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'CALEDONIA, STERN AND WILD'

SCOTTISH IDENTITY IN WANGANUI
AND RANGITIKEI
1880-1918

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Presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements
of a Master of Arts degree in History
at Massey University

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Frontispiece

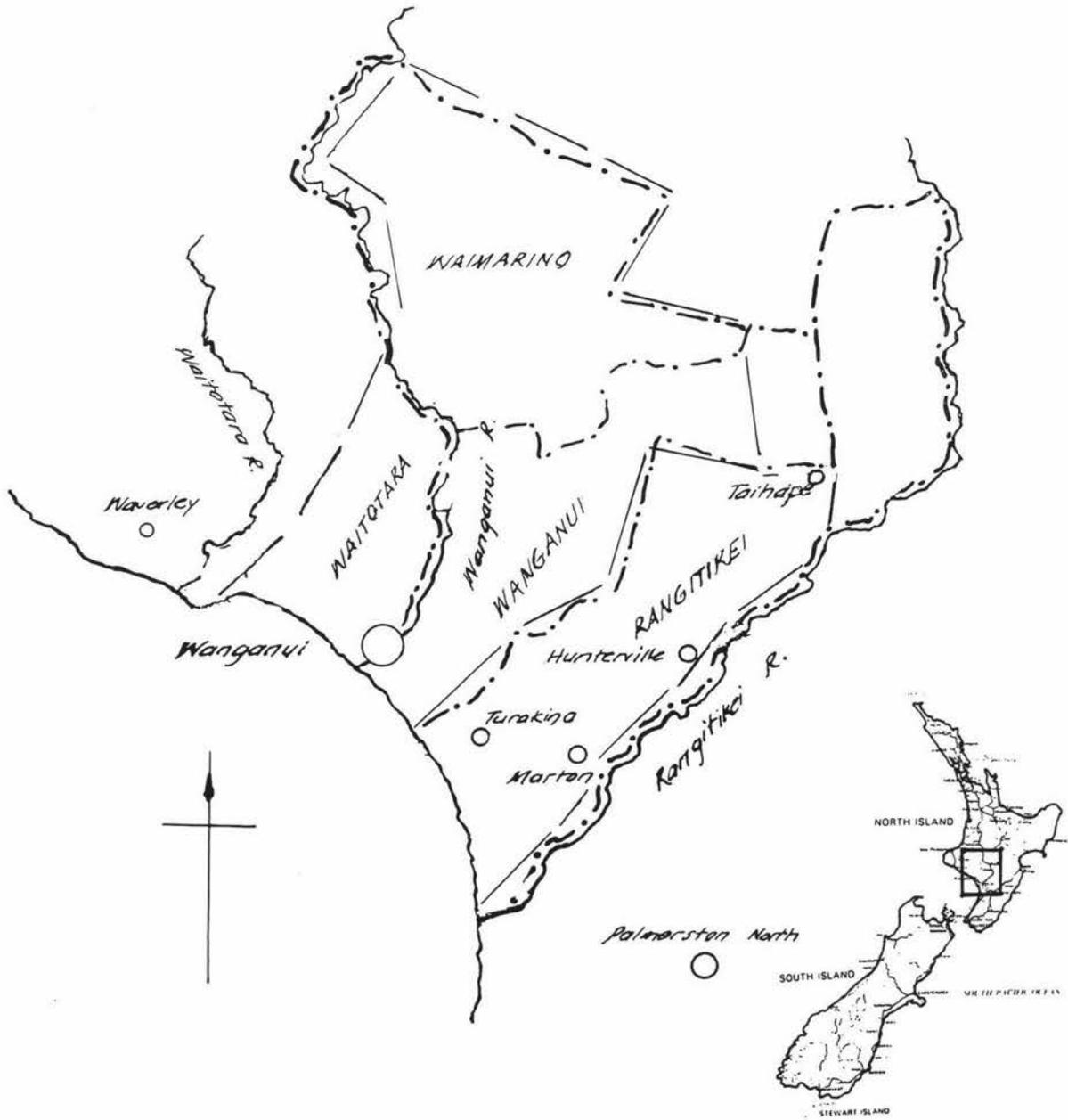
'The McNab' by Sir Henry Raeburn

Oil on canvas 1803-13. Reproduced by permission of
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PLAN OF WANGANUI AND RANGITIKEI COUNTIES

Reference: Population centres ○
 County boundaries :1876 ———
 " " :1919 - - - -

Scale: 0 10 20 30 40 Kilometres



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ABBREVIATIONS

NZAAA	New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association
NZACS	New Zealand Association of Caledonian Societies or New Zealand Caledonian Societies' Association
NZAU	New Zealand Athletics Union
NZPD	New Zealand Parliamentary Debates
DUHO	Hocken Library, Dunedin
DKN	Knox College Archives, Dunedin
WTU	Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington

ILLUSTRATIONS

'The McNab' by Sir Henry Raeburn
Oil on canvas 1803-13. Reproduced by permission of
Dewar and Sons through their NZ agent *Frontispiece*

Shou'der tae Shou'der': Rangitikei Scots' Society's Ball:
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Argyle hall, Hunterville, 26 June 1914. *Facing p.74*

Pipe band 1900s. Tesla, Wanganui.
Possibly the Pipe Band attached to the Wanganui Highland Rifles c.1902.
Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.
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Mrs Agnes Anne Wilson - 1922, attending Hunterville
Caledonian Day. *Mrs Jack Scally's Hunterville and District:
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Highland dancing competitor. Tesla, Wanganui.
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MAP

Plan of Wanganui and Rangitikei Counties showing main centres of population
and county boundaries 1919 and 1876

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This thesis is a tentative examination of forms of Scottish national identity in New Zealand within two institutions - the Caledonian Society and the Presbyterian Church. The reason why a small, ephemeral, secular organization is considered on the same basis as a very substantial religious institution such as the Presbyterian Church is that they both derived their character from Scotland. The time - between about 1880 and 1918 - covers a period in which conceptions of national identity were changing, both for Scots in New Zealand and for New Zealanders in general. The area - Wanganui and Rangitikei - is not considered especially Scottish when compared with Otago or Southland. When figures for Otago and Southland are removed from population calculations, however, Wanganui and Rangitikei assume a fresh significance. Proportions of Presbyterians, and proportions of Scottish-born are significantly above the average.¹

Scottish national identity has a limited number of discourses. The most common form has been to judge the achievements of Scots in terms of Scottish stereotypes or supposed national characteristics, both good and bad; ambition, canniness, frugality, dourness, and drunkenness. The 'great Scot' discourse focuses on positive national characteristics² and literature about Scots abroad slips into this mode very easily - for instance, parts of Pearce's *The Scots in New Zealand*.³ Brooking's analysis of entrepreneurial Scots in New Zealand never quite detaches itself from the powerful image of the ambitious, canny, emigrant Scot who was by his very nature more successful than other ethnic groups.⁴ One variation of this which has had a

¹ For example in 1881, 15.85 % of the population (excluding Otago and Southland) were Presbyterian. For Wanganui and Rangitikei the corresponding figures were 24.97 % and 28.72 %. For Scots-born a similar average was 6.68%, and for Wanganui and Rangitikei the averages were 8.62% and 8.93%. See Appendices Four & Five.

² For instance: Forbes Macgregor, *Famous Scots: the pride of a small nation*, (Edinburgh, 1984).

³ G.L. Pearce, *The Scots of New Zealand*, (Auckland, 1976).

⁴ Tom Brooking, 'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside' in R.A. Cage(ed), *The Scots abroad: labour, capital, enterprise, 1750-1914*, (London, 1985), pp.156-190.

pervasive influence is the apparent relationship between Calvinism and the more positive of Scottish national characteristics. Notestein's analysis of Scottish character is premised upon this relationship.⁵ R.H. Campbell has linked Scotland's economic prosperity in the late eighteenth century to the influence of Scottish religious identity.⁶ It is also used to explain the apparent success of Scots in countries like Canada and New Zealand. Aspinwall has suggested that the Scottish religious identity, internalised and self-regulating, was very appropriate for the colonial situation.⁷ When the relationship between religion and character is not being treated as a chicken-or-egg question as to whether national character produced Scottish Presbyterianism or Calvinism produced Scottish national character, it is treated as an incontrovertible given. This ignores the considerable religious diversity and dissension that Scotland has experienced over several centuries.

A more recent form of discourse has been to investigate aspects of Scottish national identity as a series of 'mythic structures' or structures of popular belief concerning the nature of Scottish egalitarianism and education. MacLaren has concluded that egalitarianism did not mean classlessness.⁸ Robert Anderson has outlined the myth of the 'lad o' pairts'.⁹ In the last twenty years the historical character of Scottish nationalism has been examined.¹⁰

None of the above approaches takes account of emigration - a significant factor in Scottish history. The Scottish 'diaspora', less conspicuous and less traumatic than Irish emigration in the mid-nineteenth century, was nevertheless sustained and significant from the later

⁵ Wallace Notestein, *The Scot in history: a study in the interplay of character and history*, (London, 1946).

⁶ R.H. Campbell, 'The influence of religion on economic growth in Scotland in the eighteenth century', in T. M. Devine and D. Dickson (eds), *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p.232.

⁷ Bernard Aspinwall, 'The Scottish religious identity in the Atlantic world 1880-1914' in S. Mews(ed), *Religion and national identity*, (Oxford, 1982), p.502.

⁸ A. Allan MacLaren, 'Introduction: an open society' in A.A. MacLaren(ed), *Social class in Scotland: past and present*, (Edinburgh, [1976]), p.9.

⁹ Robert Anderson, 'In search of the "lad of parts": the mythical history of Scottish education', *History Workshop*, 19 (Spring 1985), pp.82-104;

¹⁰ For example: Tom Nairn, *The break-up of Britain: crisis and neo-nationalism*, (London, 1977), and H.J. Hanham, *Scottish nationalism*, (London, 1969).

eighteenth century. Bumsted in Canada, Richards in Australia and McClean in New Zealand have all contributed to the understanding of Scottish emigration patterns.¹¹

All of the above approaches tell us nothing about what popular Scottish national identity is, or the origins of its forms and traditions. Until the last few years hardly any serious attention has been paid to forms of popular Scottish national identity, either within Scotland or in the countries to which Scots emigrated in significant numbers. Trevor-Roper attacked the false historicity of parts of the Highland tradition in 1983,¹² but it was not until 1991 that Pittock looked at the origins of one of the major elements of Scottish national identity, the imagery of Jacobitism.¹³ Several books have been written about Highland Games, the most analytical of which is by Jarvie.¹⁴ It is popularly said that there are more Scottish societies outside Scotland than ever were in it and yet Scottish ethnic societies outside Scotland have not been seen as legitimate topics for study.

Chapter Two deals with the various meanings behind elements of nineteenth-century middle-class Scottish national identity. It aims to explain how and why various meanings or elements came to be associated with middle-class Scottish national identity and forms a basis for discussion in chapters Three, Four and Five. Chapter Three considers the Presbyterian Church and its clergy as vehicles for Scottish national identity. Chapters Four and Five look at the phenomenon of the Caledonian Society in New Zealand: firstly at the context in which the Caledonian Society developed and its character: and secondly, the activities of the Caledonian Games. Chapter Six brings the two parts of this inquiry together and makes some general comments about the nature of and changes in Scottish national identity in New Zealand.

¹¹ J.M. Bumsted, *The people's clearance: Highland emigration to British North America, 1770-1815*, (Edinburgh, 1982); Eric Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish emigration in the nineteenth century', *Historical Studies*, 21:85(1985), pp.473-494; Rosalind R. McClean, 'Scottish emigrants to New Zealand: motives, means and background', PhD thesis in History, (University of Edinburgh, 1990).

¹² Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The invention of tradition: the highland tradition of Scotland', in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The invention of tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983), pp.15-41.

¹³ Murray G.H. Pittock, *The invention of Scotland: the Stuart myth and the Scottish identity: 1638 to the present*, (New York, 1991).

¹⁴ Grant Jarvie, *Highland games: the making of the myth*, (Edinburgh, 1991).

Membership of Scottish ethnic societies in New Zealand included both Scots-born and their descendants. Not infrequently, those who called themselves Scots were born outside Scotland. Therefore, except where specified, the adjective 'Scot' is used in a loose sense to mean those who were conscious of their Scottish ancestry.

Caledonian Societies in New Zealand were sports institutions as well as vehicles for Scottish national identity. Records for such turn-of-the-century societies are scarce because most of them were not legally incorporated societies and did not have to furnish annual reports or balance sheets. Many present-day Scottish ethnic societies have little or no knowledge of the organisations which preceded them. In the Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu, records of two Caledonian Societies have survived. The Wanganui Regional Museum holds minutes of the Wanganui Caledonian Society between 1884 and 1916. For the years 1921 to 1927, some balance sheets and annual reports are held by National Archives. The Turakina Caledonian Society has no record of its activities before 1919, but minutes are complete after that date. Consequently, many aspects of these two Caledonian Societies have been reconstructed or amplified from newspaper reports. For over fifty years, St Paul's Church in Wanganui was the largest and most important Presbyterian Church in Wanganui and Rangitikei. Its archives include minutes of Session, Board of Managers, and all the various auxiliary church organizations such as Christian Endeavour, and Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union. Most references to Scottishness and Scottish national identity, however, come from church magazines and selected newspaper reports.

CHAPTER TWO

VARIETIES OF SCOTTISHNESS

In his essay, *Varieties of Britishness*, Keith Robbins discusses the difficulty of establishing a single meaning for 'Britishness'.¹ It might also be said that instead of a single quintessence of 'Scottishness', there are *varieties of Scottishness*. Examining the origins of these varieties is a necessary background to any study of Scottish national identity in New Zealand and the ways in which Scots in New Zealand manifested their feelings of being a distinctive group. In this chapter, the origins of varieties of Scottishness are looked at in broad terms of region, religion, political affiliation, class, and gender.

National identity is a complex phenomenon which draws on other kinds of collective identity. Anthony Smith compares it with the the identity of the individual self which derives its meaning from familial, territorial, class, religious, ethnic and gender contexts - all forms of identity. For Smith, the ideological and cultural components of national identity are equally important.² In this thesis, national identity is treated as a complex of ideas in which politically-oriented nationalism is one of the components. Benedict Anderson's statement, that nationalism is a cultural system which should be understood in relation to other cultural systems, such as kinship and religion,³ is equally applicable to national identity.

The concept of a 'quintessential Scottishness' impedes fruitful historical enquiry because it is burdened with a number of persistent stereotypes. Notestein in 1946 sought to show how the Scottish character had influenced Scottish history. His view, that the Scots had no sense of

¹ Keith Robbins, 'Varieties of Britishness' in K. Robbins, *History, religion and identity in modern Britain*, (London, 1993), pp.259-270.

² Anthony Smith, *National identity*, (Reno, 1991), p.4. and pp.14-15.

³ Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities: reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*, Rev.ed, (London, 1991), p. 3 and p.12.

discipline until the Act of Union and the Presbyterian Church forced it upon them,⁴ accepted standard stereotypes of Scottishness. In the last two decades, sociologists and historians, invigorated by the possibility of political autonomy for Scotland, have sought to question the basis of these stereotypes. In a recent work on the experiences of emigrant Scots in the New World, Cage concludes that *it is not possible to define "Scottishness"; all eighteenth- and nineteenth-century attempts to enumerate essential Scottish characteristics were romantic and idealistic.*⁵ To look for a unitary Scottish national culture or identity, says the sociologist McCrone, is like *the hunting of the Scottish snark*. Like a good post-modernist, McCrone concludes that *Scotland is above all a set of meanings...Much depends upon whose meaning wins out.*⁶

Scotland's status has been somewhat ambivalent since the Act of Union between Scotland and England in 1707. Is it a distinct country or just a strongly defined region? Nineteenth-century ideas of the 'nation-state', a territorial entity with absolute political autonomy, only increased this sense of ambivalence for Scottish-born historians such as Macaulay and Buckle. If Scotland was not an autonomous state, did it have a separate history? In 1908 the *Historian's history of the world* thought not. *While it would be incorrect to say that Scotland has had no independent history since the Union, that history must be chiefly read in the annals of its church, its law and its literature. Its political existence has been absorbed in that of Great Britain.*⁷

This widespread attitude which dismissed the validity of parts of Scottish history was accompanied by a remarkable preoccupation with Scottish national characteristics. This preoccupation sustained itself in a set of stereotypes, both positive and negative, to which Scots themselves subscribed. The perceptions of non-Scots were formed from this great body

⁴ Notestein, p.11.

⁵ R.A. Cage, 'Editor's introduction' in R.A.Cage (ed), *The Scots abroad: labour, capital, enterprise, 1750-1914*, (London, 1985), p.[v].

⁶ David McCrone, *Understanding Scotland: the sociology of a stateless nation*, (London, 1992), p.195 and p.32.

⁷ Henry Smith Williams (ed), *Historian's history of the world*, v. 21, (London, 1908), p. 327.

of stereotypical material.

Beliefs about Scottish national characteristics can be grouped into three 'mythic structures'. The first, that Scotland was a democratic and egalitarian society, found its clearest manifestation in the myth of the 'lad o'pairs'. This consisted of the idea that classlessness and a fine education system extended to all (men) the opportunity to better themselves.⁸ This was true to some extent. For instance, the belief that Scots were especially literate was not a lie but it was *an idealization of a complex reality*.⁹ MacLaren says, however, that it rested on a belief in 'equality of opportunity' which smacked more of elitism than egalitarianism.¹⁰ Churches in Scotland (except for the Episcopalian church) have been perceived as more egalitarian than in England.¹¹ The longstanding emphasis upon an educated ministry implied a close connection between the Presbyterian Church and the education system in general.

Those who ask why Scottish emigrants assimilated so quickly in New Zealand are presented with the stereotype of the canny, enterprising, hardworking Scot, created from the interaction between dour Calvinism and the hard climate of Scotland. This stereotype is one of the most pervasive discourses on Scottishness and is frequently claimed by the Presbyterian Church as its own. A variation of this discourse, for which there is some evidence, is that Scotland's undoubted prosperity in the early nineteenth century came about because of the rise of an urban-based, bourgeois entrepreneur class. Studies of the business activities of Scots abroad emphasise Scottish overseas investment, the disproportionate influence of entrepreneurial Scots abroad, and the strength of links between these Scots and Scots at home.¹²

The abiding image of Scottishness, however, is not of Presbyterians, canny Scots, a superior

⁸ Anderson, 'In search of the "Lad of parts"', pp.82-104.

⁹ Cit. in R.A. Houston, *Scottish literacy and the Scottish identity: illiteracy and society in Scotland and northern England 1600-1800*, (Cambridge, 1985), p.256 and 258.

¹⁰ MacLaren, 'Introduction' in MacLaren (ed), *Social class in Scotland*, p.2.

¹¹ Callum G. Brown, *The social history of religion in Scotland since 1730*, (London, 1987), p.12.

¹² An example of this approach is R.A.Cage (ed) *The Scots abroad: labour, capital, enterprise 1750-1914*, (London, 1985), which contains essays on Scotland, United States, Canada, Australia, New Zealand and other countries to which Scots migrated in significant numbers.

education system, or classlessness, but of something called 'tartanry' - that sentimental, stagey and self-conscious display of national identity involving kilts, pipe bands, haggis and Scotch whisky. Historians such as Trevor-Roper have scorned tartanry because the traditions upon which it is founded are invented.¹³ McCrone suggests that the dominant discourses on Scottish culture have been tartanry and kailyard literature and that *the search for a distinctive culture has been so dominated by them that they cannot be avoided*.¹⁴ Middle-class New Zealanders of Scottish descent are often embarrassed by tartanry's falsity. Yet among Scots and descendants of Scots abroad it continues to be the most important means of declaring their origins.

If Scottish national identity is considered as a **set** of meanings (as McCrone suggests) or as *varieties of Scottishness*, the canny Scot and other stereotypes can be seen to arise from one or more of these meanings. Scottish national identity derives its character from other sorts of identity: ethnic and regional, political, religious, gender and class. Although these forms of identity converge and diverge like the channels of a braided river, they are discussed separately here and form a basis for discussion in later chapters. McCrone's comment, that much depends on whose meaning wins out, should be kept in mind.

Since the 1800s Scotland has been perceived as consisting of two groups: a Lowland majority and a Highland minority. This is simplistic because several relatively distinct groups existed within Scotland. The people of the Scottish Highlands were culturally distinct from the people of the Lowlands and spoke a different language, Gaelic. Characterised as primitive and barbaric before the 1750s, Highlanders had become 'noble' by the end of the century. Lowland urban institutions such as the Society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge¹⁵ worked at civilising the Highlands. The collapse of the clan system was accompanied by a drastic change in the system of landholding. It was steadily replaced by a

¹³ Hugh Trevor-Roper, 'The invention of tradition: the highland tradition of Scotland' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds), *The invention of tradition*, (Cambridge, 1983), pp.15-41.

¹⁴ McCrone, pp.174-75. See Ch. Three for further discussion of kailyard.

¹⁵ The Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge (1709) was primarily evangelical and civilizing. Scottish writers are unwilling or unable to connect the SSPCK with the English Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge(1698), but the aims were similar.

system in which the poorest people, and even the not so poor, became, in modern terms, surplus. Another area of Scotland, the north-east, had strong Scandinavian influences, but underwent similar changes. Most Scots, however, were neither Highlanders nor from the north-east. They were Lowlanders, non-Gaelic speaking Scots (*sassunach*) of Anglo-Saxon and/or Gaelic descent. This group exerted the most power over outside perceptions of Scotland and it was this group which incorporated the use of Highland cultural symbols into its own national identity.

In the 1840s and 1850s large numbers of Irish migrated to cities such as Glasgow to escape famine and poverty. Perhaps three-quarters of them were Catholic, and one quarter were Presbyterian or Episcopalian.¹⁶ Catholic Irish immigrants influenced the character of the Scottish Catholic Church: at the same time the influx of Protestant Irish immigrants intensified anti-Catholicism prejudice within Scotland.¹⁷ The 'Scotch-Irish' who originally migrated from Scotland to the north of Ireland in the seventeenth century can be seen as an early emigrant group whose culture still proclaimed their Scottish origins.¹⁸ By the twentieth century, however, the symbols of identity they employed were very similar to those used by Lowland Scots - symbols of Highland culture. Irish Presbyterians were to have a noticeable presence in the ministry of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand.¹⁹

Language is normally considered an ancient and essential component in national identity. Benedict Anderson believes that the idea of the nation was conceived in terms of language rather than blood.²⁰ But in the case of Scotland, the role of language in national identity was

¹⁶ Michael Lynch, *Scotland: a new history*, 2nd ed., (London, 1992), p.395.

¹⁷ At the peak of its popularity during the 1870s, the Orange Order In Glasgow had as many as 15,000 members, Lynch, p.403.

¹⁸ The close affinity with Scotland is seen in the number of those with Irish connections who joined Scottish ethnic societies in New Zealand. Rutherford Waddell, born in County Antrim, belonged to the Dunedin Burns Club; Robert Bruce, a staunch member of the Wanganui Caledonian Society, spent his early years with his family in the north of Ireland; J.R. Robson, also a member of the Wanganui Caledonian Society, was born in Glasgow in 1858 but his father was born in County Down. All three were Presbyterian.

¹⁹ Peter Matheson, '1840-1870: the settler church 1840-1870' in McEldowney (ed), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990*, (Wellington, 1990), p.30.

²⁰ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, p.149.

not that simple. Gaelic, the language of the Highlands, was spoken by a minority²¹ and after the 1840s, Highlanders themselves believed that it had no cultural worth.²² Parents avoided speaking Gaelic in front of their children because they wanted them to speak only English.²³ Many middle-class Scots who did speak Gaelic were generally Presbyterian, often clergy, and they had grown up speaking the language. The majority of Scots spoke a dialect of English which is claimed nowadays as a separate language. By the early nineteenth century middle-class Scots did what they could to divest their language of Scotticisms, idioms which defined them as provincial. They also indulged in picayune debates about whether English-speaking Lowlanders were Celtic or Anglo-Saxon in origin,²⁴ whether Scotland should be called 'North Britain',²⁵ and protests against saying 'English' when one meant 'British' - these were necessary, it was felt, to underscore Scotland's position as an equal partner within the British Empire and to resist Anglicisation. After 1900 the word 'Scotch' became widely regarded as vulgar, probably because of the negative association between Scotch whisky and the temperance movement.²⁶ According to Kidd, neither Gaelic nor the Scots dialect was particularly important to Scottish national identity.²⁷ Kidd, however, underestimates the sentimental importance of Gaelic to middle-class Scottish national identity. Gaelic Societies saw their main purpose as preserving Gaelic language and literature. He also under-estimates the importance of Scots dialect in the popularity of Burns' poetry and Burns' Clubs.

²¹ In the early 1800s as much as 20 percent of the total population of Scotland spoke Gaelic; by 1881 this had dropped to just over 6 percent. cit. in Derick Thomson (ed), *The companion to Gaelic Scotland*, (Oxford, 1983), p.111.

²² Victor Edward Durkacz, *The decline of the Celtic languages*, (Edinburgh, 1983), p.224.

²³ Alexander Hogg grew up in Glasgow in the 1840s in a community of migrants from the Highlands. Alexander Hogg, Papers.

²⁴ 'Celtic' is more frequently used in Irish or Welsh contexts. Linda Colley, *Britons: forging the nation, 1707-1837*, (New Haven, 1992), p.14.

²⁵ The use of the term 'North Britain' was disappearing by the end of the nineteenth century. Robbins, 'Varieties of Britishness', p.261.

²⁶ The *New Zealand Scotsman* 1:4 (June 1927), p.132, and 2:13 (March 1928), p.11, condemns the use of Scotch'. Before 1900, 'Scots' and 'Scotch' were used interchangeably in the *Wanganui Chronicle* and in the minutes of the Wanganui Caledonian Society.

²⁷ Colin Kidd, *Subverting Scotland's past: Scottish whig historians and the creation of an anglo-British identity 1689-c1830*, (Cambridge, 1993), p.3.

One of the most distinctive features of nineteenth century Scotland was migration: within Scotland, to Scotland, and from all parts of Scotland to England and most other countries of the world. The Scottish *diaspora*, while not as dramatic or as tragic as that of Ireland, was sustained and steady over a long period. Migration was a meaningful and practical life choice of long standing. One of the results of the Highland clearances was large-scale Highland emigration from the late eighteenth century onwards. Males enlisted in Highland regiments which fought the French and colonial Americans in North America and Napoleon in Europe. Many went to cities such as Glasgow and London, and then went to countries of the New World. But this was one small part of Scottish migration. From the mid-nineteenth-century Australia and New Zealand became two of several significant destinations for Scots in general, although immigration to the United States and Canada was consistently a more popular choice. Nevertheless, those Scots who came to New Zealand formed a significant proportion of the population. McClean suggests that the number of Scottish immigrants as a proportion of the total population of New Zealand in the nineteenth century was *probably stronger for New Zealand than it is for any other nation which was a net-receiver of European migrants last century*.²⁸

The Highland-Lowland divide is a simplistic one but it is accentuated by the way in which images of the minority people have been employed to represent the majority. This overlaying of Lowland identity with images and symbols of Highland culture, has its origins in the eighteenth century. After the failed Jacobite rising of 1745-46, the Highlands were seen by the British government as the principal source of the rebellion. Retributive acts were passed in 1747 which undermined even further the foundation of Highland society. The traditional powers of the clan chief were removed, and for nearly forty years proscriptions against assemblies and the wearing of Highland dress were in force. By the time these acts were repealed in 1787, however, the image of the Highlander had been transformed from that of a dangerous barbarian to an exotic, but politically 'safe' example of Rousseau's noble savage.²⁹ In the late eighteenth-century the romantic movement, the poems of Ossian and the novels of Walter Scott helped to refine and pattern idealised images of Highlanders and the

²⁸ McClean, 'Scottish emigrants to New Zealand 1840-1880', p.20.

²⁹ Pittock, p.43.

Highlands for the next hundred and fifty years.

The poems of Ossian, a third century Irish Gaelic bard, were published in the 1760s by James Macpherson. They appeared to establish the ancient historicity of Highland Scots in Scotland. Popular imagination in Britain and Europe seized upon the romantic associations, although the genuineness of the poems was controversial from the outset. By the nineteenth century it was generally agreed that Macpherson had forged the poems,³⁰ but this did not dispel the aura of romance surrounding the Highlands and Gaelic literature. As late as 1882, James MacGregor, a Free Church minister in Oamaru, quoted from Ossian in a lecture to the Gaelic Society in Dunedin.³¹ Sir Walter Scott played an incalculable part in shaping the images of nineteenth-century Scottish national identity. Scott's novels, poetry and historical research depicted a Scotland dominated by the Highland-Lowland divide and by images of Highland culture. A staunch unionist, Scott made use of the Highland-Lowland divide to structure and give colour to his works. In doing so, he helped to transform perceptions of the Highlands, giving it distinctiveness without political threat.³²

Scott also engineered an occasion which was to be very significant for nineteenth-century Scottish national identity. He persuaded George IV to visit Edinburgh in 1822. George's appearance in a kilt, an article of costume which had been hitherto discouraged, signalled Royal forgiveness for the Jacobite risings in the eighteenth century. When Sir Henry Raeburn painted *The MacNab* (between 1803 and 1813) in his role as a Highland chief, this pose was already a stereotype.³³ Victoria and Albert continued to bestow Royal favour upon the Highlands in the 1840s. They spent their holidays at Balmoral, decorated their living quarters with tartan and dressed their children in elaborate cut down versions of Highland dress. They also attended the Highland Gatherings at Braemar, which in consequence was permitted to

³⁰ It is now generally conceded that Macpherson's forgeries were based on fragments of ancient Gaelic verse. Pittock, p.73.

