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Author/s: Dr. Jim McAloon

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The Administrator
School of Economics and Finance
Victoria University of Wellington
PO Box 600
Wellington 6140
New Zealand

Phone: ++64 4 463 5353
Email: larry.lepper@vuw.ac.nz

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The role of Scots in British imperial expansion is frequently emphasized by modern historians.¹ Andrew Porter has referred to ‘the Scottish blend of commerce, shipping and Presbyterianism’ as an essential element in the economy of the British empire and has also suggested that in offering an expanding field for commercial and military distinction, as well as emigrant destinations, the empire did much to reconcile Scots to the Union during the eighteenth century.² In a recent synthesis, T. M. Devine has noted the advantages which Scottish migrants enjoyed in coming from

one of the world’s most advanced economies. Scottish agriculture had a global reputation for excellence and efficiency, while the nation had a leading position in areas as diverse as banking, insurance, engineering, applied science, shipbuilding, coalmining and iron and steel manufacture. The Scots who emigrated had experience of working within this system of advanced capitalism and had acquired a range of skills that few other emigrants from Europe could match.³

In addition to these advantages of skill and education, there was ‘a loyalty to other Scots which endured at least for the first and possibly second generations. In all the countries of settlement, ethnic identity among the immigrant elite was consolidated by the masons, Presbyterian churches, St Andrew’s Societies and Burns Clubs which all flourished in the nineteenth century and were as much networks for the promotion of mutual business success as key religious and social institutions’.⁴ Devine has also warned that while the Scottish contribution to the New World was ‘immense.... the story has been so mythologized and exaggerated that it becomes remarkably difficult to separate realities from ethnic conceit’.⁵ It is also easy to emphasize rich magnates but ‘of even greater significance were the countless numbers of unknown Scots who helped to transform’ the New World: ‘the generations of Scots sheep farmers who left their mark... the bankers, merchants and small storekeepers of Scottish origin who were found in large numbers across the expanding frontier; the warehousemen who had learnt the drapery trade in Edinburgh and Glasgow and became pioneers of the department store business’.⁶

¹ I am most grateful to the Marsden Fund of the Royal Society of New Zealand for the bulk of the research funding which made this paper possible, to colleagues in the now disbanded Irish-Scottish Studies Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, in the History Programme at Victoria University of Wellington, and in the Social Science, Parks Recreation and Tourism department at Lincoln University. I also thank participants in the July 2006 Scots Abroad conference and the March 2008 Nations Diasporas and Identities conference held at Victoria University, as well as the NZ Historical Association conference held at the University of Auckland in November 2005. The databases on which this paper rests have been put together by a number of people as well as me: Victoria Dowsing and Peter Chamberlain at Lincoln University, Neil Clayton at the University of Otago, Megan Simpson, Judy McKoy, Jeremy Cresswell, and Susann Liebich at Victoria University of Wellington. To them in particular I express my thanks.

² Andrew Porter “‘Gentlemanly Capitalism’ and Empire: The British Experience Since 1750?” *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* 18, 3, 1990, p 277.

³ T. M. Devine, *The Scottish Nation 1700-2000*, London, Penguin, 1999, p 471.

⁴ Devine, *Scottish Nation*, p 473.

⁵ T. M. Devine, *Scotland’s Empire 1600-1815*, London, Penguin, 2004, p 189.

⁶ Devine, *Scottish Nation*, pp 473-74.

Let us summarise the basic questions. Were Scots to be found concentrated in particular occupations? Did networks, whether through common origin, associational life, religion, employment or marital connections facilitate the careers of Scots in the colonies? Were Scots different from other immigrants, especially the English, on any of these points?

I have attempted to address these questions systematically using the *Cyclopedia of New Zealand*.⁷ The *Cyclopedia* was published in six provincial volumes between 1897 and 1905. It consists of descriptions of towns and villages, and the surrounding rural districts, with biographies of residents. These biographies usually give place of birth, early training, emigration, places of residence, previous career, involvement in churches, lodges, local government, marital details and numbers of children born.⁸ There are two major problems with the *Cyclopedia*. Because it was a subscription volume, most biographies are of the self-selected. It would, however, require inordinate labour to build a randomly-selected database of similar size in anything like the detail which is given in *Cyclopedia* biographies. The vast majority of biographies are (unsurprisingly) of men, although in many cases some modest information may be discerned about women.

The database consists of the biographies of 2503 New Zealand settlers who were born in Scotland. Birth in Scotland is the only criterion for inclusion: births in England or elsewhere to Scottish parents, or at sea, do not count. Nor is any distinction drawn between those who left Scotland as adults and those who left as young children.⁹ Clearly, the discussions will be poorly founded without a comparison. The obvious comparison is with the English, and we have constructed another database of the English-born, on the same basis as the Scottish one. That database is of 5105 biographies. I hope, therefore, that a database of 7600 individuals might permit some reasonable conclusions to be drawn. There is some reassurance in the fact that in the distribution of regional origins, the *Cyclopedia* Scots database broadly reflects the overall Scottish emigrant population in New Zealand to 1914.

1. Background and Occupational Profile

New Zealand Scots were relatively dispersed in their counties of origin (in the period 1853-70 the highest ranked county of origin was Lanark at 15 per cent).¹⁰ This does not mean that New Zealand Scots were atomised, or isolated from each other, but it does suggest that networks linking New Zealand Scots to each other were often looser rather than tighter (the Waipu

⁷ *The Cyclopedia of New Zealand : industrial, descriptive, historical, biographical facts, figures, illustrations*. 6 vols, Wellington, 1897-1908.

⁸ The *Cyclopedia* is frequently used as a genealogical source; no doubt many of the entries in the New Zealand Society of Genealogists' Scottish Interest Group database, analysed by Rebecca Lenihan in her PhD thesis, were partly based on it. Rebecca Lenihan, *From Alba to Aotearoa*, PhD Thesis, VUW, 2010.

⁹ Although criticism could be made of this indiscriminating approach, it would be possible to separate those who left Scotland as adults from those who left as minors; this has not however so far been done.

