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Citation: Buelmann, Tanja (2009) "No colonists are more imbued with their national sympathies than Scotchmen": the nation as an analytical tool in the study of migrant communities. *New Zealand Journal of History*, 43 (2). pp. 169-181. ISSN 0028-8322

Published by: University of Auckland

URL: <http://www.nzjh.auckland.ac.nz/document.php?wid=17...>
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‘No Colonists are more Imbued with their National Sympathies than Scotchmen’

THE NATION AS AN ANALYTICAL TOOL IN THE STUDY OF MIGRANT COMMUNITIES



Scotsmen abroad are not a feeble folk. They carry with them, along with their native energy, shrewdness, and force of character, a goodly heritage of the ideas and beliefs, the habits and customs ... that have been drawn from the home soil and bred in the bone. It is not a defect, but, on the contrary, a merit in the character as Colonists that ... they seek to endow it [the new home] with something of the peculiar quality of their own blood and their own land.¹

FOR SOME HISTORIANS notions of heritage, like those described by the *Scotsman* in 1895, merely represent nostalgia, a characteristic of a people taking refuge in ‘the emotional trappings of the past’.² Given the persistence of Scottish traditions around the globe it seems appropriate to ask about the role national culture and identity played for New Zealand’s Scottish immigrants in their new home.

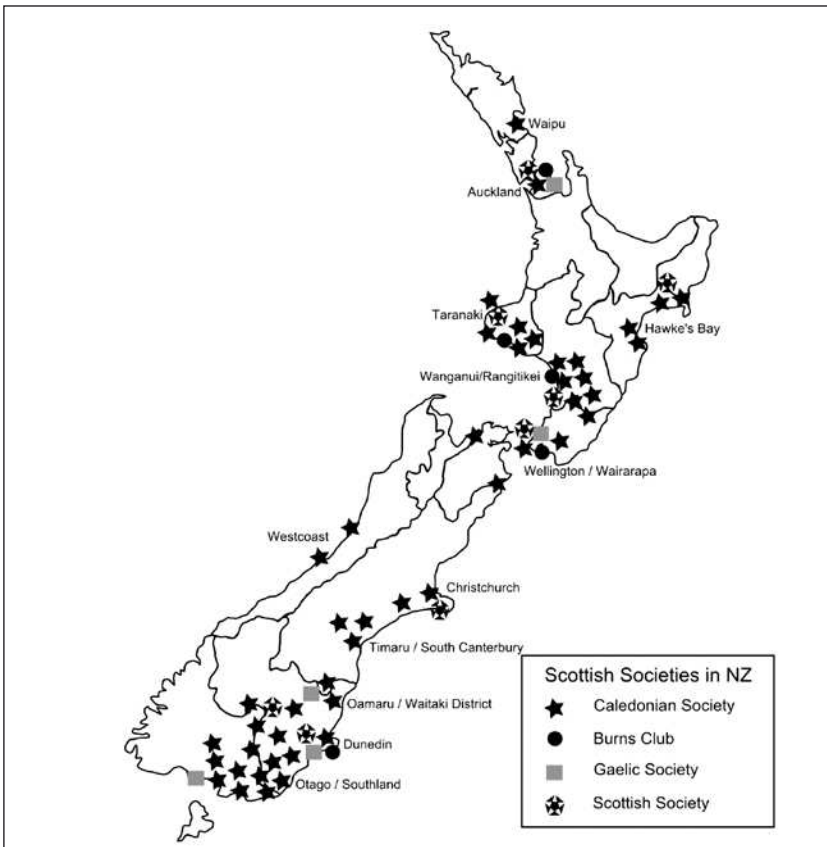
Emigration did not necessarily constitute a clear-cut break with the old life.³ Yet neither did immigrants automatically arrive with a well-formed identity, falling back into seemingly prescribed cultural continuities.⁴ When identity is discussed in the context of migration, what is principally described is ethnic identity, commonly asserted through a shared history, culture and traditions. As ethnic markers, these facilitate a classification in terms of ‘us’ and ‘them’, setting individuals and groups apart from others either by outside categorization or by the conscious choice to establish boundaries.⁵

Associational life offers a useful lens to assess the complex interplay between migration, identity and national culture on the Scottish migrant community. Historians have shown that voluntary associations proliferated in nineteenth-century Britain.⁶ Located at the juncture of Jurgen Habermas’s private and public spheres,⁷ clubs and societies were crucial for the making of civil society. By bringing together their members in pursuit of common goals, they further provided the organizational framework for camaraderie and sociability.⁸ Associations could also serve more immediate political purposes. In urban Scotland, for instance, they offered a means for the middle class to maintain power over local politics.⁹ The importance of associations in Scotland perhaps offers one reason for their popularity among New Zealand’s Scottish immigrants.