³¹ James MacGregor, *Balquhiddier, Rob Roy etc: sketch suggested by a recent visit*, (Dunedin c.1882), front cover.

³² Pittock, p.86.

³³ See frontispiece.

call itself the Royal Braemar Highland Gathering. The effect of this royal patronage added chic to the romantic Highland landscape.

This sentimental, romantic aura benefited the Highlands. When the potato crop failed in 1846 and 1847 the consequent food shortage in the north of Scotland readily captured popular sympathy in the Lowlands and England. The worst of the clearances over the previous eighty years had kept the Highlands well to the fore in public consciousness. Famine assistance arrived promptly perhaps because the famine was far more localized and far less devastating than in Ireland.³⁴ The question of Irish Home Rule question in the 1880s underlined the parallels between the Irish and Highland situations. In 1886, long after the vast bulk of the clearances had occurred, the Crofters Act gave remaining crofters in the North of Scotland some security of tenure.³⁵

By the end of the nineteenth century half the people of Scotland lived in towns of 10,000 or more.³⁶ The prevailing literary image of Scottishness, however, was not urban but rural. The 'kailyard' novels at the turn of the century portrayed rural villages of an earlier time, each with their own little church, minister and stern schoolmaster. Kailyard as a literary genre was Scottish and romantic; it was also British and Victorian. Presbyterian writers adopted it as their own because it reinforced the rural locus of Presbyterianism.³⁷ Kailyard was the ultimate in nostalgia and found a ready audience in countries to which Scots had migrated in significant numbers. Waterston has suggested that it was particularly appropriate to Canadian frontier settler life. *'Canadian society in the late nineteenth century had many of the elements which kailyard gloried in...And the kailyard values...were still really present in many*

³⁴ Well over a million Irish died because of famine between 1845 and 1850, few or none in the Highlands. T.C.Smout, *A century of the Scottish people*, (London, 1986), p.64.

³⁵ The crofting system was an eighteenth century adaptation of traditional rural land-occupying rights of the poorest Highland peasantry. This freed up land for intensive stock farming. Groups were rehoused in purpose-built rural ghettos on less fertile land where access to land was severely restricted, and rent was paid not in kind but in cash, often to an absentee landlord. See James Hunter, *The making of the crofting community*, (Edinburgh, 1976) . When the crofters' plight was widely discussed in the 1880s, public sympathy was fed by memories of the clearances.

³⁶ Lynch, p.411.

³⁷ McCrone, p.179 & p.99.

*Canadian villages, perhaps long after.*³⁸

It is still often assumed that all Scots come from a Protestant, Presbyterian background, whether or not they actually belong to a church.³⁹ This is very significant when it becomes apparent that Presbyterian, Episcopalian and Catholic churches had their own political and religious views of history.⁴⁰

Since the Reformation, the church endorsed by the government in Scotland has been a Protestant one. And since 1690 the national church has been a Presbyterian one. Within each parish, a group of elders, (the Kirk Session) administered church discipline and deacons managed property owned by the local church. The ultimate authority was a General Assembly, a democratic, Parliament-like gathering made up of representatives chosen from and by clergy and elders. Authority was less centralized than an episcopal system where ultimate authority was vested in a principal bishop. Government by presbyteries was felt to be distinctively Scottish and democratic. The Act of Union in 1707 maintained the legal status of the Presbyterian Church as the national Church of Scotland. Schism was said to be endemic within Presbyterianism but it was not unusual within Protestantism as a whole.⁴¹ The most important division, over the issue of patronage, was the Disruption of 1843, when one third of the General Assembly split from the Church of Scotland to form the Free Church.⁴² This church, deeply evangelical and suspicious of 'popish' liturgy, was also remarkable for its intense organizational zeal. Matheson has characterized the Free Church as fiercely Scottish, anti-Catholic, culturally conservative, yet flexible and dynamic, with a sense of communal

³⁸ Elizabeth Waterston, 'The lowland tradition in Canadian literature' in W.S. Reid (ed), *The Scottish tradition in Canada*, (Toronto, 1976), p.221.

³⁹ Rosalind Mitchison, *Life in Scotland*, (London, 1978), pp.140-1.

⁴⁰ Brown, *1730*, p.61.

⁴¹ Callum G. Brown, 'Religion, class and church growth' in W. Hamish Fraser and R.J. Morris (eds), *People and society in Scotland*, v.1: 1830-1914, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.318.

⁴² J.H.S. Burleigh, *A church history of Scotland*, (London, 1960), p. 371. This did not reflect the true scale of Presbyterian dissent. By 1851, possibly 60 per cent of the church-going population were active adherents of Presbyterian dissent. Callum G. Brown, *The people in the pews: religion and society in Scotland since 1780*, ([Dundee], 1993), p.13.

church responsibility.⁴³ More than other Presbyterian sects, the Free Church drew on the evangelical fervour and the strict piety of Highland Presbyterian congregations⁴⁴ and consequently it had a particular interest in propagating specific elements of Scottish historical lore.⁴⁵ The powerful Disruption mythology of 'quitting the manse' began to mingle with the mythologies of the clearances, the potato famine and emigration. The Disruption quickly assumed the status of a pivotal event in Scottish history. One history book of the 1870s treats Scottish history as if it ended in 1843.⁴⁶ Free Church Presbyterianism had a marked influence on the beginnings of Presbyterianism in New Zealand. Besides ministers from the Free Church, there were also ministers from other Presbyterian sects in nineteenth-century New Zealand - in particular, the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland.⁴⁷

In the nineteenth century the Scottish Episcopal and Catholic Churches were both weak and small in comparison with the Presbyterian churches. The Episcopal Church had ceased to be a national church in 1690. Because of its attachment to episcopacy, its links with England, and its connections with Jacobitism in the eighteenth century, it was often considered in the same light as the Catholic Church.⁴⁸ In New Zealand, Scottish Episcopalians would have joined the Anglican church.⁴⁹ The Catholic Church was very weak between 1690 and the early nineteenth century except in certain parts of northern Scotland. Catholicism, like Episcopalianism, was seen as a wellspring for Jacobitism and a direct threat to the Protestant monarchy of Great Britain. After the Jacobite risings of the early eighteenth century, many

⁴³ Peter Matheson, *From Scotland with aroha: exploring our Presbyterian heritage*, (Wellington, 1988), p.7 and p.10; Peter Matheson, *The finger of God in the Disruption: Scottish principles and New Zealand realities*, ([Dunedin], 1993), pp.22-23.

⁴⁴ George Robb, 'Popular religion and the Christianisation of the Scottish Highlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries', *Journal of Religious History*, 16:1 (June 1990), p.32.

⁴⁵ Marinell Ash, *The strange death of Scottish history*, (Edinburgh, 1980), p.83.

⁴⁶ Thomas Wright, *The history of Scotland from the earliest period to the present time*, (London/Glasgow, [c.1874]), v.1, p.15-25.

⁴⁷ Peter Matheson, "A time of sifting": *evangelicals and liberals at the genesis of New Zealand theology*, (Dunedin, 1991), p.1.

⁴⁸ Brown, 1730, p.50.

⁴⁹ For instance, James Thain of Wanganui, and the anonymous Westmere correspondent for the *Wanganui Chronicle*.

Catholics emigrated to Europe and to parts of Eastern Canada. From the middle of the nineteenth century Irish immigrants flooded into cities such as Glasgow. A large proportion of these immigrants were Catholic, vastly outnumbering the existing numbers of Scottish Catholics still in the Western Highlands. It was not surprising that the Catholic Church in Scotland became preoccupied by Irish issues.⁵⁰ In Australia and New Zealand, too, Roman Catholicism became strongly associated with Hibernianism and some forms of Irish national identity.⁵¹ If Catholic Scots immigrants to New Zealand chose to identify with the Catholic Church in New Zealand, it is likely that they would have had to accept an orientation towards Irish issues. It is suggested in Chapter Three that they would have been unlikely to join any Scottish ethnic society, let alone a Caledonian Society.

If the public perception in New Zealand today is of 'Scot as Presbyterian', this is because of the overwhelmingly Protestant nature of Scottish emigration to New Zealand. According to Akenson, there was no marked emigration to New Zealand from Catholic areas of Scotland.⁵² The first two volumes of the *New Zealand Dictionary of Biography* appear to confirm this. Very few Scottish or Scots-Irish are noted to have a connection with the Roman Catholic or Anglican church. Out of 206 identifiably Scots or Scots-Irish entries, 76 were Presbyterian, seven were Roman Catholic (three of these were Irish-born), eight were Anglicans (one from Ireland), and two were Freethinkers.⁵³

⁵⁰ Brown, 1730, p.162; Keith Robbins 'Religion and identity in modern British history' in K. Robbins, *History, religion and identity in modern Britain*, (London, 1993), p.100.

⁵¹ Davis, Richard P., *Irish issues in New Zealand politics 1868-1922*, (Dunedin, 1974), p.5; Patrick J. Coleman, 'Transplanted Irish institutions: Orangeism and Hibernianism in New Zealand 1877-1910', M.A.thesis in History, (University of Canterbury, 1993) p.53.

⁵² Donald Harman Akenson, *Half the world from home: perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950*, (Wellington, 1990), p.66.

⁵³ *The dictionary of New Zealand biography*, v.1, 1769-1869 (Wellington,1990) and v.2, 1870-1900 (Wellington, 1991). Over half apparently had no church connection at all. This may reflect twentieth-century attitudes in that editors and contributors play down the significance of religious beliefs. Entries in the Dictionary also reflect how Presbyterianism is used to characterise Scottishness.

If the Catholic Church in Scotland was occupied with issues of Irish nationalism, the corresponding identification between the Presbyterian churches and Scottish national identity was much weaker. This was not surprising. As a state-endorsed church, the Church of Scotland had a vested interest in supporting governmental order and establishing an historical continuity for the institutions of Presbyterian church government. Kidd suggests that as early as the eighteenth-century, the historiography of the Church supported the established order, and was somewhat defensive.⁵⁴ Nineteenth-century tartantry, however, came from a romantic nostalgia for a recent, politically unsafe past and was not part of the Presbyterian Church. Although the Free Church absorbed some Highland mythology into its own, it rejected the radical political traditions, and like the Church of Scotland, continued to adopt a cautious and somewhat aloof attitude towards Scottish national identity.

Religious affiliations often determined political affiliations. The English Act of Succession (1701) established in law the principle that all future sovereigns of England (and Scotland) would be Protestant. The Act of Union in 1707 gave to the British Parliament the power to make laws affecting Scotland and preserved the established status of the Presbyterian Church as the national church of Scotland as well as the Scottish legal and education systems. The deposed Catholic Stuart, James II, was finally defeated by William of Orange in 1690. He fled to Europe and thereafter dropped out of mainstream British history. The Jacobite movement, despite the lack of substantial support in Britain, lingered on, particularly in Northern Scotland and received most of its support from Episcopalians and Catholics. After abortive Jacobite risings in 1715 and 1719, James' grandson, Prince Charles Edward ('Bonnie Prince Charlie'), managed in 1745 to persuade several Highland clan chiefs to support his claim to the British throne. The multifarious Jacobite army won some surprising victories before it was routed at Culloden in 1746 by superior British forces. By the mid-nineteenth century Jacobitism was no longer a real threat to the Protestant succession and the political establishment of Britain. The British government had already transformed the martial energy of the Highlanders into an asset by incorporating Highland regiments into the British army. The first of these was the 'peace-keeper' Black Watch Regiment, formed in 1725 from older

⁵⁴ Kidd, p.69.

units of Highlanders loyal to the British government. Uniforms combined Highland dress and elements of British military uniform. Highland regiments fought in North America, in the Seven Years War, in the American Revolution (mostly as loyalists) and later in the Napoleonic Wars. In 1809 some of these regiments lost their Highland status and with it the right to wear the kilt. The kilt was reinstated in 1881. This military tradition was exported to the United States, Australia and New Zealand and, especially, Canada. Canadian historian G.M. Stanley suggests that such military 'exploitation' was one significant factor in the depopulation of the Highlands.⁵⁵ Although it may have come to employ Highland symbols, the Scottish military tradition as a whole was an integral part of the British military tradition. It is as a British tradition that it came to New Zealand.

In the mid-nineteenth century the romantic imagery of the Jacobite rebellion remained, but political implications had evaporated for all but a very few. By 1900, political Jacobitism existed only as an atavism - a harmless, middle-class eccentricity, vaguely connected with an unfocused Scottish nationalism. Notably, much of its impetus came from the activities of a few descendants of colonial Scots.⁵⁶ Jacobite Societies were fashionable amongst certain groups in England and Scotland at the turn of the century but enthusiasm was finally extinguished in World War One when it became apparent that the current Stuart Pretender was in the German army. After the War, however, a Jacobite paper was established in New Zealand. Charles Bagnall (1883-1952) was born in Kelso and lived in the Manawatu and Wellington. In 1903, the same year that he joined the London-based Jacobite League, Bagnall made a public attempt to re-educate Scots in New Zealand. Believing that Scottish ethnic societies used Highland and Jacobite symbols in ignorance of their proper meaning, he criticised the Feilding Caledonian Society for accepting heather from the site of a Jacobite victory without commemorating the battle itself. But to the Caledonian Society the twenty-year old was just a troublesome upstart trying to disrupt a respectable Society.⁵⁷ Between 1919 and 1952 Bagnall edited and published the *Jacobite*, a small paper dedicated to the

⁵⁵ G.M. Stanley, 'The Scottish military tradition' in W.S. Reid (ed), *The Scottish tradition in Canada*, (Toronto, 1976), p.141.

⁵⁶ For instance, Theodore Napier, born in Melbourne, travelled to the land of his parents as an ardent Scots nationalist. Pittock, pp. 122-128.

⁵⁷ *Feilding Star*, 22 September 1903, p.2(6) and 23 September 1903 p.2(9).

restoration of the Stuarts.⁵⁸ Most of its subscribers came from outside New Zealand, particularly Australia and the Pacific, but there were a few Highland Scots names from Otago, Southland and other places.⁵⁹

By the late nineteenth century the most important determinant of the way which Scottish national identity was displayed was class. 'Class' is used here as a descriptive term for a status group, the members of which have one or more characteristics in common.⁶⁰ These shared characteristics may be socio-economic, such as levels of income, or they may be similar attitudes and beliefs.

The late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries were marked by the emergence of a new middle-class in Europe and in Scotland.⁶¹ The three main Presbyterian churches (the Church of Scotland, the Free Church, and United Presbyterians) reflected wider society in that by the mid-nineteenth century they were 'permeated' by bourgeois values and attitudes.⁶² The class bases of each of the churches helped to determine their relative attitudes towards Scottish national identity. Commentators have focused on the Disruption as a reflection of class dissent.⁶³ MacLaren indicates that Free Church membership of the 1850s was drawn more from the urban 'new' middle-class which was also characterized by a high degree of social mobility.⁶⁴ Hillis, however, notes a more working-class element in Free Church congregations

⁵⁸ *Jacobite* (Gisborne and Wellington), 1(18 November 1919) - 6:7 (October 1952).

⁵⁹ 'We have to thank two New Zealand newspapers, the *Rotorua Chronicle* and the *Hunterville Express* for mentioning the *Jacobite*.' *Jacobite*, 3:4 (August 1927), p.1.

⁶⁰ R.J. Morris, *Class and class consciousness in the industrial revolution 1780-1850*, (London, 1979), p.27.

⁶¹ Ian Donnachie, 'The enterprising Scot', in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The manufacture of Scottish history*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.97.

⁶² MacLaren, 'Introduction', in MacLaren, *Social class in Scotland*, p.4.

⁶³ Sydney and Olive Checkland, *Industry and ethos: Scotland 1832-1914*, (London, 1984), p.76.

⁶⁴ A. Allan MacLaren, *Religion and social class: the Disruption years in Aberdeen*, (London, [1974]), pp.92-93, p.211, p.209.

in Glasgow.⁶⁵ While working-class people may have not have attended church as often as middle-class, it is likely that most had some church connection and that it was a Presbyterian connection.⁶⁶ Brown suggests that working-class interest in organized Presbyterianism, especially the Free Church and United Presbyterians increased in the 1860s and 1870s⁶⁷ and Robert Q. Gray suggests that thrift and self-help were peculiarly middle class values.⁶⁸ It seems likely, therefore, that the majority of working-class people would have subscribed to Presbyterian middle-class attitudes towards Scottish national identity.

One form of class-based Scottish identity was the game of soccer which has been associated with male, working-class and lower middle-class Scottish national identity since the 1870s.⁶⁹ This form of national identity, strongly associated with sectarianism, was not exported to New Zealand. About 1900, recruiting posters for Highland regiments showed young recruits playing not soccer, but rugby,⁷⁰ an English game. The fact that soccer was not exported to New Zealand as a form of Scottish national identity may reflect the nature of nineteenth-century tartantry and the middle-class ethos of the military as much as a genuine desire to avoid religious discord.

Hendry points to an aspect of Scottish history which is missing, *the female expression of a national character*.⁷¹ Hendry meant in particular the distinctiveness of Scottish women's lives, but it is also true that Scottish national identity, like many other national identities, has never contained substantive roles for women. The myths and stereotypes of Scottishness -

⁶⁵ Peter Hillis, 'Presbyterianism and social class in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow', *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*, 32:1 (January 1981), p.63.

⁶⁶ Brown, *1730*, p.165.

⁶⁷ Brown, *1730*, p.159.

⁶⁸ Robert Q. Gray, 'Thrift and working-class mobility in Victorian Edinburgh' in A. A. MacLaren (ed), *Social class in Scotland: past and present*, (Edinburgh, [1976]), p.138.

⁶⁹ cit. in Tony Mason, 'Sport and recreation', in P. Johnson (ed), *Twentieth-century Britain: economic, social and cultural change*, (London, 1994), p.123.

⁷⁰ Diana M. Henderson, *The Scottish regiments*, (Glasgow, 1993), pp.119-120.

⁷¹ Joy Hendry, 'Snug in the asylum of taciturnity: women's history in Scotland' in Ian Donnachie and Christopher Whatley (eds), *The manufacture of Scottish history*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.136.

egalitarianism, education, the canny Scot - contained no female images. Despite the assumption that Scottish women were, like their male counterparts, more literate and better educated than the English, the 'lass o'pairs' had no place in education mythology.⁷² Tartanry itself is still made up of male images - for instance the military tradition and Scottish national dress - and male exclusivity was a feature of most Scottish 'ethnic' societies until the twentieth century. Highland Gatherings and games were organized by and for males although recent research suggests that middle-class women late last century did participate in sports more than has been realised.⁷³

Images of Scottish women in relation to Scottish national identity were and still are rare. There was of course the Jacobite heroine Flora MacDonald who disguised Bonnie Prince Charlie as her own maid and smuggled him out of Britain in 1746. When Carolina Oliphant, Lady Nairne, wrote sentimental Jacobite songs such as *Land o' the leal* and *Will ye no' come back again* in the 1790s, she did so under a penname.⁷⁴ Colley explains why women were not more visible in displays of national identity by alluding to the division between the public nature of men's lives and private nature of women's lives. National identity, she says, was part of the public sphere and therefore not open to women. As an illustration, she cites an 1820 pamphlet which characterised men as 'Britons' and women as *the ladies...our mothers, our sisters, our daughters, our wives*. Says Colley: *Men could be Britons, or Scotsmen, or Irishmen, or Englishmen. But women, according to this view of things, were not to be described in terms of such public allegiances. They were ladies, who were to be characterised only according to their private relationships with men.*⁷⁵

⁷² Lindy Moore, 'Educating for the "woman's sphere": domestic training versus intellectual discipline', in E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon (eds), *Out of bounds: women in Scottish society 1800-1945*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.32; McCrone, p.190.

⁷³ Neil Tranter, 'Women and sport in nineteenth-century Scotland', in G. Jarvie and G. Walker (eds), *Scottish sport in the making of the nation: ninety-minute patriots?*, (Leicester, 1994), p.29.

⁷⁴ Leah Leneman, 'New role for a lost cause: Lowland romanticisation of the Jacobite Highlander' in L.Leneman (ed), *Perspectives in Scottish social history: essays in honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), p.118; Forbes Macgregor, *Famous Scots: the pride of a small nation* (Edinburgh, 1984), p.226.

⁷⁵ Colley, *Britons: forging the nation*, p.266-267.

Although the concept of private and public spheres has been criticised,⁷⁶ it does provide a very neat justification for the lack of a public role for women in national identity. If women were not considered to have a need to publicly and self-consciously express their Scottishness, nevertheless they could wear tartan, and sing Scottish songs in private. Middle-class women did find ways to express their national identity privately - for instance, as the women who adapted and sang traditional Scottish music in their genteel drawing rooms.⁷⁷ Nineteenth-century women's associations were often philanthropic and church-based but none were based upon Scottish national identity. Women attended church more regularly than men in the late 1880s and women's church organisations, unlike men's, continued to function robustly into the twentieth century.⁷⁸ From the late nineteenth century, guilds, bible societies and temperance societies multiplied, but none of these Church-based societies were based on Scottish identity. Yet many women must have absorbed and passed on parental pride in their origins, particularly when they emigrated. Pride in her Scottish origins was just one of several enthusiasms for New Zealand-born Jessie Mackay, who was better known for her involvement in suffrage, temperance and New Zealand national identity.⁷⁹

From 1707 Scottishness was not the only sense of national identity that was available to Scots. Colley suggests that an overarching national identity of 'Britishness', which took shape between 1707 and 1837, was an invented national identity *superimposed, if only for a while, onto much older alignments and loyalties*.⁸⁰ As a response to the apparent threat from Catholic France, this feeling of Britishness was, in consequence, overwhelmingly Protestant in nature. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries anti-Catholicism served to

⁷⁶ For instance: Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, 'The architecture of public and private life: English middle-class society in a provincial town 1780 to 1880' in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe (eds), *The pursuit of urban history*, (1983), pp.327-345.

⁷⁷ Rosalind K. Marshall, *Virgins and viragos: a history of women in Scotland from 1080 to 1980*, (London, 1983), p.188.

⁷⁸ Brown, *1730*, pp. 251-252.

⁷⁹ Heather Roberts, 'Jessie Mackay' in *Dictionary of New Zealand biography* v.II, 1870-1900, p.292-4; Pearce, p.128.

⁸⁰ Colley, *Britons: forging the nation*, p.6. This concept is derived from Benedict Anderson's definition of a nation as an imagined community. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined communities*, p.6.

cement the bond between English, Welsh and Scots 'Britishness' co-existed with Welsh, English, Scottish and Irish national identities. *By 1837, Scotland still retained many of the characteristics of a distinct nation, but it was comfortably contained within a bigger nation.* And in the secular world successful Scots not only actively participated in the British Empire but *helped construct what being British was all about.*⁸¹ Applying Colley's thesis to eighteenth and early nineteenth-century Scotland, Kidd concludes that an Anglo-British identity was created at the expense of a vigorous, self-sufficient, ethnocentric Scottish identity.⁸² He identifies a Presbyterian-whig view of history which was pro-Unionist and progressive, and had little in common with the elements of popular nineteenth-century national identity.

Since 1707, therefore, Scots have had the opportunity of sustaining two national identities. Middle-class Scots emigrants in the late nineteenth century would have taken with them a strong sense of themselves as both Scottish and British. 'Britishness' became an adjective of empire in the nineteenth century and was often cited in tandem with 'imperialism', a good and progressive word with no negative connotations. In this context, the Scottish Presbyterian churches were agents of Empire. Such a sense of overarching identity allowed Britons to go to, say, New Zealand, and yet retain their identity as Scots or English without feeling any sense of conflict. These two identities were seen as complementary - so complementary, in fact, that the division between them was unclear. Middle-class Scots felt that they were equal participants in the Empire and in Britain. A self-confident entrepreneurial Scot abroad would have thought it ludicrous that he might be part of a Celtic periphery.⁸³ When James Alexander visited 'Home', he went to Scotland **and** England.⁸⁴ Taking on a colonial national identity did not imply abandoning the old, but in the colonial situation, the nature of Scottish national identity took on more poignant shades of nostalgia.

⁸¹ Colley, *Britons: forging the nation*, p.23, p.373 & p.125.

⁸² Kidd, p.4 & 28.

⁸³ Michael Hechter, *Internal colonialism: the Celtic fringe in British national development 1536-1966*, (London, 1975).

⁸⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, April 1877, p. 2 and 14 March 1894, p.2.

Several sets of meanings or 'varieties of Scottishness' have been discussed in this chapter. The simplistic concept of the Highland-Lowland division originated in late eighteenth century, the point at which the image of the Highlander began to change from barbarous and threatening to a romantic nobility. It was shortly after this transformation began that the Highlander began to be seen as representative of Scotland as a whole. The tendency to equate Scottish with Presbyterian and vice versa derived from the numerical and legal predominance of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Jacobitism in the eighteenth century threatened not only the monarchy and political order of Britain, but also the established status of Presbyterianism. In the nineteenth century, a mild Jacobitism became acceptable because Royal favour had made it 'safe' and because the military tradition of the Highlands was transformed into an agent of Empire. Scottish national identity in the nineteenth-century was largely middle-class and male, blending elements of non-political Jacobitism with a mild nationalism.⁸⁵ It was not political or radical, and it was anti-Catholic in essence. It drew much of its sustenance from literature: the poems of Robert Burns and the historical novels of Walter Scott, and in the 1890s, the works of Robert Louis Stevenson. Highland images and items of Highland dress formed the basis of national costume.⁸⁶ Presbyterianism dealt with this popular 'nationalism' of the middle class by remaining aloof. British identity was seen as complementary to Scottish national identity. One of the ways in which middle-class male Scots displayed their national identity and their loyalty to Britain was in Scottish ethnic societies.

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⁸⁵ Checkland, p. 167.

⁸⁶ Leneman, p. 120.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH: 'NOT THE SCOTCH CHURCH'

In 1899, John Dickson wrote that the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand was *not "the Scotch Church"*, as many Colonists in their thoughtlessness designate it. Its foundation stone was not laid in Scotland, its standards did not originate there, and it is not today confined to Scotland or Scotchmen.¹ Dickson reminded readers that Presbyterianism in New Zealand was not totally Scottish in its origins and did not minister just to Scots,² and he criticised colonists for persisting in seeing it as a church for Scots alone. Churches which used a presbyterial structure existed in Scotland, Ireland, England, Europe, United States, Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand but, except for the European Reformed Churches, nearly all traced their origins back to Scottish Presbyterianism. Dickson's apparent rejection of Scottish origins had much in common with the intent of the *Catholic Presbyterian*, an ecumenical periodical of the late 1870s which was based in London.³ Commissioned by 49 Presbyterian churches in 25 different countries, the *Catholic Presbyterian* was an expression of the 'real Catholicity' or universality of the Presbyterian Church and an aid to unity.⁴ In the second issue, however, the Scottish editor praised Scottish Presbyterianism as a *colonising seed for vast regions of the earth*.⁵ Although the *Catholic Presbyterian* had an ecumenical intent, there was no doubt about which variety of Presbyterianism it considered the most virile. Nearly twenty years after John Dickson, William Gray Dixon restated the ecumenical

¹ John Dickson, *The history of the New Zealand Presbyterian Church*, (Dunedin, 1899), p.10.

² Dickson, (1899), p. 11, p.6.

³ *Catholic Presbyterian* (London), 1:1-10:6 (January 1879-July 1883).

⁴ *Catholic Presbyterian*, 1:1 (January 1879) p.1.

⁵ William Blaikie, 'The two streams of Presbyterian history', *Catholic Presbyterian*, 1:2 (February 1879), p.134.

message with an even stronger imperial and patriotic flavour in 1918.⁶ Gray Dixon, now in Dunedin, had been an editor of the *Catholic Presbyterian*. For him a 'Catholic Presbyterian Church' was an empire created to a large extent by Scottish Presbyterianism, the most robust of the original Reformed churches. Scottish virtues and worldly success, and even the successful military leadership of the British empire during World War One, could all be traced back to *the Reformed faith as interpreted and applied by the greatest of Scotsmen, John Knox*.⁷ Of the various ideas behind the words of John Dickson and Gray Dixon, three points are particularly significant here: that Scottish Presbyterianism was connected with all that was best in Scottish national characteristics; that it was a successful coloniser and agent of empire; and that the New Zealand Church was separate from the Scottish Church and was not just for Scots or their descendants. Despite the autonomy of Presbyterianism in New Zealand, however, it was not surprising if the general population still characterized it as the 'Scotch' Church. One question that can be asked is just what was the attitude of the Presbyterian Church towards Scottish national identity? Remembering that there were varieties of Scottishness - the point made in Chapter Two - how did church 'Scottishness' differ from other types of Scottish national identity in New Zealand? Did this attitude change between 1880 and 1918? This study focuses on one small area in the North Island but general comments are made about differences in attitude between the Northern Church and the Otago/Southland Synod.

The idea that Presbyterianism influenced the Scottish national identity and was responsible for its positive attributes, is an old and pervasive one. McEldowney would like to believe that Presbyterianism had a formative influence on the best parts of New Zealand national character.

Yet it might be argued that in their behaviour within their church, Presbyterians have been closer to an influential strain of New Zealander (the strain that is not into rugby, racing and beer) than any other Church has been. ...did the learnt behaviour of Presbyterians cross over into the institutions in which they took a prominent part, including the significantly named General Assembly of Parliament, and into the life blood of the

⁶ William Gray Dixon, *The romance of the Catholic Presbyterian Church*, (Dunedin, [1918]).

⁷ Gray Dixon, p.99.

