Scottish Identity in Dunedin and Christchurch to c. 1920: An Application of the New 'British History' to New Zealand

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in History in the University of Canterbury by Elliott Campbell

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In Loving Memory

of My Mother

Colleen Elizabeth Campbell
Abbreviations

CCC  Canterbury Caledonian Collection

CSO  Caledonian Society of Otago

DM  Directors’ Meeting

Ho  Hocken Library, Dunedin

SSA  Scottish Society Archives (Christchurch)
Abstract

In 1974 historian J. G. A. Pocock made a plea for a new subject, which he termed "British history". It was a request for a re-examination of the term, to invest it with new meaning. Previously, British history was often simply the history of England writ large, ignoring the heterogeneity of the Atlantic Archipelago. Pocock argued for the recognition of cultural plurality within the British context, so that the history of the British Isles could truly be British in scope.

This thesis attempts to answer Pocock's call by extending the study of British history to New Zealand. After examining the historiographical issues raised by the notion of British history in relation to England, Scotland and Wales, it explores those issues in relation to New Zealand. In particular the expression of Scottish identity within the British context in Dunedin, with some comparative material on the Scots in Christchurch.

It begins with the attempt to establish in 1848 a Free Church of Scotland settlement in Otago which attempted to be both Scottish and British. The Scottish element was threatened by non-Scottish British immigrants who became numerically preponderant, although the Scots remained a large minority group. Scottish identity continued to flourish within a British context. Indeed, even in the predominantly Anglican and English settlement established in Canterbury in 1850 did Scottish identity express itself.

The thesis examines the organised expressions of Scottish identity to c. 1920.
In particular, it explores the expressions of identity associated with institutions like the Caledonian societies. It also explores issues of identity raised by the cult of the Scottish poet Robert Burns. Finally, it suggests that hints of a New Zealand identity began to emerge within a British context during the First World War.
Chapter One

Answering Pocock’s Call: British History and its Application to New Zealand

“For God’s sake...let us remain as Nature made us, Englishmen, Irishmen, and Scotchmen”.

— Sir Walter Scott

The Union flag of the United Kingdom is emblematic. It is a symbol of a multinational, multicultural state. It contains the flags of three kingdoms, with the superimposed crosses of Saint George for England, Saint Patrick for Ireland and Saint Andrew for Scotland. Contributions from all Britain’s national groups meant its nineteenth century Imperial enterprise, which

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2 The red dragon of Wales is not represented. Perhaps as one historian has suggested, with three superimposed crosses its inclusion “would have defeated any designer!” K. Robbins, Nineteenth-Century Britain: Integration and Diversity (Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1988), p. 170. See also Acts of Union that provide for the uniting of the respective national flags, as in Article I of the Act of Union, 1707. See A. Browning (ed.), *English Historical Documents 1660-1714* (London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1966), p. 680. There was also provision for the creation of the Union Jack for use at sea following the Regal Union of 1603. See J. Wormald, “The Creation of Britain: Multiple Kingdoms or Core and Colonies?” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th series, 2 (1992), p. 178.
included the colonisation of New Zealand, was truly Britannic in scope.\(^3\) The so-called "Celtic fringe",\(^4\) and especially the Scots, maintained their own cultural identity throughout, while at the same time contributing to and acknowledging a wider British identity. Interpretations of Britain and its constituent parties have been rare until recently.\(^5\) The rise of a British identity in tandem with the creation of the British state, and recognition of its plural nature, are two of the questions that have been confronted in the recent historiography of the Atlantic Archipelago.\(^6\)

This monograph will attempt to answer one historian's plea for the recognition of a pluralist and multi-cultural perception of Britain by examining aspects of Scottish identity in a New Zealand context. While the original call focussed on the recognition of British heterogeneity, it can be extrapolated to the Pakeha dimension of New Zealand's historiography. New Zealand was colonised as part of the British Empire in the nineteenth century, and as such exported its various cultural identities. Previously, the Scots in New Zealand history have often been subsumed under the terms "British" or "Pakeha". Historians are now beginning to strip away the convenient labels of the past in favour of a multi-cultural history of New Zealand. The root of this development, like the Pakeha colonisation of New Zealand, lies in Great

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4 There are inherent difficulties in using this term. It is, however, useful shorthand to refer to the non-English peoples of the British state.
6 Throughout this monograph the term "Atlantic Archipelago" refers to the British mainland and the island of Ireland. The "United Kingdom" and "Britain" refer to the state created in 1800, consisting of England, Scotland and Ireland.
Britain, and a thorough examination of the development of pluralist British history is important.

In the early seventeenth century the English scholar and statesman, Sir Francis Bacon, made an appeal for a history of Britain.\(^7\) It was a call motivated by a deeply significant event in the history of Anglo-Scottish relations, the 1603 Union of Crowns. This saw a Scottish King, James VI, assume a united crown as James I of England. Following this regal union, King James announced himself a “King of Britain”, proclaiming in October 1604 that

Wee have thought good to discontinue the divided names of England and Scotland out of our Regal Stile, and doe intend and resolve to take and assume unto Us...the Name and Stile of KING OF GREAT BRITTAINE\(^8\)

It was the culmination of a long history of relations between the two neighbours. It did not, however, mark the end of Scotland and England as distinct entities. Neither the union of Crowns, nor the later 1707 Union, marked the end of the relationship between England and Scotland. Despite common historical experiences as partners in the British state, both retained their own cultures, outlook and identities. They have proved enduring, arguably more so in Scotland’s case than England’s, and this is reflected in contemporary British politics. In 1999, for the first time since the 1707 Union, an elected representative assembly began sitting in Edinburgh. Its

\(^7\) Wormald, p. 179.
\(^8\) Quoted in Wormald, p. 178.
representatives include advocates for independence, and those who wish to retain Scotland as a part of the unitary state that is the United Kingdom. That such assemblies now exist in Scotland and Wales, as well as a British parliament in Westminster, is illustrative of the multinational nature of the United Kingdom. The assemblies came about as a result of an acceptance by a London-based government of Scottish and Welsh nationalism, which sought increased recognition of their culture and identity. While the stresses and strains of contemporary Britain are outside the scope of this study, it does show how significant a place Scotland continues to have in the “story of Britain.” Indeed, British history as it is regarded today by some professional historians is in large part the study of the interactions and relationships of the nations of the Atlantic Archipelago. Bacon's plea, echoing across nearly four hundred years of history, is being increasingly heeded.

The idea of British history in a modern historiographical sense had its beginnings with historian J. G. A. Pocock, who made an appeal in 1974 for its study as “a new subject”. Pocock broadly defined it as the historical recognition of the plural and multi-cultural nature of Britain. British history is derived from the interaction of these cultures:

“British History” denotes the historiography of no single nation but of a problematic and uncompleted experiment in the creation and interaction of several nations.10

10 J. G. A. Pocock, “The Limits and Divisions of British History: In Search of the Unknown
Recognition of the role of such interaction in the history of Britain is not new.

Lord Curzon, a former Viceroy of India, emphasised the point in a 1907 Oxford lecture:

In our own country how much has turned upon the border conflict between England and Scotland and between England and Wales. In Ireland the ceaseless struggles between those within and those without the Pale has left an ineffaceable mark on the history and character of the people.11

Pocock's call is being answered, especially in the last two decades.12 A new and vigorous pan-British historiography is currently being formed. Recent publications of British history cover a wide field, but as the historian David Cannadine has rightly noted, in practice it can mean different things in different centuries.13 Pocock himself envisaged British history as concerning itself in the early period with the archipelago as a whole, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with the transatlantic world, and from the nineteenth century, the British Empire.14 While the concept of British history appears to have been most fully embraced by medievalists, most recent work in the early modern and modern periods have focused on the creation of the British

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11 Quoted in Colley, p. 7.
14 Ibid, pp. 21-22.
state. The other work, such as that of Keith Robbins and Linda Colley, is concerned primarily with a different type of British history. They seek to explain the growth of a British identity, or "Britishness", following the formal establishment of the British state. These two types of British history are not distant cousins, however. The issue of British state building and identity are inextricably connected and have direct relevance to New Zealand, given that it was the ultimate source of its nineteenth century colonial population.

With the Act of Union between England and Scotland of 1707, Great Britain as a unitary state was born. It also marked the beginning of "Britain" as a tangible political and cultural concept. As one writer has pointed out, Britain is an invented nation barely older than the United States of America. The creation of this new state is laid out in the first of the 1707 Act's twenty-five articles, whereby England and Scotland were "united into one kingdom by the name of Great Britain". What it did not do, however, was instantaneously dissolve old loyalties and allegiances within England and Scotland. To use Keith Robbins' words, to a large extent British history is a story of integration and diversity. As the practitioners of truly British history have been at pains to point out, the creation of a United Kingdom, as it was to

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17 Wormald, pp. 184-185.
21 Robbins, passim.
become after Union with Ireland in 1800, did not create a homogenous whole. Indeed, the 1707 Union formally entrenched national divisions, at least on a civil scale. For example, Brian P. Levack's study of British state formation via the 1707 Union repeatedly notes the plural nature of the new creation.\textsuperscript{22} While Union provided Britain with a single united parliament and central administration, it also provided for two very different sets of national laws and two state churches.\textsuperscript{23} Levack concludes that

The men who negotiated the Treaty had no interest in creating a united British nation and therefore enabled the Scots to preserve their own national identity within the union. They thus created a curious structure, a unitary state that was multi-national.\textsuperscript{24}

The multinational nature of the Atlantic Archipelago has always been reflected in its "traditional" historiography. This has concerned itself mostly with studies of the individual national units. The clearest criticism of these older works can be found in their parochial character.\textsuperscript{25} They did not adequately account for, or acknowledge, the influences neighbouring British nations may have had on the particular nation under study. Commonly they would only refer to their neighbours when they impinged in some way on the

\begin{footnotesize}
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\item \textsuperscript{23} Ibid., p. vi.
\item \textsuperscript{24} Ibid., pp. 212-213.
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story from outside.26 However, as Pocock and practitioners of the "new" British history have noted, these national histories still retain a vital place in the over-all historiography of the Atlantic Archipelago.27 Despite the fears of national historians,28 British history does not seek to usurp or invalidate these works, but rather introduces a new inter-cultural framework.29 The concept of British history has not found favour with all historians and has its critics.

A. J. P. Taylor has famously rejected the notion of British history. In the introduction to the final instalment of a multi-volume history of England, Taylor denies that such a concept as Britain has ever existed.30 Taylor, responding to Pocock's original plea, believes British history is not a question of approach, methodology or even of context. He questions what it is exactly supposed to mean. In doing so, Taylor also argues for the primacy of English culture over that of the other nations in the Atlantic Archipelago.31 Another critic, Keith M. Brown, in a commentary confining itself to the seventeenth century, writes that "the emergence of British History looks like a reincarnation of the history of the English state."32 He fears that the concentration on the creation of the British state in the early modern period

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26 Ellis in Ellis and Barber (eds.), p. 1. This was especially a feature of English history.
27 Morrill in Morrill and Bradshaw (eds.), p. 1; Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 26.
32 Brown in Asch (ed.), p. 117.
will mean a reversion to "old-fashioned Anglocentric constitutional history."\textsuperscript{35} He also believes that the national histories of the Atlantic Archipelago are in potential danger of being "swallowed up by the Pocockian monster we are poised to create."\textsuperscript{34} Before embarking anew on British history, Brown believes that more thought must be devoted to British history's terms of reference, and that scholarship must not be distracted by it from work on the many areas still not researched in Scottish, Welsh and Irish history.\textsuperscript{35} These critics overlook the fact that Pocock does not envisage British history supplanting the traditional national histories at all, least of all England's. Rather, they should coexist with British history to form a more comprehensive historiography.\textsuperscript{36}

Taylor regards coexistence as unviable. Defending Anglo-centric history, Taylor argues that England as a nation and culture has in recent centuries so dominated the British Isles that no new historiography is called for:

Take Celtic history, whether Scotch or Irish, and English history, and mix them together; the result is not British history: it is Celtic history and English history. British history starts only when the Scotch and Irish became English speakers, in other words, a variant of Englishmen.\textsuperscript{37}

Brown has similar views. The addition of Scottish and Irish history just to add

\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p. 118.
\textsuperscript{34} Ibid, p. 117.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid, p. 127.
further understanding to English history is not British history. But nowhere does Pocock advocate any “mixing” together of history. Rather, he argues for the study of multinational interaction and the recognition of context. The fact that Taylor sees fit to lump the Irish and “Scotch” together as “Celtic” while rejecting the notion of historical “mixing” with England, as well as claiming that “British” history can only emerge when everyone speaks English, is indicative that national parochialism sometimes dies hard. As Keith Robbins, a former student of Taylor’s has pointed out, “English history is central to the history of Britain, but is not synonymous with it.” Pocock recognises this.

While British history as Pocock defined it recognises the heterogeneity of Britain, previous attempts at “British” history have frequently been no more than a synonym for English history. “Little England” history once predominated in studies of the Atlantic Archipelago. The diversity of Britain has often been subsumed by historical Anglo-centrism, focusing on England as the dominant British nation. In such works the “Celtic fringe’s” place was either ignored altogether, relegated to footnotes or appeared only as exotic window dressing to English history. Another trait among some works is simple inconsistencies in the use of the terms “England”, “English”, “Britain”

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38 Brown in Asch (ed.), p. 117.
40 Robbins, “Preface”, no pagination.
41 Ibid, p. 1.
43 Ellis in Ellis and Barber (eds.), p. 2.
and "British", seeing them merely as synonyms. While it was common to use "England" and "English" as synonyms for all Britain and its inhabitants in the nineteenth century, it is a practice now unacceptable, despite its long pedigree. The published histories in Britain that started to appear with the professionalisation of history in the nineteenth century were overwhelmingly focused on England, and were Whiggish in their praise for English institutions. This tendency is related to the strong literary and nationalist tradition within English historical writing.

In the post-war period there has been a growth in Scottish, Welsh and Irish history, fuelled by an increase in nationalism coupled with the expansion of universities throughout Britain. By way of increased university-based scholarship, non-English national history has been provided with both the means and audience to rightly claim its place in the historiographical canon. Today, a greater awareness of Britain, as opposed to merely England, exists. A good recent example is the Penguin History of Britain series, which is replacing a previous Pelican History of England. Other works of history on that most British of enterprises, the Empire, while sympathetic to the issue of British heterogeneity, have nevertheless fallen victim to Anglo-centric terminology in the past as well. In some, this even extends to excluding

46 Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 14; Clarke, p. 2; Wormald, p. 180.
47 Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), pp. 14-16.
49 Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), pp. 20-21.
50 Clarke, p. 2.
Scotland from their index.\textsuperscript{51}

Despite Taylor's fears for English history, British history does not argue for any historiographical redressing of the balance by elevating the importance of the Celtic nations.\textsuperscript{52} Indeed, Pocock acknowledges that the cultural relations of Britain were "marked by an increasing English political and cultural domination",\textsuperscript{53} and remarks that he often considers himself an English historian.\textsuperscript{54} Taylor, defending the maintenance of the superiority of England as a historical and cultural force, seemingly ignores this.\textsuperscript{55} Central to British history is the concept that the experiences of each of the British national groups were not isolated from each other.\textsuperscript{56} National processes and experiences became increasingly shared on a pan-Britannic scale, especially as the building of Great Britain as a unitary state proceeded. For example, by the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries it is impossible to talk of English or Scottish foreign policy,\textsuperscript{57} a point Taylor concedes,\textsuperscript{58} or of standing English or Scottish armies. A multinational state, a United Kingdom, had been formed. The experiences of that state, and those who identified with it both at home and abroad, such as in New Zealand, are best studied by such an approach as British history allows.

\textsuperscript{51} For example, see A. P. Newton, \textit{A Hundred Years of the British Empire} (London, Duckworth, 1947), \textit{passim}. This was first published in 1940.
\textsuperscript{52} Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 27.
\textsuperscript{53} Pocock, \textit{New Zealand Journal of History}, pp. 7 and 12.
\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Ibid.}, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{56} Pocock, "Limits and Divisions", p. 317.
\textsuperscript{57} For example, see H. M. Scott, \textit{British Foreign Policy in the Age of the American Revolution} (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1990).
\textsuperscript{58} Taylor, \textit{English History}, pp. v-vi.
Pocock also addresses the subject of Britain’s Empire within the context of his call for a new British history. It has direct relevance to New Zealand history. The rapid expansion of the Empire from the eighteenth century gives British history a global perspective.\textsuperscript{59} Pocock’s thesis centred on the creation and interaction of nations. His original vision is not limited to the relationships between the nations of the Atlantic Archipelago that came to form the British state. They also include the new societies that that state created abroad, such as New Zealand. On a smaller scale, British history’s recognition of cultural heterogeneity can be applied to all of the Empire’s nineteenth century settler colonies, to remove the blanket coverage of white populations as simply a unified “British” mass. The Empire, in Pocock’s thinking, could be said to comprise a “Greater Britain”.

The concept of a “Greater Britain” is not a new one. In the nineteenth century it was in common usage as a term for the Empire.\textsuperscript{60} Travel writer and Liberal politician Charles Wentworth Dilke\textsuperscript{61} wrote two very popular and influential\textsuperscript{62} works dealing with “Greater Britain”.\textsuperscript{63} The use of the term as a synonym for the Empire is significant. It is illustrative both of Britain’s place

\textsuperscript{59} Pocock, “Limits and Divisions”, pp. 318-319.


in the nineteenth century world, and of how some perceived the nature of its Empire. In fact, it appears perfectly logical when looked at in the context of Imperial federation. Historiographically, however, the term first gained real currency with the work of a late nineteenth century Imperial historian, Sir John Seeley.

Seeley, Professor of History at Cambridge, and regarded as the father of British imperial history, conceptualised the Empire as a common community, or an enlarged state. His theory and language were deeply parochial. In an influential series of lectures presented in 1881 in Cambridge and published in 1886 as The Expansion of England, Seeley takes a blatantly Anglo-centric approach to the subject of Empire. He makes clear that he does not use the term “England” simply as a synonym for “Great Britain”. Rather, he refers to the Empire itself as “Greater Britain”, having at its heart England and the English. The Empire exists as a result of England’s expansionist tendencies and imperial endeavour:

Greater Britain is a real enlargement of the English state; it carries across the seas not merely the English race, but the authority of the English Government. We call it for want of a better word an Empire.

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64 Gilmour, p. 182.
65 Trainor, pp. 171-173.
69 Ibid, p. 43.
Seeley presumes a national homogeneity with such a “Little England” view of the Empire, ignoring the non-English groups of the British Isles that all in their own right, and to differing degrees, had their own stake in the Imperial enterprise. Frequently his Anglo-Saxon bias, never far from the surface, is revealed. Seeley makes reference to the Empire as being inhabited by “Englishmen”, who left home as part of a “great English Exodus”, and that “Greater Britain” is “an extension of the English nationality.” Inconsistently, when making mention of “British India”, Seeley refers to the sub-continent as being “under the rule of Englishmen”, ignorant of the prominence Scots had in governing Imperial India. Dilke, however, while guilty of gross semantic inconsistency himself is more aware of a Britannic presence in “Greater Britain”. This is reflected in his noting the Celtic backgrounds of various Australasian worthies, such as Sir Thomas McIlwraith and Sir Robert Stout, and the attention he gives to the Irish diaspora.

Seeley’s recognition of British heterogeneity, meanwhile, is crude at best. Indeed, important to his thesis is the ethnic homogeneity of “Greater Britain”.

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70 Ibid, pp. 10-11.
72 Ibid, p. 45.
73 Ibid, p. 270.
74 Ibid, p. 160.
76 Dilke, Greater Britain and Problems of Greater Britain, passim.
79 Seeley, pp. 49-50.
If in these islands we feel ourselves for all purposes one nation, though in Wales, in Scotland and in Ireland there is Celtic blood and Celtic languages utterly unintelligible to us..., so in the Empire a good many French and Dutch and a good many Caffres and Maoris may be admitted without marring the ethnological unity of the whole.\textsuperscript{80}

But what of Britain’s diversity? Seeley here makes mention of a Celtic rim, but does so only in a context that compares the Celts to the aboriginal peoples of the Empire abroad.\textsuperscript{81} The “us” in the above quote clearly excludes the Celts, or at least the Gaelic-speaking Celts, from his notion of “one nation”. While his initial definition of “Greater Britain” acknowledges a United Kingdom,\textsuperscript{82} Scotland itself is mentioned in his study only in passing. In referring to the Union of 1707, Seeley correctly states that Scotland immediately benefited through access to an English-created Empire that had hitherto been denied them. He does not give any indication that Scotland eventually became a partner in the Imperial enterprise or that it was the Union itself which effectively gave birth to the formal British state.

The British Empire, which was based around that state, was more complex than Seeley supposes, especially from the late eighteenth century. It was not solely a product of English enterprise and expansion. As the dominant national force in the Atlantic Archipelago, England undoubtedly had a huge role to play in the creation of the Empire that had London as its first city. However, they were not the only inhabitants of those islands participating

\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, pp. 49-50.
\textsuperscript{81} Indeed, Seeley compares the Maori of New Zealand and their potential for “trouble” with the problems the Highland clans caused in the eighteenth century. Ibid, p. 47.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid, p. 10.
actively in the pursuit of Empire. The Scots, as well as the other Celtic groups, also became key players in the Empire’s conquest and management. They did so to a degree disproportionate to their home population.\textsuperscript{83} It became a common cause, and the Empire of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was neither English, Scottish, Welsh nor Irish. It was British.

These national groups at home and abroad maintained to a large extent their separate identities and cultures, while at the same time retaining an identity focused upon Britain itself. To recognise this, the heterogeneity of Britain as the hub of the Empire is vital before studying the heterogeneity of its white settler colonies, such as New Zealand. The creation of a British identity has only recently been explored, masked as it has been in the past by the concerns of historians to write and research the histories of the individual British nations.\textsuperscript{84} Some works have been undertaken using the pluralist approach sought by Pocock which recognise the parts of Britain as they seek to explain its whole.\textsuperscript{85} How has this approach been applied to the British context, and with what conclusions?

One problem of the interaction between the national and cultural groups within Britain is reflected in the core and periphery paradigm. This centres on the nature of England’s relationship with its so-called “Celtic fringe”. The issue is further complicated by the difficulty of finding agreement among


\textsuperscript{84} Colley, Frontier, pp. 8-9.

\textsuperscript{85} Pocock, New Zealand Journal of History, pp. 7-8.
scholars on what is a "core" and what is a "periphery". In a historiographical context, a core and periphery relationship is most often defined in an exploitative or colonial context. The American sociologist Michael Hechter has produced the most comprehensive study of Britain using such a colonial model. His model is based upon the notion of an internal colonialism, where the core dominates and exploits the periphery. His work on the "process of development" is the application to a British context of approaches previously applied to Third World nations. To Hechter, the political integration of Britain did not strengthen the Celts' place as partners in the new state, but rather served to perpetuate their colonial relationship with England. It made the Celtic nations economically, culturally and politically dependent. For example, while the 1707 Union (the result of mutual negotiation) joined England and Scotland, Scots representation in the London parliament was insufficient to adequately influence any decisions concerning Scotland. By way of the political unions, Hechter believes that the Celtic regions surrendered their sovereignty for token representation. The Celtic periphery was thus condemned to playing either an "insignificant" or "minor" role in

86 Robbins, "Core and Periphery", p. 278.
88 Ibid, p. 10.
90 Hechter, p. 80.
91 Ibid, p. 80.
92 Ibid, p. 67.
93 Ibid, p. 68.
94 Ibid, p. 95.
95 Ibid, p. 119.
Britain under a hegemonic England. He does note, however, the survival of Scottish civic and religious institutions as vessels of national culture.\textsuperscript{96} As Pocock has observed in the context of British history, “a hegemony does not alter the fact of a plurality”.\textsuperscript{97}

Despite military and political control over the Celts,\textsuperscript{98} Hechter nevertheless observes the continued survival of cultural distinctiveness.\textsuperscript{99} Between the mid-nineteenth century and 1921, he notes that Welsh and Scottish nationalist sentiment intensified.\textsuperscript{100} He qualifies this continued cultural diversity by noting the Anglicisation of the elites, particularly in Scotland. This is a process he describes as “cultural pacification”.\textsuperscript{101}

Because the rulers of the Scottish state were themselves culturally anglicised, their English counterparts felt it unnecessary to insist upon total control over Scottish cultural institutions, as they had done in Wales and Ireland.\textsuperscript{102}

In example, Hechter points to the role anglicised Lowland Scots played in the English persecution of the Gaelic Highlands following the Jacobite rebellions of the eighteenth century.\textsuperscript{103}

Thus, under Hechter’s internal colonial model, while Britain was integrated through a colonialist process, it also allowed the retention of a measure of

\textsuperscript{96} Ibid, pp. 67-68.  
\textsuperscript{97} Pocock, \textit{New Zealand Journal of History}, p. 7.  
\textsuperscript{98} Hechter, p. 342.  
\textsuperscript{99} Ibid, p. 327.  
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid, p. 214.  
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid, p. 115.  
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid, pp. 342-343.  
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid, p. 343.
Celtic cultural and national distinctiveness. Hechter's work has been criticised, with questions over the nature of his empirical data and theoretical rigour. Even so, Hechter's work remains useful in the historiography of the Atlantic Archipelago, not least for its pioneering use of the British dimension. However, it is flawed in that its identification of England as the single core is misleading. Regionalism and the creation of multiple cores and peripheries, even within England itself, are not recognised. Hechter does not make the same mistake with Scotland. He recognises the vital point that Scotland cannot be treated as a homogenous entity, but this undermines his identification of Celtic regions simply with the periphery.