With a focus on agency, that is the Scottish immigrants and their associations, this article draws attention to those Scots who chose to actively maintain their national identity. For them, the Scottish nation was not just a political entity they left when they emigrated; it was also a construct comprised of a distinct culture, ancestral myths and memories.¹⁰ This highlights the idea that the nation

is best historicized ‘as an identitarian as well as political form’, recognizing it as a usable reference point for Scots that aids community cohesion.¹¹ By tracing the development of Scottish associations and their different activities, the key argument here is that group expressions of ‘Scottishness’ in New Zealand could be both emotional and functional, at times transcending the national purpose. As a reference point, the nation was utilized to evoke the past, but it also served strategically in the new environment as a tool of adjustment.

Scots arrived in Auckland and Wellington in significant numbers from the early 1840s and soon began to club together under a national banner. In Wellington, they informally celebrated Scotland’s patron saint in ‘true Caledonian style’ as early as 1841, while the first organized St Andrew’s Society was established in Auckland in 1851.¹² Societies in the name of the saint, however, were not the most common associational form to develop. Up to 1930, there were at least 154 Scottish associations, 101 of which were Caledonian societies.¹³ These numbers signal a remarkable proliferation over a period of less than a century, although it must be noted that societies varied in size and robustness. While some Caledonian societies acquired significant financial assets over time, others were more modest in scale.¹⁴



Map 1: Clusters of Scottish associational life in New Zealand

Map 1, while not recording all of the 154 associations, nevertheless represents the overall trends and regional clusters between 1850 and 1930. Otago, especially Dunedin and Oamaru, parts of rural Southland and the lower North Island, including the capital, were the undisputed heartlands of Scottish associational life. This concentration reflected settler population distribution and the interconnection between places of settlement and arable land, industries, political life and capital. More specifically, the clusters also mirrored Scottish settlement patterns, suggesting a correlation between the presence of larger numbers of Scots in particular areas and the development of ethnic clubs. What this highlights is that national expression through associations was not primarily a mechanism for isolated and desperate Scots to maintain their identity in the new home. On the contrary, associational life was a strategy of adjustment utilized by large numbers of Scots in the centres and localities in which they settled. With one selection criterion being the longevity of societies, the map also suggests the areas in which associations were an ongoing part of civic life. That said, not all were operational at the same time. Complementary to the geographical spread, the temporal development patterns of the different associations broadly fall into four phases, as shown in Figure 1 below.

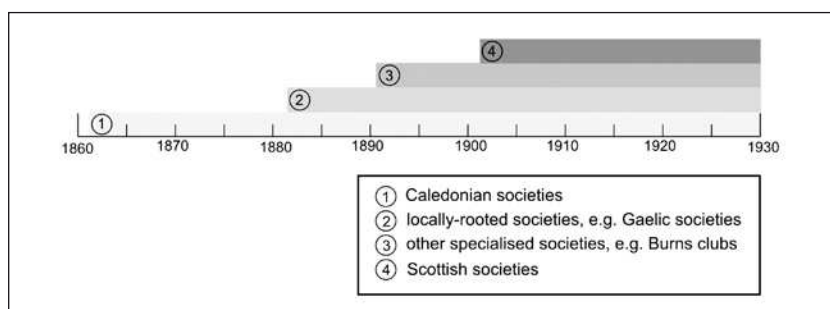


Figure 1: Phases of Scottish associational life in New Zealand

The dominance of Caledonian societies, both numerically and over time, is noteworthy. In other Scottish strongholds in the empire, for example Canada, St Andrew's societies were prominent.¹⁵ Although these also sprang up sporadically in New Zealand, St Andrew's societies were never as firmly established as Caledonian societies.¹⁶ St Andrew, as Scotland's patron saint, shared a similar fate; in New Zealand it was Robert Burns whose birth became the national-day proxy most commonly celebrated. Burns clubs were themselves far from numerous, but the poet's anniversary was devotedly observed by the majority of Scottish societies in New Zealand, thereby providing an associational anchor in the absence of specialized clubs. Burns clubs only developed, as Figure 1 documents, in the late nineteenth century.

With the first Caledonian society operating in London from the early 1830s, Scottish ethnic associations were a product of diaspora rather than home.¹⁷ This holds true for Scotland itself, where the 'Highland diaspora' established similar clubs in the country's urban centres, the 'near-abroad' for Highland migrants.¹⁸ Given this diasporic origin, what was the relationship between