¹⁰ Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, 'The Peopling of New Zealand'
<http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/home-away-from-home/sources>, p. 27

settlement was anomalous). As we know, New Zealand Scots were concentrated in Otago, and this accounts for much of their over-representation in New Zealand, as well as being particularly noticeable in the *Cyclopedia* database.¹¹ Of the 2503 Scots in the *Cyclopedia*, 1057, or 42 per cent, were in the Otago volume; only 12 per cent of the English were in Otago. The large number of Scots in Otago, however, is the only sense in which that province is distinctive; in terms of the distribution of Scots across occupations, Otago was little different from the rest of New Zealand and the occupational distribution of New Zealand Scots is much the same whether or not Otago is included.¹²

The individuals listed in the *Cyclopedia* ranged across upper and middle class occupations. Very many were farmers. Manufacturers, financiers, merchants and bankers were present in considerable numbers, as were those in the learned professions of law, medicine and religion and newer professions like engineering and dentistry. There were rather fewer salaried white-collar workers, but numbers of schoolteachers, independent teachers of music, public servants and local government officials. Many were smaller traders and master artisans in occupations like storekeeping, hotelkeeping, blacksmithing, butchery, baking, tailoring, and building and construction. Very few in the database were wage-earners in manual occupations at the time their biographies were written (although many had been at one time).¹³

Occupational categorisation is complex. Terminology, as well as being sometimes subjective, changes over the decades.¹⁴ I have included all farmers in the one category; anything else would be too complicated. Although butchers and bakers had usually served an apprenticeship – the crucial factor in defining skilled trades – I have categorized them as ‘wholesale/retail’. Not all who were in these trades had served an apprenticeship, but more fundamentally I have drawn a distinction between sellers of food and drink on the one hand, and skilled tradesmen and women engaged in the manufacture of durable goods on the other. Thus, blacksmiths, carpenters, and tailors are counted as ‘skilled trades’ and virtually all those in the skilled trades in this database were self-employed. I have categorised schoolteachers as professionals, reflecting the fact that the occupation was subject to a degree of regulation, but self-employed teachers of music are

¹¹ For recent surveys see Eric Richards, *Britannia’s Children: emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, London and New York, Hambledon and London, 2004; Marjory Harper, *Adventurers and Exiles: The Great Scottish Exodus*, London, Profile Books, 2004; and for a recent New Zealand treatment, Jock Phillips and Terry Hearn, *Settlers: New Zealand immigrants from England, Ireland & Scotland, 1800-1945*, Auckland, Auckland University Press, 2008. There is an expanded electronic text of the latter, entitled ‘The Peopling of New Zealand’ available at <http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/culture/home-away-from-home/sources>.

¹² I am obliged to Duncan Ross, University of Glasgow, for emphasizing to me the importance of regarding Otago as distinctive.

¹³ The Caversham work is, perhaps necessarily, more concerned with urban than rural occupations and although the authors of that work note the difficulty of categorizing rural occupations, in the present study that presents less of a problem since we are concerned almost exclusively with the economically independent, the owners of property. Nor do we need here to concern ourselves too much with whether New Zealand social structure is best explicated in terms of three, five or nine classes. Of more importance for this paper is the distribution across fields of economic endeavour, which is not quite the same issue as distribution in terms of class or stratification. Here the question is not so much distinguishing between employer, skilled wage-earner, and unskilled, but, for instance, whether middle-class Scots were more likely than English to be engaged in farming, hotelkeeping, or the metal trades. That said, the categories employed here are not totally inconsistent with those employed in the Caversham work Cf Erik Olssen and Maureen Hickey, *Class and Occupation: The New Zealand experience*, Dunedin: University of Otago Press, 2005, pp 24, 57 and generally.

¹⁴ Olssen and Hickey, *Class and Occupation*.

counted as semi-professionals because while their stock in trade was a non-material skill, they were unregulated.¹⁵ For some occupations, each individual biography had to be inspected: did engineer mean 'civil engineer' – a profession – or 'manufacturer in metal' – thus manufacturing? Was an accountant in private practice (a professional) or employed in an importing firm (a white-collar worker)? In some cases, no information on occupation was available and these individuals are referred to by political office in local or central government.

The following tables give the complete categorisation, for reference, for the whole Cyclopeda database of Scots and English, and then the larger occupational groups for each province.¹⁶

One thing is beyond doubt. Scots were proportionately much more inclined towards farming than were the English. Over 38 per cent of Cyclopeda Scots were farmers, but less than 25 per cent of the English.

Table 3: Occupational Categories, New Zealand, Scots and English

Cyclopeda Scots				Cyclopeda English		
	N	%			N	%
farmer	965	38.50		farmer	1255	24.60
wholesale/retail	265	10.60		wholesale/retail	795	15.60
skilled trades	215	8.60		skilled trade	535	10.50
professional	158	6.30		professional	441	8.60
public svt, official	134	5.40		public svt, official	397	7.80
mercantile	128	5.10		mercantile	348	6.80
white collar	110	4.40		manufacturer	219	4.30
manufacturer	107	4.30		clergy	202	4.00
maritime	86	3.40		white-collar	202	4.00
clergy	67	2.70		maritime	105	2.10

¹⁵ There is a case for classifying schoolteachers as semi-professionals. They were employed, not independent. But Olssen and Hickey suggest that the criterion is expertise rather than employment status (pp 63, 74-75), which could justify the approach taken here. In any case, nineteenth-century solicitors did not require a university education either.

¹⁶ Some may think this table is excessively disaggregated, but categories can be merged according to preference.

mining	66	2.60		mining	102	2.00
rural wage	41	1.60		transport	92	1.80
n/s, misc	34	1.30		semi-professional	91	1.80
printing/publishing	25	1.00		supervisory	74	1.40
supervisory	23	0.90		printing/publishing	63	1.20
semi-prof	22	0.90		n/s, misc	38	0.70
transport	20	0.80		politics	35	0.70
local politics	15	0.60		local politics	32	0.60
politics	7	0.30		military	28	0.50
military	5	0.20		rural wage-earner	27	0.50
unskilled	5	0.20		semi-skilled	9	0.20
semi-skilled	3	0.10		unskilled	8	0.20
rural services	2	0.10		rural services	7	0.10
total	2503	100		total	5105	100

Table 4: Major Occupational Categories, Auckland, Scots and English

Auckland Scots		
	No.	%
farmer	64	23.50
wholesale/retail	37	13.60
skilled trades	27	9.90
public svt, official	21	7.70
professional	18	6.60
mining	17	6.30
mercantile	15	5.50
white collar	15	5.50
clergy	14	5.10
manufacturer	14	5.10
maritime	13	4.80
other	17	6.30
total	272	100

Auckland English		
	No.	%
wholesale/retail	168	18.10
farmer	165	17.80
professional	97	10.40
skilled trades	83	8.90
public svt, official	77	8.30
white collar	61	6.60
mining	55	5.90
mercantile	54	5.80
clergy	43	4.60
manufacturer	34	3.70
other	92	9.90
total	929	100

