in 1982. Among them were not only residents of Puhoi, but also 'Bohemians' from the Waikato region, i.e. descendants of the 'Bohemians' of Ohaupo. This visit was the beginning of several reciprocal visits.



Photo 4: Farm belonging to immigrants from Bohemia at Puhoi  
(Rodney District, North Island, NZ)

## 7. POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT OF THE FORMER IMMIGRANT COLONIES TODAY

What is the situation of the former immigrant colonies today?

**Puhoi** has obviously experienced far-reaching social change since about the period between World War I and II. Numerous young residents moved away because farming offered too little income and apart from farming hardly any satisfactory employment opportunities existed. The population of Puhoi therefore fell. In 1967, only 30 families with some 200 people in total were still living there (*Droescher* 1974, p.201). For the year 1980, there were even estimated to be just 150 people (*Williams* 1981, p.21). An exact picture is not possible, because there are no statistics for Puhoi. The settlement is neither a community as New Zealand authorities understand this nor is it any other kind of statistically recorded geographical unit. In the terminology of Land Information New Zealand, Puhoi represents a 'suburb' (Fig. 2). 'Suburbs' serve in rural areas as geographical units of reference for postal services, for telephone directories and for traffic from outside the district. They are thus instruments for geographical orientation. The area of the suburb of Puhoi covers approximately the central area of settlement of the original immigrants from Bohemia. Its population for the year 2003 is estimated to be approximately 400 people.<sup>1</sup> This would mean that compared with the figures for 1967 and 1980 mentioned above, an obvious increase in population took place. Admittedly it is not possible to calculate this growth precisely, because on the one hand the figures are estimates and on the other hand it is not shown how the estimates for 1967 and 1980 were arrived at. For several reasons, though, it can be assumed that there has been an increase since the 1980s:

i/ within Puhoi's boundaries there are a number of recent buildings. Many farmers sell their land to real estate agents, who then divide it and sell it in individual lots, mostly as 10 acre (4 hectare) blocks for so-called 'life-style farmers'. (Note: as a rule, district authorities do not allow subdivision of land into smaller sections in order that the farming character of the rural area is not lost). These are people who commute into the city to their places of work and who also work as farmers in their leisure time. There are some retired people among the new landowners as well. The residential area in Puhoi is popular, on the one hand because of the picturesque natural and developed landscape, on the other hand because attractive smaller towns such as Orewa and Warkworth, and above all the Auckland metropolitan area with its places of work and its shopping and cultural opportunities are not far away.

ii/ the Puhoi Community Forum, an amalgamation of nine clubs and groups (e.g. Historical Society, Cemetery Trust, Sports Club, Dance Group, Landcare) and some independent residents of Puhoi, is afraid that the extension of the motorway northwards from Auckland to approximately two kilometres south of the turn-off to Puhoi will cause a heavy influx of people to Puhoi. Through the construction of this road, Puhoi will be brought even closer to Auckland, both in terms of distance and above all in terms of driving time. The amount of commuting into the growing city of Auckland will be intensified. The Puhoi Community Forum is therefore warning about further overdevelopment and about the destruction of Puhoi's identity as a 'historic village'. Furthermore, environmental damage is not being ruled out as a consequence of the new motorway extension and associated earth movement – not even for Wenderholm Regional Park, which is situated at the mouth of the Puhoi River (*Bohemian Association, Homeland News, 2004, vol.21, no.1, p.10*).

The far-reaching changes to the economic structure of Puhoi and with it the social structure of its population can be documented with the aid of the numbers of farms in Puhoi at various points in time: In the area of Puhoi and its immediate surroundings (i.e. in the area, that is shown in Fig. 5), a total of 92 farms were recorded around about 1900, which all belonged to the original immigrants from Bohemia or their descendants or relatives by marriage (*Roase 1999, pp.205-208, and personal communication of 30 August 2004*). By 1971, this number had shrunk to 54, and by 2003 even to 22. In 1971, then, only somewhat more than half of the farms were still in the hands of 'Bohemians' and by 2003 only about one fifth. In 2003, only seven farms belonging to 'Bohemians' had a large area. Of them, the two largest ones each had approx. 900 acres (approx. 360 hectares), the others between approx. 300 and 500 acres (approx. 130 and 200 hectares) each. (Note: The following information should be used in estimating these farm sizes: In New Zealand in 2002, the average working area of a farm amounted to approx. 250 hectares. Ten percent of farms each had an area of 400 hectares or more. Sheep and cattle farms – the dominant form of farming in the area around Puhoi had on average 450 hectares. 28.3% of these farms each had 400 hectares or more. In the North Island, the average working sizes of farms were – and still are – clearly smaller than in the South Island. Cf. *Statistics New Zealand, Agricultural Production Census 2002*). In the area where the original immigrants first settled, i.e. in the area of 1863, there was, in 2003, only one larger-sized farm (approx. 400 acres) belonging to their descendants. Only about 20% of the area of the initial settlement block still remained in their hands. Since 1971, owners have been changing here more than in the other area settled by the immigrants. The majority of the former owners have



*The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

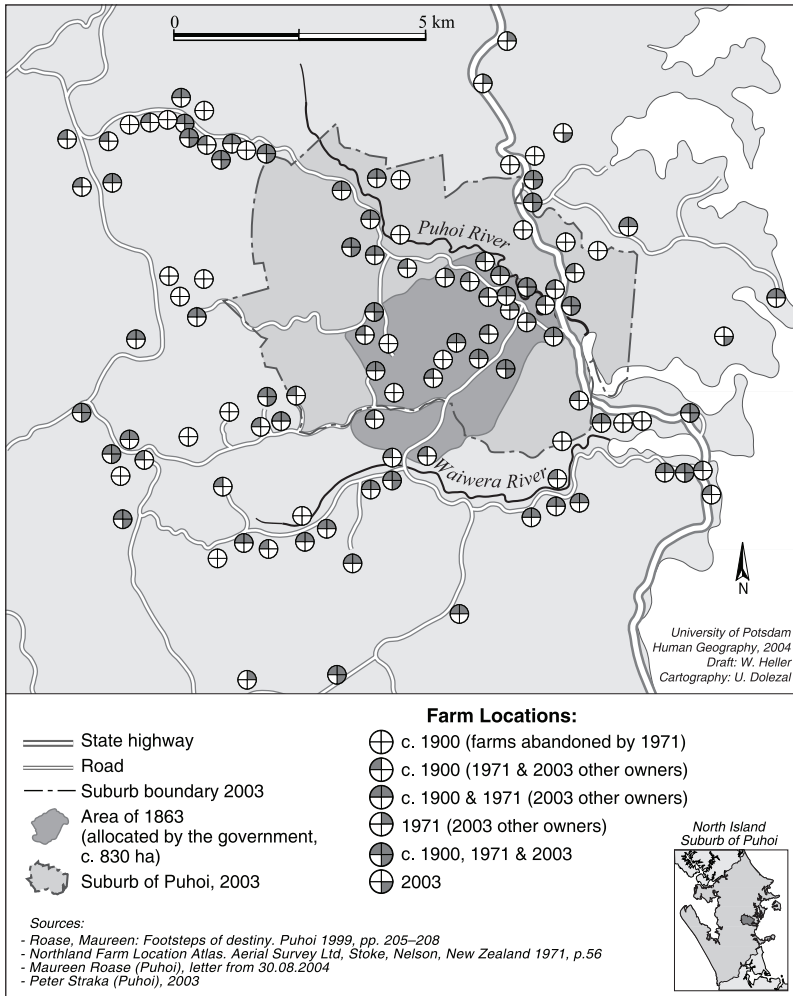


Figure 5: Farm locations of the immigrants from Bohemia and their descendants in Puhoi and surrounding area (Rodney District, North Island, NZ) c. 1900 and in 1971 and 2003

moved away from Puhoi and are spending their retirement in the nearby urban settlements on the coast (Whangaparaoa Bay) or even in Auckland.