By the time of the Union in 1707, the English viewed Scotland less as a sovereign nation than as a vassal state. To the English, the Union was not considered one of equal partners. Scotland at the time was desperately poor, possessed little capital, and was agriculturally backward. Scotland was granted no favours in terms of trade by England due to the latter's Navigation Acts of 1660 and 1663, and was in financial crisis in the wake of the Darien scheme. On the face of it, Scotland had little appeal for England. But just over a century earlier England did have some interest in pursuing a type of colonial relationship with Scotland. Following the Union of Crowns,

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104 See Page, passim and Nairn, pp. 201-202.
105 Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 21.
106 Page, p. 21; Cannadine in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 21.
107 Wormald, p. 183.
111 Ibid, p. 97.
James envisioned Scotland's complete assimilation, so that it would "with time become but as Cumberland and Northumberland and those other remote and northern shires." It did not eventuate, however, and Scotland was neither settled nor administered by England. By the early eighteenth century and Union, England had lost any desire, in any form, to colonise Scotland. It had no need to. While the English were prompted by the fear of potential Catholic claims to a vacant Scottish crown to seek a settlement of Union, Scotland was drawn to it through economic crisis. The subsequent political integration that took place saw power centred on the English capital, London, and the Scottish élites quickly moved south to assume a place closer to it. To many who moved southwards, this meant the rejection of Scottish public affairs in return for the greater spoils of Westminster. This élite Scots presence increased further with Imperial expansion following the Seven Years War. Indeed, Scots came south of the border and took places of administrative and governmental importance to such a perceived degree that there followed a period of virulent anti-Scottish prejudice in England.

Despite the political marginalisation of Scotland in the eighteenth century, the Scottish cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh remained important in their own right. This was not without difficulties. For instance, immediately following the Union and the departure of its parliament, Edinburgh fell on hard times. Through a process of municipal renewal which saw the New

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112 Quoted in Coupland, p. 83.
113 Robbins, "Core and Periphery", p. 279.
115 Robbins, "Core and Periphery", p. 280.
Town entice back the wealth so tempted by the green fields of England, and by the establishment of Britain’s first medical faculty at the University, Edinburgh was resuscitated as a social centre.\textsuperscript{116} Largely by dint of their ready access to Britain’s Atlantic World, Glasgow, Leith and other ports also became northern centres of commerce.\textsuperscript{117} Glasgow in 1707 was a small town of 12,000, but by 1807 was a major port and city of over 70,000. Similarly, the cloth trade saw Paisley boom from a village of 3,000 into a town of 25,000.\textsuperscript{118} Meanwhile, Edinburgh nurtured a flourishing intellectualism known as the so-called “Scottish Enlightenment”. As a result, Edinburgh retained its status as a capital,\textsuperscript{119} even becoming regarded from the nineteenth century as the Empire’s Second City. As such, it was no mere provincial centre. Despite England’s economic dominance, the pre-eminence of London and the dissolution of a separate Scottish parliament, the historian Jenny Wormald concludes that “it has never been possible to characterise Scotland in colonial or provincial terms.”\textsuperscript{120} Keith Robbins agrees that it is inappropriate to regard Scotland as a mere provincial entity.\textsuperscript{121} The maintenance of separate state church, law and education systems bears out his point, and furthermore indicates that Scotland was not a colony or province.\textsuperscript{122} Even the surrendering of formal and representative political power south to London was not a great

\textsuperscript{116} C. Smout, “Centre and Periphery in History; With Some Thoughts on Scotland as a Case Study” Journal of Common Market Studies \textbf{18}, 3 (1980), pp. 264-265.
\textsuperscript{118} Coupland, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{119} Robbins, “Core and Periphery”, p. 281.
\textsuperscript{120} Wormald, p. 193.
\textsuperscript{121} Robbins, “Core and Periphery”, p. 280.
\textsuperscript{122} Wormald, p. 193.
blow. The Edinburgh parliament had been no more truly representative than that in Westminster proved in the eighteenth century. The Kirk was a more accessible and democratic body to the Lowland Scot, and it was to this institution, rather than parliament, that most Lowlanders gave their loyalty. Scotland thus remained a nation with civic, religious and cultural institutions within a greater multinational structure. However, the relationship it had, and continues to have with England, remains a difficult one to define. As Wormald states, what was formed after 1603 "defies ready classification" to this day. As for the core and periphery model, Robbins notes.

It is...rather too simple to speak in the nineteenth century of both “England” and “Scotland”, since the pace of commercial and industrial development in both countries accentuated differences between region and region and created a multiplicity of new cores and peripheries.

Britain became host to a number of regional cores and peripheries. While it is true that the south east of England has been politically and financially dominant thanks to the power of the City, industrialisation gave rise to regional, rather than national, cores. Manchester, Belfast, Cardiff and Glasgow became just some of the industrial centres. The issue of intra-

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123 Hall and Albion, p. 419.
124 Ibid, pp. 419-420.
125 Wormald, p. 194.
national, or regional core and periphery relations, is very apparent in the case of Scotland.

It is problematic to speak of "Scotland" and consider it economically and culturally homogenous. Historians must be wary of using the term Scotland too loosely. Scotland is culturally divided, and in medieval times "Scotland" actually referred to the Highlands, Galloway and Lothian.128 While Robbins and Wormald may state that Scotland did not carry the traits of a colonial or exploitative relationship with England, this is true only of Lowland Scotland.129 From the end of the fourteenth century, there has been a definite recognition of two distinct Scottish cultures within Scotland’s population. This came to be characterised by the Highland and Lowland divide. Even into the nineteenth century the differences between the Highlands and Lowlands remained clear.130 Beyond the Highland line there was thought to be a weaker Scotland, one inhabited by a backward brand of Scot, with a barbarian culture, social behaviour, dress and language. That many were Catholic further distanced them from the cultural "norm".131 That the Highlands were the source of two Jacobite Rebellions entrenched prejudice. The combination of Jacobitism and the notion that the Highlanders of Scotland were savage barbarians, shaped to a large degree their subsequent history within the British state.132 As a result, a plainly more exploitative colonial relationship came to exist between

129 Nairn, p. 167.
130 Ibid, p. 147.
131 Hall and Albion, pp. 418-419.
the Gaelic Highlands on the one hand, and England and its Lowland allies on
the other.\textsuperscript{133}

The Union of 1707 was not a Scottish but a Lowland matter.\textsuperscript{134} Indeed, the
Lowland Scots, whose élite was the main means for Anglicisation in Scotland,
and who were closely tied politically and culturally to the English,\textsuperscript{135} played
an active role in the subjection of Scotland's Gaelic periphery. For their part,
the English élites neglected Scotland's affairs, at least until the Rebellion of
1745.\textsuperscript{136} As Hechter has noted, the "participation of lowlanders [sic] in the
dismemberment of highland society probably marks the nadir of Scottish
national unity."\textsuperscript{137} Unlike the Lowlanders, the Highlanders were marked as
troublesome to the maintenance of a harmonious Britain. Highland support
for Jacobitism saw rebellions in 1715 and 1745, and attempted rebellions in
1708 and 1719.\textsuperscript{138} The vicious suppression of these rebellions, as well as the
brutal croft clearances and the resultant mass emigration and famine made
the Gaelic Highlands of Scotland the most marginal and peripheral region of
mainland Britain. The British Parliament in London legislated to weaken or
suppress the Highland's distinguishing cultural, political and economic
characteristics.\textsuperscript{139} The meaning of Highland culture was changed forever.
Officially proscribed in the wake of the Forty-Five, it was later adopted by

\textsuperscript{133} Nairn, p. 148.
\textsuperscript{134} Hall and Albion, p. 419.
\textsuperscript{135} Hechter, p. 112.
\textsuperscript{136} Colley, "Multiple Elites", p. 409.
\textsuperscript{137} Hechter, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid, p. 113.
\textsuperscript{139} Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 119.
both the English and Lowlanders into a new British cultural milieu that was transported throughout the Empire, including New Zealand. For example, the weaving of tartan was banned, save for those woven for the Highland regiments of the British army.\textsuperscript{140} Highland culture was enveloped into a new British context and became the acceptable face of British Celticism, acting in contrast to the unacceptable Catholic Irish. This was a colonial and exploitative fate escaped by the Lowlands. This serves to illustrate further the heterogeneity of the Atlantic Archipelago, which is faceted across national lines to encompass smaller regional cultures and identities.\textsuperscript{141} Hand in hand with this, however, is the growing issue of the establishment of a British identity, something recent historians of British history have sought to explain.

Hugh Kearney, a pioneer of British history, believes that a "Britannic melting pot" approach is the best way to understand the histories of the individual nations.\textsuperscript{142} Echoing Lord Curzon's sentiments, he notes a long-standing interaction between them:

During the past millennium, "England", "Ireland", "Scotland" and "Wales" have not lived in mutual isolation. Since the viking [sic] invasions, if not earlier, the cultures of the British Isles have reacted with each other.\textsuperscript{143}

\textsuperscript{140} Ibid, p. 119.
\textsuperscript{142} Kearney, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{143} Ibid, p. 213.
Kearney recognises that by confining studies to the national groups, historians run the risk of perpetuating ethnocentrism. Kearney goes beyond the national divisions to form his study on an intercultural basis. He conceptualises the national units in cultural, rather than national, terms. The Atlantic Archipelago is thus multicultural rather than simply multinational. By taking this view, Kearney acknowledges that each nation is itself culturally heterogeneous. For instance, the cultural patterns of South East England are different from those of the North East, while the Scots of the Lowlands are different again from their Highland cousins. By expanding the basis of the study beyond the mere national groups, Britain is presented as a culturally diverse setting, each culture interacting, and at times competing, with the others.

By conducting a study into Britain as a whole, Kearney thus presents its constituent cultures in a wider context. It is from such a basis that he forms his assessment of a British national identity. He concludes that it developed from a process of cultural interaction as old gulfs between regions and cultures narrowed. Progress in travel and communications technology in the eighteenth, and especially nineteenth, centuries contributed to a shrinking of Britain, where both physical and cultural distances were overcome.

However, Kearney believes such increasing contact also had the effect of

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147 Kearney, British Isles, p. 174.
promoting or reinforcing cultural and ethnic awareness among the “Celtic fringe”. This was caused in response to the influence of England as the dominant party in Britain.\textsuperscript{148} While the politics of the Celtic periphery revolved primarily around Ireland in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the concerns of their fellow Celts also became more vocal.\textsuperscript{149} By the First World War, Kearney writes that ethnic conceptions of difference in British society were losing ground to a new, more immediately significant identity – class.\textsuperscript{150}

Keith Robbins reaches similar conclusions, though he excludes the Irish from his thesis. He suggests, as does Linda Colley, that Britishness is a phenomenon confined to England, Scotland and Wales.\textsuperscript{151} Like Kearney, he claims that by the First World War there did exist a British-based identity, with a complementary sense of diversity remaining.\textsuperscript{152}

Robbins comprehensively explores the development of this new identity through the nineteenth century, particularly as it was manifested in language, literature, religion, politics, business, education, “the life of the mind”, music and sport.\textsuperscript{153} He stresses that the growth of a British identity did not consist of an imposition of English hegemony upon the weaker parties of Scotland and

\textsuperscript{148} Ibid, p. 174.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, p. 175.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid, pp. 195-196 and pp. 205-206. Except, perhaps, in the case of Ireland. Kearney does not make it clear whether he includes them in this conclusion. He does note, however, the strong support industrial Wales and Scotland, previously bastions of Liberal radicalism, gave to Labour.
\textsuperscript{151} Robbins, Integration and Diversity, p. 2; Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 8.
\textsuperscript{152} Robbins, Integration and Diversity, p. 1.
\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, p. 1.
Wales, but a process of mutual "blending" amongst the nations. Considerable cross-border influences took place, mostly two-way in nature, especially in the case of Scotland.

He believes, as does Kearney, that the increasing industrialisation of the nineteenth century saw Britain in effect contract, with a consequent nationalisation of life. Transportation developments "shrank" Britain. For example, in the mid-eighteenth century the monthly mail coach trip from Edinburgh to London took from between ten and a half to twelve and a half days, when in 1895 it took eight and a half hours to travel by rail between London and Aberdeen. The advent of railway timetables also meant a standardisation of time with Greenwich, ending traditional "local times". However, this "contraction" of Britain was achieved not solely through the spheres of technology, such as the spreading of the railways, but also through language and literature. Poets praised the newly formed bonds drawing the country together, and in schools Standard English was taught. Despite this, the older existing identities were not subsumed by the evolution of a newer British identity. As Robbins notes,

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154 Ibid, p. 8 and K. Robbins, "An Imperial and Multinational Polity: the 'Scene From the Centre', 1832-1922" in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 249.
155 See Robbins, Integration and Diversity, pp. 29-62.
156 Ibid, p. 27.
157 Coupland, p. 148.
158 Robbins, "North and South", p. 25.
160 Robbins, Integration and Diversity, pp. 27-28. By 1892 a uniform railway gauge was present throughout Britain.
161 Ibid, p. 29.
162 Ibid, p. 50.
164 Ibid, p. 27.
What it meant to be “British” admitted of no straight-forward answer; everything depending upon context. Diversity in the spheres of broad culture, language, and religion...could not be denied. Britain might seem to be a multinational state. Yet, in what was perhaps the crucial area of government, it appears that political integration was well-advanced.165

Britain's multinational integration and diversity was officially acknowledged. For example, the position of Secretary for Scotland was established in the late nineteenth century, the post being elevated to Cabinet status in 1886.166 The road to high political office in London was travelled by a large number of Scots in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They included Lord Aberdeen, Lord Roseberry, Balfour, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman and Bonar Law.167 Campbell-Bannerman and Balfour were contrasting examples of Westminster Scots. Campbell-Bannerman, the first Prime Minister to attend school in Scotland,168 was proud of his Scottish roots. Balfour, on the other hand, appears to have been more ambivalent, even worshipping in both the Church of Scotland and Church of England in the manner of the royal family.169

Scotland also became home to English politicians seeking constituencies.170 Political observers before the First World War detected a national split in political support, with northern England, Wales and Scotland Liberal, the

165 Robbins, Integration and Diversity, p. 97.
170 Ibid, p. 287.
south of England Conservative. Despite this apparent split the British political process still centred on a British parliament in London.

The historian Linda Colley rejects integration, homogenisation and core versus periphery paradigms in the development of a British consciousness. Rather, British identity was something superimposed over existing loyalties and allegiances. Colley seeks to explain the "invention of Britishness" as the result of the peoples of England, Scotland and Wales identifying together, despite their differences, against external threats. As Eric Hobsbawn has observed, "There is no more effective way of bonding together the disparate sections of restless peoples than to unite them against outsiders."

While Great Britain itself was "invented" in 1707, the sense of being something new, of being British, was fashioned through a process that can be described as "negative Othering". In this, Colley is echoing the work of the historian Reginald Coupland. Coupland saw war with France as engendering a sense of common purpose to the peoples of Britain, and it was at this time that the British nation emerged. Colley's model has its basis in the belief that people often define themselves by what they are not. Colley asserts that a reaction against Catholicism formed the primary impulse behind the

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172 Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 6; Colley, "Britishness and Otherness", p. 316; Robbins, "Imperial and Multinational Polity" in Grant and Stringer (eds.), pp. 248-249.
173 Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 1.
175 Coupland, p. 167.
176 Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 6.
creation of a common British identity and patriotism.\textsuperscript{177} This is ironic, considering that both Ireland and the Scottish Highlands were sources of large numbers of Catholic recruits for the British army.\textsuperscript{178} Colley presses the point that, during the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth, the threat to Protestant Britain from Catholic Europe, especially France, was real and sustained.\textsuperscript{179} Between 1689 and 1815, no less than seven wars, as well as smaller conflicts, took place between the cross Channel neighbours.\textsuperscript{180} The result was that the Protestant population of Britain rallied in a common patriotism, faced as it was by a foreign enemy. As Coupland wrote, “Though the senior partner’s name might still be used, especially by foreigners, to cover the whole firm, ‘Britain’ and ‘British’ came into their own.”\textsuperscript{181}

Domestically, the threat from Catholic forces was seen to be very real as well. The French backed Jacobite claims to the throne,\textsuperscript{182} and Jacobitism in the Highlands of Scotland was only finally suppressed in 1745. Another agent acting to reinforce Protestant British cohesion was, of course, Catholic Ireland. Unlike France, a sovereign enemy separated from Britain by the English Channel, the Irish Sea provided little hindrance to the large numbers of Catholic Irish who migrated to mainland Britain. In the 1780s the numbers of Irish living on the British mainland numbered probably little more than 40,000. Fifty years later the 1831 census recorded this as having grown to

\textsuperscript{177} Ibid, p. 329.
\textsuperscript{178} Ibid, pp. 325-326.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid, p. 25.
\textsuperscript{180} Colley, “Britishness and Otherness”, p. 321.
\textsuperscript{181} Coupland, p. 167.
\textsuperscript{182} Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 24.
approximately 580,000.\textsuperscript{183} Thirty years later, in 1861, the numbers had swelled to 806,000.\textsuperscript{184} While Catholic and Protestant were able to live together harmoniously for most of the time, war and economic depression often provoked violent sectarianism. Despite moderate moves by the government to ease the position of Catholics,\textsuperscript{185} anti-Catholic protest continued to hold a strong place in the British psyche, most prominently among the working class. The large numbers of Irish migrants into the industrial centres of Britain posed a direct threat to jobs and wages.\textsuperscript{186} Those regions home to the greatest numbers of Catholic Irish immigrants were strongest in their opposition to Catholic emancipation in 1829-30.\textsuperscript{187} Colley relates the strong opposition to emancipation by ordinary Britons in this period to a long tradition of Catholic resistance.\textsuperscript{188} "For these men and women, Protestantism was a vital part of who they were now, and the frame through which they looked at the past."\textsuperscript{189} Indeed, popular Protestant agitation became prominent from the late 1830s,\textsuperscript{190} and saw the conflation of sectarian prejudice with racial stereotyping. The popular press as well as more educated commentators, such as Friedrich Engels, portrayed the Irish as little more than drunken savages.\textsuperscript{191} It was a powerful stereotype, one that was to be exported throughout the world,

\textsuperscript{183} Ibid. p. 329.  
\textsuperscript{184} E. Evans, "Englishness and Britishness: National Identities, c. 1790-c. 1870" in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 236.  
\textsuperscript{185} Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 328.  
\textsuperscript{186} Evans in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 236.  
\textsuperscript{187} Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 329.  
\textsuperscript{188} Ibid. p. 330.  
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid. p. 330.  
\textsuperscript{190} Evans in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 236.  
\textsuperscript{191} Ibid. p. 237.
playing a significant role in the character of Australian and New Zealand settlement. In religious affairs, too, popular anti-Catholicism remained a feature of British life. In 1850 the re-establishment of the Catholic hierarchy gave rise to press pleas for “No popery!” in a move popularly described as “Papal Aggression”. 192

Colley emphasises that it was such shared Protestantism in England, Scotland and Wales that provided the basis for a common British identity, despite cultural differences. 193 “Protestantism was the foundation that made the invention of Great Britain possible.” 194

Under God, the (Protestant) nation was one, 195 although obvious religious and cultural distinctions remained. Britain had no single Protestant church, giving rise to much diversity. 196 In Scotland’s case this was due to the uniqueness of the Scottish Reformation, which ensured that Scottish Protestantism was very different in character from that in England. 197 The theological and political differences could also be ironic, in that English Dissenters often had more in common with Catholics in their treatment by the establishment than with their fellow Protestants. 198 Colley’s point, however, is that while one could afford to be different, one could not not be so different as to be Catholic. The British identity was formed wholly within a Protestant

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193 Colley, Forging the Nation, p. 23 and pp. 367-368.
194 Ibid, p. 54.
195 Ibid, pp. 53-54.
196 Robbins, “Imperial and Multinational Polity” in Grant and Stringer (eds.), p. 252.
198 Robbins, “Imperial and Multinational Polity” in Grant and Stringer (eds.), pp. 252-253.
context.

Both Colley and Robbins explain Britishness as a phenomenon experienced only by the English, Scots and Welsh. If the shared Protestantism of these nations, although by no means universal, was a major feature in the establishment of a British identity, what, then, of the Protestant Irish who sometimes considered themselves British? Their exclusion is significant, especially when considered in the light of contemporary Irish and British history. While the absence of the Protestant Irish does not invalidate either Robbins’ or Colley’s conclusions, it is an interesting feature. The position of the Protestant Irish would seem to reinforce Colley’s point about the importance of religion in British identity. Robbins very briefly explains in his study that while there is a “British identity (of a kind)”\(^{199}\) in Northern Ireland, he does not include it on the basis that the rest of Ireland did not become a “West Britain”.\(^{200}\) The Marxist historian Tom Nairn notes that the Protestant Irish of Ulster were not Irish, but not British either. He concludes that they were instead a caricature of the society they believed themselves a part of.\(^{201}\) The awkward historiographical position of the Protestant Irish is reflected in the experience of Patrick O’Farrell, historian of the Irish in Australasia. O’Farrell’s work, \textit{Letters From Irish Australia 1825 - 1929}\(^{202}\) received criticism from some due to the letters being predominantly written by Ulster

\(^{199}\) Robbins, \textit{Integration and Diversity}, p. 2.
\(^{200}\) Ibid, p. 2.
\(^{201}\) Nairn, pp, 233-234.
\(^{202}\) \textit{Letters From Irish Australia 1825-1929} (Kensington NSW, New South Wales University Press; Belfast, Ulster Historical Foundation, 1984).
Protestants. Some critics rejected any claims the Ulster Protestants had to being Irish, and questioned whether they had any rights to be a part of "Irish Australia". The position of the Protestant Irish illustrates the danger of making historical assumptions about the national and cultural groups of the Atlantic Archipelago.

While war engendered a sense of common identity, the growth of an "exotic" overseas empire, precipitated by the conflicts with France, also strengthened the bonds of Britishness. It did so particularly following the final French defeat at Waterloo. The expansion of the Empire in the nineteenth century served to maintain a reflective "other" against which Britons could frequently identify. The Imperial Frontier was both a physical and psychological line past which there was the alien Other. As Colley notes, "Frontiers are often the place where different identities are acted or invented, the place where people determine who to include as 'us' and who to exclude as 'them'." Britain's overseas Empire became a common cause for its peoples. It served to bond the national groups together, both domestically and abroad in a shared enterprise. On the international stage, Protestant Britons transcended their many differences to unite in a common identity should the situation call for it. It was not a phenomenon unique to Britain. By

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204 Colley, Frontier, p. 10.
205 It was not totally universal. Many Irish Home Rulers, for instance, were overtly anti-Empire. The power of the Empire was such, however, that many were reserved in their criticism, for Imperial institutions employed so many Irish.
the late nineteenth century, a time of increased national competition amongst the major powers, international divisions of "us" and "them" were becoming increasingly entrenched. This reached its apogee in 1914 with the outbreak of the First World War,\textsuperscript{206} an event that marked the triumph of nationalism over class.\textsuperscript{207}

Within Britain also, the national frontiers between England, Wales and Scotland retained their significance. These internal frontiers maintained the geographical boundaries between the nations, despite the development of a new British identity and the formal state of the United Kingdom. The domestic frontiers remained, both physically and in the mind, helping to maintain Britain's older identities.\textsuperscript{208} At times, it could take interesting forms. An English midlands Member of Parliament in 1910 circulated a memorandum in which he claimed there was a

Widespread movement on foot among the Celtic elements in the U.K. to assert predominance over the Anglo-Saxon. An understanding exists between the principal Irish, Welsh and Scottish parties to cooperate at the right time.\textsuperscript{209}

It is a feature of both Colley's and Robbins' work that Britishness did not supplant older, existing loyalties, but was rather an identity superimposed over them. As such, individuals are capable of possessing multiple identities,
each being used, as Robbins suggests, depending on context. It does raise some interesting problems. Robbins uses an example:

Once upon a time, the story goes, there was an Englishman, an Irishman and a Scotsman. However, in this story there is not three people but one: the Englishman, the Irishman and the Scotsman was Arthur Conan Doyle. His name, life and career make him difficult to define. Was he British?210

Conan Doyle’s identity aside, the fact remains that the older identities of the Scots, Welsh and English remained intact. They did so in concert with a British identity. This duality was manifested in different ways and has especial significance for the New Zealand context. Scots emigrated to New Zealand and many became a mixture of loyal Britons, Scots and New Zealanders all in one.

How can the British history approach be applied to New Zealand? The propagandists and journalists of the nineteenth century emphasised New Zealand’s “Britishness”. The concept was promoted that New Zealand was to become the “Great Britain of the Pacific”.211 Thus recognition of the heterogeneity of New Zealand’s British population is clearly the key. However, New Zealand’s early historiography is to a large extent a commemoration of New Zealand’s Englishness. According to one historian this is due largely to the prominence of Wakefieldian settlement theories in

the nineteenth century history of New Zealand. However, the prominence of the Otago settlement from 1848, which had Wakefieldian inspiration, must qualify this statement. Nevertheless, it must now be recognised that the Celtic cultures of the Atlantic Archipelago were transported to New Zealand and have their own story to tell. Like their counterparts who remained, they too possessed multiple identities, but also faced the added facet of a new colonial environment.

The recognition of such British heterogeneity is gradually taking place in New Zealand’s historiography. Sometimes the message can be clouded by old assumptions. For example, Jeanine Graham’s contribution to the Oxford History of New Zealand recognises the multicultural backgrounds of the British settlers, but later on the very same page stresses the cultural homogeneity of colonial society. While this can be explained in the context of Colley’s frontier thesis, where arriving Britons united on the basis that they were not Maori, it is a fact that, until recently, the multicultural and multinational nature of New Zealand’s British population has been ignored.

James Belich has undertaken the latest and most ambitious works seeking to explain the history of New Zealand and its peoples. Admirably, Belich does recognise the multifaceted nature of the British population, and goes out of

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his way to do so.\textsuperscript{216} However, individual studies of these national and cultural groups remain comparatively few. Despite this, the roles and identities of the Scots and Irish in particular are increasingly becoming the focus of academic study. The level of published material, while currently small, seems set to slowly increase.