Table 5: Major Occupational Categories, Taranaki-Hawkes Bay, Scots and English

Taranaki-Hawkes Bay Scots			Taranaki-Hawkes Bay English		
	No.	%		No.	%
farmer	39	28.30	wholesale/retail	126	20.80
wholesale/retail	39	28.30	farmer	118	19.40

skilled trades	21	15.20		skilled trades	106	17.50
professional	10	7.20		professional	50	8.20
white-collar	9	6.50		mercantile	48	7.90
mercantile	6	4.30		public svt, official	40	6.60
other	14	10.10		white collar	37	6.10
total	138	100		manufacturer	24	4.00
				clergy	19	3.10
				other	39	6.40
				total	607	100

Table 6: Major Occupational Categories, Wellington, Scots and English

Wellington Scots			Wellington English		
	No.	%		No.	%
farmer	91	27.30	wholesale/retail	197	17.10
wholesale/retail	50	15.00	farmer	162	14.10
skilled trades	32	9.60	skilled trades	149	12.90
maritime	29	8.70	professional	120	10.40
professional	26	7.80	public svt, official	120	10.40
mercantile	24	7.20	mercantile	109	9.50
public svt, official	19	5.70	manufacturer	57	4.90
clergy	11	3.30	white collar	48	4.20
manufacturer	9	2.70	clergy	47	4.10
other	42	12.60	maritime	39	3.40
total	333	100	transport	37	3.20
			other	67	5.80
			total	1152	100

Table 7: Major Occupational Categories, Nelson-Marlborough-West Coast, Scots and English

Nelson-Marlborough			Nelson-Marlborough		
West Coast Scots			West Coast English		
	No.	%		No.	%
farmer	54	32.30	farmer	139	27.70
wholesale/retail	20	12.00	wholesale/retail	70	14.00

maritime	18	10.80		skilled trades	51	10.20
professional	14	8.40		maritime	42	8.40
public svt, official	12	7.20		public svt, official	28	5.60
manufacturer	10	6.00		professional	26	5.20
skilled trades	8	4.80		mercantile	25	5.00
mercantile	7	4.20		manufacturer	24	4.80
mining	7	4.20		white collar	21	4.20
other	17	10.20		mining	15	3.00
total	167	100		other	60	12.00
				total	501	100

Table 8: Major Occupational Categories, Canterbury, Scots and English

Canterbury Scots			Canterbury English		
	No.	%		No.	%
farmer	304	56.60	farmer	564	42.60
wholesale/retail	47	8.80	wholesale/retail	142	10.70
skilled trades	38	7.10	professional	103	7.80
professional	24	4.50	skilled trades	99	7.50
mercantile	22	4.10	public svt, official	78	5.90
rural wage-earner	19	3.50	white collar	68	5.10
manufacturer	17	3.20	clergy	64	4.80
white collar	16	3.00	mercantile	62	4.70
public svt, official	14	2.60	manufacturer	47	3.60
clergy	12	2.20	other	96	7.30
other	24	4.50	total	1323	100
total	537	100			

Table 9: Major Occupational Categories, Otago, Scots and English

Otago Scots			Otago English		
	No.	%		No.	%
farmer	413	39.10	farmer	107	18.00
wholesale/retail	111	10.50	wholesale/retail	92	15.50
skilled trades	109	10.30	public svt, official	54	9.10

professional	75	7.10		mercantile	50	8.40
mercantile	59	5.60		skilled trade	47	7.90
manufacturer	55	5.20		professional	45	7.60
public svt, official	47	4.50		white-collar	41	6.90
mining	41	3.90		manufacturer	33	5.60
white collar	38	3.60		mining	29	4.90
clergy	25	2.40		clergy	20	3.40
other	84	7.90		other	75	12.60
total	1057	100		total	593	100

2. Scots and New Zealand Farming

In Scotland after 1700 there was extensive and ongoing agricultural change.¹⁷ The main elements in the Lowlands were enclosure, aggregation and consolidation of holdings, a change to money rents, and increased specialisation, often for more distant markets. If in England the process was led by tenants, in Scotland landlords increasingly directed the process, usually adopting leases (tacks, as they are called in Scotland) that were 'lengthy, very detailed and prescriptive,' covering cropping, sowing grass, rotation, and fallowing.¹⁸ The rhetoric of improvement became very widespread, along with the displacement of a good part of the rural population. Active improvement of the soil, liming and manuring, rotating and cultivating, were common across southern Scotland and northern England. Draining was extensive in Yorkshire,

¹⁷ T. M. Devine, *The transformation of rural Scotland: social change and the Agrarian economy, 1660-1815*, Edinburgh, John Donald, 1999, p 35.

¹⁸ Devine, *Transformation*, p. 43.

Lancashire, 'Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire, Fife and Berwickshire, and the lands along the Moray Forth' to say nothing of East Anglia and Perthshire.¹⁹ The invention of horseshoe pipes and then cylindrical clay pipemaking from 1845 were critical for they made it possible to 'drain fields on a scale that we can barely begin to imagine, but with consequences that transformed landscape, ecological conditions and agriculture'.²⁰ 'There was remarkable unanimity about what was bad and had to be changed. Lands in a 'state of nature' were no longer acceptable. They had to be enclosed and brought into regular cultivation.... the emphatic condemnation of the [old] agrarian regime as archaic, wasteful and ruinous helped to give the improvers an extraordinary moral and intellectual confidence' as they went about both increasing profit and 'a more broadly ideological mission to 'improve' and modernise Scottish society'.²¹ Echoes of this improving ethic in New Zealand debates about land tenure have been well documented.²²

Canterbury was New Zealand's leading agricultural and pastoral province in 1900, and not only were 56 per cent of Scots listed in the Canterbury volume of the *Cyclopedia farmers*, but one quarter of all these Canterbury Scottish farmers came from either Ayrshire or Perthshire. In both counties agriculture had been transformed in the century after 1750. The *New Statistical Account of Scotland*, published in 1845, shows that both the practice and the ideology of improvement were of continuing importance at that time. Many Ayrshire farmers specialized in growing wheat and oats, and in dairying, particularly cheesemaking. Cheesemaking was, usually, women's work and these skills were sought after in the New World. Some of the very early Ayrshire settlers in Canterbury were quickly supplying cheese to other New Zealand settlements.²³

Perthshire is usually counted in the Lowlands, although a substantial part of the county lies in the Highlands; the county is large and topographically diverse, with much variation in farming potential and practice. In much of the county, improvement had been as extensive as in Ayrshire. Improvement was far from uncontroversial. While the drainers described the marshes as 'wastes' and the value of drained land was high this is to 'obscure the worth of the place under water to those who lived there, for the marshes were, in their own terms, incredibly productive, and attempts to drain them might be met... by active and violent resistance by the inhabitants'.²⁴ James Wilson, the minister of Abernyte, in eastern Perthshire, was particularly sceptical about improvement, at least given the existing class structure of rural Perthshire. Increased rents and taxes, he thought, meant tenants were no better off, and the 'lower orders are much at a loss for want of the usual employments of females'. Home spinning and knitting were disappearing, and there was little other work except at harvest.²⁵ Wilson advocated smallholdings for labourers, and punitive taxes on unimproved land, in order to encourage 'a race of hardy, healthy, and industrious peasantry, of peaceable and virtuous habits' rather than unchecked urbanisation.²⁶ Similarly, the minister of Watten, in Caithness, looked to enlightened landlords to lease

¹⁹ T C Smout, *Nature contested: environmental history in Scotland and Northern England since 1600*, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2000, p 93.