ethnic associations and the homeland nation? Caledonian societies and Burns clubs signified their appreciation of the nation directly, the former adopting the Roman name for north Britain, which commonly denotes Scotland.¹⁹ Burns, while a Lowlander by birth, also epitomized Scotland as a whole because he could represent Lowland and Highland culture.²⁰ Highland traditions, appropriated for the whole Scottish nation, became important cultural markers, serving as easily understandable signifiers of Scottishness. At the same time, they could be markers of exclusivity. The Dunedin-based Gaelic Society, for example, was open only to those originating from the Highlands who spoke Gaelic.²¹ Yet, even for associations that made local culture and roots the criteria for membership, the nation still served an important purpose. It was the top layer of organization, providing the primary referent against which they could define their community boundaries. Charitable pursuits of associations with Highland roots, for instance, were usually directed towards particular local relief projects in the Highlands. As described by members of the Gaelic Society, they never begrudged being 'made the medium of benevolent assistance to the deserving poor among their country folk', the former defined as Highland folk rather than Scots as a whole.²² The question of whether this automatically gave the local precedence over the national deserves to be further explored.²³ The important point is that the societies with localized referents do not countervail the nation as an analytical category, highlighting instead that identity is fluid and layered.

Dunedin was the birthplace of New Zealand's Caledonian societies. The establishment of the Otago Society in 1862 coincided with the unprecedented influx of new migrants who mainly arrived in search of gold.²⁴ This timing suggests that many of the early Scottish migrants hoped to support the weakened social fabric of their new Edinburgh in the South Seas through the promotion of organized ethnicity. In this way, migrant associational culture developed, at least in part, as a co-ordinated response to the changing face of colonial New Zealand, the aim being to maintain community cohesion. In order to achieve this, it was necessary to articulate a set of common goals so as to establish formalized associational structures. Unfortunately, no full set of early rules has survived for any of New Zealand's Caledonian societies. Newspaper coverage from Dunedin, Oamaru, Wellington and the Wairarapa permits identification, however, of common patterns and suggests that surviving rules from the late nineteenth century were most likely already in place from the societies' establishment.²⁵ Reports of an early meeting of the Otago Caledonian Society, held in late October 1862, noted that their rules were based on those 'of a similar society in Victoria',²⁶ the Melbourne Caledonian Society. Initially set up in 1858, the Melbourne Society took its rules from the Caledonian Society of London.²⁷

A complete set of rules from the Melbourne Caledonian Society exists from 1861. Given that Melbourne's establishment was almost contemporaneous with that of the Otago Society, these rules serve as a useful starting point for the study of New Zealand's Caledonian societies. The Melbourne Society had three main objectives. In the first instance it was a benevolent society, contributing to the funds of such charitable institutions as the directors determined, giving

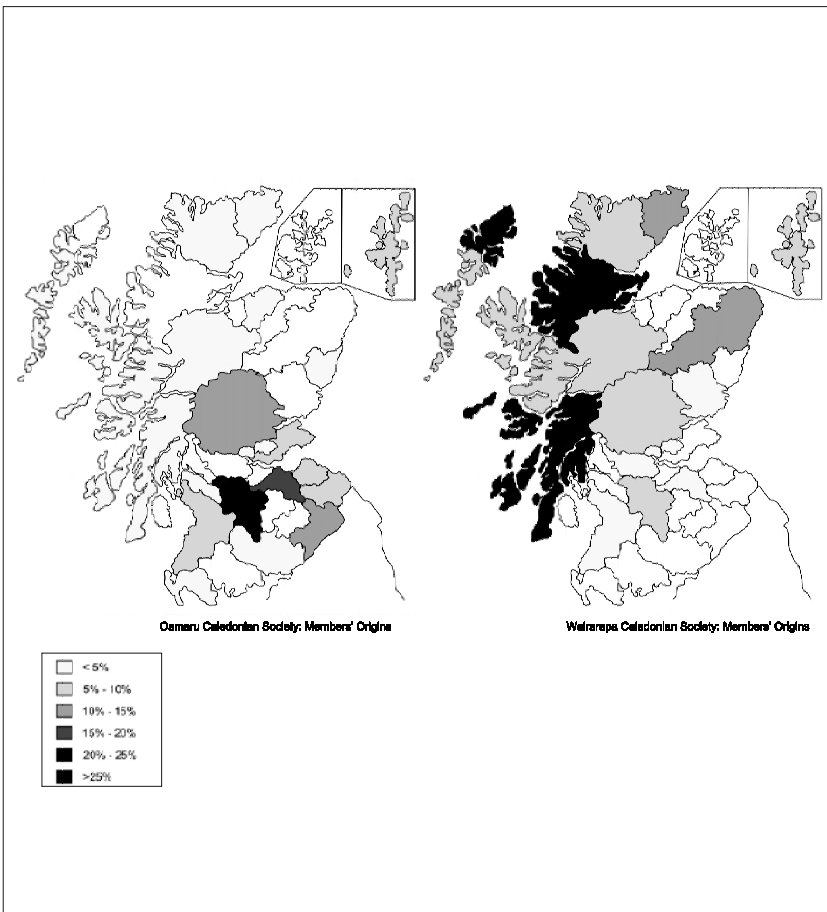
information and advice to newly arrived immigrants, and giving temporary relief to migrants as the directors thought practicable or expedient. Second, the society offered prizes for pupils attending the various educational institutions of the colony. It also procured and disseminated information regarding the poetry, history and archaeology of Scotland. Finally, it offered prizes for excellence in the performance of national feats, games and exercises, as exhibited at the Annual Gathering of the Society.²⁸ These objectives reflected the anticipated permanence of such organizations and defined the aspects of Scottish national identity and culture they hoped to preserve.

