

HIST317 Research Proposal

Research Question

To what extent did the official conception of Canterbury as an English Anglican settlement influence the social networks and “ethnic identity” of the region’s early Scottish migrants?

Topic and Historiography

As a migrant group, the Scots possess a particularly salient expression of ethnic identity in terms of both their cultural customs, and their social norms and settlement patterns. Familiar notions of Scottish thrift, and the cultural and political symbolism of the tartan, the bagpipes, and Robert Burns, are complemented by the existence of tight social networks, reminiscent of the once independently powerful Scottish clan system.¹ As such, like other migration studies, research into Scotch migrant populations has often sought to assess how these values and ways of being have been shaped by, or shaped, the new environments in which they have found themselves.

Ethnically, Angela McCarthy has argued that expressions of Scottishness among Scots migrants operated in an overwhelmingly positive manner, in contrast to their Irish counterparts, where political connotations caused cultural expression to take on an inherently defensive position.² From a settlement perspective, global analyses of the kinship ties of Scotch migrant populations has emphasised this inherent clannishness in Scotch settlement patterns. Practices of inter-marriage between families, as assessed by Maureen Molloy, often played a crucial role and such practice, she argues, resulted in a pattern of close-knit, heavily inter-related kinship groups, which mirrored the regional practices in Scotland.³

¹ Angela McCarthy, ‘Frugal and Thrifty, Hard-Working and Sober: Representations of Scottishness in New Zealand’, *Immigrants and Minorities*, Vol.30, no.1, March 2012, pp.1-21; Maureen Molloy, ‘No Inclination to Mix with Strangers: Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand 1800-1916’, *Journal of Family History*, Vol.11, no.3, 1986, pp.221-243.

² Angela McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand Since 1840*, (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011), p.3.

³ Maureen Molloy, ‘No Inclination to Mix with Strangers: Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand 1800-1916’, *Journal of Family History*, Vol.11, no.3, 1986, pp.221-243.

Assessing the construction of such connections and informal networks of social support, Tom Brooking has highlighted the critical role played by the arduous transition from old land to new, provided by the months long voyage from Scotland.⁴ Here, he illustrates, migrants formed connections which would last a lifetime, providing new settlers with invaluable sources of support upon arrival.⁵ Generating connections and engaging in cultural customs from home served to smooth the transition into colonial life for many Scottish migrants, trends mirrored, as Marjory Harper and Lyndon Fraser have shown, among other British and Irish migrant populations.⁶

On the whole, a significant amount of research has been conducted into New Zealand's Scottish migrants. Some analyses have addressed broad themes of Scottish migration in the framework of European settlement and British expansion as a whole.⁷ Further research has sought to assess the contribution made to New Zealand society by Scots as a migrant group, focussing on Scottish reverence for accessible education and egalitarianism.⁸ While other scholarship has sought to emphasise the economic contribution of the Scots, and Jim McAloon's assessment of ultimately wealthy settlers in Canterbury and Otago incorporates analysis of a number of migrants of Scottish origin in this regard.⁹

However, for the most part, studies seeking to analyse specific regional areas of Scotch influence have focussed, with good reason one might argue, on the large ethnic

⁴ Brooking, 'Weaving the Tartan into the Flax', p.186.

⁵ Ibid, p.186.

⁶ Marjory Harper, 'Everything is English: Expectations, Experiences and Impacts of English Migrants to New Zealand, 1840-1970', in Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (eds.) *Far From 'Home': The English in New Zealand*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012), pp.54-55; Lyndon Fraser, 'Irish Women's Networks on the West Coast of New Zealand's South Island, 1864-1922', *Women's History Review*, Vol. 15, no. 3, July 2006, pp.459-475.

⁷ McCarthy, *Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand*; Brad Patterson, Tom Brooking and Jim McAloon with Rebecca Lenihan and Tanja Bueltmann, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013).

⁸ Tom Brooking, 'Sharing Out the Haggis: The Special Scottish Contribution to New Zealand History', in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (eds.) *The Heather and the Fern*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003), pp.49-66.