²⁰ Smout, *Nature contested*, p. 99.

²¹ Devine, *Transformation*, p 65

²² Tom Brooking, *Lands for the People? The Highland clearances and the colonisation of New Zealand: a biography of John McKenzie*, Dunedin, Otago University Press, 1996.

²³ Particularly the Manson, Gebbie, Deans, and Hay families.

²⁴ Smout, *Nature contested*, p. 94

²⁵ *New Statistical Account of Scotland (NSA)*, vol 10, p 222. Available online at <http://edina.ac.uk/stat-acc-scot/>.

²⁶ NSA, vol 10, p 227

moderate-sized improved holdings with comfortable houses to encourage 'the substantial peasantry of Scotland, the trustiest bulwark of the aristocracy, and the best defence under Providence of the altar, the throne, and the constitution; a class of men among whom religion, morality, and good order have flourished more than among any other'.²⁷

James Paterson is one of many who might be described as making a better Ayrshire for himself on the other side of the world. With a background in farming, he and his wife emigrated to New Zealand in 1874 and within three years had 200 acres, which they later doubled. By the end of the century they were concentrating on sheep, and also rotated wheat, oats, turnips and rape to renew the pasture. In Ayrshire they might have been tenants on a smaller farm; in Canterbury they were freeholders.²⁸ Not all Ayrshire immigrants achieved independence so rapidly. Robert Sloss spent twenty years working as a shepherd, leasing cropping land and contracting in North Canterbury before taking up part of the Cheviot estate when the government repurchased and divided it in 1893.²⁹

Among the Perthshire-born farmers, too, there were some individuals who clearly applied Scottish expertise. William Boag had worked on the Braco estate in the parish of Muthill, where the proprietor had drained extensively. Boag applied this experience to land on the outskirts of Christchurch and invested the proceeds of stock-dealing in it. Having landed with little money, he left £100,000. John Cunningham, from Auchterarder, drained land on the edge of the estuarine Lake Ellesmere, south of Christchurch, profited thereby, and married William Boag's sister.³⁰ David Marshall, who also settled near Ellesmere, had grown up in the parish of Fordengeny and spent twenty years as a tenant in Kinross, draining and liming cold wet land, before emigrating to New Zealand in 1865 and with at least one son doing much the same thing once more.³¹ While other Perthshire farmers settled on drier lands in other parts of Canterbury, and while Perthshire was by no means the only part of Scotland in which draining had been consistently undertaken, there does seem to have been a link between drained Perthshire lands and the swampy areas of Canterbury.

The careers of Ayrshire and Perthshire farming immigrants in Canterbury did not of course all follow similar paths. The diversity of farming in which these immigrants engaged was such as to suggest that the broad and general agricultural background with which they were equipped was more important than specializing in one type of farming. Farmers born in Highland counties such as Caithness, where sheepfarming had often displaced agriculture, seem in New Zealand to have been as diverse in the type of farming they undertook as anyone else, so, again, it is very hard to generalise about direct translation from Scotland to New Zealand.³²

For every example of a Scottish farmer in New Zealand who applied the lessons of improvement from the old country, moreover, one can cite an English farmer who did much the same, and from

²⁷ NSA, vol 15 p 56

²⁸ Cyclopaedia, Canterbury, p. 859.

²⁹ Cyclopaedia, Canterbury, p. 572.

³⁰ Cyclopaedia, Canterbury, p. 359.

³¹ Cyclopaedia, Canterbury, pp. 696, 706.

³² NSA, vol 15 pp 65, 98.

a generally similar background. James Coombes had been born on a farm in Devon and had some experience in farm work before leaving for New Zealand in 1857. He spent five years working on a station in Rangitikei, eighty miles north of Wellington, and then bought 800 acres which he cleared and grassed. In time he bought another thousand acres and on both properties he concentrated on sheep.³³ In the same part of New Zealand, William Morton, a Yorkshire farmer's son, had emigrated in 1870, and worked until 1882 on various farms. He then managed to buy 150 acres, and a decade later added 220 more. Like many farmers and indeed urban entrepreneurs, Morton adopted a strategy of incremental expansion.³⁴

The place of Scots in New Zealand farming should not be over-estimated. It is too easy, if one ignores comparisons, to ascribe to a distinctively Scottish experience that which was common across the island of Britain. I think the evidence suggests that there were subtle ways in which Scottish influences were felt in New Zealand farming (and what has been shown here is reinforced here by Margaret Galt's demonstration that in New Zealand Scots had the highest average value landholdings, and the highest proportion of their probated estates consisting of land).³⁵ If the basic argument is modest – that Scots were significantly over-represented in New Zealand farming and particularly so in the South Island – that is in itself important.

3. Scots in Non-Farming Occupations

It is easy to identify prominent Scots in manufacturing and commercial enterprise and from those examples make extensive generalisations about Scottish background and economic success in the new world. This is not a fruitless approach, but comparisons are necessary for fuller analysis.³⁶ It is sometimes difficult, too, to say whether Scottish business networks reflected a Scottish preference for dealing with other Scots, or were a logical result of Scottish economic specialisation. If New Zealand woollen manufacturers engaged senior mill employees from Galashiels, was that clannishness or simply a logical decision to go where the expertise was to be found?

The Dunedin-based clothing importers and manufacturers, Ross and Glendining, relied heavily on Scottish expertise and connections, in financing their business, and in running their sheep stations. When they began manufacturing in 1878 they engaged a consulting engineer from Glasgow to set their new Roslyn mill up and a few years later hired James Lillico from Galashiels to run it. Yet when they expanded the mill to manufacture worsted cloth alongside woollen, Ross

³³ Cyclopedica, Wellington, p. 1329.