With these changes to the ownership structure of the farmland, the number of descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia declined at the same time. In 2003 the number of them among the 400 or so inhabitants of the suburb of Puhoi amounted to only about 60, in other words about one seventh. About half of them bore the family names from the area of origin. (Note: Estimated on the basis of the *Warkworth District Community Directory 2003/2004* and the proportion of households with a telephone connection, as well as the average number of people per household; cf. *Statistics New Zealand, Tauhoa-Puhoi Community Profile 2001*, p.5).

In the final analysis, then, do these changes confirm the disintegration of Puhoi as the ‘Bohemian Settlement’? As far as the composition of the residential population of Puhoi is concerned, this has to be reckoned with, as the number of descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia there has continually declined in recent decades. There is no sign of a change in this trend. This development, however, need not mean that Puhoi with its brand name ‘the Bohemian Settlement’ or ‘Bohemian Historic Village’ will disappear and knowledge of the story of the settlers who founded Puhoi will be lost. Similarly, such a development need not result in the fact that the ‘Bohemians’ are no longer recognisable as a genealogically definable group.

In **Ohaupo**, the ‘secondary settlement’ of Puhoi, the situation of the population of descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia appears similar, apart from the fact that in purely numerical terms Ohaupo never came near to having the significance for the ‘Bohemians’ that Puhoi did. Admittedly, in the period of its founding between 1866 and 1868, Ohaupo perhaps did indeed have a similar number of inhabitants as Puhoi at that time, namely about 150 (Note: Estimated on the basis of the Government Land Title Register: *Millington* 1996, pp.51 and 53; *Barber* 1978, p.39, however, mentions only about 50 inhabitants for 1869, though without stating his source). However, the original immigrants from Bohemia, at an estimated 15 to 20% of the population, formed the minority. Other German-speaking settlers were even more numerous represented (about 30 to 35%). Around 1870, 66 farms were recorded in the Ohaupo area, which was much larger than the present administrative area of the community of Ohaupo (*Millington, loc. cit.*). They were distributed among the various national groups as follows: 10 farms among German-speaking migrants from Bohemia, among which were eight former settlers from Puhoi; 19 among other German-speaking migrants, and 37 among other migrants from Europe, primarily from England. The land belonging to the ‘Bohemians’ and the other German-speaking migrants was concentrated in the heart of the Ohaupo area (Fig. 6).



Figure 6: Land of the immigrants from Bohemia and of other German-speaking immigrants as well as their descendants in Ohaupo and Te Rore (Waipa District, North Island, NZ)

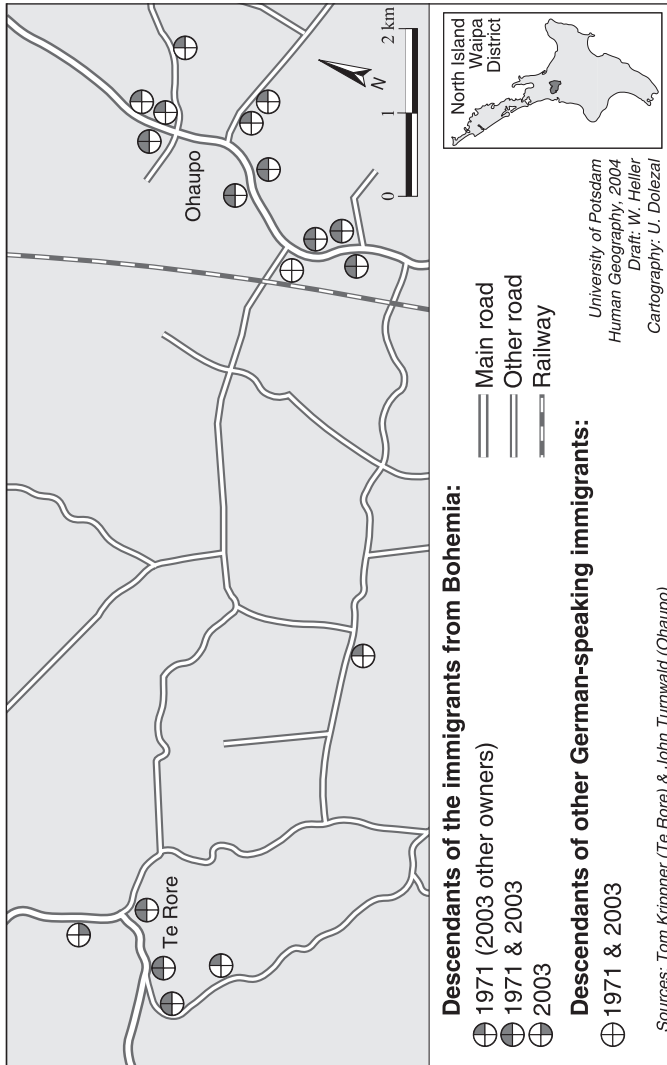


Figure 7: Farm locations of the immigrants from Bohemia and of other German-speaking immigrants as well as their descendants in Ohaupo and Te Rore (Waipā District, North Island, NZ) 1971 and 2003

## *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

The number of descendants of the German-speaking settlers decreased strongly as a result of migrations away in the twentieth century, as a result of which in 1971 only 12 farms still belonged to them (Fig. 7). For 11 farms however, 'Bohemians' were listed as the owners (*Aerial Survey Ltd.*, Farm Location Atlas, HT 35/75, 1971; information from John Turnwald, Ohaupo). By that time, however, they turned out to be very long-established. It needs to be taken into account that the income opportunities for farming were much better in Ohaupo than they were in Puhoi. But as in Puhoi, an obvious social change took place in recent decades in Ohaupo as well. In 2003 only six farms were still in the hands of descendants of the 'Bohemians'. Only one of them was a concern from which the owner derived his full income (a dairy farm with an area of 225 acres). The other owners had already sold most of their land (Fig. 6 and 7; information from John Turnwald, Ohaupo 2003). About 25 inhabitants of Ohaupo could be counted as descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia in 2003, and three people as descendants of other German-speaking immigrants.