Historian of the Irish diaspora, Donald Harman Akenson, noted that New Zealand historiography focused on the relationship between the settlers and the indigenous Maori population, an emphasis that while “admirable”, led to a “lumping of all white settlers into a spurious unity.”\textsuperscript{217} He criticises New Zealand social historians as perpetuating “English cultural imperialism” in regarding Britain as a single entity.\textsuperscript{218} Akenson called for the replacing of the prevailing cultural dualism in New Zealand historiography with a plurality.\textsuperscript{219}

To what extent has this been taken up? The published results are mixed, the main problem being the lack of material by professional academic historians devoting themselves to the study of the British cultural groups. The inclusion of the Scots and Irish in Belich’s work goes some way to helping to paint a broader picture, and the situation appears to be improving. For example, 1998 saw the inaugural Bamforth conference on Scottish migration to New Zealand hosted by the University of Otago, bringing together academics with a common interest from as far away as Australia and England, as well as from

\textsuperscript{216} Belich, \textit{Making Peoples}, pp. 278-337 and Paradise Reforged, pp. 219 - 223.
\textsuperscript{218} \textit{Ibid}, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{219} \textit{Ibid}, p. 7.
throughout New Zealand.

To date, however, it has been the Irish in New Zealand who has fared best by way of published material by professional historians. Akenson himself has studied the Irish in New Zealand within a global context,220 while Patrick O'Farrell has produced work, often with a personal perspective, on the Irish in Australia and New Zealand.221 Richard P. Davis in the mid-1970s wrote about the role of the Irish in New Zealand, both Protestant and Catholic, in the political sphere.222 The most recent work has come from Lyndon Fraser, in the form of a comprehensive study of the nature of the Catholic Irish community in nineteenth century Christchurch.223 A more general work on Irish migration, published with an eye on the commercial market, has also appeared in recent years.224

Material on the Scots in New Zealand, on the other hand, is a very mixed bag. Foremost in academic work on the Scots are two University of Otago researchers, Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman. The former has contributed a New Zealand chapter to an international work on the Scots around the world.225 It is illustrative of the situation that this brief chapter remains the

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225 T. Brooking, “‘Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside’ - The Scots in New Zealand” in R. A
best general overview of the subject yet produced. Brooking has also authored the New Zealand contribution to a work on Scots in the Empire forthcoming from Manchester University Press. Coleman, meanwhile, appears to have focused on the Gaelic aspects of Scots culture in New Zealand.226 G. L. Pearce’s very general study lacks the detail and rigour of a serious study of the subject, but nevertheless provides a useful overview.227 Going Abroad by John MacGibbon is an account of the authors’ family migration to New Zealand in the nineteenth century.228 While not an academic work, it is well researched, and does well to place a family history within the wider context of the times. Far Off In Sunlit Places by Jim Hewitson, however, does not succeed in providing any new insights into the Scots in New Zealand, not least because the writer includes Australia within his work. It is little more than a “once-over lightly” treatment.229

The Highland settlement of Waipu in Northland has produced a number of works over the years, foremost of which is that by Maureen Molloy, who studied the settlement for her doctoral monograph.230 Her published work

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228 J. MacGibbon, Going Abroad: the MacGibbon Family and Other Early Scottish Emigrants to Otago and Southland, New Zealand (Wellington, Ngaio Press, 1997).


focuses on the inter-family relationships that took place within this unique community, and is fairly exhaustive. Although old, The Gael Fares Forth remains a useful general history of the settlement founded by Norman McCleod.231 Another recent book on the Waipu Highlanders suffers from the problem of much history written by enthusiastic amateurs, in that it lapses too frequently into an anecdotal travelogue.232

The other British groups fare badly. The English have one work devoted to them,233 while the Welsh suffer from virtual historiographical anonymity.234 This is not unsurprising, as statistically the Welsh tended to be subsumed among the English.

Thus much work remains to be done in the field of the individual British cultural traditions in New Zealand. While the body of published material on the Scots in New Zealand is reasonably large compared to other ethnic groups in the nineteenth century, what has been neglected has been any focus on Scottish identity within the British context. The application of the ideas of British history, and the concepts of Colley and Robbins that cultural identities are fluid and can change depending on the context, can greatly help our understanding of the British national groups in New Zealand.

This study will examine some aspects of the Scots in Dunedin and

234 This is not surprising as the Welsh comprised such a tiny proportion of the New Zealand population.
Christchurch in the period until c.1920 in an attempt to fill in an albeit tiny part of the picture. The Scottish roots of Dunedin’s past are looked at, and whether it succeeded in truly becoming a “Scotland of the South”. Then more detailed studies of explicit displays of Scottish identity in Dunedin and Christchurch are explained. Specifically, the formation, role and activities of Caledonian and Scottish societies are explored through study of newspapers and archives. The role of Robert Burns as a Scottish icon is explored in depth. This is done through an examination of events commemorating the poet held in Dunedin and Christchurch, with the content of speeches analysed to find common themes of how Scots in New Zealand viewed Scotland’s national poet.

Dunedin was chosen as a case-study due its major role in the history of Scots settlement in New Zealand. Dunedin was largely a Scottish enterprise in planning and intent, and to a large degree in execution as well. The first Caledonian Society in the country was formed in Dunedin, and for many years was the centre with the largest Scots population. Christchurch, on the other hand, was selected as a case-study due its distinctly English background, to provide a contrasting control to Dunedin. The expression of Scottish identity in Christchurch shows that, regardless of the community context in which they could be found, Scots invariably felt the need to show their unique heritage. The survival of a distinct Scottish identity in the midst of a British identity in New Zealand builds on the same notions of identity examined by the historians of the “New British History”.
Early British colonisation of New Zealand was marked by the use of Wakefieldian class settlements, one of which attempted to be exclusively Scottish in character and population. The Otago scheme failed, but it did lay an important foundation of Scottishness in New Zealand that is preserved to this day. Any study of Scottish identity in New Zealand must logically begin its story in the origins and aims of the Otago settlement.
Chapter Two

Otago as a Planned Scottish Settlement

"I can quite understand those who came to Dunedin about 50 years ago calling the streets after those in Edinburgh. Dunedin is another Edinburgh".

Britain’s cultural diversity was reflected in its colonisation of New Zealand. Both Canterbury and Otago, born out of the nineteenth century expansion of the British Empire, were settlements marked by particular religious and national aims. They were influenced by the colonisation theories of Edward Wakefield which attempted, in a planned and systematic fashion, to transplant the best features of Great Britain among its Imperial colonies. Otago failed in its attempt at Scots-Presbyterian exclusivity, partly because it could never hope to fulfil the aims of its creators. Nevertheless, it was a bold attempt to mark Scotland’s place in the British Imperial enterprise.

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1 Otago Witness 11 January, 1900. The quote is from a verbatim reprinting of a paper read before the Dunedin Burns Club by Joseph Braithwaite on his recent journey to Scotland.
Industrialising Great Britain was rapidly gaining ascendancy as the world’s pre-eminent power, but the effects of the Industrial Revolution on an economic and social level also carried a cost. Poor social and economic conditions pushed people from the marginalised areas of the Atlantic Archipelago into the industrialised centres. Many Irish and Scots sought new lives and opportunities in English cities such as Manchester, Liverpool and London. Across the British Isles the search for new livelihoods meant a substantial rural to urban population shift, with increasingly crowded cities adding to the social deprivation.

To some theorists, such internal migration did not alleviate the social and economic stresses experienced by Britain. Emigration to its colonies abroad was seen to be the key, and pre-eminent among theorists of colonisation was Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield was the most prominent proponent of emigration schemes in nineteenth century Britain. Wakefield and his supporters believed in the concept of systematic colonisation. This theory centred on a belief that the material condition of Britain could be best improved by emigration. It rested upon the basic principles of land, capital and labour and a balance between them. To Wakefield, Britain’s problems were explained by its having an excess of capital and labour. The colonies, however, had an abundance of land that needed both capital and labour to make them productive. The systematic colonisation of Britain’s overseas
possessions would both alleviate the distress at home, while at the same time strengthening its colonies into becoming productive units of the Empire. As Wakefield once wrote,

If an Englishman who ardently desires the greatest good of his country...were offered the gratification of one wish, however extravagant, for what would he ask? For an immense gold mine? For the destruction of his natural enemies, the French? For an earthquake to swallow up troublesome Ireland? Oh no! -- for none of these would he ask...[He] would, I think, wish for the power to increase the territory of Britain according to the wants of the people.²

Wakefield was driven by a desire to recreate the society of the Old World in the new.³ By replicating British society, the colonies would be mirrors of those they had grown from, but with the benefit of systematic planning. The aim was "every grant of land in these colonies would be an extension, though distant, of Britain itself".⁴

This hope was reflected in the establishment of schemes along religious lines. The settlements of Otago and Canterbury were distinguished by being projects with distinctive religious and national characteristics. Canterbury had the support of the Church of England, while Otago had the backing of the Free Church of Scotland. While their planned characters were primarily

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³ Ibid, p. 165.
⁴ Ibid, p. 166.
based around the religious institutions that provided the impetus for their foundation, by extension they were quasi-national schemes.

A feature of nineteenth century Britain's cultural diversity was its religious diversity. While certainly not universal, religion could be broadly delineated along national lines. England was predominantly Anglican, Scotland Presbyterian and Ireland Catholic. This conflation of denominational and national identities characterised the mid-nineteenth century class settlements of the South Island. The legacy of such roots are still felt today, with Christchurch marketed as a quintessentially English city with weeping willows along a meandering river, and Dunedin as a cold and austere city, a seat of learning with a statue of Scotland's national poet at its centre.

While both Christchurch and Dunedin were national and religious in their genesis and intent, the realities of colonial life in New Zealand meant that these aims could not be totally fulfilled. As time progressed, the new settlements changed as cycles of economic prosperity drew outsiders into these communities. For instance, the discovery of gold in the Otago hinterland destroyed forever the chances of Dunedin ever remaining exclusively Scottish in either character or population, although for a long time it did statistically retain New Zealand's largest concentration of Scots.5

However, the roots did remain and settlers and new migrants from Scotland, as well as successive generations, did seek to preserve their cultural heritage in New Zealand. The Presbyterian Church in Dunedin remained doggedly Scottish, with most of its serving clergy being Scots. The distance from Scotland and living in the midst of a heterogeneous colonial society only enhanced the desire and need for many Scots to exert their cultural identity. This took the form of organised Caledonian societies and the commemoration of Scotland's most significant icon, the poet Robert Burns.

The genesis and early years of the Otago scheme are an important reference point for the study of the Scots in New Zealand. It was intended to be a Scots-Presbyterian settlement in a British colony, and was Scotland's first such ambitious venture since the Darien scheme. The theories of Wakefield were greatly reported in the nineteenth century Scottish press, and engendered a measure of interest among some Scots, mostly of the higher classes. By 1839 the New Zealand Company had an agency based in Glasgow, although its practical emigration activities were only modest. While the Scots as a national group had contributed greatly to the expansion of the British Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Scotland had little enthusiasm for

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7 The Colonial Gazette 5 January, 1839, p. 88.
8 Ibid, 13 April, 1839, p. 311.
9 McLintock, p. 155.
colonising adventures of its own. Instead, it was content to supply its people for a greater British cause. Scottish ardour for national colonisation schemes had taken a battering as a result of the disastrous Darien venture. Its collapse virtually bankrupted Scotland and was a factor in its opting for Union with England in 1707. There was, therefore, a natural reticence among Scots for national schemes, although the concept did find some support and from that grew the genesis of the Otago settlement. The idea, however, was plagued with infighting and differences of opinion on the character of the Scottish scheme.

Among those drawn to Wakefield’s ideas was the Scot, George Rennie. He took a keen interest in the idea of systematic colonisation and believed that New Zealand was the ideal location to carry it out. In a letter to the Directors of the New Zealand Company in July 1842, Rennie put forward a proposal for a planned class settlement, on Wakefieldian lines, to be established on the eastern coast of New Zealand. This was subsequently published the following month in the Colonial Gazette. In accordance with Wakefieldian theory, Rennie saw emigration in the context of a remedy for Britain’s social ills. It gained a favourable response and drew to Rennie a group of devotees who

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10 Ibid, p. 154 - 155 A notable exception is the remarkable early nineteenth century migration of Highlanders under the leadership of the Rev Norman McLeod, first to Nova Scotia and then ultimately to Waipu, New Zealand.
11 McLintock, pp. 158-159.
12 The Colonial Gazette 17 August, 1842, p. 514.
saw the merit of such a plan. Indeed, one of the greatest assets Rennie had
was his ability to attract other enthusiasts to support his scheme. One of the
early recruits to Rennie’s cause was William Cargill, a former officer in a
Highland Regiment of the British Army who had served with distinction in
India and in the Peninsula Campaign.

Rennie’s proposal targeted the South Island of New Zealand as the location
for a class colony. It was envisioned as principally a Scottish enterprise, and
came to be promoted as the New Edinburgh scheme. Rennie and his
supporters lobbied the New Zealand Company to take an interest in their
scheme, pointing out that Scotland had played very little part in the
colonisation of New Zealand up to that time. Rennie and Cargill also pointed
out that previous emigrants to Company schemes were overwhelmingly
English. They stressed that the Scottish qualities of thrift, hard work and
perseverance made Scots ideal settlers.\textsuperscript{13} To reinforce the national character of
the proposed settlement, it was planned that it include religious and
educational provisions under the auspices of the Church of Scotland. Rennie
recognised the important place religion and the Kirk as an institution held in
the Scottish mind and way of life, and realised that its support was vital.

However, by this time the New Zealand Company and Wakefield were
faced with the problem of waning public interest in New Zealand settlement

\textsuperscript{13} McLintock, p. 167.
schemes. The response was to engage support from the emerging evangelical movements of the mid-nineteenth century. Scotland in particular was witness to a great religious upheaval, the Disruption of 1843. The established Presbyterian Church of Scotland was riven over matters of theology and patronage. It meant that in 1843 large numbers of ministers and their flocks broke away and formed the Presbyterian Free Church of Scotland. Calculating that involving them would give the Scottish scheme a boost, Wakefield encouraged Rennie to approach the Free Church with his proposal.\textsuperscript{14} It was to prove a fateful pact for Rennie and changed the plans for a moderate Scottish contribution to British colonisation to that of a sectarian settlement.

The Free Church took a definite interest and quickly appointed a minister for the proposed settlement. Their choice was the formidable Rev. Thomas Burns, a nephew of Scotland's national poet, Robert Burns. Burns was a Free Church hardliner.\textsuperscript{15} Deeply conservative in doctrine and theology, Burns, in concert with William Cargill, was ultimately to prove the undoing of Rennie's scheme and replace it with one far from that originally intended.

The very nature of the scheme was to prove the major stumbling block between Rennie and his Free Church allies. Rennie's vision was for primarily

\textsuperscript{14} Ibid, p. 150.
\textsuperscript{15} Ibid, pp. 174 - 175.
a Scottish colony with Free Church backing, while understandably the Free Church intended it to be Free Church first, Scottish second. In the month before the publication of the scheme’s prospectus, the Acting Committee of the Colonial Scheme of the Free Church of Scotland had already formed the opinion that the colony be Free Church rather than broadly Scottish in character.\textsuperscript{16} However, the Liberal Rennie was seeking to create a distinctive Scottish settlement, not a sectarian colony. In an address to Scottish farmers in August 1843, Rennie sets this out, noting that:

\textit{It is not our hills and glens alone that make Scotland. It is our Kirk, our schools, the \textit{hamely} Scotch tongue, the bonspeil, the market, in short, all our Scotch ways. In any climate nearly approaching to our own, a knot of us can make at any time a Scotland for ourselves...}\textsuperscript{17}

To Burns a sectarian Free Church colony was the primary aim, and the sooner this was laid down the better. He correctly feared that a religiously diverse settlement would be a recipe for disharmony.\textsuperscript{18} Within twelve weeks of his involvement with the New Edinburgh scheme, Burns was at odds with Rennie. Rennie had approached the Free Church seeking their support, but soon found himself defending his vision for the scheme from the rather

\textsuperscript{16} \textit{Ibid}, pp. 176 - 80 and pp. 185 - 196.
\textsuperscript{18} Burns to Cargill, 2 October, 1843 (3) Ho MS-0076 .
different visions expressed by Burns and the Church. Rennie was opposed to a sectarian settlement, as he believed that it threatened the commercial success of the venture, especially land sales.\textsuperscript{19} Indeed, Rennie found greater interest in purchasing land in the proposed colony amongst the English than he did among Scots, forcing him to take a more liberal view as to the national character of the scheme. This changing character was the major cause of the rift widening between Rennie and Burns' camp. It was exacerbated further in 1844 when the appropriately named Mr St George, a clergyman in the Church of England, planned on being a large purchaser of land in the scheme.\textsuperscript{20} Another potential large-scale purchaser was Sir Isaac Goldsmith, a Jew.\textsuperscript{21} Rennie by this time was open to such involvement, but Burns was implacably opposed, viewing it as an unwelcome infiltration of New Edinburgh. Burns was also concerned at the number of English purchasing land, and wrote to Cargill pointing out that Rennie was allowing the scheme to become more English than Scottish, and thus more Anglican than Presbyterian.\textsuperscript{22} As the historian Tom Brooking has pointed out, Burns often considered Anglicans (and even worse, Scottish Episcopalians) as little more than agents of the devil.\textsuperscript{23}

\textsuperscript{19} Ibid: Burns to Cargill, 30 October, 1843 (6) Ho MS-0076.
\textsuperscript{20} Burns to Cargill, 19 November, 1844 (50) Ho MS-0076.
\textsuperscript{21} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{22} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{23} T. Brooking, And Captain of Their Souls: an Interpretive Essay on the Life and Times of
As time passed, and the proponents of the scheme -- with all their differing views -- vainly tried to drum up sufficient support to make the plan a reality, Burns and Cargill steadily undermined Rennie with the aim of displacing him as leader of the scheme. Burns was becoming ever more at odds with Rennie over his vision for the colony, especially over his plans for the colony's religious education. Rennie proposed a separation between secular and religious education in New Edinburgh, with the latter being confined to just two days a week. This was anathema to Burns.\textsuperscript{24} He was also shocked at Rennie's suggestion that the Irish National Schools provide some sort of model for New Edinburgh, stating that

it is a system devised for a nation of Roman Catholics with a jealous & bigotted [sic] priesthood -- & certainly no friend of Scottish Presbytery w'd even think of proposing such a system for the Scotch colony of New Edinb....\textsuperscript{25}

Even more inflammatory was Rennie's preference for the schoolmaster to be Church of Scotland, and that the schools be governed by a committee of settlers, regardless of religious affiliation.\textsuperscript{26} As the historian A. H. McLintock notes,

\footnote{\textsuperscript{24} Burns to Cargill, 2 October, 1843 (3) Ho MS-0076.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{25} Ibid.}
\footnote{\textsuperscript{26} Burns to Cargill, 30 October, 1843 (6) Ho MS-0076.}
As leader of the undertaking, Rennie desired to make it a commercial success, while Burns fought vehemently for a Free Church colony, with church and school and constitution as a bulwark against unwelcome intruders.\textsuperscript{27}

Burns himself vigorously denied the charge that he and his supporters were jeopardising the scheme with a sectarian agenda,\textsuperscript{28} although he clearly was. He made it plain that he desired no non-Presbyterians in any New Zealand Company appointed office in the colony,\textsuperscript{29} which by extension meant that they had to be Free Church. Burns was canny enough to realise that promoting the scheme too heavily as a Free Church affair could hurt its chances of success. He suggested to Cargill that it be undertaken quietly to prevent criticism, at least until they had left for New Zealand.\textsuperscript{30} To counter criticism of the scheme as being too religiously exclusive, Burns suggested that the charge of

sectarian bigotry might be sufficiently met by replying to them...we are not exclusive we are only special – we only wish to secure for our little community the very delightful privilege of internal harmony & Christian unity as far as we can.\textsuperscript{31}

\textsuperscript{27} McLintock, p. 180.
\textsuperscript{28} Burns to Cargill, 23 October, 1844 (45) Ho MS-0076.
\textsuperscript{29} Burns to Cargill, 29 November, 1844 (53) Ho MS-0076.
\textsuperscript{30} Burns to Cargill, 6 March, 1845 (68) Ho MS-0076.
\textsuperscript{31} Burns to Cargill, 22 March, 1845 (71) Burns' emphasis. Ho MS-0076.
Indeed, the scheme's backers did not advertise the colony as exclusive, stating merely that the Free Church guaranteed its educational and religious institutions. The scheme was willing to take on non-Free Church settlers as long as they were sympathetic to, and willing to partake of, Free Church worship.

This arrangement demands no compromise of principle, but it assumes that Christian men, alive to the importance of religious institutions...will prefer to avail themselves of the institutions provided, though these not in every thing exactly conform to their own ideas.

Among the leading figures of the New Edinburgh project there was precious little harmony and Christian unity. By the end of 1844, Burns regarded Cargill, rather than Rennie, as the new secular leader of the scheme, writing to him that the hand of Providence had delivered them from Rennie and that in Cargill they had "obtained as the Leader of our Colony a sound Presbyterian". Indeed, by 1845 Burns, Cargill and their Free Church supporters had so undermined Rennie's leadership that the New Zealand Company lost confidence in him. Outflanked, Rennie subsequently drifted away from the scheme that he had originated and Cargill came to be regarded as its new secular leader, with Burns its spiritual master. Thus, as the

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32 The Otago Journal, January, 1848, p. 15.
34 Burns to Cargill, 29 November, 1844 (53) Ho MS-0076.
historian McLintock wrote,

With Rennie’s withdrawal, the scheme thus ceased to be national in character, for the direction of affairs passed into the hands of those who sought to divert the New Edinburgh project into the narrow channel of Free Church thought.35

Far from being a Scottish scheme that would broadly reflect Scotland in its constitution, New Edinburgh became an ambitious attempt at establishing an exclusive Free Church colony.

However, the sectarian aims of Burns and Cargill are slightly overstated by McLintock. While Burns clearly set out to mould the New Edinburgh scheme as a Free Church enterprise, his surviving correspondence also reveals that he regarded the scheme as national too, in a conflation of religious and national identity. Writing to William Cargill in late April 1844, Burns expressed the hope that New Edinburgh would become the Scotland of the Southern Hemisphere.36 He also had an eye on the larger picture, not wanting Scotland to be left behind in the attempts to colonise New Zealand,37 which he thought would eventually become the Great Britain of the South.38 Even after his clashes with Rennie over the character of the colony, Burns stuck with the

35 McLintock, p. 195.
36 Burns to Cargill, 26 April, 1844 (17); 29 April, 1844 (18) Ho MS-0076.
37 Burns to Cargill, 9 March, 1846 (115) Ho MS-0076.
38 Burns to Cargill, 31 December, 1846 (134) Ho MS-0076.
scheme due to its being a "national settlement - Scottish-Presbyterian". Burns wanted the scheme to be both a national and religious project, writing to Cargill later that year that "I hope that by & by when we can afford to let it be known it will be distinguished not only as a Scotch but also as a religious colony." This view was echoed by The Otago Journal, which editorialised that the Free Church project should "stimulate Scotchmen to engage in the patriotic attempt to plant in Otago an actual off-shoot of Scotch Presbyterian Society, the exact resemblance of the parent stem." While Burns did have a deep antipathy for non-Presbyterians being involved in the scheme, in particular the dreaded Anglicans, he had no objection to some degree of non-Scots involvement -- provided they were of sympathetic religious persuasion. When the possibility arose that the New Edinburgh colony would aid in the resettlement of impoverished Sutherland Highlanders, Burns noted that it would be best not to have too many of them. Rather, he expressed the view that New Edinburgh would be best served by a mixed population of Highlanders and Lowlanders with "a certain number of good Presbyterian Irish". Naturally, however, all such settlers would have to be Free Church.

Burns and Cargill evidently had grand ideas about the future of New Edinburgh, with the former envisioning rather fancifully that it would one

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39 Burns to Cargill, 22 May, 1844 (22) Ho MS-0076.
40 Burns to Cargill, 29 November, 1844 (50) Ho MS-0076.
41 The Otago Journal June, 1848, p. 21.
42 Burns to Cargill, 23 July, 1844 (28) Ho MS-0076.
day become a centre of evangelism throughout the Pacific Islands, and as far away as Asia and both North and South America. However, from the outset the scheme was unable to fulfil their hopes. While Otago land attracted considerable interest in England, there was little interest in Scotland. At their most pessimistic both Burns and Cargill agreed that the scheme may fail on the back of Scottish caution.

The scheme did come to fruition, although keeping the scheme exclusively Free Church proved impossible from the outset. It meant that by the time the John Wickliffe and the Philip Laing sailed for Otago in late 1847, the first colonists were a mixture of Scottish labourers and artisans and English landowners. Even the Free Church sympathies of many of them were doubtful.

Thus, when the first settlers arrived at the Dunedin site in March 1848 the national-religious hopes of the scheme had already been undermined. Upon arrival at Port Chalmers, Cargill gave a somewhat ironic address that gave little initial hope as to the preservation of the colony's Scottishness. Cargill told the assembled settlers that, with the eyes of the world upon them, they should "adopt the sentiment of our British race – 'England expects that every

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43 Burns to Cargill, 5 March, 1845 (67); Burns to Cargill, 31 December, 1846 (134) Ho MS-0076.
44 Burns to Cargill, 16 February, 1847 (139) Ho MS-0076.
45 Brooking, p. 56.
man will do his duty." 46 This comment is interesting from an individual trying to found a Scottish settlement, and is clearly indicative of the fluid nature of nineteenth century British identity. From the moment of first settlement, Scottish identity was already being packaged in a British context. Among many Scottish settlers, however, their sense of place and identity was already acutely tuned during the earliest months of the settlement. One passenger on the Philip Laing wrote home that the landscape evoked memories of Scotland, 47 while another requested of his brother that should he come out to join him, and to please bring a piece of heather with a root. 48

Frequently the proponents of the Otago scheme compared it to another great religious colonial undertaking, that of the Pilgrim Fathers of New England. 49 Unfortunately, the religious composition of the first settlers of Otago did not make the ideal of a Scottish Free Church colony an easy one to fulfil. Cargill lamented to the Otago Association in London the lack of discrimination in the initial selection of the first free passengers to Dunedin. His objection was not based on nationality, but rather on religious affiliation. The study of Otago's early religious loyalties can be somewhat murky. Burns' own figures on religious affiliation in the young settlement were often biased towards the Free Church. The denominational figures for 1850, for example,

46 The Otago Journal, November, 1848, p. 38.
48 Ibid, June, 1849, p. 60.
49 Ibid, November, 1848, p. 35 and June 1849, p. 55.
as published and reproduced below in Table 2.1, do not tally with subsequent research.