Although benevolence came first in the written rules, Caledonian Games were the main activity of New Zealand’s Caledonian societies, the majority devoting only a limited amount of time and resources to charitable pursuits. One reason for this focus was most probably the comparatively late arrival of Scots in New Zealand and their relative prosperity. In Canada, where benevolence was the key objective in the early years, many of the nineteenth-century Scottish immigrants were poor.²⁹ So while the Oamaru Caledonian Society awarded bursaries or gave money to the local hospital, the purpose of these activities was not wholly national; they were seen to give ‘respectability to the society’.³⁰ Ethnic associations could serve a civic role, offering a means for migrants to position themselves in colonial society. This was more difficult to achieve, however, with the promotion of exclusively Scottish pursuits or mutual aid for fellow countrymen, neither of which was designed for the wider community. Caledonian Games, by contrast, developed into New Zealand-wide attractions, with large numbers of spectators, pleasure-seekers and sportsmen in attendance. With the games’ proliferation directly linked to the development and spread of Caledonian societies, they provide the key to understanding Scottish associational culture in New Zealand: the vast majority of societies were born on the sports ground.

In Dunedin, Oamaru and other centres, the first events with a Scottish character were organized by local Scots as part of New Year’s Day celebrations in the 1860s. While sports gatherings on that day had existed from at least the late 1840s, it was the Scots who institutionalized them to a degree that guaranteed their survival well into the twentieth century.³¹ In the early days, sports were often held on local paddocks, as in Oamaru.³² The subsequent establishment of the Oamaru Caledonian Society in 1869 contributed to the sports’ growth and a move to the grounds of the Agricultural and Pastoral Association. Given the significant wider community interest in the games,³³ Caledonian societies successfully occupied a large arena of civic life, transcending the national purpose they proclaimed at the outset. By effectively promoting leisure and sporting activities annually, Caledonian Games were potent generators of social capital in their respective local communities. This function, however, raises an important question: how Caledonian, how ‘national’, were these events? It is necessary to move beyond the public face of the associations, and examine more closely the anatomy of the organizing societies, in order to address this question.

The ethnic composition of the associations’ membership offers a useful starting point to ascertaining how ‘national’ the associations were. While

consecutive membership records have not survived for the majority of Caledonian societies, it has been possible to trace key patterns by arranging the analysis around two case study localities, Oamaru in the South Island and Masterton (the Wairarapa) in the North Island. Both were the commercial hubs of their respective wider districts, and both were located in close proximity to major urban centres, Dunedin and Wellington respectively. As rural settings with strong farming communities, the localities exhibit commonalities as well as important differences, not least in terms of the particular Scottish immigrants who settled in the areas. For Oamaru, 231 Scots could be identified as members of the local Caledonian society for the years between 1869 and 1913, compared to 179 members for the Wairarapa Caledonian Society between 1876 and the mid-1920s. Detailed profiles, including Scottish county origins, could be established for 53% of the Oamaru members, and 38% of those in the Wairarapa. Although both societies had non-Scots members — 8.7% of the Oamaru membership and 11.3% of the Wairarapa Society membership³⁴ — the two societies were dominated by Scots or descendants of Scots, as shown in Map 2.



Map 2: Oamaru and Wairarapa Caledonian Society — Members' Origin

A notable difference between the two societies was the larger number of Scots from the Highlands in the Wairarapa Caledonian Society; the Oamaru Society drew its members from a wider range of Scottish counties, with particular concentrations from Lanarkshire and Midlothian.³⁵ Neither of the associations attracted a particular settler cohort in terms of county origins; instead they drew their members from across the respective local Scottish immigrant populations. This reflected the open nature of Caledonian society membership rules, which did not automatically exclude Scots from particular local backgrounds.