⁹ Jim McAloon, 'Scots in the Colonial Economy', in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (eds.) *The Heather and the Fern*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003), pp.87-102; Jim McAloon, *No Idle Rich: The Wealth in Canterbury and Otago 1840 – 1914*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2002).

populations of Otago and Southland.¹⁰ More recent scholarship has highlighted the existence of Scottish pockets in and around Wellington, and, as noted by Patterson and colleagues, while Otago and Southland did attract a comparatively large volume of Scottish migrants, there were Scotch networks throughout the country.¹¹ Some of the earliest European inhabitants of Canterbury, the Deans brothers of Riccarton and Ebenezer Hay of Pigeon Bay for example, were Scots, and a brief assessment of Scottish settlement in Canterbury reveals tight networks, particularly in rural areas, which differed from the phenomena observed in Otago by little more than volume.¹²

A range of studies have sought to assess the tools and practices employed by Scots throughout the diaspora to construct networks of Scottish influence and retain their cultural distinction. Little work has been done, however, to assess the networks of these Cantabrian Scots in greater detail. The Anglican English narrative of the settlement of Christchurch has somewhat obscured the experience of this migrant group.¹³ My research question will aim to address this gap in the literature by analysing the settlement of Canterbury from a more consciously Scottish perspective. Focussing on the social networks and expressions of ethnic identity of Canterbury's early Scottish settlers, I hope to shed some light on the contribution made by Scots to the development of New Zealand's 'most ostensibly English city.'¹⁴

Digital Outputs

Timeline Entries: By way of providing the rest of my research with some broader historiographical context, in terms of the manner in which the findings fit into the wider

¹⁰ Tom Brooking, 'Weaving the Tartan into the Flax: Networks, Identities, and Scottish Migration to Nineteenth-Century Otago, New Zealand', in Angela McCarthy (ed.) *A Global Clan*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), pp.183-202; MacKenzie, John M., 'A Scottish Empire? The Scottish Diaspora and Interactive Identities', in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (eds.) *The Heather and the Fern*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003), pp.17-32.

¹¹ Rebecca Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015); Patterson, Brooking and McAloon, *Unpacking the Kists*, p.58.

¹² Ibid, p.74.

¹³ Ibid, p.58.

¹⁴ Harper, p.39.

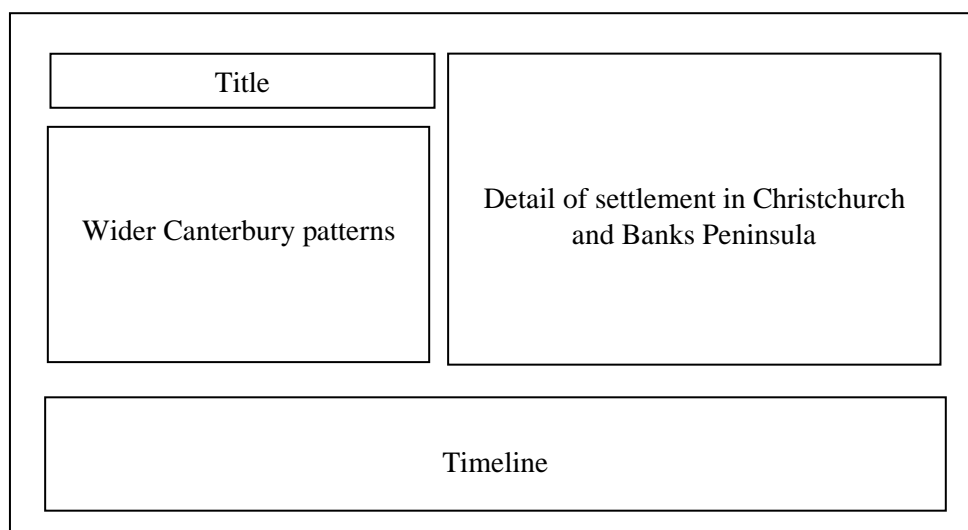
narrative of British and Irish migration to New Zealand, I plan to use the timeline entries to highlight some big-picture critical dates. While the research question itself focusses on the Scottish settlers of early Canterbury, I think it is important to highlight the minority position which these migrants occupied in wider Cantabrian society. As such, I will focus two timeline entries on the Church of England sponsored Canterbury Association, looking at the purchase of land with the 1848 Kemp Deed and the 1850 arrival of the first Company ships. My third entry will look at the prototypical example of Scottish settlement in New Zealand by outlining Frederick Tuckett's selection of Otago as the site for the Scotch Free Church settlement.