Up to World War I, Ohaupo, which had a railway link by 1878, enjoyed an importance beyond its immediate region for its stockyards and the sheep and cattle sales there. From 1879 to 1926 Ohaupo was even the administrative centre of the Waipa county (*Millington 1996*, p.41). The locality's exclusive economic gearing towards farming, however, did not contribute to a further expansion of Ohaupo as a regional centre, as a result of which other towns in the Waikato region, especially Hamilton, grew into urban centres (*Millington 1996*, pp.35-38). In the meantime, Ohaupo has also developed into a residential area for people who commute to Hamilton. In 2001 there were 468 inhabitants (*Statistics New Zealand*, 2001 Census of Population and Dwellings: Population and Dwelling Statistics, p.51; in contrast to Puhoi, exact population figures are available for Ohaupo, because Ohaupo represents an administrative unit, a 'community'). Many inhabitants use Ohaupo only as a dormitory town. The level of mobility to and from the area is large. Because of this, the sense of community spirit among the inhabitants of Ohaupo is suffering (*Millington 1996*, p.130).

Te Rore, the offshoot of this settlement, which had been founded approximately eight kilometres west of Ohaupo by Ohaupo 'Bohemians' in 1876 (see above) exists to the present day (2004) with several farms (Fig. 6 and 7).

Links between the 'Bohemians' in Puhoi and the offshoots of the settlement were maintained continuously, though not always very intensively. Men from the Waikato region in particular used to go to Puhoi to look for a wife. However, ties were clouded somewhat from the beginning and remain so in part until today by the view that is widely held in Puhoi that the 'Bohemians'

of Ohaupo had benefited at the expense of their countrymen in Puhoi, i.e. that after settling in Ohaupo, where they had received for free land which was much better for agricultural use than in Puhoi, they had sold their land in Puhoi to the inhabitants of Puhoi. They should have given it to them instead, it is claimed, because they did not have to pay anything to the government for their land in Puhoi. In other words, so it is felt in Puhoi, the settlers in Ohaupo had been allocated land twice over; what is more, things have gone better for them in an economic sense than they have for the Puhoi people. With regard to this view, it should be noted, however, that the men of Ohaupo performed three years of military service in return for the allocation of their land.

## 8. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'BOHEMIANS' IN NEW ZEALAND

Movements away from the places where settlement first occurred were already taking place, of course, just a few years after the foundation of the settlements, but up to the period between the two world wars this was only to a limited extent. In recent decades, these movements have accelerated at an increasing rate. They are a consequence of the general socio-economic structural change in New Zealand away from an agrarian to a service society. In official statistics, this transformation finds expression as a change in the employment structure according to branches of industry. In the meantime, the employment structure of the descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia might have hardly differed from the New Zealand average. (Table 1: The information contained in this table about the various branches of industry to which the interviewed descendants, their grandfathers, fathers and children belonged are of course not representative in a statistical sense. However, they do provide a picture of the increasing diversification of the employment structure as this has developed among the descendants of the original immigrants since the generation of the grandfathers of the interviewees). Of the 28 descendants who were interviewed, 17 were still in active employment at the time of the interview (for the ages of the interviewees, cf. Table 2).

As a consequence of the movements away from the initial places of settlement of Puhoi and Ohaupo, the descendants of the original immigrants are in the meantime scattered over the whole of New Zealand. There are, however, some obvious geographical concentrations that are recognisable. In the absence of statistics, one must rely on information which can be used as indicators, as it were, in determining the geographical pattern of places of residence. As such information, subscriptions to the *Homeland News* of the Bohemian Association are used here. An analysis for the year 1985 – the first year that the newsletter appeared – reveals the following picture (Fig. 8): If the distribution is divided according to various regions, then in this year the largest number of subscriptions, namely 80, or a good 36%, go to the Rodney district, of which almost a third go to Puhoi and the neighbouring locality of Waiwera. Almost exactly as many subscriptions, namely 75 (34%), can be counted for Auckland. The Waikato region follows at a clear distance, namely with 34 subscriptions (15%), of which 10 are to Hamilton. In all other regions of New Zealand comparatively few subscriptions can be assigned a place, namely only 31 (14%) in total.

| Branches  | NZ<br>(2001)     | Descendants of the immigrants from Bohemia (Egerland)<br>(2003) |                       |              |                        |  |
|---|------------------|---|-----------------------|--------------|------------------------|--|
|   |                  | Interviewees' grandfathers (paternal)                           | Interviewees' fathers | Interviewees | Interviewees' children |  |
|   | N =<br>1,823,400 | II  | III                   | IV           | V                      |  |
|   | %                | absolute numbers  |                       |              |                        |  |
| Agriculture, forestry, fishing                      | 8.8              | 25  | 17                    | 9            | 8                      |  |
| Mining  | 0.2              | -   | -                     | -            | -                      |  |
| Manufacturing                                       | 15.8             | 1   | 4                     | 1            | 7                      |  |
| Electricity, gas and water supply                   | 0.6              | -   | -                     | -            | -                      |  |
| Construction  | 6.1              | -   | -                     | -            | 2                      |  |
| Wholesale and retail trades, restaurants and hotels | 22.2             | 1   | -                     | -            | 6                      |  |
| Transport, storage and communication                | 6.1              | 1   | 2                     | 1            | 4                      |  |
| Business and financial services                     | 13.4             | -   | -                     | 2            | 5                      |  |
| Community, social and personal services             | 26.6             | -   | 5                     | 14           | 22                     |  |
| Not specified                                       | 0.2              | -   | -                     | 1            | 3                      |  |
| <b>Total</b>  | <b>100.0</b>     | <b>28</b>   | <b>28</b>             | <b>28</b>    | <b>57</b>              |  |

Note: for the composition of those interviewed, see Section 3 of Table 3.

Sources: I: *Statistics New Zealand, New Zealand Official Yearbook 2002, Wellington, 2002, p.327.*  
II-V: *Survey conducted by the author in 2003.*

Table 1: Employment by branches of industry in 2001 and 2003 respectively  
- in New Zealand overall in 2001  
- descendants of the immigrants from Bohemia (Egerland) in 2003



## *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

From the geographical distribution of subscriptions in 2003, what is striking is that the figure in the Rodney district has clearly decreased compared to the figure from 1985. Only 59 subscriptions were still taken out there in this year (24%). This decline is due above all to the drop in subscriptions in Puhoi, a situation which can be explained by the decline in the population of the descendants of the original immigrants there. In 2003 the majority of subscriptions go to Auckland, namely 78 (32%). Compared to 1985, all other regions increased, both in an absolute as well as a relative respect: the Waikato region increased to 50 subscriptions (21%), of which 20 went to Hamilton, and the remaining regions of New Zealand together increased to 54 subscription (a good 22%). All in all, only a small part of the population of the descendants subscribe to the *Homeland News*. The number of people who live in households which get the *Homeland News* amounts only to an estimated 650 people, if one assumes that the average number of people per household is 2.7 (*Statistics New Zealand, Tauhoa-Puhoi Community Profile 2001, p.5*).