By the 1880s Caledonian Games had become successful business ventures. The sale of stall privileges was advertised in newspapers, and many larger societies arranged for local auctioneers to act as agents.³⁶ The national label 'Caledonia' had become a potent brand. Well-known athletes from New Zealand and abroad used the games as a sporting career platform.³⁷ The combination of sports, food and drink, as well as the prospect of showing off nice clothes or meeting friends, enticed large numbers of people to attend. At least once a year, they could be part of a community and become 'Caledonians for a day'. The resulting successful commodification of 'Caledonia' even motivated other ethnic groups to attempt to follow suit.³⁸

As a result of this burgeoning popularity, an increasing number of younger Caledonian society members in Oamaru and elsewhere believed that their task was to 'cater for the public', promoting the more popular athletic events.³⁹ At the same time, minute books and annual reports document the developing concerns about the national character of the society and the events it organized, leaving older members to contemplate whether Caledonian Games sufficiently sustained a 'deeper Caledonian spirit'.⁴⁰ Many seem to have come to the conclusion that they did not, embracing other means to achieve the desired dissemination of the national spirit. It was perhaps such concerns that led to the introduction of prizes for reading proficiency in Scots, as well as knowledge of Scottish history, at the Oamaru Games.⁴¹ History questions tended to draw on particular aspects of Scottish history, William Wallace and the Battle of Bannockburn featuring prominently. However, despite these developments, divisions between traditionalists and modernizers deepened in many Caledonian societies.⁴²

Friction between traditionalists and modernizers culminated in 1906, when the Christchurch Scottish Society attempted to hold Caledonian Games on 1 and 2 January, dates that for years had been used by Caledonian societies in the area for holding their games. By that time, the major South Island Caledonian societies had all become affiliated to the New Zealand Athletic Union, and staged their contests under Athletic Union's rules. Consequently, the New Zealand Athletic Union protested on behalf of several Caledonian societies against the attempts by the Scottish Society to hold games on New Year's Day. Proposals for an amicable compromise were advanced, including an arrangement under which the Athletic Union would not hold contests for championships in traditional Highland events, while the Scottish Society would agree to refrain from offering track or field championships, leaving these in the hands of the union. But both sides were unbending. By December 1906 a Highland Games Association had been formed in Christchurch from

within the Scottish Society. It was committed to ‘protect[ing] and promot[ing] the interests of pipers, dancers, and athletes who take part in competitions proper to Highland sports meetings’.⁴³ The Scottish Society wanted to protect what it considered to be Scottish traditions. The society felt that these were being destroyed by athletic bodies interested in profit-making. A closer look at the society’s other activities demonstrates that its idea of what was Scottish differed from previous conceptions of Caledonian societies, being more strongly oriented towards a romantic, perhaps invented, past similar to that created by Sir Walter Scott.⁴⁴ In contrast to the events organized by Caledonian societies, which sought to retain wider community appeal, the activities of Scottish societies were located in the cultural realm more exclusively defined to appeal to New Zealand Scots.

The escalating tensions between traditionalists and modernizers in Christchurch, replicated to a greater or lesser degree throughout New Zealand, point to the fact that Caledonian Games were not the only, nor necessarily the most potent, vehicle for the coherent expression of Scottish national identity. Associated dinners and other small-scale events, such as inglesides, provided a more effective locus for national sentiments. Inglesides had become very popular by the final decades of the nineteenth century, being events where the immigrants’ ‘hearts would warm to their native land; and the fondest memories would be awakened by the music, the poetry and the language of their fathers’.⁴⁵ Given their convivial and intimate atmosphere, these events came to serve a more important role within the Scottish community than the large-scale Caledonian Games that had already secured wider New Zealand community appeal.

Burns anniversaries also provided a platform for the coherent expression of shared national sentiments, fostered through the evocation of individual as well as collective memory. As an encompassing cultural phenomenon, memory penetrates life on many layers, and can be public as well as private.⁴⁶ It helps to structure experiences, affording connectors between the past and present through familiar cultural plots and the resources of the nation’s history. Perhaps Robert Louis Stevenson was thinking along these lines when he wrote: ‘For that is the mark of the Scot of all classes: that he stands in an attitude towards the past unthinkable to Englishmen, and remembers and cherishes the memory of his forebears, good or bad; and there burns alive in him a sense of identity with the dead even to the twentieth generation.’⁴⁷ The fact that Stevenson wrote the *Weir of Hermiston* as a Scottish emigrant, living in Samoa, may have contributed to such passages in the novel. Migrant literature frequently includes reflective comment on the past and the old life, contrasting it with the new.⁴⁸ The key is that the connection to the past that Stevenson alluded to was maintained *in spite of* migration, perhaps all the more strongly *because of* migration. The old homeland nation, and celebrations in its name, helped to connect experiences, facilitating the recollection of specific aspects of the past. These were archived in the memories of expatriates, and could be expressed through discursive memory narratives, such as familiar cultural plots about Scotland or Burns. Repeated annually in toasts and speeches, these plots served well as a mode of transmission, organizing remembering.⁴⁹

The first documented Burns dinner in New Zealand was held in Dunedin in 1855.⁵⁰ It followed the core patterns that had been established after the bard's death in Scotland.⁵¹ The central element of all anniversaries was the toast to Burns's 'immortal memory', which characterized him as the poet of 'Scottish feeling and sentiment' and a patriot.⁵² Honouring the memory of Burns was tantamount to honouring Scotland.⁵³ As the epitome of the homeland, Burns served '[t]o popularise our grand Scottish music and songs, and in helping to instil in children of Scotsmen a love for the land of their fathers, its splendid traditions, and a pride in their Scottish blood. [Burns] . . . taught Scottish men and women to glory in their nationality.'⁵⁴