³⁴ Cyclopedica, Wellington, p. 1246; see also Ian Hunter, *Age of Enterprise*.

³⁵ Margaret Galt, *Wealth and Income in New Zealand*, PhD Thesis, Victoria University of Wellington, 1984, pp 150-51.

³⁶ An essay which I wrote some years ago proceeded without comparison, and therefore the criticisms made in this paragraph apply to that work. Jim McAloon, Scots in the Colonial Economy, in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman, eds, *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand Settlement*, Dunedin, Otago University Press, 2003.

recruited spinners from Yorkshire, the home of worsted manufacture. A preference for dealing with 'Scotchmen' probably had something to do with the advantages of a shared culture, but in the end if required expertise was not available among Scots, Ross and Glendinning would acquire it elsewhere.³⁷

The Dunedin-based wool merchants and stock and station agency Murray, Roberts and Co relied on a different sort of network. The principal was John Roberts, son of a prosperous woollen manufacturer in Selkirk. Murray, Roberts and Co was the New Zealand branch of a collection of enterprises in pastoralism, wool buying, finance, and woollen manufacturing centred on the Galashiels woollen merchants Sanderson, Murray and Co and George Roberts' manufacturing business. The activities of these Borders entrepreneurs ranged from Australia and New Zealand to Argentina. By 1890 John Roberts was a major figure in New Zealand pastoralism, with interests in a number of big stations. His involvement with sheep extended to many decades as a director of both the Mosgiel woollen mill and the New Zealand Refrigerating Company. The wealth and power of this network of Borders entrepreneurs was firmly based in the region's centuries of expertise in sheepfarming and woollen manufacture. Clearly, the Borders origins were fundamental to Roberts' success – he may well have been the richest man in Dunedin – but there is a sense in which the empire was merely the opportunity to run Borders business on a grand scale.³⁸

Yet another approach characterized the business dealings of John Macfarlane Ritchie. Ritchie, although accumulating great wealth in his own right, was the salaried general manager of the National Mortgage and Agency Company, a stock and station agency governed by a London board of directors. Much of the company's capital came from genteel investors in southern England and in central Scotland, although New Zealand shareholders were increasingly involved, and the company's longstanding connection with Scottish investors in New Zealand pastoral property remained significant (and the City of Glasgow Bank failure gave Ritchie and his older partner George Gray Russell a nasty fright).³⁹

Like most New Zealand merchants, Ritchie was an agent for shipping companies, and Scottish interests were prominent in the colonial shipping trade. Russell had held an agency for the Glasgow-based Albion line. Albion merged with the London-based Shaw Savill in 1882, which had also been servicing the New Zealand route, and National Mortgage had the sole New Zealand agency for Shaw Savill and Albion for some years. Scottish interests did not dominate New Zealand shipping but they were significant. Albion's parent company, P. Henderson & Co, had been involved in Otago shipping almost since 1848. In 1874, two key shareholders in Henderson, James Galbraith and Peter Denny, committed capital to the new Dunedin-based Union Steamship Company in return for shipbuilding orders with Denny's yard at Dumbarton. Denny, whose membership of the Free Church influenced his longstanding connection with Otago, became the Union's 'principal overseas shareholder,' and his yard built ships for most lines trading with New

³⁷ This paragraph relies on S. R. H. Jones, *Doing Well and Doing Good*, the definitive study of the firm.

³⁸ I have discussed the Murray Roberts case in a forthcoming article in *Immigrants and Minorities*.

³⁹ Mervyn Palmer, 'The New Zealand and Australian Land Company in Nineteenth Century New Zealand' PhD thesis, University of Otago, 1971, pp 145-62 and 194.

Zealand.⁴⁰ It bears noting that the Union's founder, James Mills, was New Zealand-born of an English father.

These cases of men at the pinnacle of the business world are an important Scottish dimension of the colonial economy. We are also concerned with those who operated on a smaller scale, who were comfortable rather than rich, and in many cases key figures in their local communities. Let us recall the occupational distributions. Just as the most striking feature in terms of farming was that a considerably higher proportion of Scots than of English was to be found in farming, so conversely the English were more likely to be engaged in urban occupations. The major non-farming occupational categories – wholesale and retail, skilled trades, professions, mercantile, and manufacturing – accounted for 45.8 per cent of the English in the *Cyclopedia* but only 34.9 per cent of the Scots. In all categories except manufacturing, in which the proportions are even, the English were ahead.

Table 20: Major Urban Occupational Groups, Scots and English, New Zealand.

Cyclopedia Scots		%		Cyclopedia English		%
wholesale/retail	265	10.6		wholesale/retail	795	15.6
skilled trades	215	8.6		skilled trades	535	10.5
professional	158	6.3		professional	441	8.6
mercantile	128	5.1		mercantile	348	6.8
manufacturer	107	4.3		manufacturer	219	4.3

⁴⁰ Paul. L. Robertson, 'Shipping and shipbuilding, the case of William Denny and Brothers', *Business History*, 16 (1974), 36–47, pp 37, 42, and quote at p. 40. See also Gavin McLean, *The Southern Octopus: The rise of a shipping empire*, Wellington, New Zealand Ship & Marine Society and the Wellington Harbour Board Maritime Museum, 1990, pp 24-30. Michael S. Moss, 'Denny, Peter (1821–1895)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, online edn, Oxford University Press, Sept 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/51876>, accessed 6 Sept 2010].

Even in Otago, where Scots in the database outnumbered English by almost two to one the English were considerably more likely to have been officials or public servants, or in the large and lower middle-class range of wholesale and retail business.

Table 21: Major Urban Occupational Groups, Scots and English, Otago.

Otago Scots				Otago English		
farmer	413	39.1		farmer	107	18.0
wholesale/retail	111	10.5		wholesale/retail	92	15.5
skilled trades	109	10.3		public svt, official	54	9.1
professional	75	7.1		mercantile	50	8.4
mercantile	59	5.6		skilled trades	47	7.9
manufacturer	55	5.2		professional	45	7.6
public svt, official	47	4.4		white-collar	41	6.9
mining	41	3.9		manufacturer	33	5.6
white collar	38	3.6		mining	29	4.9
clergy	25	2.4		clergy	20	3.4
other	84	7.9		other	75	12.6
total	1057			total	593	

Broad categories, however, are only one way of telling the story. If the numbers are broken down, they show some noticeable differences between English and Scots. Across New Zealand, manufacturing occupations generally accounted for the same proportion of Scots as of English, but of the 101 Scots counted as manufacturers in the Cyclopeda, 26.7 per cent were in the metal trades, compared to only 6.6 per cent of the English. In flourmilling, 15.8 per cent of Scottish manufacturers were engaged, and only 8.1 per cent of the English. Conversely, sawmilling occupied 10.9 per cent of the Scottish manufacturers, and 17.5 per cent of the English. Other areas where the English were proportionately more involved included footwear manufacture (11.8 per cent compared to 5.9 per cent) and brewing (10.4 per cent, against 5.9 per cent of the Scots). Beyond this, numbers are so small that comparisons are not particularly meaningful, but there do seem to have been certain Scottish specialisations.