*community in general?*⁸

So far, Matheson is the only New Zealand writer who has looked at the relationship between Presbyterianism and Scottishness in any sustained way. He describes the first Presbyterians in New Zealand as 'Scots in exile', a fragment or transplantation of Scottish religion and culture. The fragment he describes was a Free Church one, which he characterised as 'fiercely Scottish' with elements of 17th century Puritanism in its church services.⁹ In *The finger of God in the Disruption* Matheson explores the Free Church literature available to New Zealand Presbyterians in the late nineteenth century. He notes that despite the wealth of material, the oral tradition of the Disruption was not passed on to following generations.¹⁰ Matheson's central image is of an Otago Synod, reflecting upon its Free Church roots. Allan Davidson writes of a Northern 'migrant Presbyterianism'¹¹ *which was moulded largely by Scottish, particularly by Free Church influences, but also with a distinctive Irish contribution.*¹² Matheson, too notes, the importance of the Presbyterian Church of Ireland in Auckland.¹³

Dickson's comment that colonists persisted in seeing New Zealand Presbyterianism as 'Scotch' had some truth. The first Wellington congregation in the early 1840s was made up of upper and lower middle-class Scots from the 'Bengal Merchant' and was known as the 'Scotch church' until the early 1850s.¹⁴ Writers have treated the connection between Presbyterianism and Scottishness as axiomatic. Even though they caution against assuming that all Scots were Presbyterian and vice versa, Presbyterianism is still used as a rule of thumb to show the extent

⁸ Dennis McEldowney, 'An epilogue to begin with' in D. McEldowney (ed), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990*, (Wellington, 1990), pp.12-13.

⁹ Matheson, *From Scotland with aroha*, pp.3-7.

¹⁰ Matheson, *The finger of God in the Disruption*, p.5.

¹¹ Allan K. Davidson, *Pioneers, protestors and pluralism: exploring Presbyterian identity*, (Wellington, 1989), p.9.

¹² Allan K. Davidson, *Pious energy: Presbyterian personalities and perspectives*, ([Wellington], 1989), p.23.

¹³ Matheson, 'The settler church' in McEldowney, pp.21-24.

¹⁴ Charles P. Littlejohn, *St Andrew's: the first 150 years*, (Wellington, 1990), p.8.

of Scottish influence in New Zealand in the same way as Catholicism is used to demonstrate Irishness.¹⁵ Pearce notes that in 1861, approximately one-third of white settlers in New Zealand were Scottish-born and suggests that the correlation between Presbyterianism and Scottish nationality is sufficiently close for nineteenth-century statistics on religious denomination to be a 'useful substitute' for place of birth.¹⁶ This correlation is something that Rollo Arnold has looked at. He claims that in 1881 the proportion of the New Zealand population born in Great Britain who identified Scotland as their place of birth was very similar to the proportion who called themselves Presbyterian. Arnold concludes that the *neat line-up between Scottish-born and census Presbyterians was not a simple answer, but a large question.*¹⁷ The parity between the two categories is artificial and irrelevant but it does illustrate the inadequacy of New Zealand census statistics when categories such as religion and birthplace need to be correlated. There is no way of knowing firstly how many of Arnold's Presbyterians were born outside Great Britain, and, secondly, how many of them were born in Ireland. If census records permitted religion to be correlated with place of birth, the Irish component of New Zealand Presbyterianism might appear more significant. Nevertheless regional differences in the distribution of Presbyterians remain a useful indicator of patterns of Scottish settlement in New Zealand.

One feature used to characterise regional distributions of Presbyterians is the Waitaki River, the historical boundary between the Synod of Otago and Southland and the Northern Church. Arnold believes that the Waitaki line was *an historical oddity of no great significance*¹⁸ but for any study of Scottish national identity in New Zealand the Waitaki line assumes real significance. It symbolizes not only regional differences in the strength of Presbyterianism but regional differences in the proportions of people with Scottish origins. Just as schisms within

¹⁵ Akenson, (Wellington, 1990), p.65.

¹⁶ Pearce, p.141.

¹⁷ Rollo Arnold, 'The patterns of denominationalism in later Victorian New Zealand' in C.Nichol and J.Veitch (eds), *Religion in New Zealand*, 2nd ed., (Wellington, 1983), pp.92, 94.

¹⁸ Arnold, p.98.

Scottish Presbyterianism reflected divisions within society in Scotland,¹⁹ so the existence of northern and southern Presbyterian Churches in New Zealand reflected regional differences in the ethnic distribution of British immigrants in New Zealand. Presbyterianism was and still is more dominant below the Waitaki line than above it.²⁰ The concentration of Scots and Presbyterians in Otago and Southland has had significant effects on the way Presbyterianism and Scottish national identity has been portrayed in New Zealand. Lineham acknowledges this with his suggestion that piety had a distinctive character in areas where Scottish settlers dominated (that is, areas of Otago and Southland).²¹

After Presbyterianism was restored as the established religion in 1690, the Presbyterian Churches of Scotland were marked by division and schism. In the 1830s, the largest of the churches, the Church of Scotland, polarised into two groups over the issue of patronage, the right of a landowner to appoint a parish minister. In 1843, after ten years of bitter dissension, a large number of Presbyterian ministers seceded from the established Church of Scotland and formed the largest of the dissenting groups, the evangelical Free Church. So called because it did not recognise the legitimacy of patronage, the Free Church was at first without property, assets and formal places of worship. Nevertheless it was dynamic and possessed enormous organizational zeal. It was the Free Church ethos which lay behind the Otago Lay Settlement in 1848. Brown sees the splits and unions within Scottish Presbyterianism as fitting neatly into a larger Protestant pattern of division and amalgamation. A period of schism, from 1733 to 1843, he believes, was followed by a period of amalgamation and ecumenism lasting into the twentieth century.²² The Presbyterian Church of New Zealand had its beginnings at the junction between the two periods. This might explain both the readiness of Presbyterians in New Zealand to accommodate with each other and other denominations, as well as the major differences which remained. It does not explain why the Presbyterianism in New

¹⁹ cit. in Christopher Whatley, 'An unflappable people?' in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The manufacture of Scottish history*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.55.

²⁰ See Appendices Four and Five.

²¹ Peter J. Lineham, 'How institutionalized was Protestant piety in nineteenth-century New Zealand', *Journal of Religious History*, 13:4 (June 1985), p.374.

²² Brown, *People in the pews* p.9.

Zealand remained relatively free of major schism in comparison with, say, Australia. Although Free Church influence was the most significant overall in New Zealand Presbyterianism, other churches, such as the Church of Scotland and the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, also played a part.

With the formation of the Northern Church in 1862 and the Synod of Otago and Southland in 1866, Presbyterianism in New Zealand was autonomous. Its status was different from that of Presbyterianism in Scotland. Within New Zealand, the Presbyterian Church was just one of several competing Protestantisms with no claims to numerical dominance. There was no nationally endorsed form of Christianity. Determined that the Church of England should not become the established church of the colony, Presbyterianism in New Zealand took a very vocal disestablishment stance.

Until 1901 the geographical line of the Waitaki River represented the separation between the Northern Church and Synod of Otago and Southland. Between 1866 and 1901 there were continuous moves to unite the two churches. In practice, clergy could move with ease between the Northern and Southern Churches and Presbyterian periodicals from Auckland and Dunedin were read throughout the country. But as long as Otago prospered and maintained its position as the richest, most populous part of New Zealand, Synod felt no need to relinquish its autonomy. There were significant differences between the Northern and Southern churches. Synod was richer: the largest goldfields in the country were in Otago. The resulting prosperity enhanced and magnified Otago's reputation as a centre of education. The first university in New Zealand was established in Dunedin in 1869, and, at about the same time, the first secondary schools. The climate reflected and encouraged the Scottish tradition of education and seriousness.²³ Nineteenth-century Dunedin has been represented as a hothouse environment because of this wealth and because of its vigorous intellectual and artistic life. It was also a centre of Presbyterian opinion.²⁴ Presbyterian periodicals were started in Auckland and Christchurch but did not survive beyond the 1880s. In the 1890s the

²³ Erik Olssen, *A history of Otago*, (Dunedin, 1984), p.173.

²⁴ John Stenhouse, 'The Revd Dr James Copland and the mind of New Zealand fundamentalism', *Journal of Religious History*, 17:4 (December 1993), pp.486-87.

Christian Outlook (1894-1898) and the *Outlook* (1899-), both from Dunedin, became national magazines. Consequently, the centre of New Zealand Presbyterian literature by the turn of the century was Dunedin.

The Presbyterian churches of Wanganui were part of the Wellington Presbytery until 1884. This Presbytery, which included present-day Wellington, Horowhenua, Wairarapa, Wanganui, Manawatu and Rangitikei, was something of a poor relation and a weakling within New Zealand Presbyterianism, especially when compared with the vigour of Otago and Southland. This area produced no regional church magazines, and there was a distinct lack of regional focus. Part of this was due to administrative decisions and changes in presbytery boundaries, and partly to the nature of the leading churches themselves. From the beginning Presbyterianism in Wellington province was not homogenous. For instance, when the Wellington Presbytery was formed in 1857, only three of six Presbyterian ministers in the area participated and only these three were Free Church. The ministers of St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Wanganui and the original Scotch Church of Wellington remained outside the Presbytery until 1859 and 1879 respectively.²⁵ Both of these churches were affiliated with the Church of Scotland rather than the Free Church. The Wellington Presbytery evidently had a shaky start, for it had to be reconstituted in 1861.²⁶ Because there was never a regional Presbyterian magazine specifically for the Wellington region, ministers sent contributions to the existing regional magazines in Auckland, Dunedin and Christchurch. Compared to Otago and Southland, the rural counties of Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu would have appeared a kind of no man's land, where Presbyterian churches formed far-spaced citadels of true piety dotted amongst other denominations. In 1884 part of the Wellington Presbytery was detached to form the Wanganui Presbytery, which covered Wanganui, Rangitikei, Manawatu and, at first, part of Taranaki (which had been part of the Auckland Presbytery). At that point there were parishes at Hawera, Waverley, Wanganui, Turakina, Marton, Foxton, Bulls, Feilding and Palmerston North.

²⁵ The third minister was James Duncan of Foxton, from the Reformed Presbyterian Church.

²⁶ D.G. Bound, *The ministry of Rev. John Strachan Moir, 1809-1885: first Moderator of the Wellington Presbytery*, ([Lower Hutt], 1976), p.9.

The first Presbyterian church in the borough of Wanganui, was St Paul's, built in 1854. It began its life as one of the few affiliated to the Church of Scotland. Other Presbyterian churches were built at Turakina in about 1857, Bonny Glen in 1861, Marton about 1864 Westmere-Brunswick in 1874 and Waverley in 1876. As white settlement moved into the interior in the 1880s a church was established at Hunterville in 1887. And as Wanganui grew, Presbyterian churches were established in the suburbs at Castlecliff (1902), Aramoho (1903), and Wanganui East (1904). St Paul's was, from the beginning, an urban church and its congregation was drawn principally from Wanganui borough. The rural Presbyterian Church at Turakina was quite different to St Paul's. The Scottish Highland farming families who formed the core of the original congregation possessed a degree of cultural homogeneity and social cohesiveness which, except for the people of Waipu, was unusual within the Northern Church.²⁷ Turakina probably began as Free Church territory. Its church was built on donated land in preference to adjacent land owned by the Scotch Church of Wellington.

St Paul's did not have pure Free Church roots. Unlike the initial congregation of the Scotch church in Wellington which came largely from the *Bengal Merchant* and the Highlanders at Turakina, the original congregation of St Paul's did not come to Wanganui together as a homogenous group. How far was St Paul's a 'Scotch' Church? Did it have a discernible attitude towards Scottish national identity and was this attitude was modified by its location in New Zealand? Did this attitude change between 1880 and 1918? Lineham defines piety as a *cluster of variable and varying patterns* in which cultural factors play a part.²⁸ These cultural elements determined and were determined by attitudes to Scottish national identity. Signs ought to be found in features as varied as church organization and architecture, liturgy and music, customs and festivals, origins and attitudes of the clergy and literature, as well as church attitudes to certain issues, women's roles and relationships with other organizations.

St Paul's derived its system of church government from its Scottish source. Authority was vested within the church itself, that is, within the Kirk Session, comprising church elders and

²⁷ Malcolm W. Wilson, *Turakina: the story of a country parish 1852-1952*, (Christchurch, [1952]), p.33; Jessie M. Annabell, "'Smoke in the hills': representations of Turakina's past", B.A.(Hons) research essay in History, (Massey University, 1994), p.24.

²⁸ Lineham, 'Protestant piety in nineteenth-century New Zealand?' p.371.

the minister. The minister of St Paul's and senior elders were members of the Wanganui Presbytery (1884-), which met monthly in each of the principal parishes in turn. Ministers took it in turn to act as Moderator of the Presbytery.

According to the 1903 jubilee report, the first church (1856) was *plain and severe* except for the pulpit and precentor's box.²⁹ The more substantial second church, completed in 1870, was quite austere but may have been designed with other uses in mind, such as concerts and organ recitals. In 1912 the St Paul's congregation decided to shift from a prime commercial position in Victoria Avenue to a more appropriate site in Guyton Street. The imposing new church, built of red brick and Oamaru stone arches, was completed in 1913.³⁰ Ironically, it was about then that St Paul's began to lose its position as the chief Presbyterian church in the Wanganui area. The congregation of St Paul's was assured that the 'late Gothic' building was up to date because it was a style *used very much in England and America at the present time*.³¹ Wood panelling gave the interior an effect of richness, as in churches of other denominations at that time, but the only permanent sign of Scottish Presbyterian origins was simplicity.

The introduction of hymns and instrumental music brought changes to liturgy : a change from psalms to hymns and the introduction of harmoniums and organs. Before 1870 the congregation of St Paul's sang or chanted psalms led by a precentor. The few Presbyterian hymnbooks published in Scotland before 1870 drew heavily on non-Scottish sources such as Watts and Wesley.³² According to Breward, however, Australian Presbyterian churches were beginning to use hymnbooks by mid-nineteenth-century.³³ Elmslie himself introduced the idea of hymns in 1867, the year after he arrived at St Paul's, but it was not until about 1870 that

²⁹ St Paul's Presbyterian Church, *Jubilee Report 1853-1903*, p.27.

³⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 November 1912, p.3(5).

³¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 November 1912, p.3(4-5).

³² Douglas Murray, 'From Disruption to Union', in D. Forrester and D. Murray, *Studies in the history of worship in Scotland*, (Edinburgh, 1984), p.89.

³³ Ian Breward, 'The Scottish character of Australian Presbyterian churches' in J. Jupp (ed), *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, (North Ryde, N.S.W., 1988), p.771.

the changeover was made with the aid of books obtained from Australia.³⁴ Organs began to be introduced into Scottish Presbyterian churches after 1865.³⁵ Synod, mindful of its identity, was cautious and organs did not appear in Dunedin Churches until the 1880s. The Northern Church was not so restrictive: it sanctioned instrumental music in churches as early as 1862. The Turakina Church had a harmoniumist as early as 1867,³⁶ but in Wanganui, the congregation of St Paul's resisted attempts to introduce a harmonium in 1870 and it was not until 1873 that one was acquired.³⁷ McKean suggests that an unwillingness to relax restrictions was more an expression of Scottish culture than of Scripture.³⁸ The relative ease with which Northern churches, Turakina and St Paul's in particular, adopted hymns and musical accompaniment might indicate that they were not particularly Scottish. Musical accompaniment brought changes in liturgy and the form and length of church worship. By the twentieth century worship within the Presbyterian Church had become less differentiated from worship in other Protestant churches. This showed itself in changes to communion practices, services and customs surrounding births, marriages and funerals, and the increased observance of Christian festivals such as Christmas and Easter. Murray attributes it principally to an increased consciousness of Anglican practice and rivalry between Presbyterian denominations for membership.³⁹ This observation is particularly relevant in considering the Northern Church. One would expect, therefore, that Christian festivals would be increasingly observed in Presbyterian churches above the Waitaki line. It is axiomatic that many Presbyterians in nineteenth-century New Zealand did not observe Christmas.⁴⁰ Collins and

³⁴ M.H. Treadwell, *The history of a century: St Paul's Church, Wanganui, 1853-1953*, ([Wanganui, 1953]), p.32.

³⁵ Murray, 'From Disruption to Union', p.90.

³⁶ Wilson, *Turakina*, p.33.

³⁷ Jocelyne Labrum and George Bourne (comps), *A hurdy-gurdy in church: a history of the organ of St Paul's Presbyterian Church Wanganui*, ([Wanganui, 1984]), p.3.

³⁸ John McKean, *The church in a special colony: a history of the Presbyterian Synod of Otago and Southland 1866-1991*, (Dunedin, 1994), p.89.

³⁹ Murray, 'From Disruption to Union', pp.80-82.

⁴⁰ Lineham, 'Protestant piety in nineteenth-century New Zealand', p.376.

Lineham suggest that the Protestant notion of holy days included only Sundays.⁴¹ This would have excluded Christmas, Good Friday and traditional folk festivals such as New Year' Eve (Hogmanay), and Hallowe'en as well as saint's days such as St Andrew's Day. Schmidt terms it a *Protestant disdain for Roman Catholic festivals*.⁴² Although Christmas and Easter in mid-nineteenth-century Otago were not public holidays⁴³ it was very likely that many Presbyterians in the Northern Church did commemorate Christmas as a secular festival. The Highland Presbyterian emigrants on the *Blenheim* certainly did celebrate Christmas Day in 1840 but it was not with religious rites.⁴⁴ In the early 1850s, according to Eliza Rockel, Christmas dinner at Turakina had all the Dickensian trimmings including a roast and plum pudding⁴⁵ but again without religious rites. Murray suggests that in the Church of Scotland it became more common to celebrate Christian festivals by 1900.⁴⁶ It was not until 1926-7 that St Andrew's-on-the-Terrace in Wellington held its first Christmas and Good Friday church services.⁴⁷ Celebrations formerly associated with Christmas transferred to Hogmanay and New Year⁴⁸ which were already secular festivals. The celebration of St Andrew's Day was never associated with Presbyterian Church until the twentieth century.⁴⁹

⁴¹ Chris Collins and Peter Lineham, 'Religion and leisure' in H. Perkins and G. Cushman (eds), *Leisure, recreation and tourism*, (Auckland, 1993), p.37.

⁴² Leigh Eric Schmidt, *Holy fairs: Scottish communions and American revivals in the early modern period*, (Princeton, N.J., 1989), p.15-16.

⁴³ No Christmas was celebrated at Waipu and there were no public holidays at Christmas or Easter in 19thc. Otago. N.R. McKenzie, *The Gael fares forth: the romantic story of Waipu and sister settlements*, (Auckland, 1935), p.116; Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots overseas*, (London, 1966), p.171.

⁴⁴ Jessie Campbell, Shipboard diary 'Blenheim', 1840, 25 Dec 1840.

⁴⁵ Written and rewritten between about 1900 and 1920 and heavily overlaid by nostalgia. Eliza Rockel, 'At home in Turakina' in Rob Knight, *Poyntzfield: the McKenzies of Lower Rangitikei*, (Lower Hutt, 1975), p.40.

⁴⁶ Murray, 'From Disruption to Union', p.80.

⁴⁷ Littlejohn, p.15.

⁴⁸ W. Hamish Fraser, 'Developments in leisure' in W.H. Fraser and R.J. Morris (eds), *People and society in Scotland, v.2 1830-1914*, (Edinburgh, 1990), p.237.

⁴⁹ St-Andrew's-on-the-Terrace, Wellington, began holding St Andrew's Day services in the 1940s. Littlejohn, p.73.

Did signs of Scottish national identity emerge in rites of passage? Presbyterian marriages and funerals were restrained and marked by minimal religious ceremony.⁵⁰ This in itself could be considered a mark of Scottish identity. The simplicity of Presbyterian funerals related to the brevity or absence of religious rites and the lack of a church service. Nevertheless, the body of a well known, wealthy or respected Scot, especially if he was a Highlander or had rural connections, would be accompanied by a piper and followed by an all-male procession⁵¹ from the house to the gravesite. Turakina had a number of funerals in which there was a large element of ceremony although the religious rites were brief and self-effacing.⁵² But these were Presbyterian funerals. The funeral of Archibald Cameron, a Catholic, had no piper and was no different to any other Catholic funeral.⁵³ By the early twentieth century, Sabbatarianism did not prevent Presbyterian funerals being held on a Sunday. Both Charles Cameron, who died in 1909, and his wife Catherine, who died in 1917, were buried on a Sunday.⁵⁴ Presbyterian funerals, therefore, although stark, might be accompanied by cultural ceremony which might or might not be independent of any religious affiliation.

Donaldson refers to what was evidently a Church of Scotland custom of 'kirking the town council'⁵⁵ and he also notes a twentieth-century custom in the United States, the 'Kirkin' o' the Tartan', a special church service.⁵⁶ Australian kirkings in the twentieth century were *an overseas reconstitution of an old ceremony*.⁵⁷ If such ceremonies did occur in the Wanganui

⁵⁰ Murray, 'From Disruption to Union', p.91.

⁵¹ N.R. Mackenzie, p.114, *New Zealand Scot*, 2:8, (June 1914), p.26-27.

⁵² For instance: funerals of: Janet Cameron, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 November 1881, p.3 (6); John Cameron, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 February 1881; of their son Charles, *Wanganui Chronicle*, 16 February 1909, p.4(6); Robert Bruce, *Rangitikei Advocate*, 23 April 1917.

⁵³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 21 March 1902, p.2(4).

⁵⁴ The question of Sunday burials needs further investigation. Although classical sources of the Presbyterian Church - the Book of Discipline, Book of Common Order, Westminster Directory - neither prohibit nor approve of Sunday burial, Sunday burials in Palmerston North were common until about 1945. Colin Griggs, Funeral Director, personal communication, 20 October 1995.

⁵⁵ Gordon Donaldson, *The faith of the Scots*, (London, 1990), p.130.

⁵⁶ Donaldson, *The Scots overseas*, pp.127-128.

⁵⁷ Irene Bain, 'Post-war Scottish immigration' in J. Jupp(ed), *The Australian people: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, (North Ryde, N.S.W., 1988), p.789.

and Rangitikei, which seems unlikely, they were not perpetuations of tradition, they were not called 'kirkings' and it is probable that the church was blessed more than the thing which was kirked.

Presbyterian clergy would have had a vision of Scotland which they extended to New Zealand. The main features in this vision were stability and social order, and elements of a rural utopia in which the church and school were closely connected, where the schoolmaster was the minister or an elder of the church. The origins of Presbyterian clergy in New Zealand, their attitude to education and other issues, the way they dressed, what they read and what they wrote give clues to this vision.

Presbyterianism in New Zealand at first depended totally on ministers from overseas and this situation lasted until 1866 when Theological College in Dunedin began to provide New Zealand-based training. The Free Church was the most consistent contributor of ministers between 1840 and 1909. Nevertheless, the Presbyterian Church of Ireland provided a significant number especially in the 1880s. As many as 41 ministers may have come from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland between 1840 and 1910.⁵⁸ Noticeable numbers came from other Presbyterian churches, including Australia and Canada, as well as other non-conformist Churches. The Church of Scotland's contribution was far outweighed by the contributions from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland and 'Other Presbyterian Churches' but the affiliations of many early ministers remain unknown. St Paul's was fortunate in that it did not have a rapid turnover of ministers. David Hogg, from the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland, served at St Paul's from 1853 until 1866. Until the first church was built in 1854, Hogg conducted worship at the Mechanic's Institute, alternating with Methodist services. He also itinerated to other other Presbyterian congregations in the area and is popularly remembered for making the journeys riding on a bullock. John Elmslie, a Free Church minister born near Aberdeen, arrived in Wanganui in 1866. Eloquent and evangelistic, Elmslie joined with other Presbyterians and Methodists to conduct a local revival in 1875. He was followed in 1876 by another Free Church man, James Treadwell, who was born in Gloucester. When Treadwell resigned from the St Paul's charge in 1896, it was resolved not to send to Scotland for a

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See Appendix Three.

minister but to wait for a suitable New Zealand candidate.⁵⁹ R.M. Ryburn, a New Zealand-trained minister, was inducted at St Paul's in 1897 and left for Invercargill in 1909. The incumbent between 1910 and 1922, J. D. McKenzie, was born in Colac, Victoria. McKenzie. Unlike previous ministers of St Paul's, Mckenzie did make a show of his Scottish national identity, even though he was Australian-born. One other name was also significant, because of his long service. John Ross, of the Free Church, ministered at Turakina from 1871 until his retirement in the early 1900s. A Gaelic-speaking Highlander, he was conservative, earnest, scholarly, practical, versatile and had a considerable influence on Presbyterianism in the Wanganui and Rangitikei districts. Ross was unusual in that he was probably the only Presbyterian clergyman in the whole area who was fluent in Gaelic and Gaelic lore. The Turakina congregation had called him from Masterton in 1871, specifically, it is said, for his fluency in Gaelic.⁶⁰ At his memorial service in 1912, he was noted as a scholar and as a pioneer in regional education but not as a Scot.⁶¹ The name of James Duncan, who was so influential in Horowhenua, Manawatu and Rangitikei until the end of the century, was not well-known in the Wanganui area.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, one of the mythic structures of Scottish national character is a belief in the special ability of Scottish education to foster individual intellectual talent, no matter what the individual circumstances. For the Presbyterian church, the myth of the 'lad o'pairs' had a particular reality. The Presbyterian ministry prided itself on its education. This was a useful achievement in rivalry with other denominations.⁶² About 28 percent of clergy, licentiates, probationers and home missionaries between 1840 and 1919 had a tertiary degree in addition to their divinity training.⁶³ It was not unusual for Presbyterian clergy to give public lectures on religious and scientific subjects, and, of course, Scottish history and subjects with

⁵⁹ Treadwell, p.12.

⁶⁰ Wilson, *Turakina*, p.35.

⁶¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 11 November 1912, p.4(6).

⁶² In 1872, Anglican clergy were disparaged as illiterate in comparison to Presbyterian clergy. *New Zealand Presbyterian Magazine*, May 1872 p.130 cit in Davidson, *Pious energy*,(1889), p.36.

⁶³ John Rawson Elder, *The history of the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand 1840-1940*, (Christchurch, [1940]), pp.407-437.

a Scottish flavour. In 1868, the year after he arrived in Wanganui, Elmslie lectured to the Turakina Literary Society, and the following year he gave a public lecture in Wanganui on *The earth, the seasons, the moon and the tides*.⁶⁴ Lectures were an extra source of income⁶⁵ Presbyterian congregations perceived their clergy to be well-educated. Elmslie and Treadwell were both considered to be particularly scholarly although only Elmslie possessed an academic degree. Ministers were also seen on occasion as the especial arbiters and transmitters of Scottish culture and history. Treadwell and Ross acted as judges for the Wanganui Caledonian Society's first essay competition in 1886.⁶⁶ The Rev. Monro of Auckland delivered *a very interesting, chatty lecture, on the Highlands and Lowlands of Scotland, illustrated by limelight views* at St Paul's in 1894.⁶⁷ In 1882, the Presbyterian ministers from Bulls, Feilding, and St Paul's in Wanganui were the examiners for the Turakina Classical and Commercial School.⁶⁸ This was a private Presbyterian boarding school run by John Ross and his daughters. It drew pupils from as far as the Wairarapa and was a practical extension of Ross's own belief in the need for quality education underpinned by Presbyterian ideals.⁶⁹ Ross fitted the ideal of the Presbyterian academic cleric who was also a Gaelic speaker and scholar. For a time, he trained some candidates, including H.J. Fletcher, for the Northern Church.⁷⁰ Such learnedness in a rural area fitted into the stereotypes of kailyard literature, but Ross's talents were not confined to the stereotypical. He was responsible for designing the new church at Turakina as well as large extensions to the manse and within two years of his arrival in 1871 he had wiped out a parish debt of £250.⁷¹

⁶⁴ *Wanganui Herald*, 23 June 1869, cit in J.G. Elmslie, *John Elmslie: he came from Bennachie*, (Christchurch, 1963), p 40.

⁶⁵ Ian Breward, '1871-1901: clamant needs, determined battlers' in McEldowney (ed), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa 1840-1990*, (Wellington, 1993), p.43.

⁶⁶ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 13 October 1886.

⁶⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 13 March 1894, p.2(3).

⁶⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 December 1882, p.3(1-2).

⁶⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 11 November 1912, p.4(6).

⁷⁰ Wilson, *Turakina*, pp.52-53.

⁷¹ *Evangelist* (Dunedin), 5:5(May 1873), pp.153-4.

Presbyterian clergy might have been seen as custodians of Scottish history and culture but that did not mean wearing Scottish national costume. Senior ministers such as Thomas Burns had been photographed in Sunday gown and Geneva bands but the accepted conventions for clerical dress were plain and reflected secular fashions of the day. There is no indication that Elmslie ever wore a kilt although his daughter was dressed in tartan and his nephew's son wore kilts as a child.⁷² In his capacity as the Chief of the Gaelic Society of Otago, the Rev. D.M. Stuart wore a kilt, but in general Scottish national dress never took precedence over the customary restrained dress of the Presbyterian minister. Those with academic degrees often wore gowns to signify their achievements. According to Allan Davidson, early twentieth-century regulations concerning clerical dress were remarkable more for their absence than their strictness.⁷³ Even so, the Rev. W. Macdonald, of Kaiapoi, was recorded as saying in 1906 that he *had often wished the rules of dress for Presbyterian ministers were relaxed to allow them to wear their tartans. In bygone days the pastor wore the plaid and kilts, and he would feel proud to do the same.*⁷⁴ Macdonald's 'bygone days' had more to do with eighteenth century Episcopalian and Catholic Jacobitism than Presbyterianism.