Scots were able to recover the nation through Burns. The same had been true of Caledonian Games, but they had a much wider appeal. Their sheer size and open nature as sporting events made them less effective as sites of memory. That purpose was much better fulfilled by Burns anniversaries.⁵⁵ These differences highlight the fact that Scottish associationism in New Zealand was not a one-dimensional attempt to recreate a past life. Associations and cultural events served a diverse range of functions. Consequently, it is possible to establish a typology of Scottish associations which distinguishes between their activities in terms of how they utilized the nation as a reference point in negotiating their position in the Scottish community, as well as their relationship to wider New Zealand civil society as shown in Figure 2.

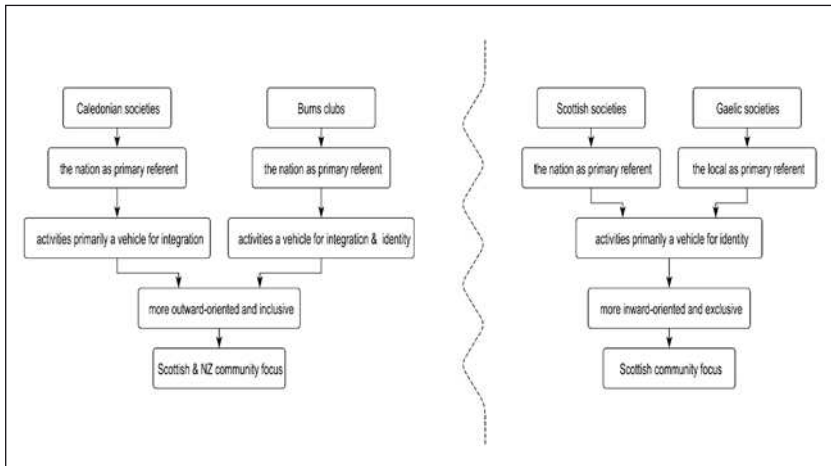


Figure 2: The nation and Scottish associations in New Zealand: a typology

Caledonian societies and Burns clubs fall in the same category, differentiated only by their levels of effectiveness as sites of memory. Both also fostered a wider New Zealand community focus, serving as a social meeting place for the predominantly male colonial elite.⁵⁶ By contrast, the more specialized societies, primarily through the choice of the local rather than national referent, while potent sites of memory, were more exclusive in that they employed the nation as a demarcation line *within* the Scottish community. They were inward-oriented.⁵⁷ Scottish societies, an associational form that took off in the early twentieth

century, proved a marked exception, using the nation as a means to establish exclusive community boundaries. Their development reflected the changing needs of Scottish migrants over time in relation to generational cross-overs, as well as the increasingly diverse ethnic make-up of New Zealand society. From the early twentieth century onwards, Scottish associations survived in the cultural sphere; social activities and conviviality took precedence over other pursuits. Scottish immigrants had become Scottish New Zealanders, who then became New Zealand Scots, interested in the recovery of what they believed to be a truer version of Scottish nationhood, that largely enunciated by Sir Walter Scott.

Writing in 1864, three decades before the *Scotsman's* 1895 report cited at the outset of this article, a *Southland Times* commentator observed that 'no [New Zealand] colonists are more imbued with their national sympathies than Scotchmen'.⁵⁸ Judging by the remarkable proliferation of Scottish associations and their impact on maintaining Scottish national identity, there was at least a grain of truth in the reporter's assessment. Given this context, the identitarian construct of the nation has served as an important analytical category for this article, offering a tool that allows inquiry into the role of identity in a migrant community. The Scottish nation, transferred overseas through a repertoire of cultural traditions and practices, was a reference point that could aid the production of meaning in the new world in diverse contexts. Importantly, in most instances the repertoire served a dual purpose as both a means to establish continuity with the old world, and a means to adapt to the new. This duality highlights the fact that characterizations of Scottish expatriate identity and culture that emphasize emotions and nostalgia are misleading. Scottish identity in New Zealand, certainly in the latter half of the nineteenth century, was characterized by a strong functional element. While this did not obliterate the underlying cultural fabric, from their inception many associations, Caledonian societies in particular, transcended the national purpose they promoted. Some associations were civic before they were ethnic, and most were civic as well as ethnic. While living within a new national boundary did not *require* the maintenance of national identity and culture, both were important to sustain distinctiveness and cohesion. They provided a mode of entry to a more or less exclusively defined collective in which other benefits could be cultivated, making national sentiments an adaptive strategy to overcome the potentially fracturing effects of setting up home in an alien world.

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NOTES

I would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their very helpful comments on an earlier version of this article.