Table 2.1: Published Otago Religious Affiliation

March, 1850\(^{50}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Denominational Affiliation</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Free Church</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of Scotland</td>
<td>97</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissenters</td>
<td>25</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1149</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Using these published figures, total members and adherents to the (Free Church) Presbyterian Church of Otago numbered eight hundred and twenty five individuals, almost three quarters of all settlers. However, research has shown that these estimates may not be accurate. While Burns' did overstate Free Church affiliation, even with revised figures all Presbyterians still made up 61 percent of the population. The largest minority group is clearly the Anglicans, although Burns' estimate of them as being 18 percent of the population appears to be in fact more correctly 26 percent. Such religious

\(^{50}\) *Ibid.*, May, 1851, p. 112.
diversity was certainly not the intention, and the heterogeneity was compounded by the land ownership figures. Those belonging to the Free Church held a minority of the properties, being outnumbered by absentee owners and Anglicans. Nevertheless, Scots made up the largest national group of the early settlers, making up almost nine hundred colonists. The largest minority group was the English, numbering just over two hundred. Research has shown that the national backgrounds of the early settlers also had a class aspect. The majority Scots were overwhelmingly of the labouring and skilled working classes, while the colony’s capitalists tended to be English. This national division was further widened by the movement of settlers on Otago’s early days into opposing camps over the future direction of the settlement.

The Free Church Establishment, represented by Cargill, Burns and their allies, was intent on maintaining the class character of the colony on Wakefieldian lines, while its opponents, coined the “Little Enemy”, desired change to react to the current conditions rather than a doctrinaire adherence to an inflexible plan. Most of the “Little Enemy” were English settlers, and consensus was not aided by the fact that the colony’s first newspaper, The Otago News, was owned and edited by an Englishman and no friend of the

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51 Brooking, p. 90.
52 Ibid.
53 Otago Witness, 8 February, 1851.
54 Brooking, pp. 90 - 91.
Free Church. As such, The Otago News quickly became the mouthpiece for dissent against the Scottish faction, which was unwavering in its aim of maintaining the Scottish and Presbyterian character of Otago.*

The battles between the "Little Enemy" and Cargill, the acknowledged leader of the Scottish faction, were played out in the pages of the colony's newspapers, firstly The Otago News and then the Otago Witness. The points of antagonism were initially over matters of Company policy and land purchasing. Disagreements also arose over the future direction of the settlement, with Cargill an unbending leader unwilling to compromise on the strict application of Wakefieldian principles.

One of the greatest early flashpoints between the national factions occurred over the matter of religious provision. Cargill and Burns only tolerated diversity of religion within the context of non-Free Church Protestants subscribing nevertheless to Free Church worship. The Anglicans, however, were intent on pursuing their own form of worship. Not surprisingly, the settlement's Anglicans were treated appallingly by the Free Church Establishment. Church of England adherents were forced to worship in the Dunedin gaol as no other public building was made available for their use.55

The services were conducted by the Methodist missionary based at Waikouaiti, the Rev. Charles Creed. The Otago News was unimpressed with

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* McLintock, pp. 276 - 277.
55 Brooking, p. 79.
the treatment meted out to Dunedin's Anglicans, and commented that it had an "abhorrence of anything like sectarian bigotry; where the principle is good, and the end in view man's everlasting happiness, we care not for mere difference of form."\textsuperscript{56} Cargill and Burns, however, did care. Anglican religious activity was an affront and intrusion into the Free Church settlement. In response to Creed's ministrations to Dunedin's Anglicans, which served to entrench an existing split even further, Cargill wrote to the missionary asking him to desist from his ministering. Creed handed the letter to \textit{The Otago News} which gleefully published it.\textsuperscript{57} Creed was, Cargill suggested, abandoning his proper charge as the Wesleyan missionary to the Maori of Waikowaiti by journeying into Dunedin to conduct Anglican services. Furthermore, pointed out Cargill disingenuously, the English in the settlement knew when they embarked that they would have no religious provision "until such increase of their numbers as should lead to their being otherwise provided for by their own Bishop."\textsuperscript{58} Creed's reply, published in the same issue of the newspaper, rejected Cargill's criticism and stated that Cargill and his allies were attempted to unfairly subvert individual freedom.\textsuperscript{59} He concluded that

\textsuperscript{56} \textit{The Otago News}, 7 February, 1849.  
\textsuperscript{57} \textit{Ibid}, 2 May, 1849.  
\textsuperscript{58} \textit{Ibid}.  
\textsuperscript{59} \textit{Ibid}.  
I beg permission to leave the subject in the hands of the public, whether or not LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE is to be enjoyed in the Otago settlement; being persuaded they need not my advocacy in a cause so dear to every Briton.\textsuperscript{60}

Cargill's response was published in the pages of The Otago News a fortnight later and was wholly unapologetic.\textsuperscript{61} The matter garnered attention elsewhere in New Zealand, and generally reflected poorly on the Otago leadership. The Nelson Examiner's viewpoint was published in The Otago News and slammed Cargill's sectarian bigotry.\textsuperscript{62} Tellingly, and playing on Cargill and Burns' frequent allusions to themselves and their mission as being akin to the New England Pilgrim Fathers, the Nelson Examiner pointed out that it was intolerance that had propelled the Puritans across the Atlantic, and that times change. Cargill and the Otago leadership, suggested the Nelson press, should look to contemporary New England where Puritanism had given way to "more freedom for culture, a juster appreciation of new views, and in every sense of the word a more perfect toleration".\textsuperscript{63}

However, to Cargill and Burns such toleration was seen as a threat to their long stated, and hard-fought for, ambition for a lasting Scottish-Prebyterian settlement. Eventually the bickering of the national groups subsided, although it was plain that the scheme as originally planned was never to

\textsuperscript{60} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{61} Ibid, 16 May, 1849.
\textsuperscript{62} Ibid, 13 October, 1849.
\textsuperscript{63} Ibid.
eventuate. During the 1850s the settlement, in common with others in New Zealand at that time, became preoccupied instead with the rigours of establishing a viable community. A legacy of the scheme’s original hopes did remain, however. Otago became centre to the largest concentration of Scots in New Zealand.\textsuperscript{63} Indeed, census statistics show that Otago was home to roughly half of the total Scots population of New Zealand throughout the nineteenth century.

Table 2.2: Percentage of Total Scots Population of New Zealand in Otago 1871 - 1911\textsuperscript{64}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>17,032</td>
<td>46.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>28,992</td>
<td>54.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>25,739</td>
<td>49.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>22,352</td>
<td>46.70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Presbyterian faith also remained a significant vessel of Scottish identity in Dunedin.\textsuperscript{65} The clergy serving within the Presbytery of Dunedin was heavily dominated by Scots. They made up over half of all the clergy serving within that Presbytery between 1866 and 1901. By cross referencing the clergy


\textsuperscript{64} Data from Brooking, 'Tam McCanny', Table 6.2, p. 164, sourced from New Zealand Census.

\textsuperscript{65} The linking of Presbyterianism with Scottishness is akin to that of Catholicism to Irishness.
recorded as having served within the Presbytery of Dunedin between 1866 and 1901 with the "Register of Ministers" compiled by the Very Rev. Ian Fraser.\textsuperscript{66} it is possible to gain a fair insight into the birthplaces of these clergymen. Many are recorded as having been born in Scotland. Others were probably born in Scotland judging by the available details recorded about them, such as place of education or their last parish.

\textbf{Table 2.3: Clergy by Birthplace}

\textit{Presbytery of Dunedin, 1866 - 1901}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable Scotland</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American colonies (Canada)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable Ireland</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable England</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australian colonies</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Channel Islands</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Probable New Zealand</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>72</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{66} I. Fraser, "Register of Ministers" Private publication, Presbyterian Church of New Zealand, 1989. My thanks to the archivist based at Knox College, Dunedin, Yvonne Wilkie, for her assistance and advice with the use of this tome, and drawing my attention to it.
What this information tells us is that Presbyterianism and Scottishness were very much linked as a proxy expression of Scots difference. Despite the failure of Otago as an exclusive Scots-Presbyterian venture, Presbyterianism itself as an institution remained heavily Scottish in personnel. From 1866 - 1901, Scots made up 70 percent of all Dunedin clergy. This is natural considering that Scotland was the home of Presbyterianism. That Dunedin was the product of a Free Church settlement further cemented such ties with Scotland. Research in Australia also suggests that there was a strong resistance among congregations to non-Scots clergy in the nineteenth century, with a notion that “Scottish meant quality”. With religion Scottish distinctiveness survived in Dunedin, and Scottishness and Presbyterianism retained strong links. This is reflected in the popular conception that exists to this day of “Scottish” and “Presbyterian” being regarded as almost synonyms. In this regard, Burns and Cargill’s sectarian aims had a measure of success.

However, Otago failed as an exclusive Scottish enterprise, not least because its cultural and religious diversity from the very beginning caused discontent. The factionalism of the settlement’s early years, broadly drawn along national and religious lines, gives the lie to the notion that New Zealand settlers were a unified British or Pakeha group. The differences of the Old World were

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67 M. Prentis, *The Scottish in Australia* (Melbourne, AE Press, 1987), pp. 143 - 144. Prentis reinforces this point by noting that Scots (Melbourne) and Saint Stephen’s (Sydney) each have had only one Australian minister in 150 years.
transported to the new. However, Dunedin survived, and remained home to a significant Scots presence for decades to come. However, the Scots presence was especially threatened in the 1860s when gold discoveries in Otago drew in thousands of outsiders in search of their fortunes. The Scottish sensibilities of Dunedin were shaken by this new direction in fortunes. But in response, there emerged a need by many to preserve their Scottish identity overtly. This development resulted in the creation of a Caledonian Society to preserve and express Scottish culture.
Chapter Three

The Organised Expression of Scottish Identity

"With a vision that was almost prophetic, our founders knew that a colonist would be a better New Zealander, and a better citizen of the world, by being a loyal Caledonian."

The planned Scots settlement of Otago did not succeed in retaining its intended character, but Scottishness still gained a strong foothold in Dunedin. The expression of Scottish identity came to have its most visible and structured presence in the form of the Caledonian and Scottish societies. The cultural heterogeneity of Dunedin and Christchurch is most easily recognised by an examination of organised Scottish identity. The various Caledonian and

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Scottish societies, with their place in the public eye, became the face of New Zealand Scottish identity. As such, they were called upon to fulfil many different roles. These ranged from representing Scottish interests both in New Zealand and abroad, to fostering cultural ties locally. They often promoted causes and ideals traditionally associated with the Scottish people, such as the encouragement of education. The conflation of Scottish and British identity were a strong feature of these societies.

Such organised groups enjoyed great popularity in the late nineteenth century, at a time when the British Empire was at its height and Scottish culture enjoyed both royal patronage and popular appeal. Indeed, the Scots had become the acceptable face of Britannic Celticism. Scottishness carried with it a fashionable air, from recognition of Royal affection for Balmoral,\(^2\) to popular ersatz tartan patterns and romantic mezzo-prints of Highland scenes.\(^3\) The position of Scots as loyal Britons was unquestioned. As part of the dominant British majority, much expression of Scottish culture carried an Imperial context. Expressions of British loyalty were common. Indeed, many of the distinctive displays of Scottish cultural identity by this time could be traced back to the relationship with England from the eighteenth century. Tartan “clan” kilts, romanticisation of the Highlands by the English in the eighteenth century, and the enthusiastic adoption of Highland culture by

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Lowlanders, saw the virtual creation of a new Scottish popular culture. It was an invented tradition, marked by the appropriation of Highland forms. In the British context this was most apparent in the creation of Highland regiments in the British Army. While the overwhelming number of Scots -- over 80 percent -- who went to New Zealand were of Lowland origin, the Scottish societies displayed their identity through this received Highland tradition. Thus was born the image of the kilted Scot playing the pipes or dancing a fling "down at the Cale". Regardless of a tradition's origin, what is significant is the use to which it is put. Although invented in a British context, Highland tradition was nevertheless an expression of national and cultural difference. That it was invented within a British cultural milieu only enhanced the Scots' position as part of the dominant British culture and identity. The Scots were thus both respectable and acceptable. They were distinctive, but not alien. In essence, the Scots were the perceived polar opposites of the Catholic Irish.

The acceptability of Scottish distinctiveness was aided by the perception of Scots in the colonies as a successful group, and Scotland's close financial interest in the Empire. Britain invested an enormous amount of its capital in the Empire in the nineteenth century, and Scotland contributed greatly in its own right. By the First World War, Scots had more invested abroad, per

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5 Ibid., p. 25.
capita, than the British average. As W. R. Lawson in *Blackwood’s Edinburgh Magazine* wrote in 1884:

Whether this vast exportation of our surplus wealth be wise or unwise, Scotland is to a large extent responsible for it. In proportion to her size and the number of her population, she furnishes far more of it than her sister kingdoms ... Scotland revels in foreign investment.

A feature of studying Scots abroad is an inevitable emphasis on success, typically of the entrepreneurial kind. The identification of Scottishness with enterprise was largely a product of the Victorian era. The Scots who emigrated throughout the world in the nineteenth century contributed greatly to the development of trade, industry and agriculture in their new homes, and the Scots in New Zealand achieved out of all proportion to their numbers. Colonial observers could not help but notice the numbers of Scots who were prominent in business. Anthony Trollope once pithily commented in 1873 that “In the colonies those who make money are generally Scotchmen, and those who do not are mostly Irishmen.”

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8 Harvie, p. 70.
10 Prentis, p. 8.
14 Trollope noted this while on his tour of the Australian colonies in 1873. Quoted in K. Buckley and T. Wheelwright, *No Paradise For Workers: Capitalism and the Common People in Australia 1788 - 1914* (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1992), p. 152.
have noted that the education system in Scotland\textsuperscript{15} was more extensive and practical than in England.\textsuperscript{16} Matthew Arnold noted in the 1860s the store which Scots placed on education as a means of helping them to "get on in the world."\textsuperscript{17} Indeed, among the working class the national differences were clear, with members of the Scottish working class being more educated and literate than their English and Irish counterparts.

While the Scots did not have a monopoly on business and commerce, their presence was still disproportionate.\textsuperscript{18} Their prominence in agriculture was epitomised by the New Zealand and Australian Land Company,\textsuperscript{19} and they were heavily involved in the establishment of the Department of Agriculture. They were also to the fore in service industries and pastoralism.\textsuperscript{20} Scots involvement was also significant in the Australasian shipping industry,\textsuperscript{21} while New Zealand brewing was essentially a Scottish monopoly.\textsuperscript{22}

Thus there is substance in the image of the entrepreneurial Scot seizing the opportunities a new land offered. The successful Scot, typically a

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\textsuperscript{15} Harvie, p. 48.
\textsuperscript{16} Donnachie, "Enterprising Scot" in Donnachie and Whatley (eds.), p. 96; Prentis, pp. 20 - 22.
\textsuperscript{17} Prentis, p. 21.
\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., p. 114 and 119. The disproportionate presence of Scots in business and commerce was also particularly marked in Victoria.
\textsuperscript{19} Ibid., p. 124.
\textsuperscript{21} Scottish capital built the Union Steamship Company and a Clydeside tycoon its ships. Brooking, p. 171. See also R. D. Campbell, "From the Clyde to the Clutha: Scottish Enterprise in the New Zealand Maritime Trade", British Review of New Zealand Studies No. 3, 1992, p. 9. Australia's foremost shipping lines, McIlwraith McEacharn and Burns Philp were altogether Scottish. See Brooking, p. 129.
\textsuperscript{22} Brooking, pp. 172 - 181.
businessman, a cultural symbol. The Caledonian societies were the most public expressions of Scottishness in New Zealand, and an examination of the Scots in these organisations is useful to see if they fit the image surrounding them as “successful”.

Founded in 1862, a notable feature of the Caledonian Society of Otago’s administration was its enormous number of directors. The business of the Society was conducted by up to ten directors elected for life, with between twenty and forty five other directors elected annually at its annual general meeting. The position required an additional membership payment. There was usually a fair turnover of directors each year although, as in all such organisations, some individuals would serve longer than most. A study of the directors of the Society from year to year clearly shows that the organisation became dominated by the middle-classes. Amongst the earliest directors were men who were very much involved in the commercial life of Dunedin and were benefiting from its economic growth in the early to mid-1860s. The directors of the Society in 1864 were not as universally middle class as they

23 New Zealand is not alone. The story of the Scots in Australia is dominated by those who were most successful, perpetuating the national. See Donnachie, “Scots on the Make”, p. 146 and E. Richards, “Australia and the Scottish Connection, 1788 - 1914” in Cage (ed.), p. 112.
24 The linking of class and national character is nowhere more apparent than in Australian historiography. The working class Catholic Irish have been placed at the forefront of the formation of the “Australian character”. The influence of Russel Ward’s The Australian Legend (Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1960) has been great. Ward’s thesis noted that, because of the Scots’ success in Australia, they had little influence on the Irish dominated working class that so profoundly shaped the Australian character.
27 Crawford, p. 274. Crawford’s sample of these first directors, sourced from a photograph, include a grocer, auctioneer, brewer, boot and shoemaker, and a ship chandler. See Crawford, pp. 274 - 275. Among the founder members was James Kilgour, an early land speculator. See Crawford, p. 107.
were to become by the late nineteenth century. Also, despite the provincial name of the organisation, the early directors and office-holders were overwhelmingly Dunedin residents, a fact that was to remain throughout the period of this study. The Otago Caledonian Society’s early leadership was also of the first order, with its first President, John Hyde Harris, being a member of the Legislative Council of the General Assembly.

A breakdown of the directors as a whole from 1882 to 1910 reveals that by this time the commercial professions, the self-employed trades and manufacturing dominated the occupations of Caledonian Society directors. These individuals fit both the cultural and historiographic stereotype of Scots as a “successful” national group.

Table 3.1: Directors’ Occupations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brewers / Hoteliers</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial / Accountancy</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal / Medical</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades / Manufacturing</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar worker</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmer</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>90</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

28 *Harnett’s Dunedin Directory 1864*, p. xxv.
29 *Ibid*, p. xxv.
31 Tables calculated by cross-referencing director lists from the Caledonian Society’s Annual General Meetings with *Stone’s Directories 1882 - 1910*.
The top three occupational categories in the 1880s, trades / manufacturing, brewing / hospitality and commercial, making up some 88 percent of the total, indicate clearly that these men were in one way or another heavily involved in the economic life of Dunedin. The next largest occupational groups, managerial and legal / medical, making up some 8 percent combined, suggests that directors tended to be men of trade, rather than white collar employees. The absence of any working class individuals is starkly apparent, while the relative lack of teachers is interesting given the Scottish penchant for education.

Table 3.2: Directors’ Occupations

Caledonian Society of Otago 1891 - 1900

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brewers / Hoteliers</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial / Accountancy</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal / Medical</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades / Manufacturing</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>92</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The situation in the following decade is scarcely different, although the number of directors with a managerial and commercial background has increased slightly, as have those from the medical or legal professions. The top three occupations have declined collectively over this decade to 77
percent. That the largest drop is in the brewing and hospitality area suggests that this was an area that was no longer experiencing growth in Dunedin.

Table 3.3: Directors’ Occupations

Caledonian Society of Otago 1901 - 1910

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brewers / Hotellers</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commercial / Accountancy</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Legal / Medical</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trades / Manufacturing</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Managerial</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar workers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>98</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the occupational backgrounds of the Society’s directors have not altered significantly from that of the last decade of the previous century. That trades / manufacturing is consistently the largest occupational group, making up some 40 percent of all directors over a given decade, is significant. These were men involved in the productive, as opposed to the service, side of the economy. Throughout, the absence of working class men as directors, and farmers, show that the leadership of the Society was chiefly urban and middle class. In short, it was a thoroughly “respectable” organisation. Such middle class respectability is further confirmed by the occupations of the Society’s senior office holders, the secretaries and treasurers. Not surprisingly, these positions were filled by
men from staunchly white collar backgrounds.

Table 3.4: Occupations, Treasurers and Secretaries:

Caledonian Society of Otago, 1882 - 1918

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Treasurer Occupation</th>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Secretary Occupation</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bookseller &amp; Stationer</td>
<td>1882 - 1888</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1882 - 1884</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coal merchant</td>
<td>1889 - 1894 / 1896 - 1899</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>1885 - 1886</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Solicitor</td>
<td>1895</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1887 - 1895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Schoolmaster</td>
<td>1900 - 1902</td>
<td>Land Agent</td>
<td>1896 - 1910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Brewer</td>
<td>1903 - 1918</td>
<td>Accountant</td>
<td>1911 - 1918</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The Society's President was elected from amongst the pool of directors, usually after serving a term as Vice-President.

Analysis of these figures shows the dominance of the middle class and lower middle-class in the organisation and administration of the Otago Caledonian Society. Employers and the self-employed were the life-blood of the Society, with the unskilled working class, labourers, servants and so on never being represented among these officers. This does not tell the whole story, however. The directors were responsible for the oversight of the organisation. The various subcommittees established to administer the various sporting events and so on, may very well have had working class representation, judging by the experience of Otago's Canterbury counterpart.

A study of the directorship lists published by the Canterbury Caledonian Society between 1894 and 1915 reveals a slightly different story to Otago. In Christchurch there were no brewers, hoteliers or Members of Parliament represented during that time. There were, however, a handful of blue collar

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32 Sources from Annual Reports, CSO and Stones Directories.
workers and, more especially, farmers. Farmers made up the second largest occupational group among directors in the Canterbury Society. Obviously the relative importance of farming in Canterbury is reflected in such a result, while Dunedin, a large commercial centre and home to many of New Zealand’s largest companies, had a greater proportion of directors involved in the commercial area.

Table 3.5: Directors’ Occupations

Canterbury Caledonian Society 1894 - 1915

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Brewers / Hoteliers</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>37</td>
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<tr>
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<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Blue collar workers</td>
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<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farmers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>37</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

What is confirmed by the directorship statistics of both Caledonian societies is the dominance of the middle class. These men were indeed the “successful” Scots of the popular image. They were employers to varying degrees, and significant members of their local economy. Perhaps such Scots gravitated to membership of the societies as a means of either social enhancement or at least social maintenance, or perhaps commercial networking. Merchants and

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33 Calculated from director lists of the Canterbury Caledonian Society 1894 - 1915 and the electoral roll. Canterbury Caledonian Collection Box 9: 1884 - 1912 and Minute Books 1910 - 1922, 1923 - 1928, Box 2. 1894 - 1915 is an extant period of directorship records.
manufacturers consolidated ties with their own kind, while the large number of brewers and hoteliers in the Otago Caledonian Society no doubt profited by their identification with sporting festivals attended by those who enjoyed alcoholic refreshment.

In contrast to the Caledonian Society of Otago's lack of working class involvement among its office-holders, the small number of working class men who served as directors of the Canterbury Caledonian Society can almost be regarded as an anomaly. It would be foolish to do so, however. Some recent research has indicated a willingness by the Canterbury Caledonian Society to co-opt working class members onto its committees if they had specific expertise in a particular area. For instance, if an individual was expert in a certain sport or could be useful in building a new stand.34 Other reasons could range from a desire for social prestige and advancement, a particularly strong desire to exert ones Scottish identity, to a simple love of athletic sports.

Now that it is established that these organisations were administered by respectable and successful Scots, what were the origins of the major Scottish societies in Dunedin and Christchurch?