Reading matter helped to shape how clergy perceived Scottish national identity. Three examples are Robert Burns⁷⁵, kailyard literature and the content of Presbyterian Church magazines in New Zealand. Throughout the nineteenth-century, the Presbyterian Church as a whole was suspicious of Robert Burns and his poetry. Burns had attacked Presbyterian rigidity and hypocrisy in *Holy Willie's Prayer* and rudely compared the eighteenth-century tradition of the Lord's Supper to a carnival in *The Holy Fair*. In addition, his attitudes to Jacobitism and the Union differed from those of the Presbyterian Church and much of his poetry was too earthy for genteel taste. On the other hand, he had also provided the Presbyterian Church with its most elemental imagery in *The cottar's Saturday night*⁷⁶ - the

⁷² Elmslie, p.46.

⁷³ Allan Davidson, '1931-1960: Depression, war and new life' in D. McEldowney (ed), *Presbyterians in Aotearoa: 1840-1990*, (Wellington, 1990), p.111.

⁷⁴ *Manawatu Standard*, 31 March 1906, p.4(7); Elder, p.429 .

⁷⁵ John and Angus Macpherson (eds), *The poetical works of Robert Burns*, (London, c.1891).

⁷⁶ *Christian Outlook*, 4:1 (April 1897), p.139.

rural peasantry obediently preparing for worship on Sunday. Many Presbyterian clergy, consequently, had deep but ambivalent affection for his poetry. When the editor of the *Catholic Presbyterian* weighed up Burns as a producer of Presbyterian poetry in 1881, he was reprimanded for including an antagonist of Presbyterianism in a 'Christian Presbyterian' magazine. He pointed out in a carefully equivocal way that not all opinions of Burns were so harsh and that perhaps the good should be kept and the vile buried in oblivion.⁷⁷ By 1900, clergy participated in the Dunedin Burns Club to the extent that they appeared to have to taken it over. William Woon, a Wanganui Methodist and not a Scot, described a Burns night in Dunedin in 1904 as *too boring for most Scots folk*.

...there were a good many gentlemen on the platform, several of them ministers of religion....The speeches, all eulogistic of Scotia's favourite poet, were interspersed with songs and music, most of which...were of a mediocre kind...A J.T. Stewart, trying to read a panegyric on Burns by Ingersoll, was booed off the stage⁷⁸

In 1914 the *New Zealand Scot* noted that ministers of all denominations were now taking a prominent part in celebrations.⁷⁹ That clergy of any church should take part in celebrating Burns' birthday was considered an asset. When the Wanganui Burns Club met in 1926 its first Bard was the Rev. Paterson and the initial meeting was held at his church, St Paul's.⁸⁰ By the 1900s it seemed that the Presbyterian assessment of Burns was becoming increasingly positive.

Kailyard literature presented an image of a certain kind of Scotland, one that was rural, harmonious, and in which the minister and the schoolmaster were the pivots of the community. Burns' *The cottar's Saturday night* provided the basic imagery of simple, rural worshipful family groups with a daily routine punctuated by family and church worship.⁸¹ This rural ideal, as embodied in kailyard literature, became very popular at the turn of the century.

⁷⁷ *Catholic Presbyterian*, (London), 5:6 (June 1881), pp.471-473.

⁷⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 March 1904, p.7 (1-2).

⁷⁹ *New Zealand Scot*, 2:8 (June 1914), pp.29-30.

⁸⁰ *Scottish New Zealander*, 4:6 (June 1926), p.8.

⁸¹ *Christian Outlook*, 4:1 (April 1897), p.139.

Two of the principal kailyard writers in Scotland were James Barrie and 'Ian MacLaren', the penname of the (Presbyterian) Reverend John Watson. MacLaren's novels were notable for their piety, lugubriousness, and extended deathbed scenes.⁸² They were obviously read in New Zealand, for in July 1903, the Rev. Isaac Jolly, of St Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Palmerston North, lectured at Pahiatua on *Ian MacLaren and his Scottish characteristics*. One month later he gave the same talk at St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Feilding.⁸³ James Chisholm's *Fifty Years Syne* (1898) began with a piece of prose in characteristic kailyard fashion.⁸⁴ A mid-twentieth century rendering can be found in Malcolm Wilson's *Turakina: a story of a country parish*.⁸⁵ In its sense of rural serenity and community centred upon church and school, Wilson's book drew heavily upon the atmosphere created by a nostalgic description of the 60th jubilee of the Turakina church in 1912.⁸⁶

Overseas periodicals such as the *British Messenger* and the *Band of Hope Review* probably circulated amongst the congregation of St Paul's in the 1870s.⁸⁷ St Paul's evidently received the *British Weekly* for Elmslie had a picture of its Scottish editor on his wall.⁸⁸ Church magazines from two areas of New Zealand reached St Paul's. The *New Zealand Presbyterian Church News*, published in Auckland, was earnest with a strong evangelical slant.⁸⁹ It featured articles on temperance, 'church decorum' (church and moral behaviour) and, from 1881, reprints of items from the ecumenical *Catholic Presbyterian*. It also printed a certain number of anecdotes featuring Scots dialect. The Dunedin equivalents were the *Evangelist* and the *New Zealand Presbyterian*. Items about the Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu

⁸² Macgregor, *Famous Scots*, p.250.

⁸³ *Manawatu Standard*, 21 July 1903, p.4(7); *Feilding Star*, 19 August 1903.

⁸⁴ 'PROEM: Full fifty years syne, in the roomy kitchen of a cottar's house in the heart of Scotland...' James Chisholm, *Fifty years syne: a jubilee memorial of the Presbyterian Church of Otago*, (Dunedin, 1898), pp.1-4.

⁸⁵ Wilson, *Turakina*, especially pp.11 & p.45.

⁸⁶ *Rangitikei Advocate*, 18 December 1912.

⁸⁷ *New Zealand Presbyterian Church News*, 3:4 (April 1875), p.3.

⁸⁸ Elmslie, p.57.

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Presbyterian Church News*, 2:13 (January 1874), p.149.

churches appeared in both the Auckland and Dunedin magazines. With the advent of the firstly truly 'national' Presbyterian periodical the *Christian Outlook* in 1894, and the *Outlook*, founded in 1899, Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu parishes received more regular coverage. At the turn of the century St Paul's was receiving 50 copies of the *Outlook*.⁹⁰ St Paul's published its own church magazines at various times, and these were invariably edited by the resident minister. John Elmslie is known to have produced a monthly periodical called the *Watchtower* in the early 1870s.⁹¹ In the 1890s James Treadwell compiled and wrote articles for the monthly *Home Messenger*, a parish magazine in which all but the outside pages were taken up by an ecumenical insert pre-printed in Britain. In 1912, the *St Paul's Review* was a quarterly magazine, with a special expanded issue in July each year which included the annual report. In 1915 it was decided to enlarge the *St Paul's Review*, again with a generic insert.⁹² Much of the content of this magazine was ecumenical and could have applied to any other Protestant church.

Callum Brown suggests that, the the twentieth-century, church-going declined within the Presbyterian Church in Scotland at the same time as the Kirk was displaced as a focus for national identity.⁹³ It is significant that in Scotland childhood attendance at Church and Sunday School was much higher than adult attendance. Brown and Stephenson estimate that, in Scotland in 1891, one out of every two children between the ages of five and ten was in some way connected with a Presbyterian church either through Sunday Schools or other groups such as the Band of Hope or Boys Brigade.⁹⁴ Even though these people might drift away from the Church as they grew up, it would be very difficult for them to avoid being imbued with some degree of Presbyterian ethos.

⁹⁰ St Paul's Presbyterian Church, *Annual report for the year ending 30 June 1905*, p.7.

⁹¹ *St Paul's Review* (July 1912), p.14.

⁹² *St Paul's Review and Annual Report*, July 1915, p.2.

⁹³ Brown, *1730*, p.253.

⁹⁴ Callum Brown and Jayne D. Stephenson "'Sprouting wings'?: women and religion in Scotland 1890-1950' in E. Breitenbach and E. Gordon, *Out of bounds: women in Scottish society 1800-1945*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.99.

Maclaren and Hillis have shown the complex but basically middle-class nature of Free Church congregations in Aberdeen and Glasgow in mid-nineteenth century. McClean suggests that one's status group or class was more important than denomination in choosing one's religious affiliation.⁹⁵ If congregations tended to be collections of people of a similar socio-economic status, a person would be most likely to join a church which reflected their own own (aspiring) social status. Closer study of the St Paul's congregation may reveal such a homogeneity based not on ethnicity or religion but on social status. It is also likely that membership of the St Paul's congregation helped to reinforce a network of associations which was perpetuated in secular life outside the church.⁹⁶

Among the issues which concerned the Presbyterian Churches in New Zealand were Sabbath observance, gambling⁹⁷ and temperance. All three could be said to have a peculiarly Scottish component. Sabbath observance in its most extreme form was characteristic of Free Church and Highland evangelism. Some of the flavour of these customs can be found in Mackenzie's 1935 book on Waipu. People spoke in whispers, drew on Saturday the water they would use on Sunday, and read only improving tracts on the Sunday.⁹⁸ Anecdotes of this sort about rigid sabbath observance are rare in the Wanganui and Rangitikei. T.U. MacKenzie of Rangitikei was known to have strong sabbatarian views but even he permitted essential tasks to be done on a Sunday.⁹⁹ There were, of course complaints to the newspaper about Sunday trains, picnics and entertainments. An anonymous letter to the editor of the *Rangitikei Advocate* in 1879 complained that there was more drinking at Turakina on the Sabbath than any other day of the week.¹⁰⁰ At the turn of the century a certain amount of mild sabbatarianism pervaded society in general. Foreexample, the Wanganui Borough Council thought in 1897 that it was

⁹⁵ Rosalind R. McClean, 'Class, family and church: a case study of interpenetration', B.A(Hons) research essay in History, (University of Otago, 1980), p.110.

⁹⁶ For instance the Wanganui Caledonian society, or Masonic Lodges. See Ch. 4

⁹⁷ Maureen N. Garing, ' "Against the tide": social, moral and political questions in the Presbyterian Church of New Zealand 1840-1970', PhD in Religious Studies, (Wellington, Victoria University), 1986.

⁹⁸ McKenzie, pp.103-104.

⁹⁹ Knight, p.126.

¹⁰⁰ *Rangitikei Advocate*, 3 April 1879.

inappropriate for cyclists to train on Sundays at the Wanganui Caledonian Society grounds.¹⁰¹ In January 1912, the Presbyterian, Baptist and Wesleyan ministers of Wanganui co-ordinated their sermons to preach against the unholy intrusion of a brass band contest on a Sunday, but the most moderate comments came from the Presbyterian minister.

By 1900, however, there was little to distinguish the attitudes of Presbyterian churches in New Zealand from other churches in regard to Sunday observance. Jackson suggests that after World War One the very term 'Sabbath' was used less.¹⁰² St Paul's Sunday Schools were consistently called 'Sabbath Schools' until about 1914 but even at this point the word 'sabbath' was still invoked to emphasise the sanctity of the day.

Tolerance of drinking in the nineteenth-century was greater in Scotland than in England.¹⁰³ Whisky in particular had a time-honoured role in Highland rites of passage, particularly funerals.¹⁰⁴ Breward says that *whisky had too long a history in Celtic culture to disappear before the rhetoric of temperance preachers and evangelists.*¹⁰⁵ Alexander Hogg of the Wairarapa remembered that funerals in mid-nineteenth-century Glasgow were inevitably accompanied by 'mountain dew'¹⁰⁶ and the *New Zealand Scot* recalled the *strange commingling of grief and carousing.*¹⁰⁷ In mid-nineteenth century 'temperance' for Presbyterians (as for much of New Zealand society) meant not abstinence but moderate use of alcohol, but by 1900 it signified prohibition. This conflicted with the symbolic role of whisky in Scottish national identity. In 1891 the Dunedin Burns Club elected the son of Thomas Burns (and great nephew of the poet) as its first president. Burns Clubs' suppers

¹⁰¹ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 14 May 1897.

¹⁰² St Paul's church magazines 1885-1913; H.R. Jackson, *Churches and people in Australia and New Zealand 1860-1930*, (Wellington, 1987), p.114.

¹⁰³ W.H. Fraser, 'Developments in leisure' in Fraser and Morris, p.242.

¹⁰⁴ Smout, p.134.

¹⁰⁵ Breward, 'Clamant needs, determined battlers' in McEldowney p.61.

¹⁰⁶ Alexander Hogg, Papers.

¹⁰⁷ *New Zealand Scot*, 2:8(June 1914), pp.26-7.

celebrated the symbolic significance of whisky and haggis, but A.J. Burns, a firm abstainer, directed that the Dunedin Club's 1892 anniversary be held on *temperance principles*. This apparently *caused strained relations among some members for a time*.¹⁰⁸

At the highest level the Presbyterian church expressed its disapproval of gambling, including church raffles and lotteries, but by the early twentieth century individual churches were less strict.¹⁰⁹ In 1905, for example, principles for running church bazaars indicated that there should be no gambling, no lotteries and no soliciting of business houses for donations.¹¹⁰ Presumably this was very different from soliciting advertisements for parish magazines. The Wanganui Presbytery in 1902 was asked to *draw the attention of trustees of public parks to the evils of allowing gambling machines at athletic meetings held in the parks*.¹¹¹ Gambling was not unique to Scottish national identity and its condemnation was not unique to Presbyterianism, but as long as the Presbyterian Church branded gambling as unChristian, it was in conflict with institutions such as the Caledonian Society. Caledonian Games of the same period included betting on athletic races and events such as guessing the weight of a sheep.¹¹²

Brown and Stephenson comment that the relationship between women and religion has been neglected both by feminism, and churches and religion. *...so scant is this field of enquiry that there exists virtually no agenda of issues nor sets of hypotheses from which to set new research*.¹¹³ The Presbyterian Church in New Zealand appeared to reflect its Scottish origins in that it was a male-dominated institution. Women, as Allan Davidson puts it, are *absent*

¹⁰⁸ Dunedin Burns Club, Letterbook, 6 July 1982.

¹⁰⁹ Garing, p.219.

¹¹⁰ *Ninety years of worship, work and witness 1864-1954: St Paul's Church, Christchurch, New Zealand*, Christchurch, p.11.

¹¹¹ [E.R. Fowler], *The Presbytery of Wanganui: 'In hunc effectum' (By special appointment): 1884-1984*, ([Wanganui, 1984]), p.15.

¹¹² *Manawatu Standard*, 18 January 1913, p.5(1); Turakina Caledonian Society minutes, 8 December 1920.

¹¹³ Brown and Stephenson, pp.95-120.

from nineteenth-century presbyterian records.¹¹⁴ Their allotted roles were apparently extensions of woman's 'natural role' as helpmeet, wife or mother. Matheson, writing of Presbyterianism in New Zealand from 1840 to 1870, agrees that, while women may have had more influence at local and regional level than they would have had 'at Home', they had no formal power in the church.¹¹⁵ One of the principal functions of church-going for Presbyterian women was socialisation¹¹⁶ and in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, there was a 'flowering' of Protestant church women's organizations.¹¹⁷ St Paul's, Wanganui, had both a Young Women's League and a Young Women's Guild by 1902. The Guild was largely a fund-raising group, which held sewing bees and sales of work.¹¹⁸ The Presbyterian Women's Missionary Union, begun nationally in 1909, started at St Paul's in 1912, as a group for *devotions, study and sewing*.¹¹⁹ There were no local church-affiliated equivalents of Jessie Mackay with her ardent Scottishness. A recent history of women's organisations in New Zealand mentions two Scottish-oriented groups, formed in mid-twentieth-century: neither was church-oriented.¹²⁰ Although it seems that women did not feel the need to gather together or express feelings of assertive nationality, that is not the whole story. During the Boer War and the First World War, women turned their fundraising and missionary activities - church bazaars and sales of work - into patriotic ones but these were directed as much towards Britain as Scotland. But there was no organizational outlet for Scottish national identity within the Presbyterian Church for either men or women.¹²¹

¹¹⁴ Davidson, *Pious energy*, p.35.

¹¹⁵ Matheson, 'The settler church' in McEldowney, p.38.

¹¹⁶ Lynaire Stringer, '“No joy”: Presbyterianism and early Dunedin', B.A. (Hons) dissertation in History, (University of Otago, 1988), p.77.

¹¹⁷ Anne Else (ed), *Women together: a history of women's organisations in New Zealand: nga ropu wahine o te motu*, (Wellington, 1993), p.151.

¹¹⁸ St Paul's Presbyterian Church, Wanganui, *Annual report for the year ending 30 June 1902*, p.13.

¹¹⁹ Treadwell, p.28.

¹²⁰ Else, p.501.

¹²¹ 'Scottishness was **never** the focus of Presbyterian women's organisations', Yvonne Wilkie, personal communication, 11 August 1995.

The Presbyterian Church's attitude towards Scottish national identity was most clearly shown in its relationships with other organizations: the military, Freemasonry, the Orange Order and Scottish 'ethnic' societies. Links between the Presbyterian Church in Wanganui and the military reflected the strong connection between middle-class Scottish national identity and the military. When he arrived Wanganui in 1867 John Elmslie found himself in a township ready for war. Elmslie's daughter implies that he was made chaplain of the local troops because *there was a considerable number of Scottish churchmen amongst the Imperial troops*.¹²² R.M. Ryburn of St Paul's became honorary chaplain for the Wanganui Highland Rifles in 1902 and the Rifles paraded in full uniform to St Paul's to attend special church services.¹²³ Such a group was useful when it came to displaying patriotism on a sectarian basis. When George V was crowned in 1911, there were three special church services in Wanganui - in the Catholic church, the Anglican Church and a very large nonconformist service in the Opera House. The Highland Rifles attended the nonconformist service and the Wanganui Rifles attended the Church of England service.¹²⁴ Presumably the Irish Rifles paraded at the Catholic church. *St Paul's Monthly* magazine linked war exploits to Scottish ethnocentrism: *the striking instances of the great part that Scotland is taking in the moulding of events at this time*.¹²⁵

Some modern Scottish historians give Scotland a major role in the development of Freemasonry.¹²⁶ Checkland suggests that Freemasonry went overseas with the Scottish diaspora.¹²⁷ Links between Scottishness, Scottish Presbyterianism and Freemasonry are often hinted at. This may be behind Matheson's observation that a large number of Waipu residents

¹²² Elmslie, p.42.

¹²³ St Paul's Presbyterian Church, *Annual report ending 30 June 1902*, p.6.

¹²⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 June 1911, p.8(1-3).

¹²⁵ *St Paul's Monthly Magazine*, 1:2 (April 1916), p.iv.

¹²⁶ Angus Calder, 'The Enlightenment' in I. Donnachie and C. Whatley (eds), *The manufacture of Scottish history*, (Edinburgh, 1992), p.49.

¹²⁷ Checkland, p.155.

were active in Lodge circles.¹²⁸ The Order of the Burning Bush (1909-c1918), a 'Presbyterian brotherhood' for young men, imitated Lodge rituals.¹²⁹ In 1874 J.P. Watt (a Freemason and an elder of St Paul's in Wanganui) denied that Freemasonry had any special religious connections:

*As it may be said that all modern morality is based upon the teachings of the bible, so far it may be said that Freemasons, Templars and other friendly Societies necessarily profess religion. But the profession is **merely incidental**, at least in all the more extensive orders that we are acquainted with.¹³⁰*

J.P. Watt was wrong in one sense. The teachings of the Bible to which he referred were Protestant teachings. Therefore any profession of religion was not entirely incidental but limited to Protestantism. It was not unusual for Presbyterian ministers, like the male members of their congregations, to be Freemasons. The common factor, however, was status rather than ethnic or denominational community. The Rev. Thomas Miller joined a Masonic lodge in Westport during the 1880s hoping that he would gain status and influence by doing so but he soon found that it cut both ways'.¹³¹

The Orange movement came to Scotland with Protestant Irish immigrants.¹³² The establishment of Loyal Orange Lodges in Wanganui was early and, apparently, substantial and lasting. The Orange Order adopted a similar organization and rituals to Freemasonry¹³³ but in the eyes of the general public the two organizations were quite different. Although a considerable proportion of Presbyterian ministers came to New Zealand from the Presbyterian Church of Ireland, it is difficult to observe links between these clergy and the Orange Order. In 1891, an Orange Lodge paraded to St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Christchurch,¹³⁴ but

¹²⁸ Matheson, 'The settler church' in McEldowney, p.28.

¹²⁹ *The order of the Burning Bush: what it is and how it works*, (Dunedin, c.1910)

¹³⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 January 1874, p.2(4).

¹³¹ J. Graham Miller, Robert Strang Miller and Thomas F. Miller, *The Rev. Thomas Miller, M.A.: a family tribute*, (Christchurch, 1949), p.64.

¹³² Michael Lynch, *Scotland: a new history*, 2nd ed., (London, 1992), p.396.

¹³³ Coleman, p.2.

¹³⁴ Coleman, p.67.

in the Wanganui, as in the Manawatu, the ministers who belonged to the Orange Order were more likely to be Methodist or Anglican than Presbyterian.

Relationships between the Presbyterian Church and Scottish ethnic societies could vary. The Gaelic Society of New Zealand (Otago) had a strong religious affiliation with the Presbyterian Church. Gaelic and Gaelic literature were felt to be special areas of scholarship for Presbyterian, particularly Free Church, clergy.¹³⁵ According to Entwisle, *in the early years, ministers were often on the [Gaelic society] Committee of Management, the meetings opened with a prayer, and undoubtedly church membership was very important.*¹³⁶ The Reverend D.M. Stuart was Chief of the Gaelic Society between 1888-1894. Van der Krogt notes that there was a Dunedin Irish Society which was as Irish and Catholic as the Gaelic Society of Otago was Scottish and Presbyterian,¹³⁷ Presumably Catholics did not join a Gaelic or Highland society, for an Irish Gaelic society met in the *Tablet* office in 1895 in Dunedin.¹³⁸ There is no sign of an affiliation between Presbyterian clergy and the Caledonian Society in Wanganui. James Treadwell and John Ross were offered complimentary membership of the Wanganui Caledonian Society for their roles in judging its essay competition in 1886, but neither man ever made use of the membership. Nevertheless, two of the first three presidents of the Wanganui Caledonian Society, William Hogg Watt and James Alexander, were senior elders of St Paul's and many of the core members were also Presbyterian elders or adherents. Many Caledonian Society activities were secular - athletics and its consequent gambling, liquor booths at games, balls, non-religious concerts, celebration of Burns birthday - and this was not compatible with sabbatarian and temperance viewpoints. In 1891, an elder of Knox Church, Christchurch, urged

"that the Communion Roll be purged of all ball, theatre and Caledonian

¹³⁵ The 'aggressive thrust' of Presbyterianism into the Highlands in the eighteenth century resulted in an increase in the production of Gaelic religious literature. Thomson, pp.241-242.

¹³⁶ [Evelyn Ruth Entwisle], *History of the Gaelic Society of New Zealand 1881-1981*, ([Dunedin, 1981]), p.16.

¹³⁷ *New Zealand Tablet*, 7 September 1922, p. 19 cit. Christopher van der Krogt, 'More a part than apart: the Catholic community in New Zealand society 1918-1940', PhD thesis in Religious Studies and History, (Massey University, 1994), p.17.

¹³⁸ Coleman, p.76.

*Society goes as well as other amusements not consistent with Christian principles until they show repentance and reformation". The mover was seconded pro forma and lost, only the mover voting for it.*¹³⁹

This was obviously an extreme view. Possibly that the motion was lost because of the number of church members who did in fact go to Caledonian Society meetings, balls and concerts. Nevertheless, Presbyterian clergy in Wanganui and surrounding districts felt no particular attachment to the activities of the Caledonian Societies. After all, they felt that they were rivals for the leisure time of the same people. Since 1885, the Wanganui Caledonian Society Games had been held on 22 January, Anniversary Day. Presbyterian Sunday Schools quietly relinquished the date for their picnic in the mid-1880s. In 1901 they reclaimed it. The Wanganui Caledonian Society, naturally piqued at this intrusion, tried to *come to an amicable agreement*, that is, to persuade the Sunday Schools to choose another day.¹⁴⁰ This did not happen for the United Sunday Schools continued to hold their picnic on Anniversary Day. The relationship between the Wanganui Caledonian Society and the Presbyterian church was neither close nor particularly antagonistic, in spite of the fact that, throughout its life, senior members of the Caledonian Society were members of St Paul's congregation.

Could St Paul's be called a Scotch church? Its first three ministers were not particularly interested in maintaining Scottish national identity. Literature before about 1900 tended to be blandly British. The Turakina Church in some ways may have 'outScotched' St Paul's in its character, but its minister, Ross, never at any time played upon Scottish national identity. The natural conclusion is that church attitudes to Scottish national identity were diluted because the church was above the Waitaki line. Within the Northern Church, however, Wanganui and Rangitikei were an area in which Presbyterians and Scots were relatively numerous. Despite having a number of Free Church ministers, St Paul's in Wanganui shared in the less rigid attitudes of the Northern church. And so too did the church at Turakina, although it has been fondly portrayed by Malcolm Wilson as very Free Church and very Highland.

¹³⁹ Fergus Murray, *Knox Church 1880-1980*, (Christchurch, 1980), p.18.

¹⁴⁰ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 29 July 1901.

Brown suggests that in the absence of Scottish political independence, religion came to be attributed as the principal agent of national consciousness.¹⁴¹ He points out that despite this there is virtually no agreement among historians as to how the distinctive features of Scottish Presbyterianism relate to Scottish national identity.

*There is disagreement about the extent of of religion's contribution to Scotland's character; there is disagreement about how far the country can be taken as uniform given the great regional variations in social and religious life within it; there is disagreement about exactly what features of theology or ecclesiastical government give Scottish religious life its distinctiveness: and there is even disagreement over which church tradition - Presbyterianism, Episcopacy or Roman Catholicism - lies at the heart of Scottish character. Despite this, the relationship between religion and the Scottish identity has been a prominent theme in the treatment of the country's history.*¹⁴²

Robbins suggests that the churches have played an ambiguous and contradictory part in the preservation of and stimulation of national consciousness in Britain.¹⁴³ Presbyterian Churches in Scotland had to deal with a paradox. The cultural elements that made up popular Scottish national identity in the mid-nineteenth century came from a political and religious past to which Presbyterianism had been opposed. Its attitude towards Scottish national identity was not so much ambiguous, perhaps, as cautious. The Free Church, the single most influential Presbyterian church in nineteenth-century New Zealand, had absorbed many of the nuances of Highland 'struggle' and 'suffering' into its own vigorous mythology, but that did not extend to popular forms of Scottish national identity. The lack of interest in manifestations of Scottishness was a trait which Presbyterianism in New Zealand, particularly the Northern Church, inherited. The first aim of Presbyterianism in New Zealand was not to be a focus for national identity. Both the Northern Church and Synod looked forward to the creation of an autonomous and substantial presence in New Zealand. The Northern Church, however, functioned in a different environment from Synod, one in which Presbyterians were not predominant, or even dominant, and in which Scots were only one of a number of minority groups. That Presbyterianism continued to be seen as as inherently Scottish, when non-

¹⁴¹ Brown, 1730, p.7.

¹⁴² Brown, 1730, pp. 6-7.

¹⁴³ Keith Robbins, 'Religion and identity in modern British history' in K. Robbins, *History, religion and identity in modern Britain*, (London, 1993), pp. 85-86.

Scottish Presbyterian churches had contributed a significant number of ministers, created ambiguity in a further sense.

In the twentieth century, however, there are indications that that Presbyterian attitudes towards popular Scottish national identity changed somewhat. This was not just an effect of church union, for it was paralleled in the secular sphere by a change in the nature of Scottish national identity in New Zealand. In the early twentieth century, the influence of kailyard literature, a clergy-led movement, preceded a new attitude. Self-conscious Scottishness within the New Zealand Presbyterian church and its periodicals increased after 1900. Certainly, ministers like J.D. McKenzie of St Paul's felt more freedom to explore aspects of Scottish history which were once politically suspect. For example, in 1911 the *Wanganui Chronicle* promoted a 'Jacobite' evening to be put on by the Young Women's Guild of St Paul's Presbyterian Church.

*A programme of Jacobite songs has been drawn up and will be tunefully sung by members of the Guild and their freeborn friends who have the accent of Caledonia stern and wild, or have in some measure acquired it in this neyer land. These songs are pleasing to the most fastidious taste and are fitted to arouse enthusiasm even in cold breasts who are not stirred by the perfervid ingenium Scotium. The Empire is under too great a debt of gratitude to the house of Guelph to contrast it with the house of Stuart. Still, the most loyal subjects of king George V cannot but admire faithfulness and loyalty to him who was was once Tearlach righ nan Gael.*¹⁴⁴

As the minister of St Paul's told the story of the Jacobite rebellions, members of the Guild sang songs of the '45, and a pipe band played. The evening was *naturally much appreciated by a full hall of Scotchmen and their descendants*.¹⁴⁵ Ten years later at the Turakina Caledonian Society Games in 1921, the reporter noted what was apparently a new development. The Rev. Charteris of Fordell competed in the piping competition. Commented the reporter: *it is believed that this the first occasion in the Dominion in which a clergyman has competed in such an event*.¹⁴⁶

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¹⁴⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 14 July 1911, p.4(6).

¹⁴⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 August 1911, p.5(7),

¹⁴⁶ *Rangitikei Advocate*, 31 January 1921.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE CALEDONIAN SOCIETY I: THE SOCIETY

Since the 1860s Scottish ethnicity in New Zealand has been represented by several types of organizations specifically oriented towards the expression of Scottish national identity. Until the 1930s many of them were notable only for their fleeting existence. Each type of society or club purported to cater for a particular need which other Scottish-oriented societies did not fulfil. One of these types, the Caledonian Society, had a particularly wide objective: to meet the wants of the average Caledonian. This chapter outlines the historical context within which the Caledonian Society functioned, and looks at the phenomenon of the Caledonian Society in the Wanganui and Rangitikei districts between about 1880 and 1920. In particular, it looks at the aims of the Caledonian Society, its membership and its efforts to pass the knowledge on.