From this the question arises as to how large the population of descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia is today. Statistical enquiries and estimates, with which this question could be answered, unfortunately do not exist. With the help of family genealogies that can be evaluated, the number can be estimated at 10,000 to 15,000 – a number which includes all descendants, i.e. even those who can trace their forebears back to Bohemia to a very small degree.<sup>2</sup> The number of those who go back exclusively to ancestors from Bohemia – they are described by the descendants in New Zealand as ‘pure’ or ‘full Bohemians’ – amounts, as an estimate, to approximately 200.<sup>3</sup> In approximately one to two generations presumably, there will no longer be anyone who will be able to be assigned to this particular group. The Egerland dialect was spoken in 2003 by just 11 descendants. The oldest of them was 90 years old, the youngest 75 (survey by the author).

Although New Zealand is a classic immigration destination, emigration has also been recorded from the 1950s onwards, above all to Australia, but clearly less so to the USA and to England (*Statistics New Zealand, New Zealand Official Yearbook 2002, p.109*). Descendants of the original

| <b>Born</b> | 1913 | 1921-<br>1930 | 1931-<br>1940 | 1941-<br>1950 | 1951-<br>1960 | 1961-<br>1970 | 1971 | Total |
|-------------|------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|---------------|------|-------|
| <b>No.</b>  | 1    | 5             | 8             | 3             | 5             | 5             | 1    | 28    |

Table 2: Ages of the interviewed descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia (Egerland) in New Zealand (as of 2003)

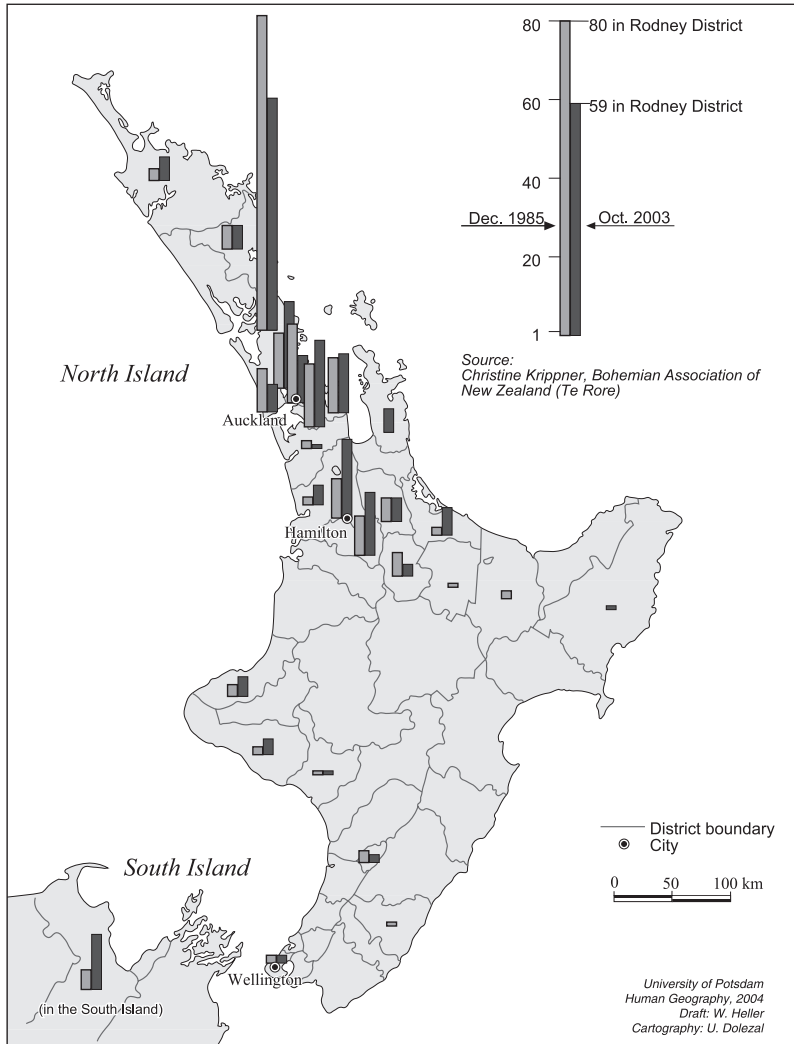


Figure 8: *Homeland News* in New Zealand 1985 and 2003  
– locations of subscribers

### *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

immigrants from Bohemia are among those emigrating. Almost every one of the 'Bohemians' interviewed stated having relatives overseas. Australia is by far the most frequent country of destination. The cause of this migration is the better earning opportunities in the country of destination. A number of those interviewed still keep links with relatives in Europe also, who did not emigrate themselves or whose forebears did not do so either. These are relatives by marriage, mainly in Ireland and Scotland, but some in England as well. Three families located distant relatives in Germany who were expelled from Bohemia after World War II. There are no known cases of people emigrating to Germany.

## 9. THE 'EGERLÄNDER' OR 'BOHEMIANS' AS A GROUP TODAY: DO THEY HAVE MORE THAN A GENEALOGICAL AND CULTURAL INTEREST?

It can be assumed that today the close sense of community such as it existed among the original immigrants and their descendants in the first few decades after settlement has not entirely disintegrated, but is now much looser; however, the Egerländer from Germany who visited Puhoi, Ohaupo and Te Rore in the 1980s gave very enthusiastic reports of the sense of community and the maintenance of tradition by the New Zealand 'Egerländer' (e.g. *Reiss* 1984, *Stich* 1984, *Fischer* 1988). Can they still be described as an ethnic group or do they represent only a type of association which expresses a genealogical and cultural interest? Or are doubts justified also if one were to assume a total assimilation into the majority of New Zealand society? They are, of course, still recognisable as a group.

As there are no published results of research that could be drawn on to help answer these questions, some empirical investigations by the author are necessary. A suitable methodical approach is afforded by a thematically structured, qualitative interview based on a main connecting theme. In this way, 28 descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia were given a systematic interview. In selecting them, attention was given to the fact that they belonged to the widest possible range of different age groups (Table 2) and that the geographical distribution of where they resided corresponded roughly to that of the 'Bohemians' in New Zealand overall. In addition, interviews of this sort were conducted with 21 other people, namely: with neighbours of these descendants and people related to the latter by marriage, with New Zealand migration researchers, with representatives of institutions who had or still have something to do with the descendants (mayors, school principals, clergy, etc) and with other German immigrants (Table 3). The interviews each lasted on average significantly more than an hour. The following remarks are thus based on the evaluation of a total of 49 interviews.