- 1 *Scotsman*, 24 December 1895, p.4.
- 2 Marinell Ash, *The Strange Death of Scottish History*, Edinburgh, 1980, p.10; also Tom Nairn, *The Break-Up of Britain: Crisis and Neo-Nationalism*, 2nd ed., London, 1981, pp.155–63.
- 3 See, for example, John Bodnar, *The Transplanted: A History of Immigrants in Urban America*, Bloomington, 1985.
- 4 Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch*, Auckland, 1997, p.4.
- 5 Frederik Barth, *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries: The Social Organization of Cultural Difference*, Bergen, 1969.
- 6 Robert J. Morris, 'Voluntary Societies and British Urban Elites, 1780–1850: An Analysis', *Historical Journal*, 26, 1 (1983), pp.95–118; also Peter Clark, *British Clubs and Societies, 1580–1850: The Origins of an Associational World*, Oxford, 2000.
- 7 See, especially, Jurgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*, trans. Thomas Burger with Frederick Lawrence, Cambridge, Mass., 1991.
- 8 Georg Simmel, 'The Sociology of Sociability', *American Journal of Sociology* 55, 3 (1949), pp.254–61.
- 9 Graeme Morton, *Unionist Nationalism: Governing Urban Scotland 1830–1860*, East Linton, 1999, p.95.
- 10 The political nature of the nation is discussed by modernists such as Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, 1991 and Ernest Gellner, *Nations and Nationalism*, Oxford, 2002. Ethnosymbolism provides an alternative perspective. See Anthony D. Smith, *Myths and Memories of the Nation*, Oxford, 1999, and *The Ethnic Origins of Nations*, Oxford, 1986.
- 11 Jeffrey K. Olick, 'Introduction: Memory and the Nation: Continuities, Conflicts and Transformation', *Social Science History*, 22, 4 (1998), p.378.
- 12 *New Zealand Spectator and Cook's Strait Guardian*, 4 December 1841, p.3; *New Zealander*, 24 December 1851, p.2.
- 13 The number of associations was established by cross-referencing various sources, including society records, newspaper reports, societies listed under the Friendly Societies or Incorporated Societies acts, periodicals such as the *New Zealand Scotsman*, and entries across the six volumes of the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*, Wellington, 1903–1906. For comparison, John MacKenzie writes of about 40 Caledonian societies in South Africa; John MacKenzie with Nigel R. Dalziel, *The Scots in South Africa: Ethnicity, Identity, Gender and Race, 1772–1914*, Manchester, 2007, p.247. Evidence from parts of Australia suggests a similar development to that of New Zealand: see Kim Sullivan, 'Scottish Associational Culture in Early Victoria, Australia: An Antipodean Reading of a Global Phenomenon', in Tanja Bueltmann, Andrew Hinson and Graeme Morton, eds, *Scottish Associational Culture in the Diaspora*, Toronto, 2009.
- 14 Newspaper accounts and society records were used to establish membership and attendance numbers.
- 15 See the essays in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, eds.
- 16 The scant available evidence suggests that St Andrew's societies were an entirely Auckland-based phenomenon. This is regrettable, because the timing of the Auckland Society's establishment indicates that it was the earliest Scottish association in New Zealand, set up more than a decade prior to the first Caledonian society in Dunedin.
- 17 For example, *The Times*, 31 May 1832, p.5; see also David Hepburn, *The Chronicles of the Caledonian Society of London*, London, 1890.
- 18 For a list of societies in Edinburgh, see Appendix 2 in Morton, p.203.
- 19 Daniel Defoe, 'Caledonia: A Poem in Honour of Scotland and the Scots Nation', Edinburgh, 1706.
- 20 Thomas M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation, 1700–2000*, London, 2000, p.237.
- 21 *Otago Witness* (OW), 5 March 1881, p.18.
- 22 *ibid.*, 15 August 1889, p.2.
- 23 See also Tanja Bueltmann, 'Diaspora, Terrains of Belonging and the Role of Organised Ethnicity: A Comparative Study of Scottish Migrant Community Identities in Canada and New

Zealand to 1910', unpublished paper delivered at the Canadian Historical Association Conference, Vancouver, 2008.

24 OW, 28 December 1861, p.5 and 4 January 1862, p.5.

25 The earliest available rules for Oamaru are from 1893, the earliest for Dunedin from 1906; both correspond to others in New Zealand and abroad, suggesting a common origin. See Oamaru Caledonian Society Rules 1893, 98/29c, North Otago Museum Archive (NOMA); Caledonian Society of Otago Rulebook 1906, MS-1045/005, Hocken Library, Dunedin.

26 OW, 24 October 1862, p.5.

27 The Victoria Society was part of the Scottish associational scene in Australia that gained momentum in the 1850s. See Eric Richards, 'Australia and the Scottish Connections 1788–1914', in R.A. Cage, ed., *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750–1914*, Sydney, 1985, p.141.