New Zealand's nineteenth century Caledonian societies had their roots hundreds of years earlier in Scotland, in Highland Gatherings. The exact origins of these gatherings are difficult to discern35 as the evidence for the

34 This information from Geoffrey Vincent, from a PhD in progress, University of Canterbury, on sport in Canterbury prior to 1890.
earliest meetings is fragmentary.\textsuperscript{36} The genesis of the games that took place at these gatherings can broadly be traced back to contests of strength held amongst the clans. These contests were a traditional means of selecting the strongest men to serve as warriors. It was in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, that the Highland Gatherings as they are still recognised today first appeared. Formed in the midst of the so-called Celtic revival, inspired in large part by the writings of James MacPherson (of Ossian fame) and Sir Walter Scott, the Highland societies and formally organised Gatherings and sports were an attempt to preserve Highland culture.\textsuperscript{37} However, the first recorded Gathering did not take place in the Highlands at all, but rather in Falkirk in 1781.\textsuperscript{38} Moreover, some research has indicated that these earliest Highland Society Games of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries served more as social occasions for the local gentry and aristocracy than as real attempts at resurrecting a cultural past, invented or otherwise.\textsuperscript{39} The real explosion in popular interest in such gatherings did not emerge until the High Victorian period. Scottish culture had by then become popularised, initially among the higher levels of society, largely through the tremendous fondness for all things Scottish displayed by Queen Victoria. Throughout Victoria's reign gatherings were often hosted at the monarch's favourite holiday residence, her Balmoral estate in Scotland.\textsuperscript{40}

\textsuperscript{36} Ibid, p. 7.
\textsuperscript{37} Ibid, pp. 9-10.
\textsuperscript{38} Ibid, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{39} Ibid, p. 10.
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid, p. 6.
Unsurprisingly, Dunedin was host to New Zealand’s first Caledonian Society, formed in 1862.\textsuperscript{41} Ironically, the genesis of Scottish sports in Dunedin came on Boxing Day 1861 in a carnival of “Old English sports and pastimes” in Jones’ Horse Bazaar.\textsuperscript{42} It attracted some five hundred spectators and had a varied programme of sports. These included foot races, leaping (both running and standing), climbing the greasy pole and sack races. Significantly, despite the English flavour of the day, there was also Scottish dancing such as the Highland fling, whose performers “were dressed in the ‘garb’ of Old Gaul.”\textsuperscript{43}

This was followed soon after by Dunedin’s first celebration of Caledonian sports over the first two days of 1862.\textsuperscript{44} Again, the location was Jones’ Horse Bazaar and the meeting attracted a crowd of approximately five hundred onlookers. Displayed above the entrance was a Gaelic inscription reading “Happiness to all”.\textsuperscript{45} The programme of sports over the two days was a small one, the same in most respects as in the Boxing Day English sports with the addition of such events as wrestling, shot putting and Scottish dancing. The entire sports had something of an informal air about them, the newspaper reporting that “Impromptu sports and dances were continued until a late hour on each day”.\textsuperscript{46}

The Caledonian Society itself was formed later in 1862. There are four main

\textsuperscript{41} The earliest Caledonian Societies were Otago (1862), Oamaru (1868) and Waipu (1871). G. L. Pearce, \textit{The Scots of New Zealand} (Auckland, William Collins, 1976), p. 161.
\textsuperscript{42} \textit{Otago Witness}, 28 December, 1861.
\textsuperscript{43} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Ibid}, 4 January, 1862.
\textsuperscript{45} \textit{Ibid}.
\textsuperscript{46} \textit{Ibid}.
reasons for its emergence at that time. First, by 1862 Dunedin was losing its overwhelmingly Scottish character. Statistics show that as early as late 1858 there were 816 Scottish settlers with over 900 "others". The 1861 census records Scottish settlers making up 42 percent of the population, the other major minorities being the English (36 percent) and Irish (15 percent), while some 4 percent are recorded as having their origins in Australia. Dunedin as a wholly Scottish enterprise had failed. While the Scots presence and heritage in Dunedin remained very strong, it was increasingly diluted by the influx of non-Scots and those lacking Scots ancestry. The allure of Otago's gold discoveries increased the province's population markedly as people from within New Zealand and from further afield came to seek new prosperity. The rush for gold from 1861 meant that within two years the population of Dunedin leapt from 12,600 to about 60,000, making it the largest town in the country. Cultural identity and sentiment often tend to increase as a defensive measure when faced with dilution by others with different cultural backgrounds. Thus the creation of a Caledonian Society in 1862, in Dunedin, was a cultural response to preserve Scottish identity and sentiment in a community that had not previously had the need for assertions of nationality. The character of Dunedin was changing, with the large number of new arrivals forming a strong contrast with those who had made Dunedin their home prior to the gold rushes. The division between "original" settlers and

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48 Crawford, p. 66.  
the influx of those drawn by the gold discoveries could run deep. When the Otago Early Settlers' Association was formed in 1898, it actively sought to exclude those who came to Otago in the search for gold.\textsuperscript{50}

The second reason for the emergence of the Caledonian Society is that in the first difficult decade of establishing the settlement there was little time or Presbyterian enthusiasm for public amusements. The work ethic dominated early Dunedin life,\textsuperscript{51} with the \textit{Otago Witness} editorialising in 1858 that work made up the "very soul" of the town.\textsuperscript{52} It was not until the 1860s that the dour cycle of work was broken and public amusements started to appear in Dunedin. The emergence of the Caledonian sports days was part of this trend.\textsuperscript{53}

Third, another reason for the establishment of Caledonian sports at this time can be found in the mid-nineteenth century popularity of Highland sports, driven by Royal patronage. In fact, Scottish sports were again held in Dunedin, in May 1862, on the Bell Hill as a means of honouring the Queen's birthday.\textsuperscript{54} Scottish games including wrestling and racing took place, with three private donors sponsoring prizes for each contest. This was an early example of cultural and patriotic convergence. In remote New Zealand, a cultural event took place that displayed not only Scottish heritage, but also


\textsuperscript{51} Crawford, p. 60 and p. 273.

\textsuperscript{52} \textit{Ibid}., p. 65.

\textsuperscript{53} \textit{Ibid}., p. 82.

\textsuperscript{54} \textit{Otago Witness}, 31 May, 1862.
indicated both Scottish and colonial loyalty to the British Crown. Indeed, local loyalty and patriotism were channelled through a Scottish cultural prism. Furthermore, it was this event that prompted the Otago Witness to express the hope that a Caledonian Society be formed. The newspaper hoped Otago would emulate the successful annual Scottish games held in Victoria.\textsuperscript{55}

A fourth reason is the success such Caledonian societies experienced in the Australian colonies. Caledonian sports had by this time been exported throughout the world by Scots émigrés. At the first public meeting in Dunedin to consider the formation of a Caledonian Society, held in August 1862, forty gentlemen were drawn to McCubbin's Otago Hotel.\textsuperscript{56} Input and advice were solicited as a preliminary measure from similar societies in Australia, particularly Victoria. The meeting paid tribute to its Australian predecessors when it unanimously resolved:

That considering the advantages which have arisen from the establishment of Caledonian Societies in the various Australian colonies, it is desirable that a society of a kindred nature be established in Dunedin.\textsuperscript{57}

A committee was duly appointed to establish the rules and objects of the society. Officially the objects were benevolence, education, literature and the promotion of Scottish "customs and accomplishments," such as those

\textsuperscript{55} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{56} Ibid, 16 August, 1862.
\textsuperscript{57} Ibid.
featured at sporting gatherings.\textsuperscript{58} By late October 1862 the Caledonian Society of Otago was in existence. It used as a basis for its rules those of a similar society in Victoria. Circulars were printed and distributed throughout Otago to its “principal inhabitants” to promote and forward the interests of the Society.\textsuperscript{59}

The first Caledonian Games held under the auspices of the Society were held in Dunedin on New Year’s Day, 1863. They drew an enormous audience of approximately four thousand people on their first day and about three thousand on the second.\textsuperscript{60} So popular were the games that they were extended for a third day.\textsuperscript{61} However, there are indications that the public’s appreciation for the Caledonian Games was limited to the spectacle on offer rather than to any deeper recognition of their cultural aspect. The purely Scottish events, such as the dancing, did not attract the same sort of interest as others.\textsuperscript{62} It is clear that many attended the Games simply to take part in a major community social event. Indeed, the annual Caledonian Games were a major feature of the city’s sporting and social calendar. People from throughout Dunedin and the surrounding area would visit the games, and there is photographic evidence that women attended the sports in considerable numbers.\textsuperscript{63} Despite what drove people to attend the sports, to

\textsuperscript{58} Rules of the Caledonian Society of Otago 1906 CSO Ho MS1045 - 5.
\textsuperscript{59} Otago Witness 25 October, 1862; 1 November, 1862.
\textsuperscript{60} Ibid, 3 January, 1863.
\textsuperscript{61} See also Crawford p. 103.
\textsuperscript{63} Crawford, p. 179.
the Dunedin press the games were an opportunity to break down barriers, allowing the “different sections of our community...[to] combine for a common object.”

For many years the Dunedin Caledonian sports fulfilled the Otago Daily Times’ hopes superbly, with the event drawing huge attendances. Audiences could watch sports as diverse as cycling and athletics, the overtly Scottish sporting practices of tossing the caber, and cultural competitions such as Best Dressed Highlander, dancing and piping.

This pattern was common to virtually all Caledonian sports in New Zealand. The Canterbury Caledonian Society modelled its programme on that offered by Otago. The main basis of these events were the athletics sports, with the purely Scottish events such as traditional piping and dancing being held on the fringes. The sports were progressive affairs, with such modern pursuits as cycling proving especially popular in the late nineteenth century. The athletics were professional, and offered prize money to the competitors. However, such a system relied on good gate takings to make the games profitable. By 1890 the Canterbury Caledonian games were in recess, and during the First World War the Otago Society ceased holding them after financial losses, even though many thousands still turned out to watch the

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64 Otago Daily Times 1 January, 1863.
65 Over eight thousand people attended the sports in 1865. See Crawford, pp. 103 - 104.
66 For an exhaustive examination of Scottish piping in New Zealand see J. Coleman.
68 Jubilee, pp. 5 -7.
games in the first years of the twentieth century. In Dunedin they decided to concentrate instead on the encouragement of school level athletics.

However, Dunedin’s games were better received than those in some parts of Scotland in this period. For example, the first Crieff Games in Scotland, held in August 1870, were strongly criticised by the Strathearn Herald for their expense and its having encouraged drunkenness in the streets. It summed up the whole event as a “very childish piece of amusement.” By the following year, however, the newspaper praised the Games and they went from strength to strength. Wherever they appeared, Caledonian gatherings were regarded as a positive community event, whether they be in Scotland itself, the Australian colonies, or even remote Dunedin.

The formalised expression of Scottish identity through Caledonian societies was a feature of the mid- to late nineteenth century. For instance, a Caledonian Society, using the Otago Caledonian Society as a model, was eventually formed in English dominated Canterbury. Not created until 1882, it appeared in the wake of a successful carnival of Caledonian sports at Lancaster Park on New Year’s Day of that year. It was the first such event

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70 An amusing account of the 1866 Dunedin Caledonian sports gathering appeared in Dunedin Punch. See Dunedin Punch, 6 January, 1866, p. 42. Participants dressed in Highland garb were described as wearing “as many colors [sic] as a parrot.”
71 Jarvie, p. 10.
72 Strathearn Herald, 20 August, 1870, clippings in C. S. Thomas papers, CCC.
73 Ibid, 19 August, 1871.
74 Ibid, 27 August, 1892. The 1892 Crieff Games attracted approximately ten thousand visitors.
ever held in Christchurch.\textsuperscript{75} The novelty of the spectacle meant it was a great success.\textsuperscript{76} At this time Caledonian Gatherings were still enormously popular throughout the Empire and North America, and their success in a New Zealand context was illustrated by the Otago Caledonian Society having accumulated some 10,000 pounds as result of its annual sports.\textsuperscript{77} The continued popular appeal of all things Scottish was another help. The Scottish games caused much interest in Christchurch,\textsuperscript{78} and its success saw a number of local businessmen embark on forming a Canterbury Caledonian Society. It was subsequently born on the 6th of March, 1882.\textsuperscript{79} Its main aim was the holding of annual Scottish sports each Anniversary Day in December at Lancaster Park.\textsuperscript{80} The sports did not last long, however, as a waning interest in athletics combined with the economic depression of the 1880s meant heavy losses were incurred and its sports ceased by 1890.\textsuperscript{81} It survived by focusing on its other aims, of offering scholarships to deserving children, benevolence and social activities. Socially, the Society celebrated traditional Scottish anniversary days such as Burns Night and St Andrew’s day. Balls and other formal socials came to dominate the activity of the Society,\textsuperscript{82} but it remained, at least until 1902, the face of Scottish identity in Christchurch.

Christchurch gave birth to another Scottish group some twenty years after

\textsuperscript{75} The Press, 2 January, 1882 and 3 January, 1882.
\textsuperscript{76} Jubilee pp. 4 -5.
\textsuperscript{77} Ibid, p. 4.
\textsuperscript{78} Ibid, pp. 4 -5.
\textsuperscript{79} Ibid, p. 3.
\textsuperscript{80} Ibid, p. 5.
\textsuperscript{81} Ibid, p. 6.
\textsuperscript{82} Ibid, pp. 9 - 11.
the Caledonian Society in unique circumstances. The Scottish Society was
born out of the wave of enthusiasm generated by the 1901 visit to New
Zealand of a Scottish military icon, General Sir Hector MacDonald.83 The
excitement and Scottish patriotism lasted long after he left, and a few months
later, in May 1902, fifty Christchurch men gathered to form a Scottish Society.
In short order the meeting resolved to form such an organisation, with the
aims of preserving the Scottish identity in the district, and to "conserve and
build up all that is strongest, deepest and best in the Scottish national
character."84 These aims were achieved through its regular cultural meetings.
These primarily took the form of monthly ceilidhs, informal gatherings of
Scottish song, dance and story-telling. The celebration of Robert Burns each
year was another major activity, as will be explored in the following chapter.
Ceilidhs were the regular forums in which Scottishness could be readily
expressed and accessed. Among the usual songs, flings and reels, other items
were sometimes on display, such as an exhibition of club-swinging.85 The
greatest event put on by the Society was its annual Gathering of the Clans
each November, over Show Week. These were essentially more formalised
gatherings of social events, with cultural competitions such as dancing and
piping, and Scottish sports held over five days. The grandest of these was the
second the Society ever staged, in 1903. Taking place in the Colosseum, the
Society set to work transforming an ice-rink into a theatre with a stage the

84 First Minute Book, 1902 - 1903, pp. 47 - 48 Scottish Society Archives.
85 Hand written notes on the Scottish Society of New Zealand, C. S. Thomas papers, CCC.
largest in Australasia. A Grand Concert was held as well as a Great Scottish Musical Festival. As the name suggests, it was indeed a Gathering as Scots from across the country converged on Christchurch for this concentrated celebration of Scottishness. It was popular and very well attended, but not just by those with thistle fragments in their veins. Aggregate attendance over five days was nine thousand, with three and a half thousand attending Friday alone. It was said by one observer this activity that “It needed no great stretch of the imagination to believe that we are in the heart of the Highlands instead of being 13,000 miles away in far New Zealand.”

Unlike the Caledonian societies, it was exclusive in its membership, being open only to those who were “Scotsmen by birth, parentage, or descent on the male side.” Fortunately, the Scottish Society kept records of much of its membership nominees’ places of birth between 1913 and 1925.

Table 3.6: Places of Birth,
Membership Nominees, Scottish Society of New Zealand,
1913 - 1925 *

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86 *The Star*, 9 November, 1903.
87 “Second Annual Gathering of the Clans Souvenir Programme” Christchurch, Scottish Society of New Zealand, 1903, *passim*.
88 *The Lyttelton Times*, 12 November, 1903.
89 “Souvenir Programme”, *passim*.
90 Ibid.
91 First Minute Book of the Scottish Society, May 29 1902 - 22 October 1903, pp. 47 - 48 SSA.
* Table sourced from Minutes Books, 1913 - 1925, SSA.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place of Birth</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>58.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Zealand</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Others</td>
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<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>460</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Clearly those actually born in Scotland dominated the membership, but the native-born who considered themselves Scots also made up a large proportion. The extent of their level of “Scottishness” is unfortunately not known, given the nationality clause in seeking membership. Nevertheless, the Scottish Society was thoroughly Scottish.

The Gaelic Society of New Zealand, based in Dunedin and formed in 1881, was also exclusive in its membership. It was open only to Highlanders or descendants of Highlanders with a knowledge of Gaelic, or a desire to improve it.92 Its primary purpose was language preservation and extending aid to Highland arrivals in Otago. It held regular monthly social gatherings, but its impact was limited given the relatively small numbers of Highlanders among the Scottish population.93

The Caledonian societies, in contrast, were not exclusive. From its earliest days the Caledonian Society of Otago decided that its membership should not be based on nationality: “the Society, although bearing the name of

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93 Undated or sourced newspaper clipping headed “The Gaelic Society: The Twenty-Fifth Anniversary” in C. S. Thomas papers, CCC.
'Caledonian', is by no means exclusively Scotch.\textsuperscript{94} This lack of national exclusivity is borne out by examination of surviving membership rolls (some fragmentary), with a smattering of demonstrably non-Scottish names appearing.\textsuperscript{95} Most non-Scots appear to be English, but also to be found is prominent Dunedin Chinese, Sew Hoy.\textsuperscript{96} Another member was Herr Schlaadt, a previous president of the Dunedin German Society, whose membership was not questioned until the First World War.\textsuperscript{97} Clearly, this was Scottishness in its most universal application. However, judging by the albeit crude method of evaluating members surnames with their nationality, it is clear that the vast majority of members were indeed Scots. The Canterbury Caledonian Society does not appear to have been exclusive either, although a surviving copy of its 1904 rules does state that one of its aims was the advancement of social intercourse "among Caledonians and people of Scotch descent".\textsuperscript{98}

Women did not feature significantly in the life of these societies during this period. They were excluded from full membership of the Scottish Society in Christchurch, but nothing in any of the surviving rules appear to bar women from the Caledonian societies. Indeed, a tiny handful of women appear in the surviving membership rolls of both the Otago and Canterbury Caledonian

\textsuperscript{94} \textit{Otago Witness} 25 October, 1862.
\textsuperscript{95} See Annual Reports, CSO Ho MS1045 -2.
\textsuperscript{96} Annual Report, 1883, CSO Ho MS1045 - 2.
\textsuperscript{97} Meeting of the Finance Committee, 14 December, 1916 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 39.
\textsuperscript{98} Rules of the Canterbury Caledonian Society 1904 in the CCC.
societies, but they are not until the turn of the century. It is likely that they were dancers, and their numbers remained no more than a handful at most across both organisations. In this period, the organised expression of Scottish identity was a male preserve.

Membership of the Otago Caledonian Society fluctuated from year to year, although throughout the period of this study remained reasonably buoyant. Oftentimes, it was the dominant sporting organisation in Dunedin in terms of membership alone. For instance, in the 1880s the two largest sporting groups in Dunedin were the Caledonian Society and the Dunedin Jockey Club. With an annual subscription of one pound, the Caledonian Society had twice as many members. However, it should be noted that numerical membership totals do not tell much of a story on their own. Given the nature of the society with its limited social calendar, membership was often not something that had much of an impact on the members’ lives from week to week. There is an acute difference between active and passive membership in such an organisation. The following table presents the raw membership data from 1883 until 1918.

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99 See Annual Reports, CSO Ho MS1045 - 2.
100 Crawford, p. 216 and Rules of the Caledonian Society of Otago 1906 CSO Ho MS1045 - 5.
101 There is no membership total for 1899 as a record no longer survives. The earliest extant membership records date from the early 1880s. Sourced from Annual Reports, CSO Ho MS1045 - 2.
Table 3.7: Membership of the Caledonian Society of Otago

1883 - 1918

<table>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Year</th>
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<th>Year</th>
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<td>112</td>
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<td>1894</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>1906</td>
<td>315</td>
<td>1918</td>
<td>131</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

In the period 1883 to 1918, the Otago Caledonian Society had an average annual membership of 274. The Society thus remained reasonably healthy throughout these years. The highs and lows of the memberships are difficult to explain, as the annual reports do not give much indication to explain, for instance, why membership dipped so markedly in 1885. The economic depression in New Zealand at that time does not explain it, as the rest of the 1880s have healthy membership totals. Membership figures for the Canterbury Caledonian Society are not as consistently available as those for Otago. Nevertheless, in the earliest years membership was good, ranging from 206 in 1884, to 240 the following year, before dropping slightly to 227 in 1886. By 1904 the Canterbury Caledonians could count on some 134 members, which surged the next year to 172 before falling back to 144 in 1907.  

figures are comparable to those for the Otago Caledonian Society, which suggests that, in such an "English" province, there was a frequent battle to ensure that all members made a "strenuous effort" to ensure any local Scots become "one of us."  

The Caledonian Society of Otago, when flushed with financial success because its annual sports, became a good local citizen by establishing night classes for technical education. The Scottish connection to education was thus made extremely tangible. Indeed, the Royal Commission on education in 1879 reported that the only centres in which such classes were available were in Timaru and Dunedin, both established and administered by their respective Caledonian societies. Donations to schools also took place.

However, the Caledonian Society of Otago had as its general aim the preservation of Scottish culture and identity in the New World. Aside from its annual sports, the Society's explicit Scottish identity was expressed in other ways, ranging from Burns Nights, ensuring they were subscribers to the "London Scotsman" magazine, to running Scottish poetry competitions. The traditional Scottish day of St Andrew's was sometimes marked by a supper, although it did not occur regularly every year. They did affiliate with the Edinburgh St Andrew's Society, however, although such a

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104 Pearce, p. 162.
105 Annual Report, 1920, CSO, Ho MS1045 - 17.
106 Minutes of Director's Meeting 29 January, 1869 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
107 DM 14 September, 1868; DM 11 January, 1869; DM 16 September, 1870 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
108 DM 20 October, 1908 CSO Ho MS1045 - 8.
connection had no practical value save a sentimental attachment to Scotland.\textsuperscript{109} The purchase of a painting, "Brig O' Doon", in conjunction with the other Dunedin Scottish groups for the Dunedin Art Society was a significant display of Scottishness, and was a major purchase. The painting cost some one hundred and twenty five pounds.\textsuperscript{110}

The Society was also the public face of Scottishness. Caledonian societies were easy points of contact for Scots. For instance, a Scottish school teacher in South Africa wrote to the Society in 1910 asking what his employment prospects in New Zealand may be.\textsuperscript{111} The Society was also regarded by some as having a responsibility to be a guardian of all things Scottish. For instance, in July 1914 a letter was received from the Convenor of the Vigilance Committee of the St Andrew's Society, Edinburgh. It complained of a news report that had appeared in the Dunedin press regarding the heroism of a Dr John Borrie during a volcanic eruption in the New Hebrides. The newspaper had erroneously referred to the Scots-born Borrie as an Englishman, whereas he rightfully "should be called a Briton". It was thought that this should be brought to the Society's attention.\textsuperscript{112} In another example, an Auckland woman wrote to the Society to complain about her poor treatment by the Burns Philp shipping company after her husband's ship was sunk by a German raider in 1918. Believing that the Society would have power in this area, she wrote to the Society asking it to pass a resolution to have the thistle removed from the

\textsuperscript{109} DM 3 May 1907; DM 12 December, 1907 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 8.
\textsuperscript{110} Annual Report, 1913, CSO Ho MS 1045 - 39.
\textsuperscript{111} DM, 30 September, 1910 CSO Ho MS1045 - 39.
\textsuperscript{112} Minutes, Finance Committee, CSO Ho MS1045 - 39.
Burns Philp House flag. The Secretary was instructed to write back that they could not pass such a resolution.\textsuperscript{113}

However, the exertion of the British identity was also very strong. Despite its Scottish national character, its members were, as loyal Scots, also loyal Britons. The most blatant display of their loyalty to the Crown was its request to each incoming Governor of New Zealand, the Crown by proxy, to become Patron of the Society. For example, the request to Governor Bowen, presented in the form of an address while on a visit to Dunedin in late 1872, is typical. The Society expresses its "Loyalty to the Throne" and connected the Governorship directly with the Crown's patronage of Scottish identity. "We rejoice to know that our beloved Sovereign has accorded Her special Patronage to similar Societies at Home", said the address, and went on to state that although founded "on a principle of Nationality and to perpetuate National traditions" the society would do its utmost to extend its benefits throughout the community regardless of "race".\textsuperscript{114} Bowen's reply conflated British and Scottish loyalty when he thanked the society for its expressions of loyalty to the Queen, by noting that Otago itself was "originally one Caledonian Society".\textsuperscript{115} In particular, he commended his successor, Sir James Ferguson, as a model British statesman -- a "Governor of large ability and experience, whose manifold qualifications and accomplishments will not be

\textsuperscript{113} DM 1 August, 1918 CSO Ho MS1045 - 39.
\textsuperscript{114} The use of the term "race" here is done so in a nineteenth century context, that is, in reference to the "Scottish race", or "British race". There is no intended reference to Maori here. DM, 20 December, 1872 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
\textsuperscript{115} DM, 3 January, 1873 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
the less popular because they are united in a Scotchman." Examination of the society’s annual reports shows that the incumbent Governor was always its official patron from the beginning.

Expressions of British identity were often at their strongest when connected with Royal figures, as evidenced by the Society’s actions concerning the visit to Otago of the Duke of Edinburgh. After an assassination attempt on the Duke in Australia in 1868, the Caledonian Society was prompted to record its indignation at such a “dastardly attack”. It went further, however, and organised a public procession and illumination on the Queen’s birthday for the Dunedin population to display its loyalty and sympathy. An advertisement was placed in the Otago Daily Times for all members of the society, and any others who were able, to march in Highland costume. The Duke’s subsequent visit to Dunedin saw the Society actively involved in the procession in his honour, and it provided entertainment for His Royal Highness. The Duke was most complimentary towards the Society, an endorsement that gratified its members greatly. As a sound patriotic society, the organisation was naturally invited to take part in Dunedin’s procession to mark the Queen’s Jubilee. The expression of British loyalty in a Scottish context was thus a strong feature of the society.

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116 Ibid.
117 DM, 17 April, 1868 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
118 Ibid.
119 DM, 22 May, 1868 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
120 DM, 20 April 1869 and DM 23 April, 1869 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
121 Minutes AGM, 26 October, 1869 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.
122 DM, 10 June, 1887 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 7.
Visits of other Imperial figures prompted similar displays of British patriotism. The visit of General Sir Hector Macdonald in 1901, one of Scotland’s (and the Empire’s) most illustrious soldiers, was the most important such visitation. At the turn of the nineteenth into the twentieth centuries, Macdonald was arguably the most feted (living) Scotsman in the world. He symbolised the image of the Scot “making good”. Born in the Highlands the son of a crofter, Macdonald enlisted as a private in the Gordon Highlanders in 1870. During the Second Afghan War of 1873, Colour-Sergeant Macdonald displayed conspicuous gallantry and was offered the choice of a Victoria Cross or a commission. He accepted the latter. After service in South Africa (1881), Egypt and the Sudan where he distinguished himself in the Battle of Omdurman and the recapture of Khartoum, he commanded the Highland Brigade in the Boer War. A popular hero due to his valour and humble beginnings, he was knighted for services to the Empire. Afterwards he was sent on an Australasian tour, reaching New Zealand in October 1901.