In order to answer the questions mentioned above it is first necessary to name those features which define a group as an ethnic group. In the literature that has appeared up till now (cf. e.g. the list in *Pascht* 1999) there is no agreement on the quality or qualities which justify the term 'ethnic group'. The following features or groups of features are mentioned most frequently: **i/** descent or relationship; **ii/** common culture; **iii/** identification as an ethnic group by the members of the group themselves or by others, whereby the features of descent or relationship and common culture are used. The group

*The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

| <b>Persons interviewed</b>   | <b>No.</b> |
|--|------------|
| <b>1 Migration researchers</b>   |            |
| 1.1 University of Auckland   | 3          |
| 1.2 University of Waikato (Hamilton)   | 1          |
| <b>2 Representatives of institutions</b>   |            |
| 2.1 Chairmen or mayors of Rodney District (1973-2001)  |            |
| 2.1.1 1973-1992 (= partial descendant of 'Bohemians')  | 1          |
| 2.1.2 1992-2001  | 1          |
| 2.2 Mayor of Waipa District  | 1          |
| 2.3 Principal of college in Orewa (Rodney District)<br>(= neighbour of descendants of Puhoi 'Bohemians') | 1          |
| 2.4 Principal of primary school in Ngahinapouri (Waipa District)   | 1          |
| 2.5 Roman Catholic priest (Auckland)<br>(= partial descendant of 'Bohemians')                            | 1          |
| 2.6 Roman Catholic nun (Ngahinapouri, Waipa District)<br>(= partial descendant of 'Bohemians')           | 1          |
| 2.7 Local Maori (Ngati Whatua) (Rodney District)   | 1          |
| 2.8 Chairman of German Society of Auckland   | 1          |
| <b>3 Descendants of original immigrants from Bohemia</b>   |            |
| 3.1 in Puhoi and surrounding area (Rodney District)  | 9          |
| 3.2 in Ohaupo and surrounding area (Waipa District)  | 7          |
| 3.3 in Matamata  | 3          |
| 3.4 in Auckland  | 4          |
| 3.5 in Hamilton (Waikato)  | 4          |
| 3.6 in Thames (Coromandel)   | 1          |
| <b>4 Neighbours and wife of descendants of original immigrants from Bohemia</b>                          |            |
| 4.1 wife in Puhoi  | 1          |
| 4.2 neighbours in Puhoi and surrounding area (Rodney District)   | 2          |
| <b>5 Descendants of immigrants from Germany in 19th century</b>  |            |
| 5.1 in Auckland  | 1          |
| <b>6 Immigrants from Germany after World War II (1951, 1969, 1972, 2000)</b>                             |            |
| 6.1 in Auckland  | 1          |
| 6.2 in Hamilton (Waikato) (= neighbours of descendants of<br>original immigrants from Bohemia)           | 3          |
| <b>Total:</b>  | <b>49</b>  |

Table 3: Overview of interviews conducted for the present study (17 Oct. – 26 Nov. 2003). Interviewer: Wilfried Heller

of features under the heading 'common culture' can, like a package as it were, include almost any different individual features. The following features are found most of all: common history, language, names, religion, link to a territory and locality, customs and traditions, clothing, music, literature and oral traditions. These features are described in the research literature as 'objective'. By their use an ethnic group is understood as a primordial category. However, not all of these features need to be present in the package in order for the description 'ethnic group' to be justified. There is thus no fixed catalogue of features.

Those who define an ethnic group as being identified by members of the group or by others start with the assumption that in order for an ethnic group to evolve a separation from other groups is crucial. The separation comes about on the basis of the subjective view of the members of one's own group and also the view of other groups in a specific social situation. If the situation changes, so it is claimed, then identification as an ethnic group by its members themselves can change too. The groups are, despite being perfectly obvious, flexible and able to be changed. In this respect, ethnic groups would thus represent social organisations which function like open systems (*Barth 1969*) and are therefore variable and dynamic. The authors of this view understand ethnicity therefore not as an objective quality, but as the awareness of people of belonging to a specific group, an *ethnie*. This awareness is interpreted also as a consequence of the need to belong to a group and thus the need for secure social ties (*Telbizova-Sack 1999*, p.29). The group's boundaries, however, do not always need to be clearly defined. Among the members of the group, cases of multiple identification can also occur (cf. e.g. *Cohen 1978*, *Lentz 1994*).

The New Zealand migration researcher *Trlin* combines these two different basic positions, but stresses the significance of self-identification and thus the constructivist character of an ethnic group, when he defines an ethnic group as follows: 'An "ethnic" group is one with a common cultural tradition and sense of identity which exists as a subgroup of a larger society. The members of such a group may have their own language, religion, values, and customs, but their most important feature is a feeling of identification as a traditionally distinct group. A corporate self-identity provides a basis for social organization and social interaction' (*Trlin 1979*, p.186).

The following remarks on the question of whether or how the original German-speaking immigrants from Bohemia and their descendants in New Zealand are to be assessed as an ethnic group are based on this definition of *Trlin*. The question is thus explored as to what features mentioned in the definition apply to this group. The answers are based on the literature as cited, but in particular on the above-mentioned interviews with the descendants and with other people (summary in Table 3).

| Generation   | Descendants of the married couples                    |            |            |  |            |            |
|--|---|------------|------------|--|------------|------------|
|  | Joseph Karl (1825-1884) and Anna Turnwald (1820-1902) |            |            | Michael Krippner (1823-1891) and Barbara Schischka (1828-1898) |            |            |
|  | male  | female     | total      | male   | female     | total      |
| 1st generation (= above couples)   | 1   | 1          | 2          | 1  | 1          | 2          |
| 2nd generation   | 7   | 5          | 12         | 1  | 3          | 4          |
| 3rd generation   | 27  | 38         | 65         | 15   | 14         | 29         |
| 4th generation   | 87  | 83         | 170        | 33   | 28         | 61         |
| 5th generation   | 103   | 99         | 202        | 84   | 77         | 161        |
| 6th generation   | 273   | 215        | 488        | 127  | 116        | 243        |
| 7th generation   | 9   | 8          | 17         | 7  | 2          | 9          |
| 8th generation   | 19  | 17         | 36         | -  | -          | -          |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>526</b>  | <b>466</b> | <b>992</b> | <b>268</b>   | <b>241</b> | <b>509</b> |
| still alive as of 2003:  |   |            |            |  |            |            |
| - number   | 408   | 397        | 805        | 234  | 209        | 443        |
| - percentage (%)   | 77.6  | 85.2       | 81.1       | 87.3   | 86.7       | 87.0       |
| <p>Sources: (1) A. Phillips/M. Karl, Descendants of Michael Karl, Auckland, August 2003 (unpublished).<br/>                 (2) A. Krippner, The Krippner Saga. A Tale of Two Families. Down Memory Lane, Te Awamutu 1989.<br/>                 Appendix incl. genealogies by Christine Krippner; Walter (Wally) Edwards and Biddy Orr, 2003 (unpublished).</p> <p>Note: The sources do not include all descendants.</p> |   |            |            |  |            |            |

Table 4: Descendants of the German-speaking immigrants from Bohemia (Egerland) in New Zealand (2003)

## 10. A SEPARATE LANGUAGE AS A GROUP FEATURE

A separate language, which is used in the family and for everyday business within the group, characterised this group in the first decades. It was the Egerland dialect, as mentioned already. The adults in the generation of the original immigrants, however, were also able to communicate in standard German (*Droescher* 1974 and 1975).