Table 22: Manufacturers, New Zealand, English and Scots:

Cyclopedia English				Cyclopedia Scots		
total	211			total	101	
Sawmilling	37	17.5%		Metal Trades	27	26.7%
Boot & Shoe Manufacturer	25	11.8%		Flour Mill	16	15.8%
Brewer	22	10.4%		Sawmilling	11	10.9%
Aerated Water	16	7.6%		Boot & Shoe Manufacturer	6	5.9%
Fellmonger, Tanner	16	7.6%		Brewer	6	5.9%
Flour Mill	17	8.1%		Flax miller	4	4.0%
Metal Trades	14	6.6%		Fellmonger, Tanner	4	4.0%
Food (various)	12	5.4%		Food (various)	4	4.0%
Brick & Drainpipe	8	3.8%		Manufacturer n/s	4	4.0%
Flax-Dresser	7	3.3%		Woollen Manufacture	3	3.0%
Dairy factory owner	5	2.4%		Aerated Water	3	3.0%
Maltster	5	2.4%		Brush manufacturer	2	2.0%
Manufacturer n/s	3	1.4%		Papermaker	2	2.0%
Freezing company prop	3	1.4%		Dairy factory owner	2	2.0%
Clothing Manufacturer	2	0.9%		Blind manufacturer	1	1.0%
Quarry Proprietor	2	0.9%		Brick, tile manufacturer	1	1.0%
Rope & Twine	2	0.9%		Candle Manufacturing	1	1.0%
Furniture maker	2	0.9%		Cement Mfr	1	1.0%
Bag maker	1	0.5%		Patent medicine mfr	1	1.0%
Basketmaker	1	0.5%		Quarry owner	1	1.0%

Brush Manufacturer	1	0.5%		Saw maker	1	1.0%
Gas works prop	1	0.5%				
Manure/tallow mfr	1	0.5%				
Mattress mfr	1	0.5%				
Oil & Skin Manufacturer	1	0.5%				
Pumice-insulation industry	1	0.5%				
Sand Soap Factory	1	0.5%				
Tent mfr	1	0.5%				
Umbrella mfr	1	0.5%				
Varnish Manufacturer	1	0.5%				
Wine Manufacturer	1	0.5%				

In some occupations there was little difference between Scots and English. In medicine, despite a certain stereotype of the Scottish doctor, there were 37 Scots and 64 English, so the Scots were very slightly over-represented in medicine compared to their share of the whole database. Building and contracting, counted as skilled trades, were also shared roughly in proportion, with 87 Scots and 156 English. Drapers and storekeepers were also roughly in proportion: 28 Scots and 48 English, and 63 Scots and 125 English, respectively. However, the storekeeper figure is skewed by Otago. Outside Otago, storekeepers were disproportionately English, especially in the North Island, where there were 91 English storekeepers and only 27 Scots. In many dimensions, the North Island frontier was very English.⁴¹

Scottish manufacturers were more likely to be found in woollen manufacturing and the metal trades, while English manufacturers were more likely to be associated with foodstuffs. New Zealand Scots working as builders, blacksmiths, and in other metal trades were generally as dispersed in their origins as all New Zealand Scots, with the exception of Forfarshire which accounted for 8.4 per cent of Scots in these trades but just over 4 per cent of all the database. In the rural Lowland counties like Forfarshire, there was a thriving small business sector, consisting mostly of solo masters. Apprentices received a good training but few opportunities for work as a journeyman, which made emigration attractive.⁴² Many skilled tradesmen in the rural Lowlands had to supplement their income with a small shop or farm, a flexibility which was also important in New Zealand. With the mechanisation of Scottish agriculture after 1850, rural smithies developed into highly skilled agricultural implement manufacturers, dominating the trade. This specialisation has obvious parallels with New Zealand engineering firms started by Scotsmen, like P&D Duncan in Christchurch.

David Horne, a blacksmith in the small Hawkes Bay town of Woodville, was typical.⁴³ Horne had served his apprenticeship at home in Forfarshire, and later worked for himself, emigrating (presumably married, bringing at least one son) to New Zealand in 1878. He spent four years as a journeyman at Waipukurau and then settled in nearby Woodville. Like so many other skilled tradesmen, he was a member at various times of the borough council, the school committee, various lodges, a local building and investment society, and held office in the Presbyterian Church. His son Henry in due course managed the coachbuilding part of the business and took it over when the old man retired.⁴⁴ Some English blacksmiths followed similar career paths, but two points must be made. The first is that blacksmithing was dominated by the Scots: there were 45 Scottish blacksmiths listed, and only 35 English. The second is that two thirds of the Scots had been apprenticed at home, and one third had been so young on emigration as to serve their apprenticeship in New Zealand. Only a slight majority of the English had been apprenticed at home.

Another influential stereotype emphasizes the Scottish financier. In banking, as colonial or branch managers or senior officials, the database includes 22 Scots and 28 English, which means that Scots were well over-represented. Whereas English-born bankers had almost without

⁴¹ As Rollo Arnold's study of 1870s farm labouring immigrants suggested many years ago; Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land*, Wellington: Victoria University Press, 1981.

⁴² Craig Young 'The economic characteristics of small craft businesses in rural lowland Perthshire, c.1830-c.1900' *Business History*, 36, 4, 1994.

⁴³ *Cyclopedia of New Zealand, Hawkes Bay and Taranaki*, p 576.