28 Rules of the Caledonian Society of Victoria. SLV: 824 V66 (v.30), Victoria State Library, www.slv.vic.gov.au/vicpamphlets/0/4/6/pdf/vp0466.pdf (accessed on 11 June 2008). The 1906 Otago Caledonian Society rules included a fourth rule identifying the promotion of education as another objective. See Caledonian Society of Otago Rulebook 1906, MS-1045/005, Hocken Library.

29 Cf. Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, eds.

30 *North Otago Times* (NOT), 1 October 1883, p.3.

31 See also Alison Clarke, *Holiday Seasons: Christmas, New Year and Easter in Nineteenth-Century New Zealand*, Auckland, 2007.

32 *Oamaru Times and Waitaki Reporter*, 24 December 1867, p.3.

33 To give an example from 1888, at least 45,000 people participated in, or more generally were spectators at, the country's larger games on New Year's Day. Based on newspaper accounts with numerical estimates (more games were reported but did not give spectators numbers), this breaks down to:

Wanganui	3,000
Palmerston	500
Wellington	8,000
Blenheim	2,000
Timaru	5,000
Oamaru	7,000
Dunedin	11,000
Milton	1,000
Lawrence	500
Kaitangata	800
Wiltshire Bay	1,000
Invercargill	4,500
Hokitika	500
Total	44,800

34 Details were derived from society minute books, newspaper reports and biographical details provided in the respective *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*.

35 See the ongoing work on Scottish emigration to New Zealand by Rebecca Lenihan, PhD candidate, Victoria University of Wellington.

36 For an example from Wellington see *Evening Post*, 3 December 1892, p.3.

37 This included famous Scottish athlete Donald Dinnie, who also competed in the US and Canada.

38 See the meeting of Irishmen in Invercargill, *Southland Times* (ST), 18 March 1882, p.2.

39 Oamaru Caledonian Society Scrapbook, n.d., 3791/119b, NOMA.

40 *ibid.*

41 NOT, 3 January 1873, p.2.

42 Amateur events were struck out of the programme in favour of the seemingly more profitable cash athletics: Oamaru Caledonian Society, Meeting of Directors, 18 December 1905, 382/29d, NOMA.

- 43 OW, 12 December 1906, p.58.
- 44 *New Zealand Scot*, 1, 10 (August 1913), p.3, fPer NZ SCO, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
- 45 *ibid.*
- 46 The memory debate originates from Halbwachs's work on collective memory: Maurice Halbwachs, *On Collective Memory*, Chicago, 1992. Useful discussions on memory include Jan Assmann, 'Collective Memory and Cultural Identity', *New German Critique*, 65 (1995), pp.125–33; James Fentress and Chris Wickham, *Social Memory*, Oxford, 1992; Kerwin Klein, 'On the Emergence of Memory in Historical Discourse', *Representations*, 69 (2000), pp.127–50; Wulf Kansteiner, 'Finding Meaning in Memory: A Methodological Critique of Collective Memory Studies', *History & Theory*, 41, 2 (2002), pp.179–97.
- 47 Robert Louis Stevenson, *Weir of Hermiston*, edited by C. Kerrigan, Edinburgh, 1995, p.53.
- 48 *ibid.*, p.xxii.
- 49 Jens Brockmeier, 'Introduction: Searching for Cultural Memory', *Culture Psychology*, 8, 1 (2002), pp.5–14.
- 50 OW, 10 February 1855, p.2.
- 51 Mary Ellen Brown, *Burns and Tradition*, London, 1984.
- 52 See OW, 2 February 1867, p.2; 3 February 1872, p.3; 30 January 1890, p.15.
- 53 *Bruce Herald*, 29 January 1868, p.3.
- 54 William Brien of the Dunedin Burns Club to William Ferries, Secretary of the Highland Society of New South Wales, Bathurst Branch, 6 July 1892, Dunedin Burns Club Letterbook, MS-2047, Hocken Library.
- 55 Pierre Nora, 'Between Memory and History: Les Lieux de Mémoire', *Representations*, 26 (1989), pp.7–24. Sites of memory do not have to be physical places, but physical locations can be effective channelling attention and attaching it to a particular place. Unveiled in May 1887, Dunedin's Burns statue is one example of such a place, remaining the focal point for Scottish activities in the city until the present day.
- 56 See Tanja Bueltmann, "'The Image of Scotland which We Cherish in Our Hearts'", in John M. MacKenzie and Brad Patterson, eds, *Scots Abroad: The New Zealand Scots in International Perspective*, Manchester, forthcoming 2009.
- 57 See also Tanja Bueltmann, 'Ethnic Identity, Sporting Caledonia and Respectability: Scottish Associational Life in New Zealand to 1910', in Bueltmann, Hinson and Morton, eds.
- 58 ST, 4 January 1864, p.2.