The fashion for forming Caledonian Societies reached its peak between about 1880 and the first World War in New Zealand. In larger urban areas the Caledonian Society drew on the same pool of membership as other male middle-class societies and lodges, in particular Masonic Lodges. Having a self-conscious national identity was very much a self-indulgent, leisure occupation, and at any given time it was only a small number of Scots who felt the need for a Scottish ethnic society. Caledonian Societies were often desperately aware that they represented only a tiny proportion of Scots in New Zealand. Nevertheless they chose to retain an exclusivity based more on class and gender than national origin. Only males who were suitably respectable were eligible to join. This exclusively male membership existed unchallenged in many Caledonian societies until well past the turn of the century. There were no equivalent organisations for nationally conscious Scotswomen, and, outside the Presbyterian Church, no organisations in which the majority of female members might have been of Scottish descent. Other middle-class Scots males found leisure outlets for their

organizational bents without belonging to an ethnic society. John Cameron of Marangai, a local farmer of independent means, never joined the Caledonian Society, although his eligibility would have been beyond question. He was a senior founding member of several local sporting and agricultural societies.¹ Although Caledonian Societies were 'ethnic' societies, their most important function in the wider world was as a sports organization. Until World War One, only the largest of the urban Societies was able to consistently withstand the competition from outside athletics organisations. During the War some tried to find a renewed purpose in patriotism but the needs of wartime only intensified the ways in which they fell short of changing public taste. The traditional style of big Caledonian Societies, aiming to be all things to all Scots as well as a social arbiter in the wider world, was no longer appropriate. In the central and lower North Island, some of these urban Societies disappeared. Others survived by adapting their functions. By the 1920s the most dominant institution of Scottishness in New Zealand was no longer the Caledonian Society but Pipe Band Societies and and Scottish Societies.

Forerunners of the Caledonian Society developed in the early eighteenth century and the most significant of these were the Highland Societies. For instance, the Highland Society of Glasgow was established in 1727 to help educate children of Highland parents.² The Highland Society of Scotland was set up in 1784 in Edinburgh to improve and rationalize farming methods but it very soon combined this 'improving' zeal with a new quality of concern for *the present state of the Highlands and the condition of their inhabitants and a proper attention to the preservation of the language, poetry and music of the Highlands*.³ At this point the first Scottish society for emigrants had already been established - in London in 1778. While it lacked the agrarian objectives and the intense interest in Gaelic literature of the the Edinburgh society, the Highland Society of London wanted to maintain the Highland martial

¹ Cameron came from a military background and was of independent means He was a founding member of several local organisations including the A & P Association, the Acclimatisation Society, and the Wanganui Jockey Club. Obituary *Wanganui Chronicle*, 7 November 1892.

² Thomson, p.121.

³ Ibid., p.121-122.

spirit, dress and music.⁴ By the late eighteenth century, Scottish ethnic societies in Scotland and in London were principally concerned with preserving the traditions and symbols of Highland culture, language and literature. With elite and urban membership, the role of these societies as repositories of knowledge about Highland culture, music and literature was at first more important than social activity. Later in the nineteenth century, formal social events such as balls, concerts and soirees, played an increasingly large part in annual activities. These societies were paralleled by similar groups in parts of North America, areas to which particularly heavy Scottish migration had occurred from the middle of the eighteenth century. The mercantile North British Society in Halifax, Nova Scotia, was formed in 1768, only nineteen years after the town was founded.⁵ Several Scottish ethnic organisations existed in New York and the American South by 1780.⁶ These were social and business groups of like-minded people rather than groups which aimed to preserve or celebrate a disappearing way of life.

As mentioned in Chapter Two, romanticism, the novels of Scot, and the legacy of Ossian all played a part in forming nineteenth-century middle-class attitudes to Scottish national identity, as well as the Scottish history industry of the early nineteenth-century. Particularly interesting was the influence of the British Royal family. After the Royal Family began to spend their holidays at the Scottish estate of Balmoral and to attend the nearby Braemar Highland Society gatherings in the late 1840s, popular interest in the the Highlands (as a game paradise) and Scottish costume increased. This was the impetus for the formation of many more Scottish ethnic societies from the middle of the century. In the late nineteenth century, such societies proliferated, each trying to cater for its own variety of Scottishness. There were three broad types: those which concentrated upon the preservation of Highland culture, language and literature (Highland and Gaelic Societies); convivial societies which focused upon Lowland culture, especially the poems of Robert Burns (Burns' and St Andrews' Societies); and those which attempted to combine the **two** (Caledonian Societies).

⁴ Thomson, p.121.

⁵ David Macmillan, 'Scottish enterprise and influences in Canada 1620-1900' in R.A. Cage (ed), *The Scots Abroad: labour, capital, enterprise: 1750-1914*, (London, 1985), p.56.

⁶ Jarvie, *Highland Games*, p.52.

Both Highland and Gaelic societies had as their principal objective the preservation of aspects of Highland culture. In Scotland, elite Highland Societies held gatherings and balls, piping competitions and fostered scholarship; the Gaelic Societies attempted to preserve Gaelic language and music. Until the late nineteenth century the largest Scottish ethnic societies were the Highland Societies. As is obvious, they were not representative of Scotland as a whole. Although they had begun in the seventeenth century as agrarian and 'improving' organizations, Highland Societies soon focused upon the preservation of Highland language and literature. Membership was upper-class and Royal patronage was an important asset.⁷ The Braemar Highland Society incorporated the adjective 'Royal' into its title in 1850 and established a pattern for the activities of future societies with its annual gatherings and ball. The original Gaelic Society of London was founded in 1777, its main purpose to promote the Gaelic language, literature and traditions.⁸ By 1881, Gaelic Societies existed in most Scottish cities as well as New York and Sydney, where *papers and essays [were] read and speeches made in the Gaelic language, showing that the Highlander is earnest in his efforts to keep up his mother tongue.*⁹ The Gaelic Society of New Zealand (Otago), founded in 1881, had an exclusive membership based on descent and **some** knowledge of Gaelic. Prospective members not only had to show Scottish Highland descent but possess *an acquaintance with and a desire to improve their knowledge of the Gaelic Language.*¹⁰ As its name showed, there were lofty plans to found a string of subordinate groups throughout the country but further societies were shortlived except in Clutha (1883-1904).¹¹ A Gaelic Society was active in Wellington in 1901 but the present Society dates only from 1930.¹² Members were male, middle-class, usually retired and included suitably qualified Presbyterian clergy.¹³ For instance,

⁷ During the family's residence at Balmoral Prince Albert dressed for dinner in Highland costume every evening. David Duff (ed), *Queen Victoria's Highland journals*, (Exeter, 1981), p. 74.

⁸ Thomson, p. 109.

⁹ Letter to the Editor, *Saturday Advertiser* 5 Feb 1881, p.7.

¹⁰ Cit. in Entwisle, p.13.

¹¹ Entwisle, pp.19-23.

¹² *Wanganui Chronicle* 2 November 1901, p.2(7).

¹³ See Chapter Three for Presbyterian Church and Gaelic Society connections.

the Rev. D.M. Stuart was Chief of the Dunedin Society from 1888 until his death in 1894. The small number of Gaelic societies in New Zealand reflected the distribution of a small proportion of Highland immigrants in comparison with parts of Canada, Donaldson suggests that this accounts for the rarity of Gaelic Societies in Australia.¹⁴

Another type of Scottish ethnic society emerged in the later nineteenth century - one which was basically concerned with conviviality rather than a Highland culture or high moral purpose. Unlike Highland and Gaelic societies, Burns Clubs and St Andrew's Societies celebrated Lowland culture and literature. Lynch suggests that Burns Clubs were *an antidote to the tartan menace*.¹⁵ Nevertheless, Highland symbols were central to the ritual surrounding their celebrations. The main object of Burns' Clubs was to celebrate the birthday of the poet Robert Burns on the 26th of January. Members met to give air to his poetry and songs, and to recite his '*To a haggis*' at a ritual banquet at which the indispensable ingredients were, and still are, haggis and whisky.¹⁶ Between 1890 and 1920 Burns Clubs increased in number world-wide but the number of separate clubs in New Zealand remained small. It is likely that many so-called 'clubs' were informal adjuncts to existing Scottish ethnic societies. The Dunedin Burns Club of 1892 was an offshoot of the Caledonian Society of Otago which already had a tradition of commemorating Burns Nights.¹⁷ North Island Burns Clubs included Auckland (1884) which was still going in 1894 and Pahiatua (c.1894).¹⁸ Between 1886 and 1888, some Wanganui Caledonian Society members tried to establish a separate Burns Club,¹⁹ but it was replaced by private haggis suppers after the annual games.²⁰ A second club, formed in 1926, was still going two years later. St Andrew's Societies, named after the mythical

¹⁴ Donaldson, *Scots overseas*, p.163.

¹⁵ Lynch, p.357.

¹⁶ The minced liver, heart and lungs of a sheep mixed with oatmeal and suet, seasoned with salt and pepper and traditionally cooked by boiling it in a sheep's stomach.

¹⁷ Dunedin Burns Club letterbook, 6 July 1892, AG4, DUHO.

¹⁸ Dunedin Burns Club letterbook, 8 January 1894.

¹⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 16 January, p.2(3) and 26 January 1887, p.2(3).

²⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 22 January 1903, p.5(7).

patron saint of Scotland, were also convivial societies. While Canada had several St Andrews Societies by the end of the nineteenth century, the name was rare in Australia and New Zealand.²¹

The third type of Scottish-oriented society was also a nineteenth-century development. The Caledonian Society combined the Highland Societies' focus upon the need to preserve Highland culture with the male conviviality of the Burns' Clubs. The word 'Caledonian' first became popular during the early nineteenth century at the height of the romantic movement. 'Caledonians' were not Highlanders or Lowlanders: they were members of a united Scotland. Those who founded the Caledonian Society of London in 1837 did so in response to the exclusive nature of the Highland Society of London²² and the Club of True Highlanders. Membership of the Highland Society of London (1778) was restricted to officers and noblemen.

*Neither of these...met the wants of the average Caledonian in London, the first being too restrictive and neither being sufficiently representative. The Caledonian Society of London, embracing as it did men from all parts of Scotland, came in to supply the want.*²³

In Scotland, Caledonian Societies developed later than Highland Societies. In New Zealand, however, they were the first and the most common Scottish ethnic societies. The first were in Dunedin (1862), Invercargill (1868) and Oamaru (1868). Caledonian societies existed in Waipu by 1871, South Canterbury (1875) and in Wairarapa by 1876. During the 1880s more Caledonian Societies were founded in Canterbury (1881), Wellington (1885), Wanganui (1884), Auckland (1888), Marlborough (by 1888), Hawke's Bay (by 1888) and Palmerston North (1886).²⁴ In the lower North Island, quite a few small communities formed Caledonian Societies in the 1890s. Generally, they would spring up, bloom furiously for a few seasons and fade abruptly, leaving little trace of their ever having existed. The tiny Fortrose

²¹ Sources: Jarvie, *Highland Games*, p.52; Donaldson, *Scots overseas*, p.128; *Scotia* 1911, p.xxii:

²² Trevor-Roper, p.26.

²³ Hepburn, Douglas and Will, *The Chronicles of the Caledonian Society of London*, v.1, p.4.

²⁴ *The cyclopedia of New Zealand: industrial, descriptive, historical, biographical facts, figures, illustrations etc* 6v. (Wellington and Christchurch, 1897-1908); Eric Arcus, *Waipu Caledonian Society: one hundred years 1871-1971*, (Waipu, 1971), p.14.

Caledonian Society in South Canterbury, established in 1879 and still going in 1906,²⁵ was a real stayer in comparison.

Although rural and urban Caledonian Societies differed in size and sophistication, they tended to hold similar types of functions according to similar patterns. Larger Caledonian Societies such as Wanganui were more organised than smaller societies like Turakina and they relied more heavily on the patronage of non-Scots and athletics competitors. Size and complexity usually made legal incorporation a necessity but this in turn required Caledonian Societies to be financially accountable and reduced their adaptability. The small Turakina Caledonian Society retained its informal character and a certain amount of flexibility because it never sought to become incorporated. As late as 1920, the Society even rejected the idea of chartering itself as a Highland Society. Except for Waipu and Wairarapa, the first Caledonian Societies tended to be in the South Island. Many South Island Societies were formed between about 1870 and 1890. In the North Island, most urban Caledonian Societies were formed in the 1880s. As the interior of the North Island was opened up, Caledonian Societies emerged in many small centres such as Hunterville, Taihape and Mangatainoka during the 1890s.

Pearce notes what he calls a line of Scottish settlement stretching from the southern coast of Taranaki (Hawera) right through to the Manawatu.²⁶ Pearce is a little optimistic. Nevertheless Taranaki was remarkable for the number of small Caledonian Societies which were formed in the late 1880s and early 1890s. At various times Caledonian Societies bloomed in Hawera, Eltham (1887), Patea (1883), Opunake (1891), Stratford, Inglewood, Manaia, and Toko, as well as New Plymouth.²⁷ To the east of Rangitikei, in the Manawatu, only two centres appear to have had Caledonian Societies: Palmerston North and Feilding. The main activity of the Feilding Caledonian Society (1902)²⁸ appears to have been celebrating Burns' birthday. The

²⁵ *Cyclopedia*, v. 4 (1905), p.903.

²⁶ Pearce, p.142.

²⁷ Sources: *Cyclopedia*, v. 1(1897) and v.6 (1908); *New Zealand Scot*; Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes.

²⁸ Inaugural meeting, *Feilding Star* 20 January 1902, p.3.

first Palmerston North Society which organised Caledonian sports from 1886 to 1890²⁹ was rivalled and eventually eclipsed by a second Society (1891).³⁰ A third Society (1903)³¹ was already in difficulties when the Manawatu and West Coast Scottish Society and Pipe Band was formed in 1925.³²

Between Taranaki and the Manawatu lies Wanganui and Rangitikei. Pearce's line of Scottish settlement included Waverley, Westmere-Brunswick, Hunterville, Turakina and Marton. [See map at front of thesis] Between 1880 and 1920, Caledonian Societies (most of which developed from games committees)³³ existed at Wanganui (1884), Turakina (1865) Hunterville (1897 and 1913) and possibly Marton. The Wanganui Caledonian Society was the only urban-based Caledonian Society in the Wanganui-Rangitikei area and had a number of activities. It held annual games from 1884 to 1926 with only two breaks - in 1917 and in 1925. The Society also organised annual concerts, balls and banquets, awarded medals to schools and held sporadic essay competitions. When it was founded in 1884, the Wanganui Caledonian Society had a number of advantages: the status of its founding members, a sympathetic press, and the prospect of financially successful sports meetings. Membership of the Wanganui Caledonian Society was based upon place of birth and descent. In practice, however, these rules were not strictly applied. Within Caledonian Societies generally this was not unusual. When the original Caledonian Society of London was set up, its rules were only slightly less exclusive than Highland Societies, but the rules were soon bent to admit 'Englishmen'. By 1890 the question of who was eligible to join had become complex. There was, apparently, more than one level of membership.

none but those of Scottish blood are under any circumstance admitted to membership, although the society is proud at all times to receive and entertain gentlemen of any nationality as its guests. Thus it maintains in its

²⁹ *Manawatu Standard* 14 April 1886 p.2(7) and 21 April 1886 p. 4(2).

³⁰ *Cyclopedia*, v.1 (1897), p.1161.

³¹ *Manawatu Standard*, 8 May 1903, p.3 and 30 June 1903, p.7.

³² [Victor J. Nicholson], *Fifty years strong: Manawatu Scottish Society (NZ) and Pipe Band Society, Palmerston North 1925-1975*, ([Palmerston North, 1975]), pp.77-78.

³³ The Turakina Caledonian Society derives its origin from the organizers of the 'Celtic Games' in 1865 *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Straits Guardian* 11 January 1865 p.3(a-b).

*integrity its national character, which is its firmest mainstay and surest safeguards.*³⁴

Most information regarding rules of Caledonian Societies in New Zealand comes from the early 1900s when a number of the larger ones became incorporated societies under the Friendly Societies Act 1908. In the 1908 rules of the Wanganui Caledonian Society, only the title of the Society gave any clue as to its ethnic nature and not one single rule referred to the basis of membership - Scottish birth, descent or sympathy.³⁵ Earlier rules containing specific prescriptions for eligibility and Scottish-oriented aims must have continued to exist nevertheless.³⁶ A strong proportion of Scottish blood was still essential for the position of President. When members discussed what rules should be included in 1908, a majority rejected a proposal that Directors, Treasurer and Secretary be Scottish-born or of Scottish parentage - such a requirement was *not conducive to the welfare of the Society*.³⁷ Such a requirement was difficult to observe because at certain times of the year, some positions, such as Secretary, were virtually full-time ones. It looks as though the society did not wish to be tied down to old rules perhaps because these old rules were too inflexible. Prospective members each had to be sponsored by an existing member. This was an opportunity to vet them both for Scottishness and status. From the beginning, however, status and respectability (and gender) appear to have been more important.. Most of the initial 84 members were probably well known to the president and secretary. The first list of members, in 1884, contains only three names from outside Wanganui and its immediate environs.³⁸ Very few of them were small farmers or self-employed tradesmen.³⁹ After 1900, there were more members from outside Wanganui, from the Scottish farming areas of Westmere, Brunswick, Turakina and even Waverley. Not until 1905 were women or young adults admitted as members. At that point the Wanganui Caledonian Society instituted juvenile membership and some women

³⁴ Hepburn, Douglas and Will, *Chronicles of the Caledonian Society of London*, v.1, pp.4-5.

³⁵ Wanganui Caledonian Society, *Rules* (1908), p.2. Caledonian Society of Otago Rules (1906) similarly lacked such requirements for membership.

³⁶ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 29 February 1884.

³⁷ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 18 March 1908.

³⁸ One from Upokongaro, one from Bulls and one from Marton.

³⁹ Four individuals, however, were identified by occupation - in each case they were self-employed tradesman.

were admitted on a special basis.⁴⁰

The foundation members were, in the main, newly or nearly retired men of like age, already associated in Lodges and with a wealth of business, farming and governmental (local and central) experience. They cannot be termed a 'clique'. Nevertheless the Caledonian Society was just one part of a network of associations which bound this predominantly Scottish group together. From the beginning, this group was based just as much upon status as ethnicity. The first president, William Hogg Watt, was a successful businessman, widely known in the Wanganui and Rangitikei. Mayor of Wanganui from at various times between 1872 and 1881, he had also served in both provincial and central government. He was also a senior elder in St Paul's Presbyterian Church in Wanganui and a Freemason. J.T. Stewart, President from 1889 to 1891, was a prominent surveyor, on the board of several local institutions including the Chamber of Commerce and the Wanganui Museum and was probably Presbyterian.⁴¹ James Alexander, President between 1891 and 1896, owned a lot of land in the Wanganui area and was principal mover behind the building of the Public Library. Thomas Bamber was a Justice of the Peace, member of St Paul's congregation, a Borough Councillor and a founder member of the Wanganui Harbour Board. The Mayor of Wanganui from 1901 to 1903, Alexander Hatrick, was known as *an enthusiastic Caledonian* although he was born in Victoria.⁴² In 1891, John Bryce was briefly a member. Perhaps the most enthusiastic Caledonian of them all was Robert Cunningham Bruce, Member of Parliament for Rangitikei from 1884 to 1890. As President of the Wanganui Caledonian Society from 1901 to 1903, he never missed an opportunity to express his love for Scotland and his loyalty to the British Empire. When the Wanganui Caledonian Society began to lose its status in the community and members questioned his sentimental speeches, Bruce moved on and helped to found the Rangitikei Scots' Society in Hunterville.

⁴⁰ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 5 October 1906 and 21 July 1905.

⁴¹ Although his wife was Anglican, Stewart himself was probably from a Presbyterian background. When he visited Scotland about 1894, he carefully copied down the entire wordy text of the Glasgow monument to John Knox and Patrick Hamilton ('the first martyr of Scotland'). J.T. Stewart, Papers.

⁴² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 November 1901, p.2(8).

Those members who were Scottish generally came from a Presbyterian background (even if they were not committed adherents) but there were exceptions. James Thain, an Anglican, gave generous support to the Caledonian Society as well as his own church for over 30 years.⁴³ The Episcopalian Scot from Brunswick who criticised the religious and political bias of Caledonian Society activities was also a member. There were probably no Catholics in the Society although at least two Catholic Scots - Archibald Cameron of Hunterville⁴⁴ and Alexander Macdonald of Rangitikei - would have been eligible on ethnic and status grounds.

Non-Scots of similar status who might be of use to the Society were co-opted or encouraged to join. The Caledonian Society of Otago had a similar policy by 1904 if not earlier. *Though we call ourselves a Caledonian Society, we are by no means Caledonians. We are pleased to welcome to our ranks any respectable citizen who is willing to help the objects we have in view, and those are the promotion of harmless, yet useful sports.*⁴⁵ F.M. Spurdle was a Dorset-born Methodist with no Scottish ancestry but he was also young, successful and a Freemason. Twice Mayor of Wanganui in the 1880s, chairman of the Licensing Committee in 1886-7, and member of the Education Board, he served as a senior committee member of the Caledonian Society from 1887 to 1902.⁴⁶ Other prominent members who were probably not Scottish were James Bull, born in Chelsea, and T.W. Downes.

The connection with local Masonic lodges is intriguing. Watt, Stewart, Spurdle, and Bamber were all Freemasons as were many other Wanganui Caledonian Society members. Prominent members of Scottish ethnic societies were often Freemasons,⁴⁷ but this would not be due

⁴³ Thain ran an ironmongery business: and according to the New Zealand Scot epitomised the best of Scottish national characteristics. *New Zealand Scot*, 2:8 (June 1914), p.6.

⁴⁴ Cameron did not join the Rangitikei Scots Society either. His brother, a Presbyterian, was a staunch member of the Wanganui Caledonian Society.

⁴⁵ Caledonian Society of Otago, Report of Annual General Meeting 1904 (undated newsclipping).

⁴⁶ Both parents were born in Seaborough. Janette Howe and Robyn Spurdle (eds), *Spurdle heritage*, (Auckland, 1992), pp.72-74. Other probable non-Scots included Henry Harper and T.W. Downes. Compare this with the description of David Buick, the first President of the 1886 Palmerston North Caledonian Society, as 'the ideal of an English gentleman'. *Manawatu Standard*, 20 November 1918, p.5.

⁴⁷ *Cyclopedia*, v.1-6 (1897-1908).

solely to being Scots. Status may have been more important. Olssen suggests that in Otago, Freemasonry helped forge a Protestant business consensus.⁴⁸ Reid suggest that there were similarities in *understanding* between some Scottish Masonic Lodges, and Scottish ethnic societies in North America.⁴⁹ Some Freemasons' Lodges in New Zealand bore distinctive Scottish names. Some incorporated elements of Scottish national identity, such as tartan robes, into their ritual and made a point of celebrating anniversaries such as Burns' nights.⁵⁰

The Wanganui Caledonian Society was fortunate in its access to publicity. One of the two established newspapers in Wanganui, the daily *Wanganui Chronicle* (1856), was sympathetic to the Caledonian Society, perhaps because of William Hogg Watt's previous investments in the paper. Watt had been involved with the *Chronicle* and its predecessor, the *Wanganui Record* from 1853. He was part owner in 1874 when his brother James Paton Watt edited the *Wanganui Chronicle* for a few months. Both brothers were senior members of the St Paul's congregation and the Tongariro Masonic Lodge, and both were founding members of the Wanganui Caledonian Society. Gilbert Carson, who edited and managed the *Chronicle* from 1875,⁵¹ was born of Scottish parents, but he was neither a Caledonian Society member nor Presbyterian.⁵² Nevertheless it was under Carson's management that the Caledonian Society and the *Chronicle* established a cosy relationship. Hogg Watt and J.T. Stewart both received newspapers and material from 'Home'.⁵³ Watt, in particular, would have ensured that items from Scottish papers reached the *Chronicle*. To judge from its selection of items, the *Wanganui Chronicle* regularly received newspapers from Glasgow and Edinburgh, as did the

⁴⁸ Olssen, p.76.

⁴⁹ W. Stanford Reid, 'The Scottish background' in W.S.Reid (ed), *The Scottish tradition in Canada*, (Toronto, 1976), p.266.

⁵⁰ Members of the Celtic Lodge in Dunedin wore robes trimmed with tartan. *Cyclopedia*, v.4 (1905), photograph p.197.

⁵¹ Guy H. Scholefield, *Newspapers in New Zealand* pp.46-48.

⁵² Carson was a Baptist and a firm temperance man.

⁵³ Watt received the *Dundee Advertiser* (his hometown) until at least the 1880s and subscribed to the *Edinburgh Review*, *Westminster Review* and *Chambers' Journal*. William Hogg Watt, Scrapbooks (c.1876 - c.1890) and his library. Wanganui Regional Museum.

Feilding Star in the 1880s.⁵⁴ Until World War One, the *Chronicle* reported Society activities fulsomely and uncritically. It is unlikely that the Society would have gained such early prominence without this privileged relationship. Even in bad years when the Society privately grumbled about poor patronage and humiliating snubs, the *Chronicle* continued to extol Society activities in the style which they expected. In 1926 it came as a shock to Society members when the *Chronicle* refused to print an account of the Society's ball because, as the paper's society reporter (a *young woman*) pointed out bluntly, *the lack of social standing of those present rendered a report unwarranted.*⁵⁵

This decline in status reflected an inevitable process. Over time, fewer members were Scots-born and more were New Zealand-born. In 1901, the visiting President of the Hawkes Bay Caledonian Society put into words a hope shared by many Caledonian Society members. *I hope...that when the older generation of Scotchmen pass away, young New Zealanders descended from Scotchmen may carry on the societies and perpetuate the feeling of kinship with the old country...*⁵⁶ By 1914, Scots-born members of the Wanganui Caledonian Society were worried about the future of a society where most members were New Zealand-born. At the annual general meeting, J. Driver resigned from the committee because he felt the Society was getting away from the objects for which it was formed - to be a society for Scots-born. Another member retorted that he might not be born in Scotland but he was as Scotch as anyone in Wanganui. The descendants had to be allowed to have their place. If a Scotch settlement like Dunedin could not get enough Scots-born to keep the Caledonian Society going and had to take *any other gentlemen it could get*, how could a smaller town like Wanganui expect to do so?⁵⁷ This threw into relief the generation gap between Scottish expatriates and their New Zealand-born children. And it set the scene for the development of a new style of Scottish ethnic society, one which was not for expatriates but for second generation 'Scots'.

⁵⁴ *Feilding Star*, 11 November 1884, p.2(4).

⁵⁵ *Scottish New Zealander* 4:8 (August 1926), p.4.

⁵⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 November 1901, p.2(8).

⁵⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 July 1914, p.4(6).

The official aims of the Wanganui Caledonian Society in 1908 were common to most of the larger Scottish-oriented societies in New Zealand.⁵⁹ They covered four broad areas: the execution and promotion of benevolence; education and literature; social activity; and the promotion of national music, dancing, customs and accomplishments. The promotion of national accomplishments will be discussed in the next chapter.

Although it was an official objective, the Wanganui Caledonian Society did not see benevolence as a significant obligation, especially towards those who were not solvent members of the Society. Caledonian Societies were not co-operatives or philanthropic organizations and they were not patterned upon Friendly Societies but upon nineteenth-century male lodges. As shown above, members of a Caledonian Society tended to be people who needed no help. But in two cases, the Society displayed a wider altruism: the case of the Highland crofters and wartime patriotism.

When the British Parliament passed the Crofters Act in 1886 in an attempt to resolve long-standing land grievances in northern Scotland, it was very much influenced by the current debate over Irish Home Rule. The 'Crofters Wars' between 1882 and 1888 in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland were seen as a outbreak of the 'Irish disease'.⁶⁰ In New Zealand the 1884 Land Amendment Act carried through from 1877 a provision for a special settlement in Southland for *such of the crofters in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland as may be disposed to emigrate to New Zealand*.⁶¹ An identical clause was carried over into the Land Act of 1885 after the Caledonian Society of Otago lobbied the Premier, Robert Stout (another Scot), in January 1885.⁶² The idea might have died quietly had not Robert Bruce, the member of Parliament for Rangitikei, pursued the matter in 1886. The crofters were, he said, *a class*

⁵⁹ Canterbury Caledonian Society, *Cyclopedia*, v.3(1903), p.222; Auckland Caledonian Society *Cyclopedia* v.5 (1902), p.245; Hawke's Bay Highland Society, *Cyclopedia*, v.6(1908), p.356.

⁶⁰ Lynch, p.375.

⁶¹ Land Amendment Act 1884, s.42.

⁶² Land Act 1885, s. 165. Caledonian Society of Otago Special Committee minutes 13 January 1885.

of persons who were eminently calculated to make good colonists. He was told that someone had gone back to Skye on a private mission *to see whether he could induce some of them to come out.*⁶³ Two years later, when Bruce suggested that land be set aside in the North Island for a crofters' fishing settlement, the response was indifferent.⁶⁴ Assisted immigration was no longer strategic. After the Caledonian Society of Otago awarded him honorary life membership for his *exertions on behalf of the crofters*, Bruce thanked them effusively. *I would rather be an honorary member of the Caledonian Society of Otago than a Member of Parliament*, he said.⁶⁵ Although Scottish ethnic societies wrote to each other about 'the Crofters' throughout the 1880s, the Wanganui Society did not respond to the issue until 1889.⁶⁶ The President of the Society, William Hogg Watt, was nonetheless aware of the issue, as his newspaper cutting book showed.⁶⁷ The slowness of the Wanganui Caledonian Society to join in was probably unusual because it is clear that many Scottish ethnic societies still saw immigration as a way of solving problems in Scotland **and** New Zealand.