⁴⁴ *Cyclopedia, Hawkes Bay and Taranaki*, pp 568-9.

exception come to New Zealand as children, joined a bank in New Zealand as young men and worked their way up the company hierarchy, Scots were noticeably more mobile. Their careers tended to start with banks in Britain, often involving a shift from Scotland to London or another major English town, and in some cases overseas, before being recruited for New Zealand. Henry Mackenzie, born in Edinburgh in 1846, had started with the Bank of Mona on the Isle of Man at 15. He shifted to the Manchester and Liverpool District Bank in 1864, and to the Oriental Bank in London in 1867, which sent him to Japan. He was then Inspector for that bank successively in Mauritius, India, and Hong Kong. In 1884 he moved to New Zealand to become inspector for the Colonial Bank of New Zealand, quickly became General Manager, and when the Bank of New Zealand took the Colonial over in 1893 he became general manager of the BNZ.⁴⁵

We have already noted the strong Scottish involvement in shipbuilding and shipowning. Scots were also disproportionately captains and ships' officers, or in the terminology, master mariners and mariners, and also harbourmasters and stevedores (who owned firms which organised the loading and unloading). There were 85 Scots so employed, and 105 English. There is also regional concentration. Of the 85 maritime Scots, 28 were in the city of Wellington and thirteen in Greymouth. Of them all, fourteen were from Aberdeenshire, and ten from Lanarkshire. Men in the maritime trades tended to have had international experience in their younger days. The Union Steamship Company included many Scots as engineers, masters, and mates. Given the significant Scottish investment in that company, this is hardly surprising.⁴⁶ Not all New Zealand's Scottish mariners stayed with the Union Company. Some became independent shipowners on a small scale, and some joined the Northern Steamship Company in Auckland. In Wellington the mariners were mostly associated with Shaw Savill and Albion (which, like the Union company, had a significant Scottish shareholding), and regardless of where they came from in Scotland a Glasgow apprenticeship was a common experience. In Greymouth, seven of the 13 mariners came from Aberdeen and again there was a strong Shaw Savill representation but the Shire Line, which named its ships for Scottish counties and was owned by Turnbull Martin and Co. of Glasgow, was also well represented.

⁴⁵ Cyclopedia, Wellington, p. 510.

⁴⁶ Gavin McLean, *The Southern Octopus: The rise of a shipping empire*, Wellington, New Zealand Ship & Marine Society and the Wellington Harbour Board Maritime Museum, 1990, pp 24-30.

Lastly, what were the occupations of those few women who were the subject of independent biographies? There were 36 Scotswomen and 67 Englishwomen thus listed.

	Scots	%	English	%
Teaching	9	25	19	28
Farming	7	19	2	3
Hotel	5	14	9	13
Music	4	11	13	19
N/s	4	11	2	3
Nursing	2	6	11	16
Public servant	1	3	1	1
Mine owner	1	3		0
Shopkeeping	1	3	5	7
Dressmaking	1	3	2	3
Artist	1	3	2	3
Religion			1	1
	36	100	67	100

Small datasets should not inspire large conclusions, but we can note that for both Scots and English, teaching was the most common occupation. Music and nursing together accounted for twice the proportion of Englishwomen as of Scotswomen. Hotel and hospitality trades accounted for 14 per cent of each, but farming accounted for seven Scotswomen and only two Englishwomen. This is not to deny that most farm women contributed significant labour to the family enterprise, but recognised independent status was much rarer and is worth noting. Most schoolteachers, music teachers, nurses and hospital matrons were unmarried, but most of the hotelkeepers and farmers were or had been married and had begun their business career in partnership with their husbands. Too much should not be made of the wider range of occupations pursued by Scotswomen, given the small numbers involved; in terms of the issues with which this chapter is concerned there was even less difference between Scotswomen and Englishwomen than between Scotsmen and Englishmen.

4. Networking

Although we have already noted some examples of Scots networking with other Scots in the colony, it is difficult to be precise. We should leave out of consideration cases where Scots were in partnership with brothers or sons. This was standard practice for entrepreneurs from all parts of the British Isles and beyond. Frequently, Cyclopaedia biographies refer to Scots having been employed by or in partnership with other Scots, or at least employers or partners with Scottish names. The merchants W & G Turnbull seem to have preferred Scottish employees.⁴⁷ Scots mining engineers in Coromandel worked for mining companies which had significant investment from Scotland. The Wellington builders James Barry and William McDowall, from Morayshire and Kirkcudbrightshire respectively, met on the Victorian goldfields and in time established one of the leading building firms in Wellington, and seem to have liked to hire other Scots.

Scottish networking was, unsurprisingly, particularly significant in Otago. Otago's reputation as a Scottish colony was self-reinforcing in terms of attracting Scottish investment. We have already noted the example of William Denny and Sons, and P Henderson and Co, in shipping investment. The New Zealand and Australian Land Company certainly preferred Scots: in Otago, 22 Scottish biographies and no English were of men who worked for that company before becoming independent. In Canterbury, there were 15 Scots and only three English. Similar influences were evident in some other Otago pastoral concerns. Robert Campbell and Sons, at Otekaike, are mentioned in the biographies of several Scots who began as shepherds with that firm and later, like John Murchison, became significant pastoralists in their own right. No English settler's biography refers to Otekaike.

Scottish networking was significant but its extent should not be exaggerated. While many Scottish pastoralists and pastoral companies engaged Scottish shepherds and managers, so did English pastoralists. C. G. Tripp, for instance, preferred Highland shepherds at Orari Gorge. The Rhodes brothers, from Yorkshire, hired Scotsmen and Englishmen apparently without preference one way or the other. The Deans family, from Ayrshire, did likewise. There were some enduring partnerships between Scots and Englishmen, like the Wellington foundrymen Mills and Cable (William Cable and Sons, as the firm became, would be a major engineering firm through much of the twentieth century, latterly as Cable Price Downer). Kirkcaldie and Stains, the Wellington drapers, were likewise cross-border. John Kirkcaldie stayed in New Zealand, but Robert Stains retired home to Kent. Outside Otago, there are many examples of English settlers having worked for or been in partnership with other English settlers; as with the Scots in Otago, this is to some extent a result of sheer numbers. On the other hand, Scottish networks do seem tighter than those of the English; outside Otago the biographies of Scots refer to relationships with other Scots more consistently than do biographies of English-born settlers refer to partnerships with other English. But it's an elusive quality.

One form of partnership is, however, susceptible to a more firmly based analysis: that is, marriage. Marian Banantyne, the wife of Duncan McNicholl, was, along with her photograph, accorded the rare distinction of a note in the Cyclopaedia describing her as 'a worthy and devoted wife.... [who] helped her husband so effectively in the early hard work of pioneering that she contributed substantially to his material prosperity'.⁴⁸ The couple had farmed at Clevedon, south

⁴⁷ Walter Turnbull was the father of Alexander, of library fame.