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123 The most feted was undoubtedly Robert Burns, as will be explained in Chapter 4.
124 The People’s Journal 4 April, 1903. Clippings in the C. S. Thomas papers CCC.
The link between Macdonald as Scotsman and Imperial soldier was plain. Macdonald was served up as an emblem, a loyal Scot serving the interests of the Empire. It was an image that expressed the popular notion of the Scots as loyal participants in the Empire. Indeed, Scots throughout the world lauded Macdonald. In 1899 the Caledonian Society of Otago contributed over three pounds to a worldwide subscription being undertaken by Scots groups for a sword of honour to be presented to Macdonald.\textsuperscript{126} Imperial and Scottish patriotism thus become blurred and virtually one. Macdonald’s tour was greeted with great fervour among the general populace, stirred by the popular Imperialism generated by the South African War. The excitement was greatest, however, among the Scottish community. It was as if Macdonald symbolised a visit of Scotland itself to the South Pacific. Travelling south to north by train, he was greeted enthusiastically wherever he stopped, but particularly by Scots.\textsuperscript{127} His arrival in Dunedin\textsuperscript{128} was attended by all the usual dignitaries, but also by representatives of the Caledonian Society and other kindred bodies, as well as the Dunedin Pipe Band and the Highland


\textsuperscript{127} DM 21 April, 1899 MS CSO Ho MS 1045 - 8.

\textsuperscript{128} The Press 29 October, 1901.

\textsuperscript{128} Unfortunately no good newspaper report of Macdonald’s visit to Dunedin appears to survive.
Rifles. Indeed, the Volunteers of the Dunedin Highland Rifles dragged Macdonald’s carriage through the streets of Dunedin, which had patriotic flags and banners hanging from every window. Macdonald’s reception in Christchurch was no less tremendous. The General’s arrival in Christchurch was marked by tumultuous scenes. The level of popularity of this Scottish Imperial figure is plain with The Press noting that

Sir Hector might for a brief moment have imagined himself being charged by the Fuzzy-Wuzzies of the desert, but the British cheers and the Gaelic shouts of welcome must have speedily given him reassurance that this somewhat alarming display of hospitality in reality proceeded from the very best intentions.

The Press went on to say of Macdonald that

his history, his nationality, and his services to the Empire, all combine to invest his visit with unwonted interest. Just at this particular time...we are in the full flush of the Imperial spirit, and Sir Hector stands for us not only as a striking representative of the British Army,...but also of the Motherland, to whom in this crisis we are drawn by a strength of devotion such as we never felt before.

As has been shown, the visit so enthused the Scots of Christchurch, that they formed a Scottish Society some months later. Macdonald was clearly a
significant British / Scottish symbol for Scots in New Zealand, within a particular military context.

Indeed, the Scottish military connection also existed in New Zealand in the form of the ostensibly "Scottish" units of the Volunteer movement. This is a direct colonial aping of the British Army's Highland regiments. At one stage, New Zealand possessed no less than fourteen Volunteer formations with Scottish titles, including the Dunedin Highland Rifles and the Canterbury Highland Rifles, usually of company strength.

The Caledonian Society of Otago played host to another important Imperial / Scottish military figure in 1914, when General Sir Ian Hamilton toured New Zealand. The Society was unable, because of the General's demanding schedule, to offer him a "Scottish function in his honour," so they presented him with an illuminated address instead. The expression of British patriotism within a Scottish milieu was apparent when the Society's members, as "fellow-countrymen" of Hamilton, recognised with "feelings of pride and satisfaction the distinguished services you have rendered to the Empire".

Concerns for Scottish affairs also carried with it an Imperial context. For example, in the 1880s the Society sought to relieve the plight of the Highland crofters, who were experiencing terrible poverty at this time. The Society's directors wrote to the British Prime Minister, W. E. Gladstone and to other

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137 Ibid.
kindred societies in New Zealand and around the world, encouraging them to contact the Premier in an attempt to alleviate the conditions of the crofters. They proposed that, with investment from the New Zealand or British government or both, Highland poverty could be relieved. The Empire and New Zealand could afford to take in these individual’s, reasoned the Society, so as to make them “a source of strength to the Empire.”

It would have the double benefit of giving the Highlanders a better life in healthier conditions, but it also could not fail to be of enormous advantage to the Empire, inasmuch as it would be a most effective means of securing the continued and full development of British supremacy in the South Pacific.

While the Society’s efforts came to nothing, the intent and language are interesting. The British Imperial context was obviously strong.

British patriotism in wartime was another feature of the Society. The declaration of war in South Africa in 1899 changed the Society’s usual course of business, the minutes of the Annual General Meeting recording that the members sang the national anthem before commencing discussion as befitted “loyal Britons.” As for active contribution to the South African war effort, they were mostly financial, with the society forming a Patriotic Fund

138 Letter to Gladstone, attached in DM 9 January, 1885 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 2.
139 Ibid.
140 AGM, 13 October, 1899 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 8.
Committee. Entertainment for departing troops was also provided in concert with the Burns Club and the Gaelic Society.

The Society was more active in the First World War, where its British patriotism was infused with Scottishness and saw the emergence for the first time of expressions of New Zealand identity. The Caledonians regarded the war as an Imperial and British undertaking, and they did their best to maintain Scottish traditions within that context. For example, the Caledonian Society was the prime mover with the other Scottish societies of Dunedin to respond to a request by the commanding officer of the Otago Infantry Battalion for bagpipes. The Society recognised the value of "the sentimental and romantic value of bagpipe music, and the inspiring effect it has upon troops when marching into battle". In 1918 there was another request to furnish the Otago Battalion with pipes, after receiving a letter from its Colonel stating that the effect of such martial music would be beneficial for the men serving in the trenches.

The patriotism of the society also extended to the removal of membership from a German member after a complaint from another member that the society admitted Germans. The society acquiesced, although it is interesting that the matter did not arise until late 1916.

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141 DM, 27 December 1899 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 8.
142 DM, 24 January, 1901 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 8.
146 DM 1 August, 1918 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 39.
147 Meeting of Finance Committee, 14 December, 1916 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 39.
It was during the First World War, however, that a shift in the Society’s patriotism can be seen. For the first time a recognition of a New Zealand identity within a British context took place. The Society believed that its role in running and encouraging annual sporting events for so many years had contributed to New Zealand’s war effort. The “fine physique of New Zealand’s sons who have joined the Expeditionary Forces”, 148 and their “pluck” and “powers of endurance” 149 were said to be in large part a result of the Society’s investment in the community in the encouragement of games. The admiration expressed for “our boys” was explicitly done within a New Zealand context, rather than a Scottish one. 150 Thus another point of identity started to become established, an identity with a New Zealand flavour, something that had never occurred before.

The New Zealand identity was beginning to take its hold, as the reference points of the Old World started to weaken in the face of an awakening identity. It did not extinguish the old, however, as it was simply another identity to add to the cultural mix. By the end of the First World War the cultural expressions of the Scots were declining, as inevitably the ties to Scotland began to loosen. An influx of Scots migrants following the First World War was to rejuvenate the Scottish identity in New Zealand once more. 151 Before that time, however, the Scots identity was strongly laced through with the British identity. They were never far apart, but time in New

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150 Annual Report, 1918, CSO Ho MS 1045 - 39.
151 Pearce, p. 162.
Zealand was adding a new strand of identity. As the author of the jubilee history of the Canterbury Caledonian Society pointed out in 1932, to be a good Caledonian was to necessarily be a good New Zealander.

Another aspect of Scottish identity remains to be examined. In the nineteenth century there was a worldwide "Cult of Burns", in honour of Scotland's national poet. He was a perfect Scottish figurehead for the Scots of New Zealand, as his ideals and the legend formed around him were easily assumed into a New Zealand context.
Chapter Four

Commemorating Robert Burns

"[To Robert Burns] we chiefly owe that image of Scotland which we cherish in our hearts. He is the type of our race, the spirit incarnate of our national character in all its strength and in all its weakness, and the man who has added meaning and richness and endearment to the very name of Scotland."\(^1\)

Robert Burns is Scotland’s most enduring literary figure. He helped shape a sense of Scottish tradition, both through his literature and as an icon. After a brief writing career, which was fitted in between periods of farming and working as an excise man, he died tragically young. On the basis of that short

\(^1\) Otago Witness, 27 January, 1909.
career, Burns almost immediately became both a literary and a Scottish icon. His place in Scottish identity was assured by his literature, but in the nineteenth century Burns the man, and not just Burns the poet, became an object of intense adoration.² He became a symbol of Scotland. For Scots and those of Scots descent throughout the British Empire and the world, Burns acted as a prism through which Scottish identity could be channelled. A mythology and virtual cult of veneration grew up around this poet that reached extraordinary heights in the nineteenth century world. Burns came to be viewed remarkably quickly as a quintessential symbol of all that was good about the Scottish nation. He is also the most significant Lowland contribution to a Scottish cultural identity so marked by Highland tradition and influences. The anniversary of his birth became the focal point of commemoration of Burns, with gatherings on that date in remembrance of Scotland’s “Immortal Bard”. Christchurch and Dunedin were no exceptions to this phenomenon, playing host to many Burns’ celebrations. The figure of Burns had a tremendous role to play in the maintenance of a unique, although highly sentimentalised, Scottish identity in New Zealand.

Robert Burns was born into a modest rural family in Alloway, Ayrshire, in the west of Scotland on 25 January, 1759. This humble beginning was to prove

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one of the defining points of Burns the public icon in later years. With such a background Burns was given a modest education, and while it was by no means complete by the time he was withdrawn from school to help his father farm, it proved more than adequate. Burns’ own reading as a youngster, as well as his father’s insistence that all his children maintain their education in some form or other, supplemented this elementary education.

As a young man Burns faced an uncertain future, and his prospects seemed dismal. By 1786 he was seriously contemplating emigrating to Jamaica to make his way in the world. However, fate intervened. Burns had long held literary ambitions, and by this time he had already composed some of his greatest works of poetry. It was not until he was in the midst of his plans to emigrate that it was proposed to him that his work be published. The result was the Kilmarnock edition of his poetry, and it proved a sensation.

Buoyed by success, Burns moved to Edinburgh and joined the intellectual and literary circuit. He toured Scotland and also began collecting traditional Scottish songs. Despite his success, he needed more certainty of income, and thus undertook an unfruitful farming venture as well as becoming an excise man. In 1793 his second edition of poems was published, but within two years

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3 Ibid, pp. 82 - 83.
he was seriously ill. Never blessed with robust good health, he died at the age of just thirty-seven in Dumfries on 21 July, 1796.

Burns' earthly career may have ended, but it was in death that he perhaps had his greatest success. Burns the poet transcended mere mortality, and within a very short period of time men were regularly gathering to toast his Immortal Memory. The roots of this coming veneration lie within his short literary career. What was it that attracted so many to his work and eventually led people around the world to gather to commemorate him and his native land? In short, how was the iconic Burns created?

The crafting of the icon took place both during his life and after his death. His was not just a posthumous fame, as he was a major literary figure in Scotland during his lifetime. In a sense Burns never died. He remained a part of the Scottish consciousness in much the same way that John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King have done in the United States. In death they all retain a tangible place in their nation’s identity. However, in Burns' case it must be noted that his fame following his death was an altogether greater phenomenon than that which he experienced during his life. During the height of the nineteenth century "Burns cult", his place in Scottish cultural life transcended mere literary greatness. The genesis of such fame lay in his short writing life.

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Burns' writing career took place at an auspicious time. In the late eighteenth century Scotland seemed in danger of succumbing totally to the cultural influences of its larger southern partner in the Union, England. The traditional literature and languages of Scotland were coming under increasing assault from the forces of Anglicisation,\textsuperscript{7} and the last vestiges of Scottish sovereignty appeared to have been crushed by the disaster of the Forty Five – an event that severely hastened the proscription of many aspects of Scottish cultural life.

It was within this context that Burns emerged. His appeal lay primarily in his insistence on writing in the Scots vernacular, his appropriation and preservation of traditional songs and ballads, and his unashamed nationalism.

The Scots language by Burns' time was under attack. English was regarded as the principal language of state, and proficiency in it was regarded as the key for a Scot to be able to "get on". A broad Scottish accent was perceived as an impediment for those with ambition within the British State, and elocution lessons were widely available for those who wished to soften it.\textsuperscript{8} In the Scottish universities the teaching of Rhetoric had as its main aim the removal

\textsuperscript{7} Brown, pp. 19 - 21.
\textsuperscript{8} Mcintyre, pp.121-122.
from national life of the Scots language. In religious life, so vitally important to Scottish society and culture, English was the language of discourse. The Bible was never translated into the local vernacular, and the authorised English version of King James was the standard text. Given his later place in Scotland’s cultural history, it is significant to note that all the books that Burns would have read in his home as a young man were exclusively English. As one writer has commented,

it is obvious that all the early formal educational influence to which Burns was subjected, both religious and secular, tended to Anglicize [sic] him, so far as language and literary style were concerned. Had his native genius been less strong, it might easily have been warped entirely out of its destined orbit...11

Indeed, throughout his life, the majority of Burns' own reading material was in English.12

Burns' decision to write in the Scots vernacular garnered considerable attention because his work appeared in the midst of a popular revival of Scottish vernacular poetry.13 The eighteenth century witnessed a surge in interest in the national songs, poems and folklore of the British Isles, but

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10 This was somewhat ironic given James’ Scottish background. See Brown, p. 21.
11 Quoted in Mackay, p.44.
12 Brown, p. 18.
13 Roe, in Crawford (ed.), p. 162.
particularly in Scotland. This was a natural consequence of the Union, which
generated a desire to both collect and preserve Scotland’s cultural heritage. Burns consciously drew upon the traditional folklore of Scotland in content,
language and even to some degree, structure. However, far from simply
taking from tradition, Burns also contributed greatly to it. By turns Burns strengthened, expanded and most importantly popularised Scotland’s
traditional literary culture. With his collections of Scottish songs, he was
acting very much as a preserver of Scottish heritage. His work immediately
captured the attention of the literary scene, not least due to its sophistication.
The response in the Scottish journals to his first published collection was very
enthusiastic. His use of the vernacular in his writing, rather than formal
literary English, conveyed the sense that he was writing in the language of a
sovereign nation.

By drawing so greatly from tradition and using so freely the Scots language,
Burns’ literary aims segued perfectly with the expectations of a culturally
sensitive audience. To this audience, looking back into Scotland’s traditional

15 Brown, p. 23.
16 Ibid., p. 81.
17 Ibid., p. 71.
18 Ibid., p. 28 and pp. 46-47.
20 Roe in Crawford (ed.), pp. 163-164.
past was a means to revive and sustain a coherent Scottish identity in the present. Burns was acutely aware of the social and cultural context, in which he worked and was received, and to some extent exploited this fact. For example, he reinforced his patriotic credentials by adding a new introduction to the second edition of his poetry:

I come to claim the common Scottish name with you, my illustrious Countrymen; and to tell the world that I glory in the title. – I come to congratulate my country, that the blood of her ancient heroes still runs uncontaminated...

Burns and his writings appealed to the Scottish identity in those who were at that time embracing the newer British identity. Multiple identities were asserting themselves throughout Scotland, and Burns himself reflected this. He was a cultural nationalist and sentimental Jacobite. While Jacobitism in eighteenth century Scotland played an important part in the maintenance of a Scottish identity in the wake of the Forty-Five, it had already started its descent into a romantic movement. Burns’ Jacobitism was driven by romantic sentiment, and was fed in large part by a mistaken belief that his own ancestors had suffered for the cause in 1715. While the Jacobite cause became

22 Brown, p.27.
a somewhat bathetic symbol of Scottish identity, by Burns’ time it was indulged in concert with overt displays of Scottish loyalty to Hanoverian rule. As one Burns scholar has pointed out, loyalty to the House of Hanover was widespread in Scotland as “Loyal North Britons were anxious to dispel fears that beneath every Scotsman’s kilt there lurked a Jacobite rebel.” Indeed, Burns’ audience was predominately made up of the middle-and upper-class section of Scottish society. This group had pride in Scotland as a nation as well as an investment in membership of a British state that was conveying great political, social and economic advantages to them. They saw in Burns a safe way to celebrate their Scottish cultural patriotism and identity while at the same time being loyal to the concept of a United Kingdom. Burns himself, however, was not so content.

Whether his nationalism was sentimental or romantic, it was nonetheless real and it imbued much of his writing. Burns was acutely disappointed with Scotland’s place and role within the United Kingdom. He resented its loss of independence following the 1707 Union. In reaching back to Scotland’s past for great heroes to be the subject of his works, such as Wallace, Bruce and the House of Stuart, he did so partly because his country had no heroes in the present. Despite his claim to the contrary in the introduction to his poetry, he

did not believe that the blood of heroes past was indeed “uncontaminated”.
Rather, he believed that the Scottish élites had sold Scotland out. He saw
Scotland’s ruling and professional classes as agents of English rule, a
sentiment aptly demonstrated in his song about the 1707 Union, “A Parcel of
Rogues in a Nation”:

1

Farweel to a’ Scottish fame,
Fare weel our ancient glory!
Fareweel ev’n to the Scottish name,
Sae famed in martial story!
Now Sark rins over Solway sands,
An’ Tweed rins to the ocean,
To mark where England’s province stands -
Such a parcel of rouges in a nation!

2

What force or guile could not subdue
Thro’ many warlike ages
Is wrought now by a coward few
For hireling traitor’s wages.
The English steel we could distain,
Secure in valour’s station;
But English gold has been our bane -

28 Noble in Simpson (ed.), p. 188.
However, Burns' nationalism was quite insular in outlook. In his entire life he only ever spent one day outside Scotland. He was also easily swayed by passionate sentimentality, as evidenced by his visit to Stirling Castle while on a touring holiday. Once a seat of Scottish power, its dilapidated state drove Burns to vandalise his window at the inn where he was staying with ten lines of verse ending with a rash attack on the house of Hanover, "An idiot race, to honour lost;/ Who know them best despise them most."  

He was concerned too about the increasing practice of raising Highland regiments for the British Army, viewing it as an exploitation of some of Britain's poorest communities and a sad appropriation of Scotland's independent martial spirit.

But despite his overt nationalism, Burns actually reflected the fragmented loyalties of Scottish society at large. His antipathy to Hanoverian rule, most often expressed through Jacobite sentimentality, was romantic in basis and actually evaporated in a time of national emergency. In common with other literary figures of the time, he was initially smitten by the ideals of revolutionary France, but by the time the French threatened invasion Burns

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30 Mackay, p. 335. Thinking better of it Burns later returned and destroyed the window, but not before his words had already been copied and distributed, often to be used against him by his enemies. Ibid, p. 336.
31 Douglas, p. 10.
had loyally joined the Dumfries Volunteers to defend Britain. A few months later he published a highly patriotic song, "Does Haughty Gaul Invasion Threat?" and his last public act before his death was to write a loyal address to the King following a failed assassination attempt. Thus, in a symbiotic relationship, Burns and most of his audience indulged each other, and in doing so they allowed Burns to become the voice of Scotland, an aim he aspired to. As he once wrote to one of his many correspondents,

As I have but slender pretensions to philosophy, I cannot rise to the exalted ideas of a Citizen of the world at large; but have all those national prejudices, which, I believe, glow particularly strong in the breast of a Scotchman. - There is scarcely any thing to which I am feelingly alive as the honour and welfare of old Scotia; and, as a poet, I have no higher enjoyment than singing her Sons and Daughters.

With the conflation of Burns' own cultural aims with those of an appreciative audience, Burns became the pre-eminent cultural promoter of Scotland, at least until Sir Walter Scott. As will be shown, this process enabled Burns to become the "Citizen of the world at large" he failed to be during his lifetime.

33 Bold, p. 107.
34 Mackay, p. 595.
36 Brown, pp. 49, 57-58.
38 Butler in Crawford (ed.), pp. 111-112.
Another aspect of the appeal of Burns in his lifetime was his origins. Burns came from a rural tenant-farmer background, and the belief that rural society retained a greater purity with Scotland’s past was an attractive ideal. The notion of the very landscape producing Scotland’s foremost poetic genius was highly influential.39 For example, a writer in Blackwood’s Magazine in 1819 believed that it was always more likely that the peasantry of Scotland would produce a poetic genius as their religiosity, imagination and beautiful landscape were the ingredients that made such a feat possible. These factors, the writer noted, was absent south of the Tweed and rendered the likelihood of the English peasantry ever producing a great poet virtually impossible.40 The well-known image of Burns as a peasant-poet41 was both created for him as well as sustained by the man himself. In late December 1786 a review of the Kilmarnock edition of his poems by novelist Henry Mackenzie extolled Burns as a “Heaven-taught ploughman”.42 The tag stuck and Burns subsequently adopted it for himself. In his preface to the second edition of the Edinburgh edition the following year, Burns portrayed himself as having been graced with “poetic Genius” while working the land with his plough.43

This image of Burns as a lowly rural figure who had made good helped give

41 Ibid., p. 184.
43 Ibid., p. 33
rise to the perception that he was a man of the people.44 While most of his audience during his lifetime was drawn from the bourgeoisie, Burns’ literature was overtly egalitarian in character, which easily gave his work the potential for wider appeal.45 It had the ability to transcend class boundaries. This universality was to prove a significant facet of the later Burns legend.

The shaping of the iconic Burns began almost immediately after his death. The genesis of the most venerable form of celebration, the annual Burns Supper46 on the poet’s birthday, January 25, can be found in the rousing meals Burns’ friends held in his memory shortly after his death. These typically followed a pattern established by dinners Burns had with his friends whereby they would gather for an evening of food (often including haggis) and poetry.47 The first two Burns Clubs, in Greenock and Paisley, both had as their initial core membership his friends and acquaintances.48 Great impetus was given to formalised public commemoration by events to raise funds for Burns memorials.49 The various schemes to erect monuments began in 1812.50 They attracted considerable interest both at home and abroad, and money

44 Brown, pp. 82-83.
45 McIntyre, p. 376.
46 The name of the event varies wildly over time and place, and includes: Burns Celebration, Anniversary Supper, Annual Supper, Burns Dinner, Burns Night, Burns Anniversary, Anniversary Dinner, Annual Festival, Annual Celebration and a Nicht wi’ Burns. Brown, p. 119.
47 Ibid, pp. 119-120.
48 Ibid, pp. 120-121.
49 Ibid, pp. 122-123.
50 McIntyre, p.414.
flowed freely to realise them.\textsuperscript{51} By the early 1830s the three most prominent memorials had been erected: a mausoleum in Dumfries, a national monument near his birthplace in Alloway (for which the remarkable sum of £3,300 was raised) and another in Edinburgh (which realised some £2,800).\textsuperscript{52}

After his death Burns attained worldwide appeal, and the emerging tradition of commemorating his memory became a widespread practice. This was in large part due to the growth of Scottish emigration in the nineteenth century as Scots pollinated the world with Burns. Among the Scottish expatriate communities, Burns was a strong reminder of their cultural background and a symbol of their nationality and identity. However, formal Burns celebrations occurred only sporadically until around the turn of the century.

The first reported Burns' anniversary in Christchurch did not take place until January 1867. Given its roots as a planned Anglican settlement this is not surprising. The newspapers report the formation of a Caledonian Club that year whose express purpose was to celebrate the anniversary of Scotland's national poet.\textsuperscript{53} Among those appointed to the committee at its inaugural meeting were the Presbyterian minister, the Rev. Charles Fraser and the

\textsuperscript{51} Ibid, p. 414.
\textsuperscript{52} J. Mackay, Burnsia (Ayr, Alloway Publishing, 1988), pp. 31-35.
\textsuperscript{53} The Lyttelton Times, 21 January, 1867.
Superintendent of Canterbury, William Moorhouse. Significantly, the Caledonian Club was the first attempt at a Scottish cultural organization to be set up in Christchurch. Unfortunately, it appears to have been short-lived, as all further reference to it vanishes from the Christchurch newspapers. However, its formation was seen to be important enough at the time to warrant reportage in the Dunedin press.

The year 1867 seems to have been something of a watershed for Burns enthusiasm in Christchurch and its surrounds. On the same day that calls for interest in celebrating the upcoming Burns anniversary from what was to become the Caledonian Club appeared in the press, another group advertised its intentions to hold a dinner as well. The two advertisements appeared one above the other on the front page of The Lyttelton Times. The latter group was giving notice of a public meeting, to be held appropriately at the Caledonian Hotel, to form an organising committee. Burnsian ecumenicalism prevailed, however, as a deputation from the just formed Caledonian Club attended the meeting and it was agreed that both parties unite their efforts. The enthusiasm for Burns was not just confined to Christchurch that year. On the same night that an impressive one hundred and fifty gentlemen sat down to dinner in the Christchurch Town Hall, another fifty were celebrating in the

54 Ibid.
55 The Otago Daily Times, 25 January, 1867.
56 The Lyttelton Times, 19 January, 1867.
57 Ibid, 21 January, 1867.
Queen's Hotel, Lyttelton.\textsuperscript{58} This latter event was arranged under the auspices of a Burns' Festival that, despite its grand name, appeared to act as simply a dinner organising committee. Both of these events garnered considerable coverage in the newspapers, indicating it was something of a major event in the young Christchurch.\textsuperscript{59} The Press even anticipated that the Town Hall dinner would be "one of the most intellectual treats which has been held in this city for a long time."\textsuperscript{60}

It is highly significant that the first large-scale assertion of Scottish identity in Christchurch (the press noted that the majority of attendees were indeed Scots)\textsuperscript{61} took the form of two Burns Suppers attracting no less than two hundred participants. It is a clear indication of the emblematic status Burns had for the Scottish community at this time, at least in Christchurch and Lyttelton.

Until these celebrations in 1867, Christchurch appears to have lacked the desire to celebrate Robert Burns publicly. While this is understandable given the nature of its society from its foundation in 1850, it is surprising to note

\textsuperscript{58} The Weekly Press, 2 February, 1867; The Press, 28 January, 1867.
\textsuperscript{59} The Weekly Press, 2 February, 1867 devotes the best part of three pages to their coverage, The Press, 28 January, 1867 the better part of a page, and The Lyttelton Times, 26 January, 1867 several column inches. Only The Weekly Press reported the Lyttelton banquet in any detail.
\textsuperscript{60} The Press, 25 January, 1867.
\textsuperscript{61} The Weekly Press, 2 February, 1867; The Press, 28 January, 1867. The Lyttelton Times noted at the Town Hall the presence of "some other gentlemen who have distinguished themselves in Christchurch, but who, we believe, are not natives of 'the land o' cakes.'" 26 January, 1867.
that even in 1859, the centenary of Burns' birth, nothing was reported in the local press. Since The Lyttelton Times of this period was, in common with most early colonial newspapers, usually starved of local news to report, the absence of such a report tends to suggest that nothing was formally organised. To those with a serious devotion to Burns, the hundredth anniversary of his birthday was not something to be ignored, and so was unlikely to have been passed over by the local newspaper.