Between the Boer War and World War One, an atmosphere of martial readiness on behalf of Britain and the Empire was never entirely absent.⁶⁸ In October 1899 three days after war had been declared in South Africa, the Caledonian Society of Otago began its annual general meeting by singing the national anthem *as loyal Britons.*⁶⁹

*They were not there as Englishmen, Scotchmen or Irishmen, but as Britishers. England's interests were their interests, and her ills were their ills, and that meant that what was good or bad for England must interest them.*⁷⁰

⁶³ NZPD, v.55(1886), p.217.

⁶⁴ NZPD, v.60(1888), p.433.

⁶⁵ Dunedin Burns Club letterbook 12 January 1894: Caledonian Society of Otago minutes 13 December 1895 and 14 January 1897.

⁶⁶ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes 6 May 1889 and 7 July 1890.

⁶⁷ William Hogg Watt, Scrapbook, 12, Wanganui Regional Museum.

⁶⁸ W. David McIntyre, 'Imperialism and nationalism' in G.W. Rice (ed), *The Oxford History of New Zealand*, 2nd ed., (Auckland, 1992), p.34.

⁶⁹ Caledonian Society of Otago minutes, 13 October 1899.

⁷⁰ Caledonian Society of Otago Annual General Meeting, newspaper clipping c.14. October 1899.

This patriotism reflected the fervour which infused New Zealand. The Wanganui Caledonian Society sold heather at its 1900 Games and sent the proceeds to the the *Scotsman* for the *widows and orphans of the gallant Highland Brigade now fighting for Queen and Empire in South Africa*. They were praised not for their Scottishness but their patriotism and their loyalty to Britain as colonists.⁷¹ At a Wanganui Caledonian Society function in 1901, Douglas MacLean, the President of the Hawkes Bay Caledonian Society, boasted that *there can be no doubt that it was due to the existence of these societies that when the war broke out we were able to send so many young men to assist*.⁷² He said this at a dinner in honour of General Hector MacDonald, one of the heroes of the Sudan, and a Highlander. MacDonald's visit was a wonderful chance for Scottish ethnic societies throughout New Zealand to show off their loyalty to the Empire as well as their pride in this son of Scotland who had risen from the ranks and embodied the best of Scottish national characteristics. His reception throughout the country was positively royal. In Feilding, the Mayor, the military and the local Caledonian Society met his train as it stopped momentarily at the station.⁷³ At Wanganui, the poor man endured a civic reception, was saluted by the Highland Rifles in full kit and sat through a lengthy Caledonian Society dinner in his honour. All of the grandiose speeches were reported word for word in the *Chronicle*.⁷⁴ The Wanganui Caledonian Society showed its commitment to the wider world, in particular the British Empire, in a positive fashion. Caledonian Games during World War One were advertised as patriotic occasions. They had to be, for war news crowded the doings of Caledonian Societies out of the newspapers unless they could show some patriotic connection. Nevertheless, the patriotism was real. In 1917, the Society combined with the military to hold not its usual 'Scotch concert', but a 'Monster Patriotic Concert'.⁷⁵

⁷¹ *Wanganui Herald*, 18 May 1900.

⁷² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 November, 1901, p.2(8).

⁷³ *Feilding Star*, 4 November 1901, p.2(7).

⁷⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 4 November 1901, p. 2(5); 5 November 1901, p. 2(8) and 3(1); 6 November 1901, p. 2(8). MacDonald committed suicide in 1903. Perhaps the tremendous adulation that he received from Scots abroad contributed to his decision.

⁷⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 January 1917, p. 4(6). In truth, the society had no money.

Several strands of nineteenth-century Scottish national identity were brought together in the patriotism of the Boer War and World War One: the military tradition, pride in the British Empire and Scottish self-confidence. When the Wanganui Garrison Band held its patriotic bazaar in 1902, there were stalls for Scotland, England, Ireland **and** Britain.⁷⁶ In times of war, at least, the three countries were equal partners in the Empire.

Promoting and encouraging Scottish education and literature was a more complex duty to carry out. The educational efforts of the Wanganui Caledonian Society paled beside those of the Caledonian Society of Otago which established scholarships, conducted English classes for highland immigrants, made sporadic efforts to encourage the Gaelic language⁷⁷ and also held competitions for poems or essays in English for adults and schoolchildren. The Wanganui Caledonian Society confined its educating efforts to English and to schoolchildren. The Reverend John Ross of Turakina, fluent in Gaelic, wrote to the society in 1908 offering to take Gaelic classes in Wanganui, but nothing came of it.⁷⁸ The indifference expressed in the minutes is particularly interesting because the Society was not without its Gaelic speakers from Turakina and Brunswick. Despite the sentimental attitude towards Highland culture held by many middle-class Scots, Highlanders themselves saw Gaelic itself as impractical and a barrier to getting on. Alexander Hogg of Wairairapa said he himself spoke no Gaelic because, during his childhood in Glasgow in the 1840s, his Highland parents avoided teaching Gaelic to their children.⁷⁹

In its own way, the Wanganui Caledonian Society took its educational aims seriously. In 1889 it had established a scholarship,⁸⁰ but as a way of publicising the activities of the Society it was not a success. After two years it was opened up to both boys and girls (from the best schools of course), but eligibility was so narrow that the scholarship went unclaimed for some

⁷⁶ Wanganui Garrison Band Bazaar souvenir programme (1907).

⁷⁷ Gaelic essay competition: Caledonian Society of Otago minutes, 14 September 1868; Caledonian Society of Otago minutes, newspaper report c.Mar 1904.

⁷⁸ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 6 March 1908.

⁷⁹ Alexander Hogg, Papers.

⁸⁰ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes 6 May 1889.

years from 1889. Members naively thought that making it contingent upon membership of the Caledonian Society *ought to encourage the fathers to join* and they were puzzled that the public was not more aware of the scholarship.⁸¹ The Wanganui Society presented medals each year to the duxes of the top four schools in Wanganui and made the presentations at the concert which followed the annual games. In 1909, however, recipients had to be coaxed to attend the ceremony.⁸² In 1886 the Society had held its first essay competition, with a comparatively substantial prize of £5, on *the early history of Scotland up to and including Mary I* for children 17 years and under. Two Presbyterian ministers judged the fourteen entries.⁸³ Essay competitions, again with Scottish history as the subject, were also held annually between 1912 and 1916. The 1912 essay, however, produced a small crop of poor quality entries. Because Scottish history was not taught in schools and books were not readily available, the Society suggested that entrants might use Scott's *Tales of a grandfather* and *The Scottish chiefs*, books published a hundred years earlier.⁸⁴ When the 1913 essay was won by the son of a Presbyterian minister⁸⁵ it served to illustrate that the most likely place for books on Scottish history was the manse. In the following year the editor of the *New Zealand Scot* complained at the paucity of Scottish literature in New Zealand homes and suggested that it was the fault of the booksellers who did not stock the books and did not understand how to sell them. *Sure we are that if a Dunedin bookseller should pile five hundred of each of these books on his counter and brought them under the notice of those interested, they would go off like hot-cross buns at Easter.*⁸⁶

Another way to promote the knowledge of Scottish customs history and literature was the public lecture but these were more likely to be given by Presbyterian clerics. The one Wanganui Caledonian Society member who was considered an able public speaker on matters

⁸¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 July 1890, p.2(5); Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes 7 September 1893.

⁸² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 22 January 1909, p.4(7).

⁸³ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 19 June 1889 and 13 October 1886.

⁸⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 8 November 1912, p. 3(7).

⁸⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 January 1914, p.2(3-4).

⁸⁶ *New Zealand Scot*, 2:8 (June 1914), p.29.

Scottish was Robert Bruce. A whimsical speaker, Bruce lectured on Robert Burns, Walter Scott, Border history and the 'Imperial Forces of the Crown',⁸⁷ despite criticism of his marked inability to keep speeches short.⁸⁸

Neither the Wanganui Caledonian Society nor the Caledonian Society of Otago rules referred to 'fellowship and brotherhood' but it was nevertheless a principal object. 'Fellowship and brotherhood' implied the kind of association found in middle-class male societies. For Caledonian Societies in New Zealand this was on several levels. As well as association within a society there were also links with kindred societies in New Zealand, Scotland, and other countries. A toast to *kindred societies* was part of the toast list at Caledonian Society dinners and banquets. The kindred society was felt to reflect the connections of family and clan.⁸⁹ The Gaelic *clann* ('children') originally referred to a patrilineal kindred (those descended by known steps from a named ancestor) but its later and looser meaning could expand to include clients and dependants of the leading kindred.⁹⁰ The head of the clan was the chief. For Highland and Gaelic societies, which were headed by a chief with perhaps one or two subsidiary chieftains, it implied that members would find kinship therein. Gaelic and Highland Societies in New Zealand were invariably headed by chiefs, but Caledonian Societies were more eclectic, especially in the twentieth century, and might have either chief or president or both. For instance the Hawke's Bay Caledonian Society was headed by a chief as was the Caledonian Society of Otago; but the latter also appointed a president. The Wanganui Society was chief and chieftain-free until 1922 as was the Turakina Caledonian Society.⁹¹ The Rangitikei Scots Society elected its founder, Robert Bruce, as its first chief.⁹² From the early twentieth century

⁸⁷ *Parliamentary portraits: Robert Cunningham Bruce* (c.1887).

⁸⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 January 1912, p.6(4). Rutherford Waddell thought that Bruce spoke far too long at a Dunedin Burns' night. *Christian Outlook*, 1:1(February 1894), p.3.

⁸⁹ Clan **societies** were not a feature of Scottish ethnic organizations until well into the twentieth century.

⁹⁰ Thomson, p.43.

⁹¹ Wanganui Caledonian Society, Annual Report, 25 November 1922; Turakina Caledonian Society minutes, 2 December 1922.

⁹² *New Zealand Scot*, 1:6 (April 1913), p.18.

the position of chief became increasingly common in Caledonian Societies.

Despite their nominal autonomy and the lack of national unity, Caledonian Societies within New Zealand formed a loosely regional system in which larger Societies maintained paternal links with smaller Societies in their own region. For the Wanganui Caledonian Society this included the whole of the Wanganui and Rangitikei areas. It also corresponded with the main groups in Manawatu, Wairarapa, Hawke's Bay, Taranaki, Canterbury, and with its model, the Caledonian Society of Otago, but not, it seems, Wellington or Auckland. Formal links with like societies in Scotland assumed more importance after 1900 and the benefits were mutual. Caledonian Societies in New Zealand were happy to advertise their own existences in Scottish newspapers and, in the twentieth century, journals such as *Scotia: the journal of the St Andrews' Society* and the *Robert Burns Yearbook*. They were eager to affiliate with the Scottish 'mother' society as a way of showing how well they were progressing.⁹³ Not so obvious or frequent were connections with like Societies in Australia.

In the Scottish calendar there were a number of secular festivals and anniversaries. When it came to commemorating such events, the Wanganui Caledonian Society was less than diligent in comparison with the Otago and Feilding Societies. The Feilding Society regularly celebrated Burns Night (26 January) but Wanganui Society gave it no public significance except between 1886 and 1888, although for some years Society members attended a private 'haggis supper' after the Games each Anniversary Day (22 January).⁹⁴ Because Robert Burns was a Freemason, some Masonic Lodges included Burns' suppers amongst their anniversaries, and it is probable that Wanganui lodges, especially St Andrew's Kilwinning and Tongariro, did the same.⁹⁵ St Andrews Day (30 November), although a holiday during parts of the 1880s and 1890s, had a very low profile within Caledonian societies. A suggestion that the Wanganui Society celebrate St Andrews Day in 1898 was quickly dropped because *it did not*

⁹³ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 26 May 1909.

⁹⁴ An independent Burns Club was formed in 1926. The bard was the incumbent of St Paul's and 'by the tone of the meeting it was very apparent that this club will supply a long felt want in the city'. *Scottish New Zealander* 4:6 (June 1926), p.8.

⁹⁵ In the 1920s a Palmerston North Lodge held such suppers annually. *Scottish New Zealander*, 4:2 (February 1926), p.19.

“Shou'der tae Shou'der.”

Rangitikei Scots'
Society's Ball.

ARGYLE HALL, HUNTERVILLE.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26th, 1914.

600th Anniversary of Battle
of Bannockburn.

1314—1914.

Scots wha' hae wi' Wallace bled.
Scots wham Bruce has aften led.

Shou'der tae Shou'der': Rangitikei Scots' Society's Ball:
600th Anniversary of the Battle of Bannockburn,
Argyle Hall, Hunterville, 26 June 1914.

*seem to meet with much support.*⁹⁶ Donaldson comments that St Andrew's Day was being observed in the United States when it was almost forgotten in Scotland.⁹⁷ In general, commemoration of St Andrew's Day appears to have been sporadic at best in New Zealand. Telfer suggests that the Free Church exerted some influence on the disappearance of festivals and festival days in the Western Highlands in the nineteenth century.⁹⁸

Public commemorations of Scottish battles were not popular. They were, so to speak, contested ground. In 1903 the Feilding Society received some heather from the site of the Jacobite battle of Sherrifmuir (1715) but became quite vexed when it was suggested that the heather should be used in commemorating the victory against the British.⁹⁹ The Wanganui Caledonian Society declined to celebrate the 600th anniversary of Bannockburn in June 1914 because *the funds of the Society would not admit of any expense being incurred.*¹⁰⁰ The former President, Robert Bruce, must surely have been affronted by such indifference for it was his namesake who had won the battle, but he had already moved on to become the first chief of the Rangitikei Scots' Society (Huntermuir) which celebrated the occasion with great pomp and a remarkable number of dignitaries.¹⁰¹ The *New Zealand Scot* commented: *they are giving an example which ought to be followed by every society throughout New Zealand.* It was a vain hope. To commemorate battles between Scots and English was to attack the Union and to deny Scotland's partnership in Britain.

Caledonian society activities in the nineteenth century were notable for the absence of two other significant festivals, New Year's Eve (Hogmanay) and Hallowe'en, both of which were private and secular occasions. Many New Zealand Caledonian Societies in the nineteenth-

⁹⁶ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 26 October 1898 and 16 November 1898.

⁹⁷ Donaldson, *The Scots overseas*, p.126.

⁹⁸ Hamish Telfer, 'Play, customs and popular culture of west coast communities 1840-1900', in Grant Jarvie and Graham Walker (eds), *Scottish sport in the making of the nation: ninety-minute patriots*, (Leicester, 1994) p.116.

⁹⁹ *Feilding Star*, 22 September 1903, p.2(6) and 23 September 1903, p. 2(9).

¹⁰⁰ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 17 June 1914.

¹⁰¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 29 June 1914, p.6(3).

century held their games on New Year's Day but it is doubtful that this was connected to New year's Eve celebrations. Both Hogmanay and Hallowe'en began to appear amongst activities of Scottish ethnic societies from about 1913. In 1914, the editor of the *New Zealand Scot* inserted an article on how to observe Hogmanay in proper fashion.¹⁰² In 1913 the Auckland St Andrews Society celebrated a number of assorted anniversaries including the birthdays of Robert the Bruce (21 March), Sir Walter Scott (15 August) and Hallowe'en - as if they were searching for days to celebrate.¹⁰³ Most of these would have been celebrated in the standard tradition of Burns' night¹⁰⁴, with a ceremonial dinner (sometimes with a menu in Scots featuring Scottish dishes) which involved haggis, whisky, toasts and the obligatory piper and they were generally male-only occasions. Amongst all these different types of festival, the most commonly recognised or celebrated anniversary was Burns' birthday.

While an area with a large population of Scots, like Dunedin, could sustain several Scottish-oriented societies, nationally conscious Scots outside Otago and Southland found the Caledonian Society most suitable to their needs. Caledonian Societies assimilated certain characteristics from older types of Scottish ethnic societies, such as a middle-class concern with 'respectability' and male exclusivity. The nineteenth-century Scottishness of the Wanganui Caledonian Society was in essence middle-class and male and Protestant and was based just as much on status as on ethnicity at first. It was sentimental, and was a perfect vehicle for expressing both Scottish national identity and Britishness or loyalty to Empire. The Society made some efforts to inculcate and pass on knowledge of Scotland, but these efforts were not supported or understood by the general population. A society based on exclusivity - gender, status and, implicitly, religion - could not be truly representative of Scots in New Zealand. The Wanganui Caledonian Society, begun as an association of respectable expatriates, was founded on immigrant sentiment and nostalgia. As time passed, and more of the population was native-born, a generation gap appeared. Many potential members joined newer types of

¹⁰² *New Zealand Scot*, 2:6 (April 1914), p.25. The editor must have felt that the customs were falling into abeyance because this was one of several articles on Scottish customs, including one on Scottish funeral rites.

¹⁰³ *New Zealand Scot*, 1:6 (April 1913), p.19.

¹⁰⁴ Albert Mackie, *Scottish pageantry*, (London, 1967), p.202.

Scottish ethnic society. Although the Wanganui Caledonian Society did not lack adaptability, members in general were more concerned with their public role as organizers of the Caledonian Games than with their obligations towards Scottish national identity.

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CHAPTER FIVE

THE CALEDONIAN SOCIETY II: THE GATHERING

The way in which Caledonian Societies in New Zealand promoted and encouraged national customs and accomplishments set them apart from other Scottish 'ethnic' societies. The institution of the Caledonian Games fulfilled two roles. On one hand, it reflected its Scottish and Highland origins. The Highland Gatherings of the mid-nineteenth century were themselves developed from earlier traditions. On the other, the Caledonian Society was a unique response to the demand for colonial leisure institutions. Caledonian Societies provided a system of professional organization and often owned their own grounds, for example Victoria Park in Wanganui. The two aspects of the games, the ethnic and the sporting, were already separated by the late nineteenth century. Attempts to keep them together in one competition meeting were to lead to bitter conflict between Caledonian Societies and other athletic organizations. In the end Caledonian Societies were forced to question their own commitment to Scottishness.

Because these occasions went by several names, certain terms need to be distinguished and explained. Jarvie wonders why there tended to be Highland gatherings in the Highlands and Highland games overseas and in the Lowlands.¹ When the word 'gathering' was used in connection with a Caledonian or Highland Games it had especial significance for Scots. 'Gathering' in Scotland denoted the whole complex of occasions surrounding a Games and it carried connotations of the ancient clan assembly. For New Zealand Scots it implied a certain pattern of activities which included the competitive meeting and the social occasions which followed. The words 'gathering' and 'games' could be used interchangeably, but

¹ Jarvie, *Highland games*, p.viii.

'gathering' always had a special significance for Scots alone.² In nineteenth-century New Zealand, it was Caledonian Societies rather than Highland Societies in New Zealand which organised games. The Wanganui Caledonian Society usually called its games 'sports' acknowledging that it was sporting activities which formed the basis of the games.³ Some of the first games were referred to as 'national' (Turakina 1868). At that point the meaning of the word 'national' (that is, Scottish) was felt to be self-evident. In addition, sports days might be called 'Caledonian' even though they were not administered by a Caledonian Society and had no Scottish events on the programme. In this case the adjective 'Caledonian' could indicate merely that the meeting would be run according to a certain style or rules, or to an accepted degree of professional administration.⁴ Until the twentieth century, Wanganui Caledonian Society Games were advertised to the general public as 'games' or 'sports' rather than 'gatherings'. In this thesis 'games' refers to the competitive sports meeting which contained both Scottish (piping and dancing) and athletic events. The more amorphous word 'gathering' is used to refer to both the games and the subsequent evening events such as concerts or balls. If there were no Scottish events, the occasion is referred to as a 'sports day'.

Gatherings were one of the very few times that Scots could meet together and wear national dress. As mentioned in Chapter Two, Scottish national dress developed from idealised Highland costume, strongly influenced by military uniform and class ideas of appropriate male dress. Even in its simplest form, it was not an everyday costume, and at its most elaborate, the effect could be overwhelming. Between 1897 and 1908, the Cyclopaedia of New Zealand Company published a series of provincial biographical directories, an exercise in self-glorification for its paying subscribers.⁵ Several photos featured subscribers in glamorous Scottish regalia. These pictures indicated that the tradition of wearing Scottish national dress

² The word 'gathering' is used frequently in the *New Zealand Scot* (1912-1914) See also 'The Scots gathering' by 'Thomas Urquhart', *Rangitikei Advocate* 3 February 1924.

³ The Westmere correspondent for the *Chronicle* mused that in his youth it was usually a 'games'. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 18 January 1913, p.6(4).

⁴ At the Bulls Caledonian sports in 1876 there was no piping and dancing although there were Scottish heavy events, *Wanganui Herald*, 30 December 1876, p.6(1-2).

⁵ *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand: industrial, descriptive, historical, biographical, facts, figures, illustrations*, 6v., (Wellington and Christchurch, 1897 - 1908).

BRAND'S
9. New Zealand
(1846)

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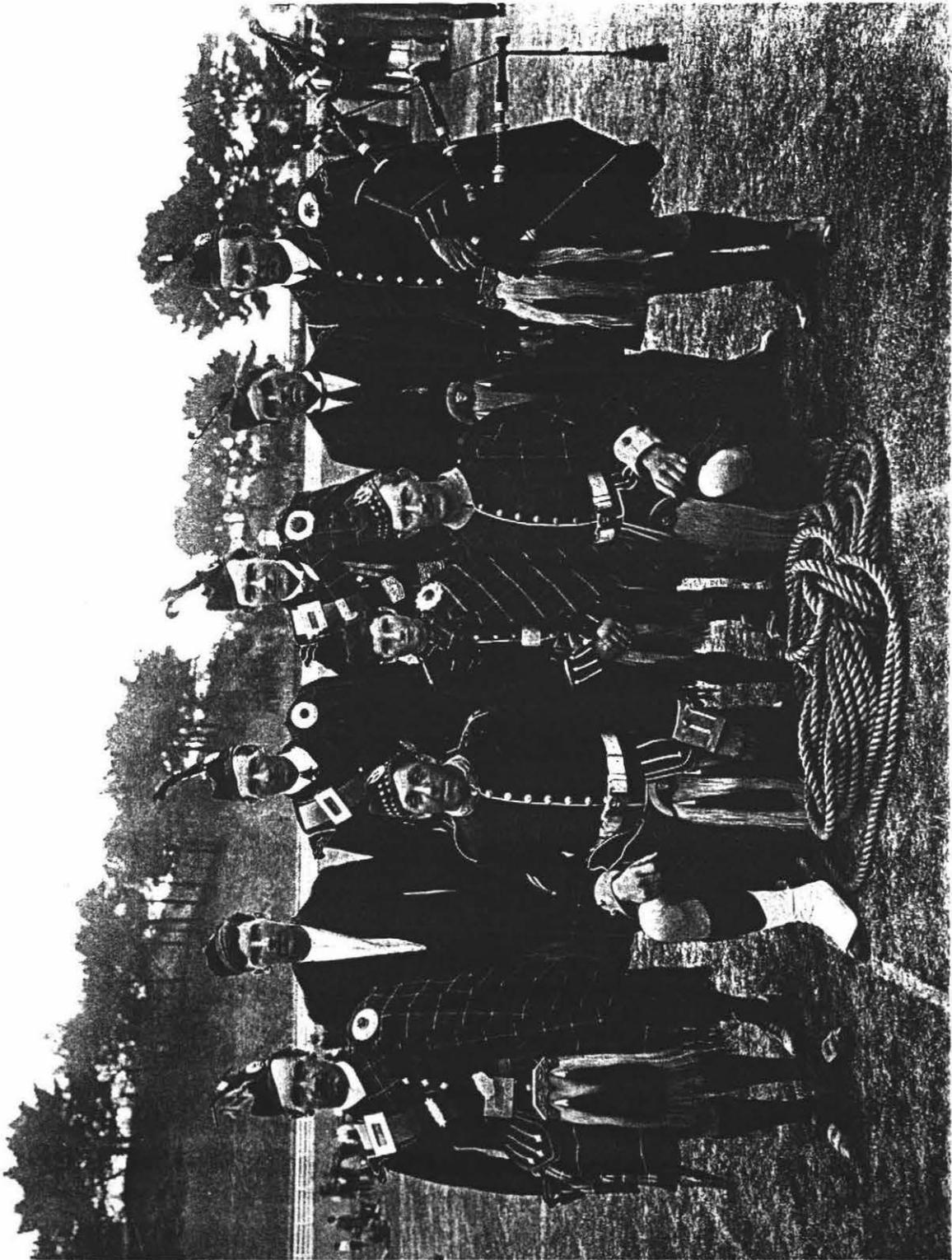
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Te Puna Mātauranga o
Aotearoa



Pipe band 1900s. Tesla, Wanganui.
Possibly the Pipe Band attached to the Wanganui Highland Rifles c.1902. Reproduced by permission of Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

was alive and vigorous. When the games committee of the Wanganui Caledonian Society were photographed in 1903 they were all wearing various forms of kilted costume.⁶ Nevertheless, such costumes were elaborate, expensive and hard to obtain. Despite newspaper reports which penned confident and heartening phrases about the 'wearin' o' the tartan', getting adult males to wear appropriate dress seems to have been hard work in the beginning. The Wanganui Society was so concerned by the lack of kilts that it paid £1 as an encouragement to each of the eight 'Highlanders' (those who were dressed as such) at the games in 1886: it did the same in 1890.⁷ Although a costume prize was standard at Caledonian Games,⁸ the Society temporarily discontinued its prize in 1897 because *in the past it has not been a success*.⁹ Judging criteria were not uniformly codified,¹⁰ but judges demanded that costumes conform to rigorous and perhaps idiosyncratic standards. Competitors probably had to display some knowledge of their clan tartan and history.¹¹ Despite *a large number of people in Highland dress* at the annual gathering of the Manawatu and West Coast Caledonian Society in 1911, there were not enough competitors to award even a second prize for costume.¹² Early pipe bands in New Zealand wore a quite variable range of dress, although the uniform was based upon the uniforms of Highland regiments. [See illustration]

One tailoring establishment in Wanganui, Paul's, specialized in outfitting games spectators and competitors from the 1890s onwards. Joseph Paul, born in Somerset, set up a drapery and

⁶ Programme of two-day gathering 22-23 January 1903, Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes.

⁷ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 26 January 1886 and 24 January 1890.

⁸ As early as 1868, the Turakina National Sports offered a prize for the 'best-dressed Highlander'. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 26 December 1867.

⁹ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 15 December 1897.

¹⁰ In 1889, the Caledonian Society of Otago had '*no special rules*' for the judging of costumes. Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 18 January 1889.

¹¹ This was codified in the 1909 rules of the Pipers' and Dancers' Council cit. J.C. Nicholson (comp), *Piping and Dancing Association of New Zealand(Inc) 1908-1983*, ([Wellington, 1983]), p.17.

¹² *Manawatu Standard*, 18 April 1911, p.6(2).



Mrs Agnes Anne Wilson - 1922, attending Hunterville
Caledonian Day. *Mrs Jack Scally's Hunterville and District:
where the friendly neighbour cares: 1880-1980, (n.p., [1980]).*

tailoring business in Wanganui in 1879.¹³ At least two of his employees, James McNaught and John Robson, belonged to the Caledonian Society. James McNaught had been in the Dunedin Highlanders¹⁴ and was the first captain of the Wanganui Highland Rifles. By the 1900s Paul's was prosperous and made a feature of supplying and tailoring Scottish national costume.¹⁵ Each January Caledonian Society trophies were displayed in the shop window and the advertising for its half-yearly sale was centred upon the games.¹⁶ Other shops entered into the Caledonian spirit. When the *New Zealand Scot* magazine began in 1912, Paul's inserted large advertisements in it. Poor attendances at the Games and the austerity of World War One appear to have put an end to Paul's mercantile optimism by 1917.¹⁷

Because the Cyclopedia reflected male subscribers' ideas about their own status and position, there were no pictures of women in Scottish dress in the Cyclopedia of New Zealand. In fact there was no generally accepted national Scottish costume for women. Women did not wear the kilt and women could not be soldiers. They could, however, wear tartan. A Scotswoman attending a formal function such as a ball (on the arm of a male) would wear an evening gown but elaborate rules dictated whether and how she might wear a length of plaid, according to her line of **male** descent.¹⁸ When Agnes Wilson competed at the Rangitikei Scots' Society Games at Hunterville in 1922 she wore a long tartan skirt, a tight laced waistcoat, a diagonal plaid with nipped-in-waist. [See illustration] Early competitive costumes for girls and young women usually had more than a hint of improvisation about it. When it became obvious that the entrants in dancing competitions at Games were mostly girls or young women, administrators became concerned about the lack of accepted standards for female competitive

¹³ Paul, McNaught and Robson came from Dunedin.

¹⁴ *Cyclopedia*, v.1, (1897) p.1395: *Wanganui Chronicle*, 2 November 1901, p.2(7).

¹⁵ 'The kilt and tunic of the winner of the Best Dressed boy prize was made by Pauls'. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 January 1906, p.7(3).

¹⁶ For example: *Wanganui Chronicle*, 20 January 1912, p.4(6).

¹⁷ Advertisements for Paul's sale in January 1917 and 1918 concentrated on its 'genuineness' and its status as 'the home of correct fashion'. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 January 1917 p.7 and 21 January 1918 p.2(7-8). In 1922, Paul's, now managed by McNaught, was still placing conspicuous advertisements in *St Paul's Monthly*. *St Paul's Monthly Magazine*, 7:22, (July 1922), p.[ii].

¹⁸ Charles A. Cameron, *The Scottish influence in Tauranga*, ([Tauranga, 1982]) p.50.

Cessna, international.