⁴⁸ Cyclopaedia, Auckland, p 668

of Auckland, since 1853; Marian's partnership in the family enterprise (and her lack of legal or customary recognition as an economic partner) were, we may be sure, entirely typical of settlers from all parts of the British Isles and beyond. Likewise, and again entirely typically, Joseph Ainge, an Edinburgh-born Dunedin hotelkeeper, relied on the fact that 'Mrs Ainge superintend[ed] the domestic portion of the establishment'.⁴⁹

Marriage was of course never only an economic arrangement, but we can make some suggestions about whether marital connections reinforced Scottish economic networks. If Scottish-born settlers were likely to marry a partner from the same county in Scotland, then we might suspect that networks were relatively intense. The *Cyclopedia* database suggests that there was very little difference between Scots and English on this point and that networks were not particularly intense; same-county marriage was not particularly frequent.

We have 1040 Scotsmen in the database for whom we know both their county of birth and the origin of their wives (the latter information was frequently not provided in the *Cyclopedia*). Of them, 416 (40 per cent) certainly married a Scotswoman and 186 (18 per cent) married a woman from the same county. We can identify the county of origin of 469 Scotswomen (including 53 who were married to Englishmen). Of these Scotswomen, of course, 186 (39.6 per cent) married a man from the same county. Above all, though, as many as 624 Scotsmen (60 per cent, although perhaps fewer, for some brides described by a New Zealand origin may have been Scots born) married a non-Scottish bride. We are certain that 108 of the 1040 (10.4 per cent) married English or Irish women.

We also have 1858 Englishmen for whom we know both their county of birth and the origin of their wives. Of them, 611 (32.8 per cent) certainly married an Englishwoman, and 246 (13.2 per cent) married a woman from the same county. We also have 661 Englishwomen whose county of origin we know (including 50 who were married to Scotsmen). Of the 661 Englishwomen, again, 246 (37.2 per cent) married a man from the same county. But as many as 1247 Englishmen (67.2 per cent, although perhaps fewer, for some brides described by a New Zealand origin may have been English born) married a non-English bride. Certainly, 107 of the 1040 (10.3 per cent) married Scottish or Irish women.

Table 23: Marital connections, Scots and English

Scots				English		
	N	%			N	%
Wife same county	186	18		Wife same county	246	13.2

⁴⁹ *Cyclopedia*, Otago, p. 319.

Husband same county	186	39.6		Husband same county	246	37.2
Wife Scottish	416	40		Wife English	611	32.8
Wife English or Irish	108	10.4		Wife Scottish or Irish	107	5.7

These figures are not particularly robust, given the Cyclopedic's weakness in recording women. But they perhaps reinforce the argument in this paper, that the fluidity of colonial society often worked against tight ethnic networks. Emigrants from some counties were distinctly more likely to marry within the county (a circumstance very likely to be related to the timing of emigration relative to marriage). The following tables are the twelve counties for England and Scotland which have the largest numbers of men and women with identified marital partners (bold figures are above the average).

Conclusions about marital behaviour among successful Scottish migrants must be tentative but there seems relatively little evidence that marriage reinforced tight Scottish communities in New Zealand, and Scots and English do not seem to have differed greatly. We suspect, therefore, that as well as the various dimensions of Scottishness which linked migrants from that country – and these should not be underestimated – the diversity of the colonial population and fluidity of colonial circumstances moderated ethnic solidarity in economic life as in other dimensions.

Table 24: Men and women from Scottish counties most likely to marry within same county

Women from	N	Marrying man from same county	%
Aberdeenshire	39	20	51.3
Ayrshire	41	20	48.8
Lanarkshire	84	38	45.2
Ross-shire	14	6	42.9
Perthshire	27	10	37.0
Fifeshire	23	8	34.8
Forfarshire	21	6	28.6
Midlothian	39	11	28.2
Renfrewshire	11	3	27.3
Caithness-shire	16	4	25.0
Argyleshire	21	4	19.0
Inverness-shire	17	1	5.9
Men from	N	Marrying woman from same county	%
Aberdeenshire	82	20	24.4
Ayrshire	90	20	22.2
Lanarkshire	172	38	22.1
Fifeshire	43	8	18.6
Ross-shire	36	6	16.7
Midlothian	81	11	13.6
Argyleshire	30	4	13.3
Forfarshire	53	6	11.3

Perthshire	89	10	11.2
Dumfries-shire	32	3	9.4
Stirlingshire	35	2	5.7
Inverness-shire	43	1	2.3

Table 25: Men and women from English counties most likely to marry within same county

Women from	N	Marrying man from same county	%
Cornwall	54	33	61.1
Lancashire	28	16	57.1
Yorkshire	50	26	52.0
Warwickshire	18	9	50.0
Lincolnshire	16	8	50.0
Hampshire	15	7	46.7
Somersetshire	28	13	46.4
Devonshire	34	15	44.1
London	73	29	39.7
Kent	39	13	33.3
Suffolk	15	5	33.3
Surrey	17	4	23.5
Essex	18	4	22.2
Gloucestershire	23	4	17.4
Northumberland	17	1	5.9

Men from	N	Marrying woman from same county	%
Cornwall	109	33	30.3
Somersetshire	59	13	22.0
Yorkshire	133	26	19.5
Hampshire	44	7	15.9

Lancashire	101	16	15.8
Warwickshire	61	9	14.8
Kent	95	13	13.7
Lincolnshire	60	8	13.3
Durham	38	5	13.2
Sussex	39	5	12.8
Devonshire	122	15	12.3
London	273	29	10.6
Gloucestershire	44	4	9.1
Surrey	46	4	8.7
Essex	50	4	8.0

5. Conclusions

The relationships between Scottish origin and economic success in New Zealand were subtle and various. If we have given some basis to some stereotypes and weakened others, we have provided a sounder basis for what is often left to unquantified assertion. The most important point is that a significantly higher proportion of Scots than of English were engaged in farming, and this was particularly so in the South Island. There is good evidence for stereotypes linking Scots to the metal trades and finance. None of these fields of endeavour were monopolised by Scottish immigrants in New Zealand, but there is a distinctive Scottish dimension to them.

Among other things, this chapter has cast the Scottish diaspora, or at least the New Zealand part of it, in class terms as well as in ethnic terms. This is not to suggest that Scottish backgrounds were immaterial; there were subtle, but real, differences between English and Scottish immigrants of the middle class. On the other hand, though, while there is some evidence that the Scots were good networkers and some evidence of Scottish regional and occupational clustering, this is except in a very few cases nowhere near the scale which characterised the Scottish penetration of the East India Company or the Orcadian penetration of the Hudson Bay Company, or for that matter Scottish involvement in the tobacco districts of the American colonies before 1776.⁵⁰ The point of this, though, is that in New Zealand there were always countervailing forces to Scottish clannishness. The histories of Scots in the settler world are parts of a very diverse and complex story.

⁵⁰ Devine, *Scottish Empire*.