The dialect speakers were recognisable by a specific accent when they used the English language. Soft plosives in particular (e.g. 'Buhoi' instead of 'Puhoi') were called a typical feature by non-dialect speakers. This dialect was emphasised as a special feature of the group by almost all interviewees, even by the younger ones, who for the most part still remember the old folk conversing in the dialect after Sunday mass and/or after the fair at the annual reunions of the 'Bohemians' in Puhoi. This is described as an event that made a great impression on them, because there was the feeling that one belonged to a special group, even if one did not speak the dialect oneself. The language is now dying out, the interviewees claimed, as it was only learned and was (or is) only used by those who were born up to about 1930. Outside of Puhoi, it has been almost dead for quite a long time already in New Zealand. The anti-German mood during World War II was even passed on to the 'Bohemians', although numerous men from the 'Bohemians' fought for New Zealand in both world wars and paid a considerable toll with their lives. As a consequence of this ill-feeling, the dialect as a rule was no longer used in the time around World War II, even at home in the family with the children. The children were not supposed to be recognisable as Germans at school. Some of them did suffer, however, solely because of their German family names. During World War I the dislike of Germans was initially even stronger. There was even talk at that time of the possible internment of the 'Germans' of Puhoi and Ohaupo on Somes Island in Wellington Harbour. However, such plans were rejected after the then Prime Minister had described the 'Bohemians' as loyal citizens of New Zealand. Unlike many Germans, the 'Bohemians' did not as a rule anglicise their family names. After World War II, as the anti-German mood gradually died away, a return to the dialect by the younger folk was no longer possible. Many at that time could understand the dialect, but they could not use it themselves.

That language is a constituent feature of an independent group is something that was emphasised by the dialect speakers among the interviewees in particular. They called the disappearance of the dialect the crucial reason for the fact that they gave the survival of the 'Bohemians' as an independent group barely a chance.



## 11. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF RELIGION AND SPECIFIC VALUES

A common religious confession also played a central role for the sense of community of the group. It seems that the deep Roman Catholic faith gave the group the strength to overcome the harshness and poverty of the initial years after settlement. Because of their religion, in the initial decades there were few marriages to partners from among their non-Catholic fellow citizens, who were predominantly Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist. However, marriages did take place to Roman Catholic Irish settlers. Group members who switched to a different religious confession as a result of marriage or whose children were not baptised in the Roman Catholic faith were marginalised by the group. This is no longer the case today, though in Puhoi and Te Rore the local parish community still fulfils an important social function. However, the younger folk take less and less part in church life, and thus they act as customary in secularised societies.

The question as to how far separate values characterise the group cannot be reliably answered here, as comparative studies required for this would have to be carried out in other groups. However, it can be ascertained that all interviewees questioned, that is, not just the group members themselves, described the 'Bohemians' as hard working, reliable, honest, modest, helpful and open people. The group members themselves, though, do not apply this description to themselves, but more to their forebears, by which they unconsciously demonstrate that the quality of modesty or not putting oneself into the limelight can be applied to them. Some members of the group by marriage and neighbours of the group, including some who do not belong to the interviewees mentioned above, stressed that these qualities had fascinated them, and in particular because they were characteristic of large families as well. The possibility of belonging to these families or at least being connected with them was, they said, a great attraction for them. These families gave the impression of being able to guarantee secure social links.

The particularly good relationship between the Maori (of the Ngāti Whatua tribe) and the 'Bohemians' could, it was claimed, be traced back to the features of the 'Bohemians' mentioned above. Mention was also made of examples of marriages between the two groups. From the perspective of the Maori, they felt an affinity to the 'Bohemians' through the following qualities: i/ like the Maori, the 'Bohemians' would respect and honour their ancestors. If one knows one's own history and origins and acknowledges this, one would understand the present and oneself better; ii/ they would listen to and thus be able to give their time and attention to other people; iii/ they would give advice without being conscious of the role of someone who gives advice.

## 12. THE FUNCTION OF TRADITIONAL MUSIC, OLD DANCES AND ‘NEW’ TRADITIONAL COSTUME

In contrast to the Egerland dialect, the music and dances of the immigrants’ area of origin have been passed down to this day. Both in Puhoi and in Te Rore there is a Bohemian band, in which even the traditional *Dudelsack* (Photo 5) is played – in the case of Puhoi, it is the very example of this instrument that the original immigrants had brought with them from their old homeland in 1863. In both localities there are dance groups as well which perform the old dances on public occasions, and in doing so sometimes even sing the accompanying songs – as best as is possible in the old dialect. In Puhoi, performances of the dances have played a part in local tourism since 1992. Since this time, daytrips from Auckland to Puhoi have been organised – in the first years of operation about 50 trips per year, but at the present time only about 25 because of the great expense which is involved with this. The tourists making the daytrip are given a meal in Puhoi’s Centennial Hall – this is the name given to the hall which was opened to mark the turn of the century in 1900 as a place to hold festivals and other events – and they are informed about the history of Puhoi, whereby traditional dances are presented. Afterwards they visit the church and the village museum, the ‘Bohemian Museum’. It is predominantly older people who take part in these daytrips.

At these dances and at festive occasions, such as at the yearly reunions in Puhoi or at weddings and baptisms, the traditional Egerland costume of the region of origin, i.e. the Staab costume, is worn (Photo 6). The costume, however, has not been passed down from ancestors of the original settlers. Rather, several examples of it were brought as a visitor’s gift by the Egerländer from Germany when they visited in 1984. The New Zealand ‘Egerländer’ liked it so much that they have been making the costume ever since – and not only the Staab costume but also other variations on the Egerland costume (cf. e.g. *Bohemian Association*, *Homeland News*, 2004, vol.21, no.1, pp.5-6). In the opinion of all those among the ‘Bohemians’ interviewed who commented on the subject of the traditional costume – and this was almost all of those living in Puhoi and the surrounding area, as well as in the Waikato region – the wearing of the costume on special occasions is fun. In addition, they say, the public display of the traditional costume contributes to one’s sense of self-esteem. One of the interviewees, a young mother from the Waikato region, very much appreciates the fact that she can send her children to school clothed in traditional costume on certain occasions, just like the parents of other groups, in particular the Maori. Such occasions occur, for instance, whenever the contribution of cultural diversity and one’s cultural legacy to the formation of identity in the New Zealand population is part of the timetable in primary school classes.