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Te Puna Mātauranga o
Aotearoa



Highland dancing competitor. Tesla, Wanganui.
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costume. Even as late as 1925 New Zealand administrators argued fiercely amongst themselves over whether lassies ought to wear sporrans.¹⁹ Meanwhile, Paul's advertised Scottish costume for *men and boys*.²⁰

Piping and dancing competitors wore formal dress and successful competitors were photographed with their jackets covered in medals.

By the 1930s purists distinguished several degrees of men's costume in formal and competitive circles. The catalogue which the Caledonian Society of Otago used as its dress canon listed 'undress', 'semi-dress', 'evening dress' and 'full dress'. Boys could dress in the 'Prince Charlie style' or the 'chieftain style'.²¹ The 'undress' costume - was a respectable and everyday version - the 'highland laird' - for general huntin' and shootin' middle class taste: kilt, sporran, fitted tweed jacket and perhaps a glengarry or the beret-like 'Balmoral' hat.

When kilts were reintroduced as part of Highland regimental uniform in 1881, tartan cloth became part of general uniform for all Scottish regiments.²² The reasons for the move are unclear but it coincided with an increase in what has been described as 'mild nationalism' among the Scottish middle-classes.²³ This was also the decade in which many urban Caledonian Societies were formed in New Zealand. Scottish ethnic societies in Great Britain and abroad gloried in the return of the kilt and remained watchful in case this manifestation of national identity should be removed.²⁴ In 1902, the Wanganui Caledonian Society considered a motion to protest about rumours to replace the kilt in certain Highland Regiments. Robert Bruce, the ardent sentimentalist, declared it *an unwarrantable disregard of the sentiments of the Caledonian race and a proposal to abolish an outward and visible*

¹⁹ *Scottish New Zealander*, 4:9, (September 1926), p.1.

²⁰ *New Zealand Scot*, 1:2 (December 1912), back cover.

²¹ Rowan's *Highland dress and accessories*, (Glasgow, c.1930s), in Caledonian Society of Otago papers.

²² Henderson, p.61. The timing of this decision almost certainly had something to do with the need to enlist soldiers for the Sudan.

²³ Checkland, p.167.

²⁴ Stanley, 'Scottish military tradition' in Reid, pp.150-154.

badge of nationality, round which was clustered...many of the proudest memories of our race. Others were more pragmatic but the general current of feeling ensured that the motion was carried unanimously.²⁵ In New South Wales, the *Scottish Australasian* complained in 1919 that Australia **ought**, like Canada, South Africa and United States, to have kilted regiments.²⁶ Until World War Two periodic attempts to replace kilts in the British Army brought protests from all parts of the British Empire²⁷ showing that some groups of Scots expatriates still nurtured strong sentimental attachment to the kilt. The kilt was traditionally associated with manly vigour²⁸ and, by extension, with loyalty to the Empire. Tartan itself was significant for all Scots as a symbol of unified Scotland.

Part of the 'gathering' tradition consisted of entertainment in the evening. Gatherings were the most important vehicles for fostering Scottish music and dancing in general. While the Games promoted piping and Highland dancing, dances and balls provided opportunities for other types of Scottish dancing and popular music. Early Games at Turakina were followed by dances, grandly called 'balls', but by the time the Wanganui Caledonian Society was founded, the evening 'Scotch' concert was already an established tradition. A coterie of 'Scotch' artistes performed at concerts throughout the country but the target audience was always the wider public. The Wellington Caledonian Society assured readers of the *Cyclopedia* that the character of its Caledonian concerts was *not wholly confined to Bonnie Scotland*.²⁹ Nevertheless, when the Wanganui Society allowed non-Scottish items overwhelm the programme in 1893, an aggrieved 'Caledonia' complained to both the *Wanganui Chronicle* and the *Herald*.³⁰ Very few of the items at the concerts, except for the exhibition dances, were derived from Highland culture and none of them were religious. When in 1904 Miss Donaldson, a travelling artiste, sang two songs in Gaelic, it prompted *an enthusiastic*

²⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 August 1902, p.2(1).

²⁶ *Scottish Australian: journal of the Highland Society of N.S.W.*, 6 September 1919, p.7051.

²⁷ *Jacobite*, 1:3 (May 1920), p.4.

²⁸ *New Zealand Scot*, 1:6(April 1913), p.5.

²⁹ *Cyclopedia*, v.1 (1897), pp.415.

³⁰ Letters from 'Caledonia', *Wanganui Chronicle*, 24 January 1893 p.2(5) and 26 January 1893,, p.2(7).

Highlander in the audience to ask for more. The reporter noted that items of this nature were *a rare commodity in Wanganui*.³¹ After 1900, such concerts were an effective showcase for patriotic and imperial fervour. One favourite song for many years, *Jessie's Dream*, was about the Crimea, Empire and nationality. The concerts continued to attract good crowds and be profitable even in years when annual games and balls lost money. In the tradition of the British Highland Societies, the Wanganui Caledonian Society held midwinter balls and banquets from time to time but they never became regular fixtures. The Turakina Caledonian Society and the Rangitikei Scots' Society also held occasional balls and concerts. After about 1910 new types of Scottish entertainments emerged to replace these formal functions. Ceilidhs (informal gatherings with songs and story-telling), and inglesides ('fireside' gatherings) were unknown in New Zealand Scottish and Caledonian Societies before about 1912,³² but the words came into standard use in the 1920s. Even though these functions were not held in private homes but in halls or hotels, their names implied a cosy atmosphere - smaller and less formal than the pompous, ponderous balls and concerts of the older Caledonian Societies.

Bagpipes were a common form of musical instrument throughout Europe as late as the sixteenth century but only in Highland Scotland did they assume a ceremonial and symbolic role central to cultural life.³³ Pipers played in battle and at funerals and many had formal positions in the households of chiefs and lairds.³⁴ The official piper of a Scottish ethnic society would open and close concerts, balls and gatherings, and pipe in the haggis at banquets and dinners. For such societies this was important not just for the sense of ceremony but because it reinforced a sense of clan or kin group. It is impossible, however, to show that there were many pipers in New Zealand before the 1890s, except perhaps in Otago and Southland. There were no local pipers at Waipu in the early days³⁵ and early Turakina Games did not always

³¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 7 October 1904, p.6(3).

³² Wairarapa Caledonian Society ingleside, *New Zealand Scot*, 1:2 (1912), p.18.

³³ Jarvie, *Highland Games*, p.36.

³⁴ References to bagpipes within Gaelic tradition date only from the sixteenth century, Thomson p.17.

³⁵ McKenzie, p.107.

have piping competitions. The Wanganui Caledonian Society had a piper at its first ball in 1884 but he was not a core member of the Society. Individual pipers played at ceremonies and functions and competed at the Society games, but 'the band' at the Wanganui Caledonian Society Games before 1906 was invariably a brass band.³⁶ The uniformed pipe band with pipers and drummers did not appear in New Zealand until the end of the nineteenth century.³⁷ It was the Wanganui Highland Rifles, rather than the Caledonian Society, which nurtured Wanganui's first pipe band. The Rifles, formed in 1901, was one of a number of volunteer groups in New Zealand which came into existence in response to the outbreak of war in South Africa. In its first few years, its activities were highly social and frequently linked with Caledonian Society activities. The pipe band was, in effect, a regimental band. It played at the Wanganui Caledonian Games in 1908 and competed in the first local marching contest for pipe bands, but by the following year was no longer active.³⁸ The Caledonian Society tried unsuccessfully to form its own pipe band in 1911.³⁹ Although some Caledonian Societies formed their own pipe bands, more often than not pipe bands and pipe band societies developed independently.

The annual institution commonly known as the Caledonian Games provided the ideal setting for wearing national costume and promotion of national music and dancing. The Scottish element at such games, however, was secondary to the sporting element. Caledonian games and sports in New Zealand derive their origin from the historical institution known as the Highland Gathering. The gathering probably began as an autumn festival and its cultural and sporting components may date back to at least the eleventh century but fragmentary evidence does not allow the Highland Gathering to be considered a continuous tradition from that date.⁴⁰ Gatherings of eighteenth-century Highland Societies were generally piping and dancing

³⁶ Between 1884 and 1903, the Wanganui Garrison brass band usually played at the Games.

³⁷ The Caledonian Pipe Band of Southland was formed in 1897. *Cyclopedia*, v.1 (1905), p.827.

³⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 6 May 1908, p.7(2-3).

³⁹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 26 June 1911, p.7(2). Pipe Band societies did not begin to dominate Scottish national identity in NZ until the 1920s.

⁴⁰ Jarvie, *Highland games*, p.7.

competitions.⁴¹ From the 1830s, athletic events (running, jumping and the Scottish heavy events - the caber, the hammer and the stone) were included.⁴² Victoria and Albert bestowed their patronage upon the Braemar Highland Gathering near Balmoral and this led to what has been called 'Balmoralisation' - a close association between Highland Society activities, Royal patronage and, eventually, middle-class respectability.⁴³ Telfer suggests that the numerous gatherings organized within small communities were somewhat different. He contrasts the formal, aristocratic character of the large annual events as the Argyllshire Gathering and Oban Ball with the more lively, less ceremonious gatherings held in these communities - *two different images reproducing a different sense of class, a different sense of regional identity and a different, yet similar, sense of Scotland*. Other Highland Societies promoted gatherings in a determined attempt to retain selective aspects of highland culture such as dance and music. By 1880, there were at least a dozen regular annual gatherings in the Highlands, and numerous other similar functions, often termed 'games', in other parts of Scotland and in England.⁴⁴

In New Zealand, midsummer or New Year's Day games with a Scottish or Highland flavour were occurring annually by the 1860s in Wellington, Turakina and Wanganui as well as in Southland and Otago. The earliest on record was in 1848, when Donald McLean spent Christmas Day at a 'Highland sports' at Kaiwharawhara, near Wellington. McLean made a speech: *Scotchmen and Highlanders - it is to me a sincere pleasure to meet so many people of the same land, the same descent and origin, met together to call to remembrance the sports of our parent land and not forget them*.⁴⁵ New Year's Day Caledonian or national

⁴¹ Thomson p.117 .In 1781 the Highland Society of London held a piping competition at Falkirk in Scotland.

⁴² Jarvie, *Highland games* p.58.

⁴³ Ibid., p. 62.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.43 & 72.

⁴⁵ Cit. J. Cowan, *Sir Donald McLean: the story of a New Zealand statesman*, (Dunedin, 1940), p.39

gatherings sports were a well-known fixture in Wellington as early as 1867.⁴⁶ Such Games may have often had an impromptu flavour.⁴⁷

Many people would have travelled some distance from outlying areas and, later on, from other parts of the country. The coming of the railway made it possible for large occasions because it increased the distance people could travel in order to attend sports meetings, race meetings and picnics. Aramoho (Wanganui) and Turakina were joined by rail in mid-1877 and the line was extended to Palmerston North by 1878. Special excursion trains in the 1880s and 1890s contributed to the large attendances at holiday functions. One of the first actions of the Wanganui Caledonian Society was to arrange for special trains for its Easter meeting in 1884.⁴⁸ In Palmerston North passengers were set down right outside the gates of the sports ground.⁴⁹ Games held under a Caledonian Society aegis, were already proving lucrative by the early 1880s. In 1884 the Caledonian Society of Otago takings were over £900 at its New Year Games and more than 4000 people attended the South Canterbury Caledonian Society's meeting at Timaru.⁵⁰ Even small places like Turakina appeared to attract good crowds for their games. In the 1870s and 1880s, the Turakina Games drew competitors from Wanganui, Marton and Palmerston North.⁵¹

The pattern of a gathering - a sports meeting, concert or ball and perhaps a private supper afterwards - was largely shaped by the needs of those attending. The Turakina games in 1865 was followed by a ball at the Ben Nevis Hotel which was attended by the *elite of the district*,

⁴⁶ *The Wellington almanack, directory, calendar and diary...* 1867, p.200; 1872 after p.220; 1873 p.345.

⁴⁷ For instance, the New Years Day sports meeting at Oamaru in 1861. Erik A. Olssen, *A history of Otago*, (Dunedin, 1984), p.80.

⁴⁸ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 29 February 1884.

⁴⁹ *Feilding Star*, 31 December 1887, p. 3(5).

⁵⁰ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 3 January 1884, p.2(7) and 2 January 1884, p. 2(6).

⁵¹ 'We may expect many of our Wanganui friends down to witness the celebration of St Patrick's day.' *Wanganui Herald* 18 March 1876 p.2(4). A Caledonian 'gathering' was held in Marton in 1876 (*Wanganui Herald*, 22 April 1876 p.14(4)) in 1889 and 1890. Frederick Pirani, Secretary of the Palmerston North Caledonian Society (1886-) competed at Turakina in 1877 and 1878.

where dancing was good and was kept up till after daylight.⁵² This pattern was not exclusive to Caledonian Societies. In the 1880s the Caledonian Society was one of several organizations which arranged similar sporting and leisure activities - others were St Patrick's Day Committees, Friendly Societies, and to a less formal degree, annual church outings. Caledonian Society gatherings, however, were unique in that they possessed an ethnic flavour (like St Patrick's day sports) but were secular in character. Moreover, because of their competent organization, the games attracted not just Scots but the general public. Caledonian Society Games in larger centres were organized on a commercial basis. From the outset, like the larger Caledonian Societies, the Wanganui Caledonian Society paid its Secretary an honorarium. The first Palmerston North Caledonian Society did not start its own games but took over an existing tradition of Friendly Society sports.⁵³

Between 1880 and 1920 there was usually an annual St Patrick's Day function in Wanganui. These took the form of sports or picnics and an evening 'national' concert, rather than parades, and were run under the supervision of the Catholic Church. They differed from Caledonian Society 'gatherings' in several ways. The sports were not for the general public but for Roman Catholics and their families, and for school-children in particular. Concerts were held in a church or school hall whereas Caledonian Society concerts were usually in the largest public hall in town. St Patrick's Day functions were not aggressively advertised or reported. In the *Wanganui Chronicle*, for instance, there was often no paid advertising at all and no report of the functions the next day. In some ways, the small scale of St Patrick's Day sports had more in common with early Turakina games.

At first the most popular day in New Zealand for Scottish games was New Year's Day. It was near the summer solstice, the traditional time for gatherings, and immediately followed another traditional festival in which Scots came together - New Year's Eve. The Kaiwharawhara games in 1848 and the earliest Turakina games were on or near 1 January. Established games in Christchurch, Dunedin, Timaru and Invercargill continued to use this date in the 1880s and 1890s. But as travel became easier, informal regional circuits developed

⁵² *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Strait Guardian*, 11 January 1865, p.3.

⁵³ *Manawatu Standard*, 4 April 1886, p.4(2).

and other public holidays were brought into use. The Wanganui Caledonian Society commandeered Anniversary Day (22 January) for its 1885 Games and this date continued to serve them well. Interestingly that between about 1876 and 1889, the Turakina Games were held on or near St Patrick's Day. Perhaps religious identification was not as strong as ethnic or community identification⁵⁴ or perhaps St Patrick's Day was just the most convenient public holiday. The revived Turakina Games in 1919 opted for the last Saturday in January because no other date was available. Despite the popularity of Caledonian Games, the financial footing of Caledonian Societies was generally not robust. They were extremely susceptible to bad weather and, from the 1880s, competition from other activities. One of the reasons why the 1891 Palmerston North Caledonian Society did not flourish was because the weather affected the Games once too often. In 1916, when bad weather forced the Wanganui Caledonian Society to postpone its games on 22 January, the Society tried to to usurp the date of the small Waimarino Caledonian Society Games.⁵⁵

In the Wanganui-Rangitikei area, between 1880 and 1920, games were regularly held in two places: Turakina and Wanganui. At the Turakina 'Celtic Games' in 1865,⁵⁶ competitors *were in many instances evidently old hands at such displays*,⁵⁷ and the experience of these old hands must have been an initial advantage for the Wanganui and Palmerston North Caledonian Societies. And, like other small Caledonian Societies in the region, the Turakina Society made use of the professional organization that the Wanganui Caledonian Society could provide.⁵⁸ Caledonian Sports were also held at Marton in the 1870s and between 1889 to 1894. They seem to have been popular enough to disrupt the continuity of the Turakina games, for between 1894 and 1919, the Turakina Caledonian Society may well have been dormant. During the 1920s, the Wanganui and Turakina Caledonian Societies each held

⁵⁴ Bebbington suggests that in Scotland the Protestant-Catholic divide was stronger than ethnic loyalties. D.W. Bebbington, 'Religion and national identity in nineteenth-century Wales and Scotland' in S. Mews(ed), *Religion and national identity*, Studies in church history, v.18 (Oxford,1982) p.502.

⁵⁵ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 8 March 1916.

⁵⁶ While the age of the Turakina Games can be established, its continuity cannot.

⁵⁷ *New Zealand Spectator and Cook Straits Guardian*, 11 January 1865, p.3.

⁵⁸ The Turakina Games were run under Wanganui Caledonian Society rules. *Wanganui Chronicle*, 17 January 1891.

annual games, and for a few years so did the Rangitikei Scots Society at Hunterville.⁵⁹ There may have been annual games in Hunterville as early as 1897. There were a number of small rural Caledonian Societies in Wanganui and Rangitikei which may also have held annual games.

Games with a Scottish flavour were held in Wanganui as early as 1868⁶⁰ but it was not until 1884 that a Caledonian Society was formed in the town. It held annual games from 1884 to 1926 with only two breaks - once in 1917, when the depletion of men and funds meant it could not sustain the effort needed to put on such a large function, and again in 1925, when plans to hold the games were abandoned because of the polio epidemic.⁶¹ From its very first meeting in February 1884, members were captivated by the potential of successful sports meetings in Wanganui.⁶² During its first twenty years, the Society was the principal body holding athletics meetings in the Wanganui area. It had the field to itself, so to speak.⁶³ Although attendances never rivalled those of the Southland and Otago Caledonian Societies, the Wanganui Caledonian Society Games was, for some years, the main Anniversary Day attraction and was advertised as far afield as New Plymouth and Foxton.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ *New Zealand Scot*, 2:6 (March 1914), p.14.

⁶⁰ 'Caledonian sports day' at Putiki, Wanganui: *Wanganui Chronicle*, Supplement, 4 January 1868.

⁶¹ Wanganui Caledonian Society, Annual Report, 25 July 1917.

⁶² Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 18 February 1884.

⁶³ In the Manawatu the Palmerston North Caledonian Society had to compete with the Feilding Athletic Club (fl.1890), which also held an annual athletics meeting.

⁶⁴ 250 posters were printed. Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 4 January 1889.

The 'Scottish' part of a games consisted of piping and dancing competitions and usually a prize for best costume. The heavy events, while considered Scottish, became part of the sporting events. Piping and dancing competitions were basic at first. The 1868 games at Turakina had twelve events on the programme of which three were Scottish 'heavy events' and only two were dancing. Moreover, there was no piping competition as such, although pipers were probably present.⁶⁵ The Wanganui Caledonian Society programme for 1885 featured 23 events: three for dancing, two for costume and one for piping.⁶⁶ In 1889 out of 24 events, two were for bagpipe, seven were for dance, and two for costume (men and boys).⁶⁷ By 1890 the Scottish programme was becoming increasingly elaborate, but it attracted fewer entrants and lesser prizes than did the athletics. In 1903 the Society exerted itself to organize the biggest and best programme of Scottish events to date and went to considerable trouble to produce a special illustrated programme. This was the high point. After the 1903 games the Wanganui Caledonian Society struggled to remain independent of regional and national athletics organizations. The number of entrants in piping and dancing events dwindled even though organising committees tried to infuse interest in Scottish events. Each year, the *Chronicle* declared confidently that interest in Highland events was increasing. In a way it was increasing, but the type of people who were interested had changed. Among the competitors, there were fewer adult male dancers and more girls and young boys. Despite claims that Highland dancing was a sign of manly vigour, the people who attended the Games associated manliness with athletic sports not dancing. The gradual predominance of female dancers would have both vindicated and reinforced this. In 1913, there were 15 dancing events alone at the Wanganui Games, nine of which were for under-sixteens and under-twelves. Five of these were for girls under sixteen.⁶⁸ The effects of World War One further reduced the

⁶⁵ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 26 December 1867.

⁶⁶ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 January 1885, p.3(1).

⁶⁷ 'Wanganui Caledonian Society - Sixth Annual gathering' (c. January 1889) Newspaper cutting (n.d.) William Hogg Watt Scrapbook, no.2.

⁶⁸ *Wanganui Herald*, 23 January 1913.

number of adult males for piping competitions. The Manawatu and West Coast Caledonian Society decided in 1917 not to award a cup for piping because most of the potential local competitors were dead or wounded in war.⁶⁹

It was only to be expected that Scottish events would be less popular than the athletic events. Most of those who attended the games were not Scots and were more interested in the sporting events, which were more accessible than piping and dancing. Aspiring athletes did not have to dress up in an expensive costume or be Scottish to run in a race. Scots-born and their descendants were a minority. Those who competed in Scottish events came from a narrow range of Scots who could afford the costume and the cost of travel.

When the Wanganui Caledonian Society began its games in 1884, running, jumping and hurdling events were the principal athletic events. The Scottish heavy events increasingly became part of the sporting events and were usually listed as such. Caledonian Societies in Wanganui, Palmerston North and Dunedin put a lot of effort into improving athletics tracks. There were staple attractions such as wrestling (in various styles), tug-of-war and variety events. For instance, a horse raced a rooster and a rat at the Palmerston North games in 1889.⁷⁰ As cycling became more popular in the 1890s, the Wanganui Caledonian Society spent money in laying down and improving cycling tracks. Caledonian Societies relied on the attraction of professional athletes, such as the Highland Games heavy events champion, Donald Dinnie. Throughout the 1890s, as professionalism became an issue, objections to professional and amateur athletes competing in the same races and the lack of uniform standards for judging increased. Caledonian Societies in Wanganui, Turakina and Palmerston North had long relied upon handicapping systems to even out disparities, but complaints about the fairness of Caledonian games rules and judging were not unusual even in 1890.⁷¹ The formation of the New Zealand Athletics Union

⁶⁹ *Manawatu Standard*, 5 April 1917, p.6(3).

⁷⁰ The rat won. *Feilding Star*, 3 January 1889, p.3(1).

⁷¹ For example: Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 8 June 1898.

(NZAU) in 1903 made life difficult for those Caledonian Societies like Wanganui who had enjoyed considerable autonomy and wanted to keep their independence. By 1911, the Wanganui Society was only running amateur athletic events at its games. As the number of athletics events on games programmes shrank, the competitors became younger and variety events such as wrestling and wood-chopping became staple events. Programmes for non-Scottish events became extraordinarily inconsistent. By World War One schoolchildren formed the majority of competitors. In 1918 the Wanganui Society relied heavily on the participation of scouts at a local jamboree to provide the majority of entrants for the races.⁷²

The changes in both Scottish and athletic events at Wanganui Caledonian Society games were brought about by moves by other athletics bodies to control sporting meetings. Foot racing had always been considered somewhat disreputable in Britain because, like horse racing, it attracted cash prizes and betting.⁷³ In New Zealand some advertisements for Caledonian Society games made a point of emphasising that events would be conducted 'cleanly'. Caledonian Societies had begun as autonomous societies but by the turn of the century their involvement in sports meetings entangled them in a power struggle over the control of such events. This long conflict exposed an underlying pattern of regional loyalties within New Zealand and it underlined the Caledonian Societies' failure to form a timely and lasting unity. As early as 1894 it had been suggested that a federation of Caledonian Societies might counter the growing intrusion of athletic society rules.⁷⁴ But it was not until 1899 that the New Zealand Association of Caledonian Societies (NZACS) held its first conference in Wellington. Most support appears to have come from north of the Waitaki River. From the beginning, the Caledonian Society of Dunedin stood aloof saying it *had kindly feelings to its brothers in the north but did not want to lose its freedom of will and action*.⁷⁵ There were 31 organizations in the NZCAS at its peak in 1903, 13 of which were

⁷² *Wanganui Chronicle*, 23 January, 1919 p.6(2).

⁷³ Fraser, 'Developments in leisure', in Fraser and Morris, p.254.

⁷⁴ Caledonian Society of Otago minutes, 14 September 1894.

⁷⁵ Caledonian Society of Otago minutes, 12 October 1899.

athletic organizations.⁷⁶ Even so, the Association was already collapsing, leaving its constituent affiliates to form shifting regional and transient alliances amongst themselves. The development of national administrative bodies for cycling, wood-chopping and amateur athletics meant that, in order to run its games, a typical Caledonian Society might have to deal with the NZAU, the League of Wheelmen and the New Zealand Axemen's Association as well as the New Zealand Amateur Athletics Association. Independently-minded sporting bodies in the Lower North Island ran their meetings under various sets of rules. For instance, the Wanganui Caledonian Games used NZACS rules in 1903 but they ran under the Taranaki Caledonian Athletic Association and League of Wheelmen rules in 1905, under Wanganui Caledonian Society rules in 1906, and under New Zealand Amateur Athletics rules in 1908.⁷⁷ In this fluid situation the Manawatu and West Coast Caledonian Society, casting its net wider than the the immediate environs of Palmerston North, could dream quietly of becoming *the head centre of Caledonian Societies on this coast in a few years...and ultimately of New Zealand*.⁷⁸

After the NZACS collapsed, the NZAU assumed control of athletics events and, by default, piping and dancing events. In 1908 a large number of Caledonian Societies and piping and dancing groups, of which the Wanganui Caledonian Society was one, broke away from the NZAU to form their own Pipers and Dancers Association. They were frustrated and outraged by the fact that they did not have control over their own national piping and dancing competitions. *You have assumed control of the National Customs, which we consider belong to ourselves, without the authority of those who have been responsible for the perpetuation of the best traditions*.⁷⁹ This conflict forced the Wanganui Caledonian Society to look more closely at its own commitment to Scottish national identity. As early as 1895, the president had complained

⁷⁶ *Feilding Star*, 28 November 1903.

⁷⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 9 January 1903, p.9(3-4); 3 January 1905, p.6(3); 2 January 1906, p.6(2); 28 December 1907, p.5(6).

⁷⁸ *Manawatu Standard*, 4 September 1903, p.5(5).

⁷⁹ The Secretary of the Pipers and Dancers Association to the NZAU, 1909 cit. Nicholson *Piping and Dancing Association of New Zealand*, p.11.

that the public was interested in the gatherings but not in the Society itself.⁸⁰ Four years later he pointed out that the annual games had become just one of many racing and cycling gatherings and was in danger of decline. The Society could not claim to be unique unless it nurtured the Caledonian events and gave better prizes.⁸¹

One of the features of the Wanganui games (and at Turakina and Palmerston North) had always been a well-patronised liquor booth. Because it was so lucrative, successful tenders for the booth were two to three times as much as for the refreshment marquee. Publicans were important people on Games day and were an important source of prizes and donations. Drunkenness must have caused some problems because the Wanganui Caledonian Society employed a policeman between 1885 and 1894 to ride the ground, clear the ring and *prevent objectionable behaviour*.⁸² Nevertheless, few reports of disorderly behaviour got as far as the pages of the *Chronicle*. In 1901 the Society shifted the Games from its own grounds at Victoria Park to a larger venue at Cook's Gardens. In 1901 some Caledonian Society members, themselves prohibitionist, forced through the change of venue knowing that the Licensing Committee would not issue a liquor licence. Other members evidently found a devious but legal way around the lack of a licence. Whisky was important to manifestations of Scottish national identity. The day before the games 'Caledonia' assured readers of the *Chronicle* that *there will not be wanting a supply of Caledonia's Mountain Dew and other liquid refreshments for those who desire to tilt a glass with a friend*. At that point, the power of tradition and the publicans was too strong, for by 1903 the games were back in Victoria Park and the *wants of the inner man, loyal Scotchmen and others* were being attended to. Two years later, however, the games returned to Cook's Garden's for good, without the licence.⁸³ The efforts of the Wanganui Caledonian Society to maintain its liquor booth illustrated the struggle between traditional behaviour and a change in public thinking

⁸⁰ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, Annual general Meeting c. March 1895.

⁸¹ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 1 June 1899 p.2(5).

⁸² Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 4 January 1889.

⁸³ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 24 January 1905, p.2(1).

which found that tradition unacceptable. The symbolic significance of whisky, a male Scottish tradition, was pitted directly against the growing social pressure not to drink. The Turakina games of 1921 had no provision for liquor refreshment, although clandestine drams may well have been drunk.

The Wanganui Caledonian Society had been one of the few Caledonian Societies to remain independent of the NZAU. The Society embarked upon a desperate and sustained hunt for new members in the early 1900s. Where once a paid-up membership of 36 had been adequate⁸⁴ the Society in 1908 aimed for 300 members in order to run its sports *without outsider interference*.⁸⁵ Every local male with a Scottish surname or respectable status must have been approached.⁸⁶ The NZAU, now administering cycling as well, exerted considerable pressure. An anonymous letter to the press publicly accused the Wanganui Caledonian Society of corrupt judging.⁸⁷ The Wanganui Centre of the New Zealand Sports Protection League, formed in 1912 and headed by two Caledonian Society members, appears to have been a direct local response to the threat posed by the NZAU.⁸⁸

It was very evident that Scottish ethnic societies in New Zealand had to find some way of coming together if they wanted to retain control over competitive piping and dancing. One of these ways was to provide a national magazine for Scottish ethnic societies in New Zealand. The *New Zealand Scot* ran from 1912 until 1914. Although edited in Dunedin the bulk of its advertising support came from the lower North Island, particularly from Wanganui and Palmerston North. Aiming to *unify and inspire Scottish patriotism in New Zealand and to voice the doings of*

⁸⁴ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 15 August 1892.

⁸⁵ Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 18 March 1908. The peak was 267 (on the roll) 133 of which had been added since the last annual general meeting. Compare this with the Caledonian Society of Otago membership (albeit low) in 1906 of 315. Caledonian Society of Otago minutes, 12 October 1906.