It is difficult to discern why there was such a desire to celebrate the Burns anniversary in Christchurch in 1867 and not before, and then to do so in such strength. The most likely explanation is that the Lyttelton Burns Festival Committee, which appears to slightly predate the Caledonian Club, provoked interest over the hills in Christchurch for events to be held there.

Despite such a grand beginning, the following few decades were characterised by the absence of regular Burns celebrations in Christchurch. This is in marked contrast to Dunedin. Perhaps, despite the enthusiasm in 1867, the local press simply did not report them. However, such events were not advertised either, at least in the newspapers. Since there tends to be a direct link between events being advertised and subsequently reported, it is reasonable to assume that until the early years of the twentieth century Burns

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62 That is, it was rare for a Burns event to be advertised but not reported. Sometimes reports would appear for unadvertised celebrations.
celebrations in Christchurch were spasmodic affairs.

After the enormous success of the first anniversary dinners, the next recorded Burns anniversary in Christchurch took place in 1869, when one newspaper reported that a dinner was held in the poet's honour at the Prince of Wales Hotel. The same brief report (a mere four lines) did note, however, that similar functions had taken place in other hotels in Christchurch. It was some nine years until another Burns anniversary was marked, a revival appropriately inspired by Freemasons. In 1878, some one hundred and fifty gentlemen sat down to a banquet in honour of Burns in an event held under the auspices of the year-old Robert Burns Lodge. A petition from Christchurch brethren for a charter for a Robert Burns Lodge had been granted the previous January at a meeting of the Provincial Grand Lodge of New Zealand, Scottish Constitution, in Dunedin. The Burns anniversary the following year marked not only the birth of the Scottish national poet but also the first anniversary of the Lodge and the installation of its Master and Officers. The event itself was a strange amalgam of the traditional Burns Supper and Masonic elements. For example, of the thirteen

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63 The Press, 26 January, 1869.
64 The dinner was advertised with the vernacular words, "A Thumpin Haggis an' Hielan Whuskie for the 'Droothie.'" Droothie translates as "very thirsty". The Lyttelton Times, 23 January, 1869.
65 The Press, 26 January, 1869.
66 It was appropriate because Burns himself was an enthusiastic Mason.
67 The Lyttelton Times, 26 January, 1878; The Press, 26 January, 1878.
68 The Press, 29 January, 1877; The Lyttelton Times, 29 January, 1877.
toasts that night, only one was on the subject of Burns, that being the all-important toast to his “Immortal Memory”. The remainder of the toasts were of a Masonic nature, except one that was dedicated to “The Host”. It attracted a large gathering and the press noted that “a general expression of opinion was given that it was the most successful gathering of the kind ever held in Christchurch.” Despite this apparently highly successful explicit homage to Burns -- a Lodge bearing the poet’s name no less -- following this one event the Robert Burns Lodge, 604, S.C. vanishes from the newspaper record. With it goes the marking of the Burns anniversary until eleven years later when another Masonic Lodge picked up the Burns baton.

In 1891 Burns’ birthday was marked again in Christchurch, but not through a social gathering. Instead, the Rev. C. H. Bradbury gave a lecture entitled “A Nicht wi’ Burns” in Trinity Hall, Manchester Street. While the Rev. Bradbury’s lecture was the main feature of the evening, it was illustrated

70 The Lyttelton Times, 26 January, 1878. The host, Brother Wearing, was hosting his first public dinner at his establishment, the Railway Terminus Hotel. It is not recorded what the songs performed were, and whether they were Burns or Mason inspired.

71 Ibid, 26 January, 1878.

72 The well-established Kilwinning Lodge, Scottish Constitution, celebrated Burns Nicht in 1889. Representatives of this Lodge were present at the Robert Burns Lodge gathering years earlier. This affair was a Masonic gathering open to all other Christchurch brethren irrespective of their Lodge. See The Lyttelton Times, 26 January, 1878 and The Lyttelton Times, 26 January, 1889. That same night, over the hills at Lyttelton, another Burns event was taking place. A visiting Scottish concert party gave a performance that was largely attended. There was a varied programme that included a display of Highland dancing. This proved very popular and was encored twice. Significantly, a member of the Canterbury Scottish Rifles supplied the pipe music for this Burns anniversary display of Scottish pageantry. See The Press, 28 January, 1889.

73 The Lyttelton Times, 24 January, 1891; The Lyttelton Times, 26 January, 1891; The Press, 26 January, 1891.
regularly by songs,74 most of which were encored.75 The subject of the lecture itself was a potted life history of Burns and the influences that worked upon the man and his poetry. This new form of commemoration attracted a large and appreciative audience.76

The following year Burns Nicht was celebrated in the form of a concert by the visiting Scottish singer, Robert Kennedy.77 The Press was aware of the national sentiments such a visitor would engender. It observed that "No doubt the Scotsmen of Christchurch will rally round their countryman".78 Kennedy's visit almost coincided with Burns' birthday, and so on the night of the 23rd he presented a special programme boldly advertised as the "LIFE OF BURNS! SONGS OF BURNS! STORIES OF BURNS!"79 This event was significant as it marked the active debut of the Canterbury Caledonian Society, formed in 1882, in a public Burns commemoration. It was not an arduous effort, as the Society's involvement extended little beyond giving the concert its official patronage.80 It is remarkable that it took some ten years for the Society to involve itself in publicly commemorating Burns. By this time the Caledonian Society was the face of Scottish identity in Christchurch. Even

74 The Lyttelton Times, 27 January, 1891.
75 The Press, 27 January, 1891.
77 Prior to his Burns concert, Kennedy performed such programmes at the Oddfellows Hall as "Twa Hours at Hame" and the "Jacobite Rebellion". The Press, 21 January, 1892; The Press, 22 January, 1892; The Press, 23 January, 1892.
78 Ibid, 21 January, 1892.
79 Ibid, 23 January, 1892.
80 Ibid; 25 January, 1892.
after this event, the Caledonian Society’s involvement in Burns celebrations did not become regular until just after the turn of the century.

The next recorded Burns occasion in Christchurch was in July 1896, the centenary of the poet’s death. A “Grand National Concert” was organised by Messers Smith and Millen with the aid of “a committee of brother Scots”.

The concert took place under a weight of official (and diverse) patronage, consisting of the Mayor and Councillors of Christchurch, the Canterbury Caledonian and Hibernian Societies and the St Augustine Masonic and other Lodges. This was not just a Scottish cultural occasion, but a major civic event. Held at the Opera House, the programme was a long one, consisting of twenty-two musical items, which was effectively doubled by the number of encores. The evening was concluded by the unveiling of a laurel wreathed portrait of Burns, followed by a eulogy of the poet and the singing of “Auld Lang Syne”. It was very well attended, with the Opera House reportedly “overflowing”.

Christchurch’s two daily newspapers also marked the Burns Centenary. The Lyttelton Times ran a Centenary Address (in Scots) composed by a W.

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81 The Lyttelton Times, 22 July, 1896.
84 The Lyttelton Times, 22 July, 1896.
Sherriff-Bain,\textsuperscript{86} while \textit{The Press} published a long editorial lauding Burns.\textsuperscript{87}

The year 1897 witnessed the Caledonian Society holding its first Burns anniversary in its own right. It took the form of a concert at the Theatre Royal,\textsuperscript{88} the proceeds of which were directed to the Society's scholarship fund.\textsuperscript{89} However, yet again the celebration was not repeated the following year. As one of the dailies commented in 1898, "Yesterday was the anniversary of the birth of Robert Burns. Beyond, however, individual Scotsmen who followed the advice of the Scottish National Anthem and merely had 'their ain pint stoups,' there was no celebration of the day."\textsuperscript{90}

The Burns anniversary was not consistently celebrated in Christchurch until 1902 with the formation of the Scottish Society. From that year until the end of this study's survey period, c.1920, either the Scottish Society or the Caledonian Society held a concert in honour of Burns' birthday. In many years both societies would hold their own events independent of each other, although cordial relations seemed to exist between the two groups. Office-holders from one society were sometimes invited guests at the other's gathering.

It is significant that the first gathering of the newly formed Scottish Society

\textsuperscript{86} \textit{The Lyttelton Times}, 21 July, 1896.
\textsuperscript{87} \textit{The Press}, 21 July, 1896.
\textsuperscript{89} \textit{The Lyttelton Times}, 26 January, 1897; \textit{The Press}, 26 January, 1897.
\textsuperscript{90} \textit{The Press}, 26 January, 1898. The anthem reference is to the second verse of Burns ubiquitous, even in those times, "Auld Lang Syne". A \textit{stoup} is a vessel for holding liquid.
was a Burns Concert.91 Created in the wake of the fervour generated by the visit a few weeks before by General Sir Hector Macdonald, the Society lost no time in marking the first Scottish anniversary day. While a “thoroughly Scottish” concert according to the newspaper,92 it did not just attract nostalgic Scots for an evening of musical reminiscing. It is reported that the audience was “not by any means wholly Scottish”.93

As Appendix 2 clearly shows, both the Caledonian and Scottish Societies regularly engaged in Burns commemorations in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It was the foundation of the Scottish Society, indeed, which gave the Burns celebrations a solid institutional basis, so that they no longer depended on the whim of individual Burns enthusiasts. The Society had a regular social agenda of monthly ceilidhs and other gatherings. The commemoration of Robert Burns was an obvious highlight of its social calendar. Its activities also seem to have jolted the Caledonian Society out of its Burns malaise. Moreover, by this time Burns celebrations were becoming less onerous, with a trend away from the formal public dinners inherited from Great Britain. Instead, more modest concerts, gatherings or ceilidhs became the norm. These were logistically easier and cheaper to run than a formal dinner, especially when the organisers used their own society’s rooms.

91 The Lyttelton Times, 24 January, 1902.
93 Ibid, 27 January, 1902.
Unsurprisingly, Burns celebrations had a much longer tradition in Dunedin. The first reported Burns anniversary in Dunedin took place in January 1855 after an advertisement appeared in the Otago Witness giving notice of a public dinner to be held at the Royal Hotel.\textsuperscript{94} Interestingly, the notice promoted Burns not as a Scottish icon, but rather as a British icon, indicative of the identity Scots could so often assume as Britons.

ROBERT BURNS [the advertisement boasted], whose manly integrity of character, and his warm and true heart, should elevate him in the conception of every Briton; almost as much as the native force and beauty of his POETRY.\textsuperscript{95}

About forty people attended this first public Burns anniversary celebration. John Barr, also known as “Craigielee”, acted as Chairman. Scots-born Barr was to become a well-known and prolific local poet who often wrote in Scots vernacular and was eventually to become official bard to the Caledonian Society of Otago. In the course of his address, Barr expressed the hope that this first meeting would prove the basis for the establishment of a literary society to circulate and read Burns’ works and those of other “kindred spirits”.\textsuperscript{96} This was not to be, at least for some time, but another of Barr’s wishes that night was to come to fruition -- that this celebration of Burns not

\textsuperscript{94} Otago Witness, 20 January, 1855.
\textsuperscript{95} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{96} Ibid, 10 February, 1855.
be the last. The dinner attracted a good length report in the newspaper, although it ended with a candid admission:

We regret that we were unable to give a more full report of it, and that we have mangled the chairman's remarks, which were delivered with so much enthusiasm, and with so much broad Scotch as to be beyond us altogether.\footnote{Ibid.}

This was undoubtedly a journalistic hazard encountered by many reporters in Christchurch and Dunedin over the decades.

Through the remainder of the 1850s an annual dinner in honour of Burns took place at the Royal Hotel. A brief gap then appears in the newspaper record until 1864 when another Burns dinner took place.\footnote{Ibid.} The extent to which Burns admirers would go to display their admiration of Burns is demonstrated in a letter sent to the chairman of that evening by a Robert Miller, and subsequently printed in the daily newspaper:

SIR, — Understanding that a few admirers of the great Scotch poet intend commemorating his birth-day, I beg the privilege of sending you a basket of flowers to decorate the room in which you are to drink to his immortal memory.

If it would in any way enhance the value of the contribution, I may mention that the

\footnote{The Otago Daily Times, 25 January, 1864.}
Ayrshire roses sent are from a slip cut about seven years ago, from the gable of the house consecrated throughout all time as his birth-place. You have also a...branch of broom, cut from the bush at Alloway’s auld haunted kirk, from which was cut the stick on which the witch rode who tore off poor Maggie’s tail. You have likewise some “Forget Me Not” from Highland Mary’s grave. The seeds of all these were gathered seven years since, during a pilgrimage to the land of Burns.\textsuperscript{100}

It is significant that Miller uses such terms as “consecrated” and “pilgrimage” in his letter, as by then Burns as a figure had been so elevated in many minds as to be almost divine. The newspaper gushed that “many will envy Mr Miller the possession of the power to make so interesting and graceful a gift.”\textsuperscript{101}

The following year witnessed the first Burns Night organised by a society rather than by individuals. The Ayrshire Association of Otago celebrated the “Poet’s Night” in the Oddfellows’ Hall, and it was evidently a major social occasion as it is reported that several of Dunedin’s “leading citizens” attended.\textsuperscript{102} However, the Ayrshire Association vanished from the newspaper record in relation to Burns anniversaries until the name reappeared some eleven years later. Perhaps the Association went into recess, or simply did not celebrate Burns in that time.

\textsuperscript{100} Ibid, 27 January, 1864.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} Ibid, 26 January, 1865.
In 1867 the Caledonian Society of Otago played host to its first Burns anniversary by way of a public dinner at Farley’s Hall. An impressive seventy gentlemen sat down to dinner in a hall bedecked in Scottish imagery. The walls were decorated with Scottish national flags and emblems, numerous portraits of Scotland’s national poet and several paintings of Scottish and Otago scenery, this latter an interesting conflation of two similar landscapes. The social status of the event is confirmed by the attendance of the Superintendent and the Mayor. Chairman of the evening was A. J. Burns, then a Member of Parliament, and grandnephew to the great poet. This event was the first reported in the newspaper in any great depth, and as such it deserves closer scrutiny.

The evening took the form of a dinner with numerous toasts and speeches with musical interludes. While the occasion was ostensibly to mark Burns birthday and celebrate his achievements, those speaking were keen to use the event as a platform on which to celebrate Otago’s achievements as well. This despite the content of Mr Bathgate’s toast to Burns:

He believed that such a break in matter-of-fact existence – such a going from the present back with a fond veneration to the past, was of itself a very good thing. They were too apt, in the commercial metropolis of New Zealand, to become in their ideas too matter-of-fact and

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103 Ibid, 26 January, 1867.
104 Ibid.
utilitarian – to think too much of the individual, and too little of the general – to think of their livelihood rather than of their life.\textsuperscript{105}

In fact, an analysis of the reported toasts and their replies reveal a greater keenness to deal with the matter-of-fact and to discuss the present rather than the past. Burns was thus co-opted as a means to express local aspirations.

Eighteen toasts or replies are recorded, and excluding one to the Caledonian Society near the end of the evening, presumably in thanks, only three are purely cultural. This triumvirate consisted of the main toast, “Robert Burns, the patriot Bard of Scotland”, “The Poets of Scotland” and “The Memory of Sir Walter Scott”. Four were to colonial matters but significantly had reference to Scotland as an ideal to aspire to, such as a toast which complimented Scottish education and another which expressed the sentimental hope that “the same spirit which…had animated the Volunteers of the country of Burns would animate the Volunteers of Otago”.\textsuperscript{106} The remaining ten dealt purely with local colonial affairs, ranging from the Town Board, to the trade, commerce, mining and shipping interests of Otago.\textsuperscript{107} That Burns was linked to such hopes demonstrates his growing role as an inspirational icon. Burns, and by extension Scotland, was clearly connected to

\textsuperscript{105} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{106} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{107} Ibid.
achievement and success.¹⁰⁸

The Burns celebrations of 1869 mark the first year that two events took place on the same night in Dunedin. The Caledonian Society hosted its usual dinner at Wain’s Hotel, while a dedicated Burns Club appeared for the first time.¹⁰⁹ The latter was evidently short-lived as it vanishes from the newspaper record by the following year. It is not until 1892 that Dunedin has another Burns Club, a society that survives to this day. The Burns Club of 1869 had its inaugural supper at a suitable location, the Robert Burns Hotel on George Street. It attracted about fifty diners, including many of Dunedin’s identities. The evening was as orthodox as the usual Caledonian Society event, with loyal toasts to the Governor, Superintendent, Mayor and the prosperity of New Zealand, as well as to “The Descendants of Robert Burns”, “The Poets of Scotland” and “Our Native Land”. The Otago context of this display of Scottish patriotism is evident in how the decoration of the room, which consisted of flags, the Rampant Lion of Scotland, a portrait of Burns and native ferns.¹¹⁰ The toast at the Caledonian Society dinner proposed by John

¹⁰⁸ The Caledonian Society celebrated the Burns anniversary the next year, with another supper taking place in nearby Port Chalmers. Ibid, 25 January, 1868 and 27 January, 1868.
¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 26 January, 1869.
¹¹⁰ Interestingly, the newspaper reports of both Dunedin events that night dwelt more than in the past on the national nature of the food served. At the Caledonian Society dinner it is noted, “at each end of the table a noble haggis maintained its pride of place, the dish immortalised by the great poet...The sheepshead, too, smoked on the board, with other dishes solid and savoury.” At the Burns Club dinner the reporter remarked, “The supper was excellent, and comprised, among other dishes, the orthodox Haggis; and some amusement was created by the entrance of an enormous dish of ‘Singit Sheeps’ Heads.” Ibid, 26 January,
Barr, the sixth year he had proposed a toast on Burns' anniversary, shows the egalitarian pedigree which had been attached to the figure of Burns. He was not only a great literary figure, but also a working class hero:

Robert Burns was a man whose powers and genius had not attained their altitude under the fostering hand of care and education. He was born in a clay hovel, and his life was devoted to toil; still his faculties were such that they rose superior to every obstacle, and his genius burst forth like a meteor to astonish and enlighten the earth, and had commanded the admiration of the entire literary world, even to that day. - (Cheers.) No single man's works had ever produced such a change in the world as had those of Burns. He had taught the lowest peasant self respect, and that which he admired so much - independence, and the great principle that "A man's a man for a' that."

Again, Burns had been co-opted for a specific purpose. The image of him as a working class hero made him explicitly a figure for all, regardless of class. The middle class people could still laud Burns as they could regard him as a man who had made good, while the working class could use him as an inspirational figure who was also "one of us". Burns the icon was Everyman.

The celebration of Burns' birthday in Dunedin was by this time a well-established tradition, and from 1864 till 1920 there are only some half a dozen

1869.
111 Ibid.
occasions that no reports or advertisements appear in the newspapers. What is notable is the change over time until 1892 of the various organizations hosting Burns anniversary celebrations. This stabilised in 1892, however, with the establishment of the Burns Club. Throughout most of the 1870s the Caledonian Society of Otago was responsible for Burns Night commemorations, until 1879 when an Ayrshire Association reappears to take up the reins.

January 1870 saw an unprecedented three Burns events in Dunedin and its environs, indicative of the increasing appeal Scotland’s national bard had entering the later nineteenth century. The activities were not only confined to Dunedin, with many events also organised in the surrounding country districts.112 John Hay at the Caledonian Society’s supper placed the commemoration of Robert Burns in the context of the Scottish Diaspora. Toasts to Burns’ immortal memory, remarked Hay, were drunk worldwide, “from the Great Salt Lakes of America to the burning plains of furthest India, wherever Scotchmen were; and where were they not?”113 The state of the Scots language was also a topic, for despite Burns rendering Scots “classical for ever”, in the context of colonial Otago the Caledonian Society was having

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113 Ibid, 26 January, 1870.
to embark on efforts to preserve it from extinction. Burns was thus enlisted as a reason for supporting the linguistic identity of the Scots in the face of its dilution or extinction.

The Caledonian Society supper of 1872 was a clear example of the contradictory nature Burns could create for Scottish identity. Alongside the usual loyal toasts to representatives of the British nation -- namely the Queen, Prince of Wales, the Governor and the military -- a speech made reference to Burns’ Jacobitism. The independence of thought and spirit of this “descendant of a covenanting family” made Burns a great patriot and representative of his nation. Significantly, the conflation of the national aspects of Burns within a British context is seamless. Burns’ sentimental nationalism did not conflict in any way with the political nationalism of those gathered. Rather, they were Scots gathering for an evening of nostalgia for their homeland to preserve their Scottish identity. At the same time they were rooting that identity firmly in their awareness of the beneficial political fact that they were Britons. As the speaker concluded, one of the aims of the Caledonian Society holding such evenings was to “keep in mind those dear old associations which have given Scotland a place among the nations”.

Holding Burns Nights was not the only way the Caledonian Society of

\[114\] Ibid.
\[115\] Ibid, 26 January, 1872.
\[116\] Ibid.
Otago used Burns to keep alive the old associations. In addition to its supper in January 1873, it held a competition in the University Hall for recitations from the works of Burns. Aimed at youngsters,\footnote{Minutes of Directors' Meeting, 24 January, 1873 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 1.} it was an effort by the Society to maintain an interest in "the national language and antiquities of Scotland."\footnote{The Otago Daily Times, 27 January, 1873.} Again, Burns was enlisted as support for language preservation and cultural identity. Seven boys and three girls competed before a "large number of ladies and gentlemen". First prize was awarded to John Brown for his recitation of the "Address to a Haggis".\footnote{Ibid.} At the Caledonian Society's Burns supper, Brown repeated his feat to "fervent and prolonged applause".\footnote{Ibid, 28 January, 1873.}

By the mid-1870s the Caledonian Society of Otago was having difficulty sustaining its Burns celebrations. The last formal dinner which it organised until 1890 took place in 1875. Dunedin's Burns supper of 1877 was organised by W. C. Kirkcaldy, a stalwart of the Caledonian Society, as a direct response to the Caledonian Society's decision to drop Burns for the foreseeable future. At the supper, Kirkcaldy lamented that the "usual celebration under the auspices of the Caledonian Society had been allowed to lapse", but hoped that the
general feeling of regret given expression to by the Directors then present would be a
guarantee that, for the future, the Society would take the matter thoroughly in hand, and
arrange yearly for a proper celebration worthy of the occasion.\textsuperscript{121}

While the directors did resolve to resume Burns celebrations, there were no dinners.\textsuperscript{122} However, two years later the Caledonian Society did hold under its
auspices a lecture on Burns conducted by the Rev. J. W. Inglis at the Queen’s
Theatre. It was an enormous success.\textsuperscript{123}

In 1881 another lecture was held in Dunedin to commemorate Burns, although on this occasion it was under the unlikely auspices of the Young
Men’s Christian Association, the venue being the Temperance Hall.\textsuperscript{124} The
lecture on the poet’s works, interspersed with the lecturer’s own renditions of
Burns’ songs, was delivered by a Mr James Johnston to a full house. Given the
setting and the lecture’s sponsor, the evening’s chairman, Mr T. B. Low, was
reported as saying that

celebrations of Burns’ birth anniversary were usually considered inseparable from whisky
and haggis, but he believed that those present would enjoy themselves to the full as well as if
they had been seated in the recesses of some Scottish tavern drinking deep potations to the

\textsuperscript{121} Ibid, 26 January, 1877.
\textsuperscript{122} DM, 9 February, 1877 CSO Ho MS 1045 - 2.
\textsuperscript{123} The Otago Daily Times, 25 January, 1879.
\textsuperscript{124} Ibid, 26 January, 1881.
memory of Robert Burns.\textsuperscript{125}

In 1883 and 1884, Burns commemorations in Dunedin came under the auspices of the Robert Burns Statue Fund, although the Ayrshire Association (making its last reported appearance) lent its aid in the latter year. In 1883 a Grand Concert was organised by the Burns Statue Fund at the Garrison Hall.\textsuperscript{126}

In 1884 Dunedin was treated to two Burns commemorations. A dinner was held under the auspices of the Burns Statue Committee and the Ayrshire Association. The dinner served the purpose of acting as a convenient way to honour both Burns and the visiting Scottish entertainers, the Kennedy family.\textsuperscript{127} The chairman of the dinner, J. B. Thomson, spoke on the subject of the planned Dunedin Burns statue. Despite the inherent Scottish patriotism of the evening, Thomson revealed the ever-present awareness by Scots of their British identity. Thomson wished to see the vacant spaces of the Octagon filled by statues of an “illustrious” Englishman, an Irishman and, in recognition of the local environment, a second memorial to one of Scotland’s sons. Such awareness obviously had its limits, however, as no Welsh

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{125} Ibid, 26 January, 1881.
\item \textsuperscript{126} Ibid, 25 January, 1883.
\item \textsuperscript{127} Earlier in the evening the Kennedys gave one of their concerts (they were in Dunedin to present a series of them) and as it coincided with Burns’ birthday the entertainment consisted chiefly of “a selection of the choicest gems from the great lyrist’s songs.” Ibid, 26 January, 1884.
\end{itemize}
contribution was mentioned.\textsuperscript{128}

While it was hoped that night that the statue in tribute to Burns would be unveiled later that year,\textsuperscript{129} the occasion actually took place in May 1887. In a ceremony laden with Masonic ritual, Sir John Steele's statue of Burns was revealed before an enormous crowd of some eight thousand observers.\textsuperscript{130} It was a major civic event prefaced by a procession through the streets of Dunedin where flags bearing selected devices from the poet's works were suspended across the streets.\textsuperscript{131} To enthusiastic cheering, Sir George Grey addressed the crowd after a great grand-niece of the poet, the daughter of A. J. Burns,\textsuperscript{132} unveiled the statue as the Engineers Band played "A man's a man for a' that".\textsuperscript{133} That evening a large banquet in honour of the occasion took place at the Lyceum Hall, with an attendance of approximately eighty.\textsuperscript{134}