*The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*



Photo 5: *Dudelsack*-player of the 'Bohemian Band' at Te Rore (Waipa District, North Island, NZ)

The high value given to cultural diversity in New Zealand is a relatively recent phenomenon (cf. also Section 6). Up to the 1950s, the primary policy goal was to bring migrants and the various ethnic groups in line with the dominant British-derived population. Ethnic differences were supposed to be eliminated. Since about the 1970s, Maori have fought against this policy of assimilation. In the process, the various European New Zealanders, or Pakeha, as they are called by the Maori, have become increasingly conscious of cultural variation within their country. This applies most especially for the Scandinavians, the Dalmatians and the Dutch (cf. e.g. *King* 1985, 1999;



Photo 6: 'Puhoi Bohemian Dancers' at Puhoi (Rodney District, North Island, NZ)

*Spoonley* 1999). The presentation of the 'Bohemians' in their traditional costume as well as in musical and dance groups needs to be seen in this context. 'Non-Bohemians' – residents of Puhoi and Te Rore, who have married into the families of the 'Bohemians', or even neighbours – are involved in these activities in the same way. For some years now, some of them have even represented the most important driving forces for the fostering of the history and cultural features of the 'Bohemians'. Some of those interviewed worry about who will continue this work when those who are currently active in these activities will one day give them up.

## *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

Involvement in the various groups responsible for the preservation and the presentation of the cultural legacy of the 'Bohemians' can, however, have a different motivation behind it. Some members – they do, however, represent a small minority – stress that they are involved because they really only think the dancing is fun. This attitude applies for 'Bohemians' and 'Non-Bohemians' alike.

### 13. SELF-PERCEPTION – A CENTRAL ELEMENT OF THE FORMATION OF THE GROUP

Finally, the self-perception or self-awareness of the ‘Bohemians’ needs to be examined in order to be able to answer the question of whether they can be understood as an ethnic group.

Before answering this question, the following needs to be noted concerning the selection of the interviewees. In selecting them, attention was given not only to the fact that they were distributed, in a geographical sense, over all the main areas of settlement of the ‘Bohemians’ in New Zealand, but also that all major groups were represented with regard to the degree of their genealogical ties, that is, those who are descended exclusively from the original immigrants from Bohemia as well as those who had only a small number of their forebears born in Bohemia.

All the ‘Bohemians’ interviewed are aware that they are descended from a special group of immigrants, and, apart from one exception, they all declared that they were proud of this, because, they said, their forebears had done great things for their families and for their country. The exception, a ‘pure’ or ‘full Bohemian’ woman, is indeed aware of the achievements of her forebears, but suggested that these would not necessarily be any different from those of other immigrant groups in the nineteenth century. In particular, though, there were no longer any differences today. She had, she claimed, no different ties to the ‘Bohemians’ than she did to other residents in Puhoi. If she did participate in the Puhoi Historical Society and in the local dance group, then it was only because of her commitment to the place where she currently lived and for fun, not because of her descent and the history of her forebears and her family. It was not important for her at all, she said, to be a ‘Bohemian’. Almost everyone else did admit that they had no different links to the ‘Bohemians’ than they did to ‘non-Bohemians’, apart from the links that come with being related to one another, but they did feel a special affinity to the ‘Bohemians’, e.g. at festive events or even when they got to know someone who happened to have some of their roots situated in Bohemia also. In many respects, this attitude is typical of a wider pattern that has been noted by authors researching other ethnic minorities in New Zealand: namely, that on an emotional level at least, the descendants of a specific minority group retain a definite interest or even pride in their forefathers’ achievements and in aspects of the latter’s culture (e.g. dance or food – which the descendants might refer to as their ‘heritage’), while in their day-to-day lives they regard themselves as ordinary New Zealanders (see e.g. *Stoffel* 1988, pp.365f; cf. also *Paternost* 1976, pp.134ff, who describes a similar situation within a minority group in North America).

#### 14. THE 'EGERLÄNDER' OR 'BOHEMIANS' AS A GENEALOGICALLY DEFINED GROUP AND AS A SOCIAL ORGANISATION

The links between the 'Bohemians' are not so close that they could be described as a social group that keeps itself separate as such from others. There are also no kinds of specific political interests that can be determined. For one thing their links are of a relationship sort and for another they are characterised by certain tasks, e.g. by assistance in the Historical Society in Puhoi, which concerns itself mainly with the village museum, or by assisting in groups which look after the cemeteries in which the forebears are buried, or by involvement in dance or music groups. A specific regional heritage character is apparent in the annual reunions on the day of St. Peter and St. Paul in Puhoi, at which the arrival of the original immigrants on 29 June 1863 is commemorated as the founding day of the locality. This is not a typical village festival. Rather, many descendants of the original immigrants travel from numerous other places in New Zealand in order to meet relatives, friends and acquaintances – and not just those who were born or have grown up in Puhoi, but also those whose families have been living in other places in New Zealand for generations.

The following can thus be determined: The 'Bohemians' of today do not form a social group in the sense that they represent common interests and pursue aims on an everyday basis, and they likewise exhibit no specific political orientation, nor do they represent a mere distinctive group, between the members of which there exist no connections. In addition, there is no sign that they are construed by specific interest groups as an ethnic or quasi-ethnic group. If they were to be regarded as a construed ethnic group – e.g. indirectly construed by the general interest in New Zealand for the wide-ranging cultural traditions of the population of New Zealand – then they would at any rate not be an arbitrarily construed group which could be instrumentalised according to the state of their interests, but they would be a genealogically defined ethnic group (cf. *Heckmann* 1997, p.51). A genealogical feature does not of course automatically make the bearer a member of the group, but this feature or marriage into the group is the precondition for this.

If connections exist between the members of a genealogically defined ethnic group, then the ethnic group can be regarded as a type of social organisation (cf. e.g. *Barth* 1969). In this sense, the 'Bohemians' in New Zealand can be described as an ethnic group. The boundaries of the group, however, are not fixed but fluid, because by far not all possible members of the group are tied into the social organisation. Some leave the organisation, e.g.

when they leave the parental home. Others join later or again if they develop an interest in the history of their family and their own family background as they grow older. The boundaries of the group are not always clear, either. Cases of multiple identifications occur frequently among the group members as well, as the vast majority of them are descended not only from immigrants from Bohemia but also from those from other regions of Europe. However, the interest in the Bohemian side, which is regarded as something special in New Zealand, does dominate. The identification with more than one group can be interpreted as a sign that one's social situation is felt to be secure (Walzer 1992, p.136).

All in all, the 'Bohemians' are thus an ethnic group which is genealogically defined. Its boundaries are flexible and its members are partly connected with one another in a very loose social organisation.