⁸⁶ Similar action had been suggested in 1894 when the Wanganui Caledonian Society was briefly worried about membership. Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes, 8 May 1894.

⁸⁷ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 27 January 1910, p.3(4).

⁸⁸ *Wanganui Chronicle*, 19 January 1912, p.2(4).

Scottish, Highland, Gaelic and Caledonian Societies throughout the Dominion, it was only partly successful for only 26 organizations were ever affiliated.⁸⁹ The magazine abruptly stopped upon the outbreak of war in 1914. The *New Zealand Scot* embodied a Scottishness separate from sporting activities. This Scottishness began to use a new language of nostalgia which was cosy and inward-looking rather than imperialistic and progressive. The *New Zealand Scot* published sentimental poems about Scots in New Zealand, but these were still a mix of Burns and kailyard imagery.⁹⁰ Occasionally it still talked about patriotism, empire and manliness but in many ways it had retreated from the wider world. Other periodicals of the 1920s continued in this private vein and were more successful in bringing Scottish ethnic societies together.⁹¹

Traditional annual gatherings provided occasions for wearing national costume, promoting national music and dancing. In New Zealand, gatherings consisted of a games, followed by a concert or ball. Caledonian Societies promoted national customs effectively through their annual games which were dominated not by piping and dancing but by athletics. The prominent place which they gave to sporting events threatened the very status and relevance of the Caledonian Societies themselves but they were unable to unite because regional societies, jealous of their own rights and areas. As early as 1900, Wanganui Caledonian Society members warned that if the cultural basis of the Games was not given more prominence, the Games would lose their uniqueness and disappear. While the Wanganui Society may have started the Games with the intention of using athletics to fund or support the Scottishness of the Society, in the end membership subscriptions were used to prop up the non-Scottish programmes. Other organizations had emerged to take over control of athletics, the main drawcard, and there were also other new types of leisure activities. By 1912, the need to promote 'Caledonian' events (piping and dancing) was desperate. By 1918, most of the competitors in both Scottish and non-

⁸⁹ *New Zealand Scot*, 1:2 (December 1912), p.1.

⁹⁰ For example, 'Caledonian Day' by R. McDonald, 65 Glasgow Street, Wanganui. *New Zealand Scot*, 2:7 (May 1914), p.15.

⁹¹ *Scottish New Zealander* (Auckland and Wellington, 1922-1926), *New Zealand Scotsman and Caledonian* (Wellington, 1927-1933).

Scottish events were children, and a good proportion of these were female. Organizers continued to see the games as a male occasion. As its membership aged and dwindled, the Wanganui Caledonian Society survived into the 1920s, still holding annual gatherings, but many of its potential members were now joining the rival Wanganui Scottish Society and the Pipe Band Societies instead.

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CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

This thesis has looked at Scottish national identity within two institutions - the Presbyterian Church and the Caledonian Society. In examining two such groups side by side, there is a danger that this may focus exclusive attention on the dynamism, or lack of it, in the relationship between the two. One is tempted to judge the two as being of equal stature when of course they were not. The Presbyterian Church is one of the most enduring British institutions in New Zealand. In comparison, the Caledonian Society was an ephemeral phenomenon. Its heyday in New Zealand was no more than thirty years and many individual Caledonian Societies lasted for less than fifteen years. It must also be remembered that individuals who never saw the inside of a church and never attended a Burns' night function considered themselves Scottish and had their own private ways of showing their national identity. As Charlotte Erickson says, those who emigrated as adults rarely forgot that they were immigrants.¹ The study of institutional behaviour is a counterpoint to these private ways - letters home, pictures of Scotland on the wall, naming of children, religious observances - within the home and customs such as first-footing. This exercise has also shown that it is impossible to look at manifestations of Scottishness in New Zealand without taking on board the powerful stereotypes and mythic structures of Scottish national identity.

Scottishness or Scottish national identity in the eighteenth-century was a shifting complex of elements to which different classes, religious and political groups attached different meanings. By the mid-nineteenth century many of these meanings had become detached from their original context. The main elements of nineteenth-century, middle-class Scottish national identity were the use of Highland symbols, and the development of an overarching British identity. The unifying element of this British identity, suggests Colley, was an anti-Catholic

¹ Charlotte Erickson, *Invisible immigrants: the adaptation of English and Scottish immigrants in nineteenth-century America*, (London, 1972), p.69.

spirit that lay just beneath the surface of much of nineteenth-century Protestant ecumenism.² By the end of the nineteenth-century, popular Scottish national identity had become middle-class and Protestant in essence even though Presbyterianism, supposedly the embodiment of Scottishness, kept some distance between itself and this popular identity. In New Zealand, institutional Scottish national identity manifested itself in ways which reflected these characteristics.

The Presbyterian church in New Zealand was, as Matheson has said, a settler church which worked to establish its own networks of parishes and relationships with other denominations. The Presbyterian Church was not the only church to voice concern over such social issues as moral degeneracy, drinking and gambling. Just because some of these issues may have had special significance in a Scottish context did not mean that the response of the church differed significantly from other Protestant churches in New Zealand. In this, Presbyterianism showed its Protestant roots more than its Scottish origins. Leaders of the Church, aware that Presbyterianism was just one of several significant denominations in New Zealand, preferred to concentrate on expanding/expansionism. When it came to Scottish national identity the Presbyterian church did display an attitude of restraint caution and ambiguity. This tendency was magnified in New Zealand.

The attitude of the Presbyterian Church in New Zealand towards Scottish national identity was neither encouraging nor repressive. But there were certain notions of Scottishness of which it approved and these were basically those characteristics which conformed to the ideal of a worthy Presbyterian. The Presbyterian ideal of Scottishness was disseminated at the turn of the century through kailyard literature, which was aimed as much at Scots overseas as those at home. A certain ideal of Scottishness was conveyed which emphasised religious orientation and rurality. For countries such as Canada and New Zealand, the locus of Presbyterianism was indeed rural. Because the population of Otago and Southland was proportionately more Scottish and more Presbyterian than the rest of New Zealand, images of Presbyterianism and Scottishness were generated and disseminated from Dunedin.

² Colley, *Britons: forging the bond*, pp.19-23.

The restraint and austerity of Presbyterian liturgy gradually relaxed in late nineteenth-century New Zealand, especially in the Northern Church. Clergy had little connection with Scottish ethnic societies until the twentieth century, except, perhaps, for the Dunedin Gaelic Society. In the early 1900s, there were indications of a resurgence of interest in forms of Scottish national identity within the church. In the first part of the twentieth century the Presbyterian Church began to warm to the idea of commemorating religious festivals which it had formerly condemned as popish. The formation of the Church History Society in 1936³ encouraged efforts to reshape Presbyterian liturgy into something more substantial and representative of its Scottish roots. Presbyterian clergy apparently had more freedom to express their own national consciousness for they were seen to have greater involvement in Burns Clubs both in Dunedin and Wanganui. Other signs appear in a description of the 60th jubilee of the Turakina Church and, in the 1920s, Eliza Rockel's memories of her childhood in Turakina as published in the *Outlook*.⁴

The Caledonian Society combined features of other types of Scottish ethnic societies to create an organization that set out to cater for all Scots. The Wanganui Caledonian Society was a creature of its time, a survival of Victorian romanticism, and part of the fashion for middle-class male lodges and societies. Like other Scottish ethnic societies in Scotland, it was, on the surface, a way of asserting Scottish distinctiveness⁵ and at the same time asserting membership of a larger grouping. Outside Scotland, Caledonian Societies enabled immigrant Scots to gather as a group, indulge in nostalgia and work to promote national accomplishments.

The Scotsmen who founded the Wanganui Caledonian Society, were mostly retired or middle-aged immigrant businessmen who had been active in local and central government. The senior members of the Wanganui Caledonian Society formed a significant section of Wanganui's business elite. They were linked in a network of church, business and public

³ Davidson, 'Depression, war and new life' in McEldowney, p.110.

⁴ *Rangitikei Advocate*, 18 December 1912; Knight, p.10.

⁵ Eric Richards, 'Australia and the Scottish connection, 1788-1914', in R.A. Cage (ed), *The Scots abroad: labour, capital, enterprise, 1750-1914*, (London, 1985), pp.141-2.

service connections, not unlike Nicholas' description of Wellington society in the 1850s- *a predominantly early-landed, mercantile and professional elite interspersed with prominent politicians of the day*.⁶ While there was a strong sentimental nostalgic impetus, other considerations played a part. Members founded the Society because they wanted to set up an organization that might mean something to their children and grandchildren, and the idea of holding annual sports meetings looked like a good commercial proposition.

In nineteenth-century New Zealand, the Caledonian Society was also a distinctive response to the need for colonial leisure institutions. Its role as an athletics organization, while it may have been derived from Scottish traditions, was not exclusive to Scottish national identity. The Wanganui Caledonian Society felt that it must appear substantial, respectable, and business-like in public opinion because the public that it courted was not necessarily Scottish, Presbyterian or particularly pious. The particular circumstances of the Wanganui Society meant that at first it had the advantages of a sympathetic press and no competition from other substantial athletics organizations in the region. From about 1900 when regional and national athletics organizations began to assert their power, Caledonian Games had to compete against a number of other, more attractive, activities. The trains which had brought the crowds to the games now took them to the beach, to the races, or to other leisure activities.

The Scottish national identity which Caledonian Societies displayed was a middle-class one, inherited from middle-class popular Scottish national identity in Scotland which recast older varieties of Scottishness into politically safe forms. It overlooked past political and religious dissension, while using cultural symbols from one part of Scotland, and was sentimental, overwhelmingly male, with some military associations. The public image of the Caledonian Society was of an institution which looked backwards, but it was also extremely adaptable. The Caledonian Society in New Zealand had a dual function as custodian of Scottish national identity and as an athletics organization. Caledonian Societies themselves felt that they lived on sentiment and expressed concern about their ability to keep up national customs and accomplishments. The framework in which they tried to do this - the sports organization -

⁶ R. Nicholas, 'Elite society in Victorian and Edwardian Wellington' in D. Hamer and R. Nicholas (eds), *The making of Wellington 1800-1914*, (Wellington, 1990), p.197.

was limited but it was the most appropriate solution for the time and worked very well until the end of the nineteenth-century when other more powerful sports organizations emerged. It was only at this point that the Wanganui Caledonian Society began to worry about the future of the Scottish programme. In truth, the Caledonian Society needed the athletics programme in order to maintain the programme of Scottish events on the scale it that did. Moves for a nation-wide organization for Scottish ethnic societies in 1912 came at first most strongly from the lower North Island rather than Otago and Southland but by themselves Caledonian Societies were unable to form a lasting national body. By the end of World War One, urbanization, development of public transport and a varied range of new leisure activities had overtaken them.

The Presbyterian church and the Caledonian Society shared similar attitudes to empire, and to being British. During the Boer War and World War One, the Presbyterian Church supported Britain⁷ and that attitude was echoed by the activities of Caledonian Societies. Both the Wanganui Caledonian Society and St Paul's made use of the Highland Rifles in demonstrations of martial fervour and loyalty to the British Empire. Jingoism suited middle-class nineteenth-century Scottish national identity very well. The Caledonian Society was overtly and even aggressively pro-empire. Members made imperialistic speeches at Burns suppers and banquets about Scotland's role in the Empire.

It was perfectly natural for middle-class Scots to see themselves as both British and Scottish at the turn of century. The overarching identity of Britishness allowed Scots to assert their distinctiveness **and** consider themselves equal participants in a larger grouping, the British Empire. These multiple national identities were seen not as conflicting or exclusive of each other but as complementary. This was transferred to the New Zealand situation and made it perfectly possible for people like New Zealand-born Jessie Mackay, who considered herself a New Zealander, to also consider herself Scottish and write sentimental poetry in the style of Burns.

⁷ For instance, J.A. Salmond, 'New Zealand and the New Hebrides' in P. Munz.(ed), *The feel of truth: essays in New Zealand and Pacific history*, (Wellington, 1969), pp.119-120.

The Caledonian Society and the Presbyterian Church had attributes in common. Scottish consciousness within the Caledonian Society and the Presbyterian Church did not involve political Scottish nationalism. Neither the Caledonian Society nor the Presbyterian Church were representative of Scots in general. There was no public role in either for women.

The Calvinist, Protestant, Presbyterian mindset that underpinned the Presbyterian church also underpinned the Caledonian Societies. Signs can be seen in the way anniversaries and festivals were commemorated. Within the Caledonian Society the most commonly celebrated date was Burns' birthday. Otherwise it was a random collection of secular commemorations which were quite erratic. This was a secular reflection of a religious tradition of restraint and austerity.

The Presbyterian Church in the late nineteenth century did not reinforce Scottish national identity in the same explicit fashion as the Caledonian Society. The relationship between church and society was neither clear, structured nor dynamic. It was not one of co-operation or marked antagonism. This is because Church and Society were neither complete opposites nor particularly alike. Some have suggested that Scottish Presbyterianism contains within it the tendency to compartmentalize sacred and secular aspects. If so, this would explain how senior members of the St Paul's congregation could be seen as great supporters of the Church and at the same time engage in activities of which the Church did not approve. The Presbyterian church has been described in this thesis as forward looking. In contrast the brand popular Scottish national identity which the Caledonian Society espoused arose from what has been described as Jacobite reaction.⁸ The Caledonian Society may have appeared to 'live on sentiment' but it was in some ways highly progressive and forward looking.

Unlike the St Patrick's Day Committee, the Wanganui Caledonian Society never at any time enjoyed the endorsement or patronage of a church connection. The Caledonian Society programme involved activities which were not approved of by the church. Secular activities at the games such as betting drinking ran counter to Presbyterian Church views on temperance and gambling. It appears likely that as temperance views became more rigid within New Zealand generally, the Caledonian Society Games appeared less and less respectable. In 1900 it was unlikely that Rev. Ryburn of St Paul's would have recommended

⁸ Kidd, p.159.

the Wanganui Caledonian Society Games to his congregation.

In some ways the phenomenon of the Caledonian Society falls between Fairburn's concept of the atomised society and Sinclair's model of the emergence of New Zealand national identity. Fairburn suggests that late nineteenth-century New Zealand was capable of sustaining only a very limited choice of organized sporting pastimes.⁹ This would explain why Caledonian Societies did well at first. The Caledonian Society can be viewed as a structure of transition, a prototype of athletics organization and a distinctive response to the need for colonial leisure institutions. As an organization which offered a model of codification for sports and possibilities for group solidarity, it is an early example of what Watson has called the 'settled'¹⁰ phase of recreational history in New Zealand. The ability of a town to sustain a large, well-organized, reputable sports meeting (which most of the population attended) signified that the town itself had reached a certain stage of settlement.

The New Zealand Natives Association and the Caledonian Society were both based on notions of national identity. Sinclair says that the Natives Association failed because it had no useful role in society.¹¹ In a land of immigrants, the Natives Association tried to create a sense of community among those (whites) born in New Zealand. Its aim was to *foster love of native land among young colonials and inculcate a national and patriotic feeling*¹² and branches were formed in major New Zealand towns during the 1890s. The format was very similar to a Friendly Society format and may have been in emulation of or reaction to ethnic organizations such as Caledonian Societies.¹³ Both the Natives Association and Caledonian

⁹ Miles Fairburn, *The ideal society and its enemies: the foundations of modern New Zealand society, 1850-1900*, (Auckland, 1989), p.181.

¹⁰ James Watson, 'The history of leisure, recreation and tourism in New Zealand' in H.C. Perkins and G. Cushman (eds), *Leisure, recreation and tourism*, (Auckland, 1993) p.2 & 26.

¹¹ Keith Sinclair, *A destiny apart: New Zealand's search for national identity*, (Wellington, 1986), pp.44-45.

¹² Sinclair, *A destiny apart*, p.32.

¹³ 'We love our land even as Scotchmen do theirs, and are only waiting for occasion to show our affection. We have not, it is true, traditions, literature, nor race characteristics such as theirs, but in this fact lies that need of a natives' association'. *Southland Times*, 2 February 1898, cit in Sinclair, *A destiny apart*, p.38.

Society were alike in that they possessed exclusivity based on place of birth, membership effectively based on status and a patriotism based on devotion to empire. If the Natives Association had no useful role in society, perhaps it was because Caledonian Societies, and other ethnic organizations, such as the Hibernians, the Orange Order and St Patrick's Day Committees were able to fulfil their roles so successfully.

For Scots and descendants of Scots in New Zealand the act of migration was a formative element in their Scottish national identity¹⁴. Scottish immigrants recast Scotland's past or reinvented traditions to make sense of their existence in a new country. Much of this reinvention had already been completed in Scotland as part of popular nineteenth-century Scottish national identity. In New Zealand, this identity reflected its middle class origins in that there was no uncomfortable political nationalism and no overt sectarianism, as in Scottish football. But it went further than that. Scottish national identity assumed a clichéd form in New Zealand, one in which certain elements were magnified and others suppressed.¹⁵ The stereotyping of national identity in this environment meant that Highland imagery dominated even more than in Scotland.¹⁶ Rosalind McClean notes how *the Highland identity is one which has lingered long in the consciousness of Pakeha New Zealanders (almost to the extent that a Scottish ancestry is often thought of today as synonymous with descent from the Highlands)*.¹⁷ According to Harvie, the self-confidence of Scots meant that their national identity abroad was adaptable. *The settler was as patriotic as it suited him to be. He could integrate with his adopted country at whatever level his talents could carry him to, and thereafter he adopted its social mores and class distinctions*.¹⁸ This is true of the Caledonian Society. It adapted a Scottish institution, the Highland Games, and gave it a new meaning in the New Zealand context.

¹⁴ Christopher Harvie, *Scotland and nationalism: Scottish society and politics 1707-1977*, (London, 1977), p.95.

¹⁵ Anderson, *Imagined communities*, p.111.

¹⁶ Richards, 'Australia and the Scottish connection', in Cage, p.141.

¹⁷ McClean, 'Scottish emigrants to New Zealand 1840-1880', p.226-228.

¹⁸ Harvie, *Scotland and nationalism*, p.95.

After World War One Caledonian Societies faced a new type of Scottishness - the Scottish consciousness of the second generation. Caledonian Societies had been formed as immigrant societies, but even before the start of the war, it was obvious that the descendants had to be allowed their place. Caledonian Societies struggled to exist against Scottish and Pipe Band Societies which grew up in reaction to the exclusive male formality and lingering Victorian romanticism of the Caledonian Societies. Scottish Societies and Pipe Band Societies were more practical, perhaps more reserved and inward-looking, than the romantic Caledonian Societies.¹⁹ And by the end of the war, New Zealand society was war-weary. The overt imperialism of the Caledonian Societies was no longer acceptable. Without it and without athletic sports, the Caledonian Society had no useful or unique function in the eyes of the general public.

Cliff Cumming asserts that Scots immigrants in mid-nineteenth-century Australia formed national associations *not for any wallowings in nostalgic reminiscences of some Celtic dreamtime* but as a practical move to reinforce the community, the Scottish identity, and provide for the educational, spiritual and social needs of members.²⁰ He concludes, however, that Scottish immigrants

*quite deliberately sought to maintain and promote their national character, and of all the institutions with which they were involved it was their Church which continued to promote and maintain this Scottish national identity in the new Australian colony of Port Philip.*²¹

He makes two points: firstly that the national associations were practical rather than nostalgic, and secondly, that the institution which reinforced Scottish national identity most effectively outside the national associations was the Presbyterian Church. At first glance, Cumming's Scots in mid-nineteenth-century Australia appear to have reinforced their national identity in a different way from Scots in the lower North Island of New Zealand at the turn of the century. The Presbyterian Church in New Zealand, like most churches, certainly provided a

¹⁹ Irene Bain describes a similar division between old-style and new style Scottish ethnic societies, but she dates it to World War Two and subsequent immigration. Bain, 'Post-war Scottish immigration' in Jupp, p.788.

²⁰ Cliff Cumming, 'Scottish national identity in an Australian colony', *Scottish Historical Review*, 72:1(April 1993), pp.27-28.

²¹ Cumming, p.38.

sense of community for its congregation. In turn-of the-century Wanganui, however, this sense of community was not specifically Scottish in the same way that Cummings suggests for his mid-nineteenth-century Port Philip. The Presbyterian Church in New Zealand, particularly the Northern Church, did not explicitly encourage or reinforce popular Scottish national identity, and national associations (that is, Caledonian Societies) had a strong nostalgic element. Caledonian Societies appeared to look backwards while the Presbyterian Church looked forward. But the character of the Presbyterian church was implicitly buttressed by certain notions of Scottishness, such as restricted hierarchy in church government and belief in the value of education. Caledonian Societies were not exclusively backward-looking - their solution to the need for sporting organizations in New Zealand was a practical and forward-looking one.

APPENDIX ONE
SCOTTISH ETHNIC SOCIETIES IN NEW ZEALAND
1860 TO 1920

DATE	BURNS and ST ANDREWS'	CALEDONIAN	GAELIC and HIGHLAND	MILITARY, PIPE BAND and SCOTTISH
1860 to 1869		Otago(Dunedin) 1862 Port Molyneux 1864? Southland (Inverc.) 1868 Oamaru 1868 Turakina(Games) 1865		No 2 Otago Scottish Volunteers (M) 1863 Turakina Rifles(M) Wanganui Caledonians (M)
1870 to 1879		Waipu 1870 <i>Wairarapa 1876</i> <i>Carterton branch 1912</i> Fortrose 1879		
1880 to 1889	Auckland (B) 1884 Wanganui (B) 1886 Thames (B)1887	Canterbury (Chch)1881 <i>Patea (Games) 1883</i> Mackenzie Cty 1883 Wellington 1883-5 Wanganui 1884 Sth Canty(Timaru) fl.1884 Palm Nth I 1886 <i>Hawkes Bay fl. 1888-</i> <i>c.1897?</i> Auckland 1888 Marlborough fl. 1888 Marton(Games) fl.1889 Wyndham fl.1880s	Otago-NZ (G) 1881 Clutha (G) 1884	Dunedin Highland Rifles (M) 1885 Waipu (PB) 1887
1890 to 1899	Dunedin (B)1891 <i>Pahiatua (B)c.1891</i>	<i>Napier fl.1890</i> <i>Hawera c.1890</i> Palm Nth II 1891- Manaia fl.1891 Opunake fl 1891 Mangatainoka c.1892? Eltham fl.1896 Whakataki fl.1897 Huntermville fl.1897 Mangaweka fl.1897 Fairlie fl.1890?	<i>Hawkes Bay (H)1894</i>	Invercargill (PB) 1897 Dunedin (PB) 1897

KEY: **B** Burns Club
M Military
SC Scottish Society

G Gaelic Society
PB Pipe Band

H Highland Society
StA St Andrew's Society

Societies in Taranaki, Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu are indicated in **bold**. Those in Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay are indicated in *italics*.

Continued next page

APPENDIX ONE Continued
SCOTTISH ETHNIC SOCIETIES IN NEW ZEALAND
1860 TO 1920

DATE	BURNS and ST ANDREWS'	CALEDONIAN	GAELIC and HIGHLAND	MILITARY, PIPE BAND and SCOTTISH
1900 to 1909		Feilding 1902 <i>Pahiatua</i> 1903 Nth Canty fl. 1903 Waimate fl. 1903-1913? Manawatu & West Coast (Palm Nth) 1903 Strath-Taieri fl. 1906	Wellington fl. 1901 Waitaki (G) fl. 1903 Southland (G) fl. 1905 (Clutha?)	North Otago (PB) 1901 Wanganui Hgld Rifles and Pipe Band 1900 New Zealand (SC) (Chch) 1902 Wellington (SC) 1904, 1910 <i>Eltham & Dist 1904, 1918</i> <i>Napier (SC) fl. 1908</i> Invercargill St A (SC) 1914 Pipers and Dancers' Council 1908
1910 to 1919	Auckland (StA) fl. 1911	<i>Martinborough fl. 1912-14</i> Temuka fl. 1912-4 Rangitikei (H'ville) 1913 Lumsden fl. 1913 Balfour fl. 1913 Ohakune (Waimarino) fl. 1919	Otago (H) 1911 <i>Dannevirke (H) fl. 1912-13</i> <i>Takapau (Hawke's Bay) (H) fl. 1912-4</i> Gore District (H) 1913 Wellington (H) fl. 1913 Invercargill (H) fl. 1913	Poverty Bay (SC) 1911 Huntly 1912 <i>Taranaki Prov. (SC) 1912 - Stratford, Inglewood, Toko & Manaia</i> Piping & Dancing Assn of New Zealand 1912 Bay of Plenty (SC) fl. 1912-3 Mataura Kilties (PB) fl. 1913 Wyndham (PB) fl. 1913 Gore (PB) fl. 1913

KEY: **B** Burns Club **G** Gaelic Society **H** Highland Society
M Military **PB** Pipe Band **StA** St Andrew's Society
SC Scottish Society

Societies in Taranaki, Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu are indicated in **bold**. Those in Wairarapa and Hawke's Bay are indicated in *italics*.

Sources: *Cyclopedia of New Zealand* (1897-1906); Caledonian Society of Otago minutes (1867) and Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes (1884-1916); *Wanganui Chronicle*; *Manawatu Standard*; *Feilding Star*, *New Zealand Scot* 1912-14; Entwisle, *History of the Gaelic Society of NZ* (1981). *Robert Burns Chronicle* (1892-1911). This appendix is included as an illustration of just how many Scottish ethnic societies there were. It is by no means complete.

APPENDIX TWO

CALEDONIAN, CELTIC OR NATIONAL GAMES IN WANGANUI, RANGITIKEI & MANAWATU 1865-c.1920

Wanganui, Rangitikei and Manawatu

Turakina 1865-c.1894

Wanganui 1865-?
1884 -1920s

Palmerston North 1887- 1918?
1926-

Bulls fl 1880s -athletics only
Marton fl. 1889 - games only

Hunterville fl. 1897?

Turakina 1919 -
Hunterville 1920s

Lower North Island

Wellington 1865-?
Wairarapa 1876-

Wellington 1883-?

Hawkes Bay fl. 1888-94?
Napier fl. 1890
Hawera c. 1890
Manaia fl. 1891

Opunake fl 1891
Eltham fl 1896-1904?

Mangaweka fl. 1897- athletics only?

Pahiatua (before 1903)
Mangatainoka c. 1892-fl. 1919.
Waimarino (Ohakune) 1910s
Takapau (HBay) fl. 1912-13

Sources: *Wellington Almanac, Wanganui Chronicle, Rangitikei Advocate, Wanganui Caledonian Society minutes* (1884-1916). This list is not exhaustive.

APPENDIX THREE

ORIGINS OF CLERGY IN

NEW ZEALAND PRESBYTERIAN CHURCHES

1840-1909

DATE	CofS	FC	PCI	OtherPC	Non PC	OTHER	TOTAL
1840-4	3		1				4
1845-9		3					3
1850-4	1	4	1	2	1		9
1855-9		9	1			2	12
1860-4	1	14	3	7			25
1865-9	3	13	3	7	1	17	44
1870-4	1	6	2	5		21	35
1875-9	3	12	6	4	2	22	49
1880-4	1	12	10	1	4	26	54
1885-9	3	14	7	7	3	20	54
1890-4	3	15	3	2		20	43
1895-9	2	7	2	2	3	31	47
1900-4		5	2	4	3	53	67
1905-9	1	2		1	3	49	56
TOTAL	22	114	41	42	20	263	503

KEY:

FC = Free Church **PCI** = Presbyterian Church of Ireland

Other PC = United Presbyterian, Relief, Presbyterian Church of England etc

Non-PC = Congregational, Wesleyan, Baptist

OTHER = Unidentified affiliation or New Zealand trained

Sources: Elder, *History of the Presbyterian church of New Zealand*, (1940), pp.407- 431; Fraser, *Register of Ministers*, (1990).

APPENDIX FOUR

Percentage of Presbyterians in total population of New Zealand,
in total population excluding Otago and Southland,
and in Wanganui and Rangitikei 1881-1911

DATE OF CENSUS	%age of Presbyterians in Wanganui*	%age of Presbyterians in Rangitikei*	%age of Presbyterians in total population excluding Otago and Southland	%age of Presbyterians in total population
1881	24.97	28.72	15.85	23.09
1891	18.87	28.02	15.73	22.59
1901	19.99	22.88	16.43	22.84
1911	20.29	24.84	17.91	23.27

* Includes both county and borough populations

Source: Census statistics 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911

APPENDIX FIVE

Percentage of Scots-born in total population of New Zealand ,
in total population excluding Otago and Southland,
and in Wanganui and Rangitikei 1881-1911

DATE OF CENSUS	%age of Scots-born in Wanganui *	%age of Scots-born in Rangitikei*	%age of Scots-born in total population excluding Otago and Southland	%age of Scots-born in total population of New Zealand
1881	8.62	8.93	6.68	10.77
1891	6.84	7.01	5.53	8.28
1901	4.83	4.47	4.25	6.19
1911	4.36	4.03	3.95	5.13

* Includes both county and borough populations

Source: Census statistics 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911

APPENDIX SIX
Rural locus of Presbyterianism in Wanganui and Rangitikei:
comparison between county and borough
1881-1911

DATE OF CENSUS	% Presbyterians in Wanganui and Rangitikei Counties	% Presbyterians in Wanganui and Rangitikei boroughs*	% of Presbyterians in total population excluding Otago/Southland
1881	26.81	19.23	15.85
1891	26.8	18.21	15.73
1901	22.72	19.19	16.43
1911	27.07	18.39	17.91

* Includes populations of Wanganui, Marton and, from 1901, Taihape.

Source: Census statistics 1881, 1891, 1901 and 1911.

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i) Scottish ethnic societies

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