No reported Burns dinner or concert was held again in Dunedin until 1888, although a lecturer gave a paper on Burns in 1885\textsuperscript{135} and Mosgiel is reported

\textsuperscript{128} Ibid. Thomson's hope was never realised. The financing of one statue proved arduous enough. The Burns statue enterprise was still in debt months after its eventual unveiling. Ibid. 26 January, 1888.
\textsuperscript{129} Ibid. 26 January, 1884.
\textsuperscript{130} E. Olssen, A History of Otago (Dunedin, John McIndoe, 1984), pp. 136-137.
\textsuperscript{131} The procession was made up of: Mounted Troopers (2), Pipers (6), Caledonian Society (30), Engineers Band (25), Fire Brigade (18), Seaman's Union (110), Caversham Band (25), Operative Bakers (27), Druids (69), Mosgiel Band (30), Protestant Alliance (30), Loyal Orange Lodge (30) and Foresters (40). The Otago Daily Times, 25 May, 1887.
\textsuperscript{133} The Otago Daily Times, 25 May, 1887.
\textsuperscript{134} Ibid. 25 May, 1885.
\textsuperscript{135} The lecturer was a Mr Gerald Massey. The press found his delivery "anything but brilliant," laced as it was with purple prose. For example, "The most cynical Saturday
to have hosted a Burns Night in 1886.\textsuperscript{136}

The 1888 banquet at the Shamrock Hotel had as guest of honour the Shetland Island-born former premier, Sir Robert Stout. In proposing the toast of the evening, Stout drew together the affection of Scots for their homeland as personified by Burns, and the growing affinity developing for the new country which those present were shaping.\textsuperscript{137} Stout took issue with the popular image of Scots as a clannish people who favoured their own by reflecting that, in the twenty year history of the Dunedin mayoralty, only six of those years had seen a Scotsman holding the city’s top municipal post.\textsuperscript{138}

But with time and distance increasingly separating Scotland and New Zealand, and with Scots only a minority of the population, Stout urged that it was more important than ever for them to preserve their heritage. Stout had a particular interest in keeping the distinctive Scots language alive, commenting that

\begin{flushright}
Review would not dare to sneer when Burns shed tears, for his tears had such passionate ardours flashing out of them, just as the lurking lightening flashes with a fierce splendour in the summer raindrops after a tempest." Nevertheless, the newspaper remarked positively on the evening which had a large audience. \textit{Ibid.}, 24 January, 1885. A few days later Massey presented another lecture, this time on the subject of England’s greatest bard, Shakespeare. \textit{Ibid.}, 27 January, 1885.
\end{flushright}
\textsuperscript{136} \textit{Ibid.}, 27 January, 1886.
\textsuperscript{137} \textit{Ibid.}, 26 January, 1888.
\textsuperscript{138} \textit{Ibid.}
I would far rather hear broad Doric than what I may term bastard English, and I hope as years go by that we shall not let the Scottish language die out even in this country; that the Scottish Doric will not meet the fate of the Grecian Doric, but will live as long as the earth endures.\textsuperscript{139}

Burns was used by Stout as a symbol of Scottish identity, and as long as the national poet was celebrated throughout the "civilised world" the preservation of Scottish difference would be assured.\textsuperscript{140}

This assertion of Scottish identity via the figure of Robert Burns was certainly well preserved in the civilised environs of late nineteenth century Dunedin. In the late 1880s and early 1890s Burns commemorations took their regular place in the January social calendar. Indeed, the Caledonian Society's formal supper of 1891 attracted one of the largest reported gatherings of participants,\textsuperscript{141} with eighty sitting down that evening.\textsuperscript{142} However, despite its apparent popularity, this night marked the end of the formal supper as a form of celebration of Burns in this period. The following year the formation of the Burns Club heralded a new style of Burns commemoration. From this point on the trend became oriented towards an informal style of celebration with

\textsuperscript{139} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{140} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{141} Outside of the general reporting of most events that describe attendance as "large" or "very large".
\textsuperscript{142} Ibid. 27 January, 1891.
concerts and gatherings displacing formal dinners. This was a deliberate move to make such gatherings more inclusive and wholesome affairs. The Burns Club formed a choir and admitted women\textsuperscript{143} in an effort to distance Burns commemorations from the boozy all male affairs that had previously prevailed. Their aim was "homely social entertainment" and they succeeded, giving Burns celebrations a new lease of life.\textsuperscript{144}

The advent of the Burns Club finally gave regularity to Burns Night in Dunedin throughout this study's survey period. The Club grew out of a regenerated interest in Burns following the unveiling of the statue to him in the Octagon.\textsuperscript{145} A group of members from the Caledonian Society, headed by A. J. Burns, met together in February 1891 to discuss the formation of such a dedicated society. Addressing the gathering, Dr Stenhouse stated that the creation of such a society would be beneficial for the preservation of the Scottish dialect in New Zealand, would instil in the younger generation a much needed sense of patriotism, as well as keeping alive an interest in Burns' writing and Scottish history.\textsuperscript{146} It was decided to form such a society, and on March 18 a constitution was adopted. The first president of the Club was appropriately an individual who could lay claim to sharing a measure of

\textsuperscript{143} Despite some initial opposition. See Satterthwaite, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{144} Ibid. p. 16.
\textsuperscript{145} Ibid. p. 13.
\textsuperscript{146} Ibid. p. 14.
the poet's blood, A. J. Burns, great nephew of Robert.\textsuperscript{147} Their inaugural Burns
Night was a rollicking affair at what was to be their regular venue, the
Garrison Hall.\textsuperscript{148}

The Centenary commemorations of the poet's death in July 1896 were
organised by the Burns Club. They held a gathering at their usual venue,\textsuperscript{149}
with speeches on the subject of the poet preceding an extensive concert
programme.\textsuperscript{150} In the wider community, outside of the devoted members of
the Burns' Club, the daily newspaper devoted a lengthy editorial to the
occasion like its Christchurch counterparts. While declining to offer any
words on Burns' poetic ability (saying that the subject was an exhausted one),
the paper viewed Burns as worthy of all the honour heaped upon him. While
Burns "was no angel", largely on account of his drinking, the newspaper
heartily endorsed that night's celebration:

We are heartily at one with all Scotsmen in the desire to do honour to the name of the great
poet of Scotland - the poet who, by virtue of his patriotism, his sublime simplicity, sincerity,
and strength, his genius and his loavleness, is loved and cherished in grateful memory in all
the homes of the Scottish race...\textsuperscript{151}

\textsuperscript{147} Ibid, p. 14.
\textsuperscript{148} The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1892.
\textsuperscript{149} Ibid, 18 July, 1896.
\textsuperscript{150} Ibid, 22 July, 1896.
\textsuperscript{151} Ibid, 21 July, 1896.
A hagiographic series of verses in honour of Burns, written by a Miss W. Sheriff Bain of Christchurch, was also published the next day.\textsuperscript{152}

Thus Burns commemorative events were well established in both Christchurch and Dunedin by the turn of the century. While the frequency of such events is indicative to some degree of the popularity of Burns, analysis of the newspaper reports reveal more detail. They indicate clearly the reasons behind Burns' appeal and how he attained the position of the single most important Scottish cultural icon of the late nineteenth century. A study of the reported speeches in either memory of or about Burns shows seven key factors that are stressed regularly. These are,

- Burns as symbolic of Scotland
- Burns as Scottish patriot
- Burns' poetic genius
- Burns' universal appeal to all humanity, not just Scots
- Burns' humble background and subsequent life
- Burns' appeal to the peasantry and working class
- The negative aspects of his character

The frequency of these themes are recorded in Appendices 3 and 4. Only those speeches reported in reasonable length by the newspapers have been used in this survey in an attempt to alleviate the potential problem of

\textsuperscript{152} \textit{Ibid}, 22 July, 1896.
newspaper editing. While the Christchurch sample of reported speeches is
unfortunately very slight, the Dunedin survey is large enough for consistent
trends to be charted fully.

The most commonly referred to theme is that of Burns' universal greatness,
as Appendix 3 indicates. It features in almost every speech given on Burns in
Dunedin. This theme is used in various ways. The emphasis is apparent that
while Burns is considered both a patriot and icon of Scotland, he also
belonged to the entire world. The theme of Burns as a universal figure\textsuperscript{155} who
belonged not just to Scots but to all humanity as well was repeatedly stressed
over the years.\textsuperscript{154} In proposing the memory of Burns in 1875, Mr. A.
MacGregor noted that "Burns was not beloved by Scotchmen only, but by all
who could understand his language. He was not only the poet of Scotland,
but also of humanity."\textsuperscript{155} Burns was not simply a national poet to his devotees,
but an international one who "broke down racial barriers and comprehended
all mankind in his universal love."\textsuperscript{156} The New Zealand statesman Sir Robert
Stout, speaking at the Burns anniversary of 1888, remarked that "He [Burns]
was a man of a big heart; he was not confined at all by nationality. There was
nothing in him which confined his sympathy to his own people or to his own

\textsuperscript{153} Ibid, 26 January, 1867.
\textsuperscript{154} Ibid, 26 January, 1869; 26 January, 1894.
\textsuperscript{155} Ibid, 26 January, 1875.
\textsuperscript{156} Otago Witness, 23 January, 1903.
country: his views were wider than that, they were views for humanity.\(^{157}\) In
the eyes of one speaker, Burns' universality was a Divine product, as "when
God's own hand sent fresh from Himself a poet's soul into an Ayrshire
ploughman...He intended a revelation of the universal heart of mankind,
which all races of men might read."\(^{158}\)

There was awareness among Burns devotees at these events that the very
act of gathering on the poet's birthday to honour him not only put into
practice the idea of a Burnsian "universal brotherhood", but also went "a long
way towards breaking down the partitions of sectarianism and caste".\(^{159}\) For
this, the world owed Scotland a debt of gratitude.\(^{160}\)

Indeed, the increasing popularity of Burns in the nineteenth century beyond
just Scotland and wherever Scots were to be found throughout the world was
regarded as tangible evidence of Burns' universal appeal.\(^{161}\) As Mr. A.
Bathgate commented in 1890, Burns' "admirers were not confined to any
nation. Of course Scotchmen responded more readily to any quotation from
his works, but his admirers were to be found throughout the civilised world.
- (hear, hear)."\(^{162}\) While on occasion this universal appreciation was confined

\(^{157}\) The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1888.
\(^{158}\) Otago Witness, 2 February, 1916.
\(^{159}\) The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1877. See also Otago Witness, 30 January, 1918.
\(^{160}\) The Otago Daily Times, 27 January, 1891; 26 January, 1895.
\(^{161}\) Ibid, 26 January, 1884; 24 January 1885; 22 July, 1896; Otago Witness 31 January, 1912.
\(^{162}\) The Otago Daily Times, 27 January, 1890.
only to the "British race", the overwhelming sentiment was that Burns had produced poetry not just for Scots but also for the whole world. Perhaps the final proof of Burns’ “catholicity” was produced when one speaker noted the proliferation of the use of “Auld Lang Syne” around the world.

The bedrock underlying this portrayal and celebration of Burns as the “poet of mankind” was his image as a champion of the lower classes. His working class appeal is apparent in that of thirty three speeches in Christchurch and Dunedin, it is raised in no less than twenty one of them. The reports clearly indicate that Burns had been elevated to a position to represent not just Scottish culture, but working class culture irrespective of nationality. A common reference point used by Burns devotees was the poet’s refrain that “a man’s a man for a’ that”. Why was Burns a champion of the people? The reason can be found in the emphasis placed on Burns’ own humble background by his devotees. Burns “was thoroughly acquainted with the people from his infancy, and gave expression to their thoughts with genuineness that every heart responded to.” Burns was presented as an empowering and inspirational figure to the working class, most clearly and

165 Ibid.
166 The Otago Daily Times 2 February, 1899.
167 See Appendices 3 and 4.
169 The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1875.
concisely expressed in 1914 by the Rev. Mr. Miller, who after speaking on "the
dignity of Labour"\textsuperscript{170}, commented that

It was well that Burns had sprung from the ranks, and knew of the suffering and sorrow
endured by the struggling masses. His sympathy with the working class was thorough, and
his writings in verse and in prose showed it. A working man himself, he entertained for the
working man a lively interest and a genuine sympathy. He had a deep living interest for the
masses and for his fellow toilers. He knew their condition, and that it stood greatly in need of
being mended, and that they should have more freedom of action and be less dependent. It
was for the masses and his fellow toilers that he spoke, wrote, and lived. The sorrow of the
people was his sorrow, and their joys were his joys, and to carry them into a higher
atmosphere of thought and feeling was the great burden of his mission.\textsuperscript{171}

Burns was portrayed as a figure to elevate and inspire the common people of
the world.\textsuperscript{172} One speaker grandly claimed in the late 1870s that Burns had
"done more for the elevation of the multitude" than any other writer in any
language.\textsuperscript{173} One tribute to Burns in 1911 described the poet as the "champion
and patron saint of modern democracy."\textsuperscript{174} while the following year another
speaker lauded Burns' compassion for the downtrodden whether it be

\textsuperscript{170} Otago Witness, 28 January, 1914.
\textsuperscript{171} Ibid, 28 January, 1914.
\textsuperscript{172} The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1894.
\textsuperscript{173} Ibid, 26 January, 1877.
\textsuperscript{174} Otago Witness, 1 February, 1911.
“human, animal, or vegetable”.175

The reason why Burns was seen to be such a working class saint are threefold. Firstly, his works were, in language and sentiment, easily understood by the world’s poor. “It required no learning or profound study to appreciate him,” commented one speaker in 1890.176 Another in 1913 drew attention to the fact that Burns was the first to articulate and interpret for the peasantry their life and experiences.177 Burns, said one speaker in 1895, instructed the “lower orders” how to think and feel, with the result that “today the working classes are able to treat with kings and with kaisers on equal terms.”178 Ten years earlier lecturer Gerald Massey, as his talk drew to a close, proclaimed that “from the lips of Robert Burns the voice of the people got adequate expression for the first time. He unfurled the flag of the Workers with one hand while he fought for it with the other.”179

The second reason is that Burns was perceived to have come from the bosom of the people.180 This first occurred in Britain during the poet’s lifetime. In New Zealand it was picked up again and highlighted. Frequently the point would be made by speakers that Burns’ life was marked by poverty and toil.181

175 Ibid, 31 January, 1912.
176 The Otago Daily Times, 27 January, 1890.
177 Otago Witness, 29 January, 1913.
178 The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1895.
179 Ibid, 24 January, 1885.
and that Burns had risen above these things to become a great poet.\textsuperscript{182} Indeed, the humbleness in which Burns was born and subsequently lived\textsuperscript{183} was seen as both an inspiration for and explanation for his genius. The Hon. John McKenzie remarked in 1900 that "some of the cleverest and the wittiest things said and written [were] when grim poverty was at his door", and that had Burns "been born in the lap of luxury, his keen sense of human misery would never have been so strong".\textsuperscript{184}

The third reason is the class of people who typically celebrated Burns. Burns had a great working class following, and the membership of the Dunedin Burns Club reflected this. Indeed, at one point it was claimed that the Club needed more "'well-to-do' Scotsmen" as members. Unfortunately no membership details for this period survive to test this.\textsuperscript{185}

Remarking upon the genius of Burns was a common feature of the Christchurch and Dunedin Burns Nights. Appendices 3 and 4 show that it featured in twenty six of thirty three Burns speeches in Christchurch and Dunedin. Often this was indicated merely by the speaker commenting that

\textsuperscript{182} Otago Witness, 29 January, 1913.
\textsuperscript{183} Otago Daily Times, 27 January, 1890; Otago Witness, 23 January, 1903.
\textsuperscript{184} Otago Witness, 1 February, 1900. Robert Carlyle also expressed the view that had Burns received a superior education than he had, his natural talents would have been stifled. See Otago Daily Times, 24 January, 1885.
\textsuperscript{185} Otago Witness, 31 January, 1917.
Burns was indeed a genius,\textsuperscript{186} at other times by more wordy fits of extravagant praise. One Dunedin speaker asserted in 1912 that "When the star of his genius rose above the intellectual horizon men of all phases of religious and political thought were prepared to fall down and worship it."\textsuperscript{187} Another, addressing a Dunedin Burns Night in 1891, noted that Burns had "won for himself a unique niche in the Valhalla of genius."\textsuperscript{188} Burns' genius was not always referred to without qualification. The Rev. Charles Fraser, speaking at Christchurch's first Burns commemoration, commented that while the poet was a genius and "in the front of the literary names of the world", he could not be compared fairly with William Shakespeare, the "facile princeps" of British literature.\textsuperscript{189} At other times, however, others thought that Shakespeare and Milton in no way belonged to the same poetic constellation as Burns.\textsuperscript{190}

Despite the adulation Burns the poet received, his devotees were not blind to the man's faults. The recognition of Burn's negative aspects occurs in almost half of all Dunedin and Christchurch Burns speeches. "While he transcends us in his genius he is our poor earthbound companion and fellow mortal in our

\textsuperscript{186} \textit{Otago Daily Times}, 26 January, 1869; 26 January, 1875; 26 January, 1884; 26 January, 1888; 27 January, 1890; 26 January, 1894.
\textsuperscript{187} \textit{Otago Witness}, 31 January, 1912.
\textsuperscript{188} \textit{The Otago Daily Times}, 27 January, 1891.
\textsuperscript{189} \textit{The Press}, 28 January, 1867.
\textsuperscript{190} \textit{The Otago Daily Times}, 26 January, 1875.
weaknesses.”\textsuperscript{191} The poet’s intemperance was what was usually singled out for (brief) attention,\textsuperscript{192} and not surprisingly for Victorian-era celebrations, Burns’ fondness for women tended to be glossed over.\textsuperscript{193} Usually, however, there was no specific reference to Burns’ faults. Instead it would be simply stated that he had them, with the assumption that those gathered knew enough of the poet’s personal history to not need reminding. His sins were rationalised as making a fantastic figure human,\textsuperscript{194} with John McKenzie emphasising that Burns was neither an angel nor a perfect man.\textsuperscript{195} Biblical allusions were also deployed to make the point that Burns was a member of “sinning humanity”, and that “He that is without sin, let him cast the first stone.”\textsuperscript{196} Burns was merely a man who lived in a particularly lascivious time, and it was “hardly possible to escape its contagion.”\textsuperscript{197} Indeed, Burns’ faults actually endeared him to his devotees,\textsuperscript{198} who regarded his virtues as eclipsing his sometimes errant behaviour.\textsuperscript{199}

The reasons why these Scots regularly gathered together in Christchurch and Dunedin to celebrate the life and works of Burns were not primarily due

\begin{footnotes}
191 Otago Witness, 1 February, 1911.
193 Otago Witness, 1 February, 1905.
195 Otago Witness, 1 February, 1900.
196 The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1877.
197 Ibid, 26 January, 1893.
198 Otago Witness, 2 February, 1899.
199 The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1877; 26 January, 1888; Otago Witness, 1 February, 1900; 31 January, 1917.
\end{footnotes}
to his universal appeal or working class sympathies. These were consequences of the primary reason, which was that Robert Burns was an inherently Scottish figure. Burns' patriotism was a regular topic of toasts and speeches to him over the years, as was the theme that time had made Burns an icon of Scotland itself. Burns' patriotism was a result of his works during his lifetime, while icon-status was a posthumous award bestowed by Scots in the decades following his death.

A feature of the speeches that note Burns' patriotism is their lack of political nationalism. There was an absence of any hankering for Scottish autonomy or independence. The speeches were nationalist only in the cultural sense. They were sentimental assertions of Scottish nationality. Typically, the speakers referred to Burns reviving Scottish pride in their nation with his works at a time after the Union when it was at a particularly low ebb. Burns was presented as a fierce patriot who loved his country and especially its history of "freedom", "liberty" and "independence". Furthermore, it was Burns who gave back to Scotland "a great ennobling sense of her nationality."

During the First World War, however, Burns' patriotism was readily appropriated for the cause against the Central Powers. Burns was perceived as a fighter for liberty, and as such was a perfect rallying figure for wartime.

200 The Otago Daily Times, 26 January, 1875.
202 Otago Witness, 29 January, 1913.
Professor H. D. Bedford, addressing the Burns Club in 1916 on the subject of "Burns as a Patriot", said that Burns' passion for his country came from his love of her people and their "epic struggle for freedom". Bedford went further by distinguishing good patriotism from bad, with Burns a prime example of the former. Burns loved all people, in contrast with evil German patriotism which led its people to "fight for a military despot, to the tune of a hymn of hate, and by means of baby-killing, nurse-slaying, and captive-crucifying - such patriotism was as far from Burns as the poles are asunder." Bedford concluded his speech with the assertion that Burns' love of freedom had pollinated the British Empire via Scotland.

If Burns was held up as a universal figure who had a particular affinity for the working people, there was one final factor that underpinned it all - the fact that by the nineteenth century he had become a symbol of Scotland. He personified Scotland through his works as well as his person, and was so associated with that country that to expatriate Scots throughout the world his name became a rallying cry. "Burns had come to be the representative Scotsman, and when they thought of him they thought of the old grey land

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204 Ibid.
205 Ibid.
206 Ibid, 1 February, 1900.
207 The Press, 28 January, 1867.
208 Otago Witness, 27 January, 1911.
so dear to them from which they came.” He was a truly national icon, with one speaker comparing Burns’ place in Scottish history with that of David in the history of Israel, while also stating that Scotland owed more to the poet than to its patron Saint, Andrew. The anniversary of his birth drew all Scots together not just in memory of him, but of Scotland also. Burns was commonly regarded as Scotland’s national bard and it was his works that provided the national basis of his fame. As William Massey remarked in 1885, His heart beat *en rapport* with the national heart, and herein lay his great strength and enduring charm. His poems and songs were Scotch in passion, Scotch in humour, Scotch in scenery, Scotch in tenderness – Scotch in everything, for they were Scotch at heart.

As a result of the national character of his works, Burns the man became enshrined in the national psyche of Scotland. Despite this, he was not always regarded solely as a national figure, but at times as a *British* one, with one speaker expressing the sentiment that “the poet Burns had bound the whole of the British Empire together”.

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209 Ibid., 30 January, 1918.
210 *The Otago Daily Times*, 26 January, 1875.
212 *The Otago Daily Times*, 26 January, 1877; *Otago Witness*, 1 February, 1900.
213 *The Otago Daily Times*, 24 January, 1885.
214 Ibid., 26 January, 1893.
215 *Otago Witness*, 23 January, 1903. The speaker was J. C. Thomson, the newly elected member for Wallace in the House of Representatives.
Robert Burns was a convenient and readily accessible outlet through which Scots could express their difference within the dominant British culture of New Zealand. He was a symbol of their country who spoke to them distinctively in their vernacular about a place they had left. To a great degree Burns was Scotland and Scotland was Burns. His enormous popularity was testament to his universal appeal. By the early twentieth century, wherever Scots could be found throughout the British Empire on or around January 25 each year, they could be found celebrating not just a great poet, but a man who represented Scotland. Christchurch and Dunedin in faraway New Zealand were no exceptions.
Chapter Five

Conclusion

The Scots' place amongst the peoples of the British Empire was something they themselves recognised. Increasingly historians are beginning to notice the tartan threads of the Empire. The British world of the nineteenth century was no simple affair. It was a multifaceted structure with ties to the United Kingdom through economics, military and political policy, emigration and culture.

The Scots played an important part in the British Empire. They did so as both British and Scottish citizens. Such a conflation of British and Scottish patriotism was personified in the Empire by such figures as General Sir Hector Macdonald, a Highland soldier who was lauded by Scots the world over. He was not simply a Scot who had “made good”, but a man which had won fame fighting for the British Army. The Scots were different in their cultural identity from the dominant English, but were in many ways a part of the majority culture. In the Empire the Scots were faithful supporters, acting as England's lieutenants. They were loyal subjects, servants and participants in the British Empire. As such, they were the respectable face of British Celticism. This was in stark contrast to their Celtic opposites, the Catholic Irish. The Irish had a “foreignness” about them, in religion, dress and brogue.
They were not keenly sought as immigrants, as New Zealand emphasised its “Britishness” during the nineteenth century. The Scots were welcome, but the Catholic Irish were not. A large part of the Irish ‘otherness’ can be traced to their Catholicism. In short, the Catholic Irish were not the partners in the Empire the Scots were. While Irishness was perceived as largely negative, the Scots were regarded positively. They had a popular image as being successful migrants, and in fact were over-represented in the business spheres.

As a part of the dominant British culture, the Scots were safe to celebrate their identity in New Zealand from the nineteenth century. Unlike the Catholic Irish, their expressions of patriotism and nationalism were entirely benign. They ranged from forming Caledonian societies to conduct traditional sports, to celebrating the life of their favourite icon and national poet, Robert Burns. Such expressions of cultural identity were safely sentimental and lacked any political motivation. Political nationalism played no part in the Scottish identity. To a great degree the “soft” nationalism of the Scots actually reinforced Scottish loyalty to the British and Imperial identity. Often this was explicitly done. For instance, the Caledonian societies actively sought — and always received — the patronage of the Governors of New Zealand, representatives of the British Crown. Their support for Imperial endeavours such as the First World War was unquestioned. Even when trying to help the plight of poor Highland crofters, they did so with one eye on the greater Imperial good. The organised Scottish societies were the public face of New Zealand Scottish identity. They were not only involved in overt displays of
patriotism, but also undertook less emblematic activities in the community. Through their commercial success before their games went into decline, the Caledonian societies benevolent functions and contributions to adult night education cemented the Scots reputation as "good citizens" in a British settler society.

Such British cultural differences were often ignored until now. By answering the plea made by J. G. A. Pocock in 1974, we can gain a more sophisticated understanding of New Zealand society, but also that of its Pakeha parent, Great Britain. Today, at a time when national identities are fluid to a degree never seen before, acquainting ourselves with the history of those identities in our past is more important than ever.
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### APPENDIX 2: Burns Celebrations: Christchurch

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## APPENDIX 4: Burns Speaches: Christchurch

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Bibliography

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Newspapers and Periodicals:
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