## 15. THE USE OF PUHOI AS A 'BOHEMIAN VILLAGE' BY INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE

The 'Bohemians' themselves have hardly become the focus of widespread public attention in New Zealand, but the level of awareness of Puhoi as a 'historic village' and a 'Bohemian Village' is clearly increasing as a consequence of holiday traffic and tourism. The Puhoi Hotel, actually a pub, has been a popular meeting place for motorcyclists for some years. But increasing numbers of tourists who are travelling through the country are making a detour there also. The Hotel, or pub, meanwhile, is no longer owned by 'Bohemians'. But many relics of the old days, such as photos on the walls and old farmers' and bushmen's tools on shelves still give the establishment a characteristic ambience. Even the 'Bohemian Band' still appears there quite regularly. For visitors who would like to take part in outdoor activities, Puhoi offers opportunities for tramping, riding, mountain-biking and in particular for canoe and kayak tours. For some years now there have also been a small number of bed-and-breakfasts. The further development of tourism, however, should proceed according to fixed planning, so that the town and the countryside are not ruined. That at least is the view of the Puhoi Community Forum, the umbrella association of various groups and private individuals mentioned above. To this end, an area measuring 38 hectares on the outskirts of the township along the Puhoi River is supposed to remain public property and to be transformed into a 'Puhoi River Park'. Medium-sized events such as the local agricultural show, which has been taking place annually for a long time now, sporting competitions and music festivals, will be held there (*Bohemian Association*, Homeland News, 2004, vol.21, no.1, p.16).

In addition to this, Puhoi is becoming known throughout the country in recent years through Puhoi cheese. The cheese factory, whose owner is of Swiss origin, has been in existence since the early 1980s, but it is only in recent years that its products have also been sold in the large supermarkets of the country. Demand for these products has risen so sharply, that in 2003 more than 100 workers were employed. As well as cows' milk, goats' milk is also processed. The milk is obtained not only from Puhoi and the surrounding area, but also from the Waikato region. The range of products sold also includes quarg, a food which until then was little known in New Zealand, but which was often produced by the 'Bohemians' themselves.

## 16. SURVIVAL OF THE 'EGERLÄNDER' OR 'BOHEMIANS' AS A GROUP? – SCEPTICISM AND HOPE

Puhoi's future as a 'Bohemian Village' seems to be assured, at least for the time being, as a consequence of economic interests, even if the number of descendants of the initial immigrants from Bohemia continues to decline in the locality itself and the number of newcomers of different origins continues to increase, as has been described above with regard to the description of Puhoi as a place of residence for commuters and lifestyle-farmers. It is feared by many of those interviewed that ultimately, almost all that will be left of the former immigrant colony will be just Puhoi as a tourist brand name and some historical monuments, such as the church, the museum, the Centennial Hall and some old farmhouses – mere symbols, as it were, of the former immigrant colony. (Note: The style of construction of these farmhouses does not, however, show any kind of reference back to the region of origin; rather, they are all built in the British colonial style – cf. Photo 4). The assessment of the 'non-Bohemians' among those interviewed concerning the preservation of the cultural features of the 'Bohemians' turns out to be pessimistic on the whole, or at any rate more pessimistic than that of the 'Bohemians'. Despite this, many are of the opinion – and this includes the migration researchers interviewed in particular – that the interest in one's own history will survive, because it is necessary for the way that the people understand themselves. A lack of interest is, they claim, often only temporary and dependent on what age group one belongs to. It is important, however, that those institutions which are concerned with the local history are supported. They can form points at which collective memory can be anchored, so to speak.

Among the descendants of the original settlers, resignation prevails in part, particularly because, in their view, once their own language, the Egerland dialect, dies out, the indisputable core of their cultural identity will be gone. The basis will thus be taken away from the other cultural activities. The present general interest in special groups and cultural diversity is, they say, perhaps only something fashionable. The locality of Puhoi would probably have a chance of surviving as a point of reference for the descendants of the original immigrants from Bohemia – and because of business and industry's interest in the brand name of 'Bohemian Village'. The 'Bohemians' as a group with their own cultural qualities would not benefit from this, however. Others, though, point to the fact that the cultural identity of the 'Bohemians' could also be preserved by fostering the traditional music and dances. There will always be people, they say, who will take an interest in and commit themselves to these things. These efforts, however, would have to be supported in future

### *The 'Bohemians' in New Zealand*

by certain institutions, e.g. by local historical societies and the Bohemian Association, as well as by local and regional authorities.

From the view of Maori who were interviewed, three points are of central importance for the survival of an ethnic group: knowledge of its own origins, its own land, and its own language. For these reasons, tradition and language were being carefully fostered by Maori, e.g. even in school lessons, and tough negotiations are currently underway with the government for the return of additional land. If one considers the 'Bohemians' as an ethnic group with regard to these criteria, then one comes to the following conclusion: knowledge of their origins is largely assured, their land has shrunk considerably, and their language will soon have entirely disappeared. In the final analysis, then, they can indeed be characterised as an ethnic group as it were, but as an ethnic group whose geographical base has been largely removed, whose sense of cohesion has been loosened, and whose chances of survival are uncertain.

## NOTES

1. The number of inhabitants of the suburb of Puhoi can be estimated with the help of the number of inhabitants of meshblocks. Meshblocks are geographical units which make up communities. They do not have an administrative function, only a statistical one, and they do not coincide with suburbs. The area of the suburb of Puhoi includes all of one meshblock and parts of four further ones. In 2001, the number of inhabitants of these five meshblocks together amounted to 783 people. The meshblock which lies entirely in the area of the suburb of Puhoi numbers 162 inhabitants. In the remainder of the area of the suburb, there live probably somewhat more than this number again, as a result of which the number of inhabitants of the suburb of Puhoi could amount to approximately 400 people.
2. The number estimated was calculated as follows: It is assumed that among the 209 original immigrants from Bohemia there were (or were subsequently) 66 married couples. This corresponds to the proportion of married people representing 60% of the immigrants. This number was arrived at on the basis of the number of family names among the original immigrants and on the basis of their distribution according to the seven waves of immigrants. According to information in the genealogies of *Krippner* 1989, Appendix 2003, and *Phillips & Karl* 2003, 509 or 992 descendants trace their ancestry from one or other of the married couples respectively. Of these, 443 or 805 were still alive in 2003 (Table 4). The mean of these two figures amounts to 624. In reality, this value is clearly larger, as the genealogies mentioned above do not record the descendants completely. Despite this, calculations have been made here using this mean, because other married couples of the first generation will possibly have far fewer descendants than the Karl and Krippner couples which are our points of reference. The 66 married couples multiplied by 624 living descendants results in a total of 41,184. As numerous descendants trace their ancestry from several couples in the first generation (there are assumed to be three), dividing this figure by three results in 13,728 people. This figure includes all descendants.
3. The number of 'pure' or 'full Bohemians' was calculated as follows: Of the 1,248 living descendants of the two reference couples (i.e. Karl and Krippner), 20% can be traced back to both reference couples. They are thus counted twice. They must therefore be deducted from this total. Of the remaining one thousand descendants there are 19 'pure' or 'full Bohemians' (all of them born between 1930 and 1944). They therefore make up barely 2% of the living descendant population. This proportion is generalised here.

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