Blog: A number of early Canterbury settlers left behind a significant amount of personal correspondence. Among these collections, the letters of the William and John Deans and Charlotte Godley have been collated and published in the public domain. The two collections provide two very distinct impressions of early colonial Canterbury. Most obviously, the respective collections originate from two different cultural/ethnic positions, the Deans brothers being farmers from Ayrshire, and the English Mrs Godley writing from her perspective as the wife of one of the founders of the Anglican Canterbury Association. Second, the Deans collection contains letters authored by, and sent to, a variety of individuals, including some family members writing to the brothers themselves from Scotland, while Mrs Godley's correspondence is almost entirely addressed to her mother in England. Finally, and perhaps mostly importantly, given their backgrounds, the two collections sit on either side of the establishment of English, Anglican, colonial Canterbury and provide two different takes on the activity of the New Zealand Company and the Canterbury Association.

Given the above evidence, I think there is much to be gained from analysing the two collections in comparison with one another. This would allow me to assess the manner in

which more identifiably English impressions of the settlement of Canterbury differed from the perspective of the region's existing European migrants. Focussing specifically on the arrival of the first New Zealand Company ships in 1850, in order to provide some structural narrative, I think a comparison of the two sources could provide the grounds for some interesting analysis. In addition, in terms of the specified research question, the external perspective provided by Charlotte Godley may contain some useful insights into the social structures of Canterbury's Scottish population.

Visualisation: Given the focus of the research question, specifically the emphasis on the social networks and identity of Canterbury's early Scots, and the fact that the data generated from such a study is likely to combine both quantitative and qualitative aspects, I think a spatial visualisation will ultimately be most useful. The key sources left by migrants lend themselves fairly nicely to this sort of output. Focussing on spatial patterns, using a map of Christchurch and/or wider Canterbury and highlighting the connections/position of Scottish migrants, could be used to provide a depiction of the presence and connectedness of the Scots in pre-1860s Canterbury. It would likely be beneficial to complement this output with a timeline of some description, in order to provide some context for the data contained in the visualisation. Alternatively, I could focus on single early Scottish migrant/family story and develop a story-map detailing that narrative.



Timetable

	M	T	W	T	F
Week 7	Proposal DUE				
Week 8	PSYC Lab Report	ANTH Essay			
Week 9					PSYC Test
Week 10					
Week 11	HIST332 Essay				
Week 12				ANTH Test HIST332 Test	Outputs DUE PSYC Test
					Report DUE PSYC LR

Annotated Bibliography

Primary Sources

Bathgate, Alexander, *Colonial Experiences or Sketches of People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand*, (Glasgow: James Maclehose, 1874).

The source contains information on both the topography and development of the Otago settlement as a whole and the experiences of Otago's migrant population. Born in Peebles in 1845, Bathgate emigrated to Otago with his family in 1863. As the source is written by a Scot, about a Scotch settlement, and published in Scotland the image of colonial Otago which it presents is not necessarily objective. Bathgate does display a slight tendency to romanticise the Scottishness of Otago as a whole, but it is almost more valuable for that for the purposes of this research because the facets of society which he chooses to highlight (i.e. the establishment of Presbyterianism) provide an insight into the aspects of Scottish culture which he deemed most likely to facilitate interest in the ethnic identity of Otago as a Scottish settlement. The source, then, provides an interesting comparison to the Anglican establishment of Canterbury.

Butler, Samuel, *A First Year in Canterbury Settlement*, (London: Longman, Green & Co., 1863).

Deans, John, William Deans, John Deans Snr, James Young Deans et al, *Pioneers of Canterbury: Deans Letters, 1840-1854*, (Wellington: A.H. and A.W. Reed, 1937).

This source contains the correspondence of the Deans brothers of Ayrshire, who were among the first Europeans to settle in the vicinity of what would later become the Church of England sponsored settlement of Christchurch. Written between 1840 and 1854 the letters include a mix of personal correspondence with family in Scotland and official correspondence with New Zealand Company administrators, including John Robert Godley. As early European settlers of Canterbury, arriving in 1843 – seven years before official systematic settlement began – the source sheds light on both the social networks of the early colonists and the influence of the introduction of organised Canterbury Association settlement on the existing European population. Coming from a fairly well-educated and comparatively affluent background, the brothers' letters do not necessarily represent the typical migrant experience, but they still contain valuable insights into the ethnic connections of Canterbury's Scottish population.

Godley, Charlotte, *Letters from Early New Zealand 1850 – 1853*, John R. Godley (ed.), (Christchurch: Whitcombe & Tombs Limited, 1951).

Complementing the evidence provided by the Deans' letters, this source contains some of the correspondence of Charlotte Godley, an early English inhabitant of Canterbury and wife of Canterbury Association founder John Robert Godley. Written between 1850 and 1853, these letters provide an internal insight into the Anglican settlement of Canterbury, compared with the less heavily invested view of William and John Deans. More personal than the official correspondence produced by her husband, Mrs Godley's main audience is her mother in England and, as such, the source provides an insight into her personal impressions of the early settlement of Christchurch and its inhabitants. Her impressions of the Irish and Scottish migrants, both those who were already settled in Canterbury (like the Deans brothers) and those who arrived in the first few New Zealand Company ships, also provide an insight into the contemporary social perceptions of these ethnic groups and their social networks.

Hursthouse, Charles, *New Zealand: The Emigration Field of 1851*, (Aberdeen: D. Chalmers and Company, 1851).

‘Reminiscences of Early Canterbury’, *Star*, 6 February 1871, p.2.

Society of Canterbury Colonists, *Brief Information About the Canterbury Settlement*, (London: J.W. Parker, 1850).

Tuckett, Frederick, *The 1844 Expedition & Otago Survey: The Diary and Letters of Frederick Tuckett et al.*, Gerald Franklin (ed.), (Frenchay Tuckett Society, 2005).

Secondary Sources

Brooking, Tom, ‘Weaving the Tartan into the Flax’, in Angela McCarthy (ed.) *A Global Clan*, (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 2006), pp.183-202.

Fraser, Lyndon, ‘Irish Women’s Networks on the West Coast of New Zealand’s South Island, 1864-1922’, *Women’s History Review*, Vol. 15, no. 3, July 2006, pp.459-475.

Fraser, Lyndon, and Sarah Dwyer, ‘When Rolling Seas Shall No More Divide Us: Transnationalism and the Local Geographies of Ulster Protestant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century Canterbury’, *New Zealand Journal of History*, Vol.43, no.2, October 2009, pp.182-197.

Harper, Marjory, ‘Everything is English: Expectations, Experiences and Impacts of English Migrants to New Zealand, 1840-1970,’ in Lyndon Fraser and Angela McCarthy (eds.), *Far From Home: The English in New Zealand*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2012), pp.37-60.

This source analyses the migration and cultural settlement practices of English migrants. Focussing on how the promotional depiction of New Zealand compared to the realities of migrant experience, the source analyses the consequences of migration, particularly on a mental level, for culturally ‘English’ migrants. The source provides an assessment of the manner in which the demographically dominant English went about constructing a sense of belonging in the colonies, offering us an insight into the social aspects which were considered most important by contemporaries. To this end, in assessing what she terms the ‘mental journey’ Harper highlights the critical role played by the Church as an

emotional and practical networking tool for new migrants. This is particularly relevant in the Canterbury context because, as New Zealand's 'most ostensibly English city', the adaptive practices of migrants of English-birth and cultural persuasion had an especially profound impact on the structure of society.

Hay, Hannah, *Annandale Past and Present 1839-1900*, (Christchurch: Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, 1901).

Lenihan, Rebecca, *From Alba to Aotearoa*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2015).

Macdonald, George Ranald, 'Macdonald Dictionary of Canterbury Biographies', 1964, Macdonald Dictionary, Canterbury Museum.

The Macdonald Dictionary, created by George Ranald Macdonald and presented to the Canterbury Museum in 1964, provides biographical information on a number of early Canterbury settlers. The source was produced with a wider audience in mind and it is significant in its attempt to provide information on ordinary settlers, not just those who were particularly prosperous. With almost 12000 entries it provides a useful dataset. The majority of entries contain place of birth information, which makes it possible to collate a broad demographic profile of early Cantabrians. With such a large volume of entries, however, it is mostly beneficial in cases where the name of a specific migrant of interest is already known. Nonetheless, a number of entries contain references to other early migrants which makes it possible to map certain social networks from the data provided.

MacKenzie, John M., 'A Scottish Empire? The Scottish Diaspora and Interactive Identities', in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman (eds.) *The Heather and the Fern*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2003), pp.17-32.

McAloon, Jim, *No Idle Rich: The Wealthy in Canterbury and Otago 1840 – 1914*, (Dunedin: Otago University Press, 2002).

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Patterson, Brad, Tom Brooking and Jim McAloon, with Rebecca Lenihan, and Tanja Buelmann, *Unpacking the Kists: The Scots in New Zealand*, (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013).

Phillips, Jock, and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand Immigrants from England, Ireland & Scotland 1800-1945*, (Auckland: Auckland University Press, 2008).

Pybus, T.A., *Maori and Missionary: Early Christian Missions in the South Island of New Zealand*, (Wellington: Reed Publishing Ltd, 1954).