

and others in their reconceptualising the term as (unsurprisingly in this postmodern era) 'diasporas' (pp.181–83).

What does all this do for New Zealand history, as opposed to that of Scotland and its diaspora(s)? Well, quite a lot actually, but not as much as the title claims. (*Scottish Ethnicity in New Zealand Society* may have been more appropriate and more consistent with most of the statements of purpose in the introduction.) It incidentally lines up with other research on connections and similarities with Australian history and shows, via the Scots, that the Antipodean dominions have more in common with each other than with our Canadian and American cousins. These sorts of studies of the interplay of migrants' adaptation and continuity, integration and distinction, are a great way to transcend the tired old genre of national ethnic biography, and align with currently fashionable 'transnational history'. It also illuminates regional variations within nation-states.

This study ends just after the Great War and all that entailed about national identity in the dominions and the choices of destination by increasingly working-class Scots emigrants. Bueltmann's conclusions about the relative classlessness, inclusivity and fluidity of Scottish associations after the influence of war are intriguing (p.209). Scottish associations boomed in industrialising Australia in the 1920s, with many of their new members coming from the upwardly mobile working class. She is also able to make links with contemporary developments such as the reawakened interest of Scots at home in the diaspora, both historiographical and political. Unfortunately for the SNP, the associational Scots abroad are, by and large, into nostalgia, not politics. Tanja Bueltmann is now at Northumbria University, where she continues her impressive work on the Scottish diaspora(s), blogging as she goes.

MALCOLM PRENTIS

Australian Catholic University, Sydney

Scottishness and Irishness in New Zealand since 1840. By Angela McCarthy. Manchester University Press, Manchester and New York, 2011. xvi + 235pp. NZ price: \$183.00. ISBN: 978 0 7190 7761 6.

NEW ZEALAND has always been an attractive destination for Scots and Irish migrants. In the third quarter of the nineteenth century between 11% and 18% of New Zealanders and over one in five people residing in but born outside New Zealand were Scottish. Their ratio in the population declined in the twentieth century but the numbers of Scots stayed substantial. Irish came in smaller numbers, with a peak in numbers around the end of the nineteenth century. The Irish were also a substantial presence in the ranks of the foreign-born, at least until after World War II, when numbers dropped precipitously.

Yet despite their ubiquity these were unusual migrants. They moved to a country where the great majority of them already knew the dominant language and where the customs and behaviours were not all that dissimilar from the customs they had left behind. Scots, especially, moved into societies which they themselves had done a lot to shape and in which they faced only trivial discrimination. The Irish were a little different, as their British identity was less obvious and more contested and as the religious orientation of a substantial minority was Roman Catholic, a religion that attracted prejudice and discrimination. Moreover, Scots throughout the period of this study and the Irish until 1922 were a subsection of a larger and very privileged whole — the British.

Scots and Irish may not have thought of themselves as especially British. In this richly detailed, ambitious and thought-provoking book, Angela McCarthy argues that Britishness was not a particularly accepted concept among Scots and the Irish except in very exceptional and clearly defined circumstances. But they were British and thus were

given all the advantages that accrued from being British in a nation shaped by British values and determined to stay within a larger British world. To be Scottish or Irish was thus curious in a New Zealand colonial setting. It was to a large degree an invented identity, one assumed by those who had it more than an identification that was defined by others and one that people could slip in and out of as they pleased. Of course, such slippages were true for everyone. As McCarthy shows, citing Linda Colley, an identity was not like a hat insofar as one could wear several hats, or identities, at once; the Scots and the Irish were very selective about what aspects of a Scottish or Irish identity they would choose. Being Scottish or Irish was thus always a fluid concept in a society where there was considerable acceptance of people adapting their identities to suit circumstances.

Not surprisingly, given the parlous nature of Scottishness and Irishness in a nation where there was a dominant push for English-speaking white migrants to be quickly assimilated to New Zealand patterns of thought and behaviour, McCarthy places a lot of attention on cultural values in determining the extent to which Scottishness and Irishness shaped individual and collective identity and in judging whether these attributes changed over time. This book covers a wide canvass, with almost as many examples from the more recent past as from the period when Scottish and Irish immigration was most apparent. It contains a wealth of information — sometimes so much that it is a bit bewildering. The major issue McCarthy has is ordering the material she has assiduously collected so that it fits into an argument rather than being of an encyclopaedic nature. She is only partially successful in doing this. What the book is really good at is describing the manifold ways in which Irishness and Scottishness were manifested in all aspects of New Zealand's social and economic history. Where it is not so strong is in assessing how Scottishness and Irishness changed the contours of New Zealand experience. The problem here is that the Scots and the Irish in colonial places understood their identity not just as a component part of Britishness, as McCarthy rightly acknowledges, but also in relation to the dominant culture which was, even in Scottish-dominated Otago and Southland, English. Or at least that is what I would expect to be the case. It is a shame that Scottishness and Irishness are not connected to Englishness. They are connected, in probably the strongest chapter in the book, to conceptions of Māori in ways that show how some more comparative information would have been valuable. Scots and especially the Irish modulated their attitudes to Māori based on both perceived similarities as minorities within an English-majority culture and differences, based on race and culture. They probably did the same to English and native-born New Zealanders.

McCarthy's excellent book allows us to pay attention to the ethnic dimensions of cultural experience in New Zealand. Ranging widely over time, it allows for an appreciation of how ethnicity has changed in both subtle and less subtle ways as Scots and Irish become less important as significant minorities in New Zealand. Much was similar in their New Zealand experience, even if the Scots expressed themselves culturally more than did the Irish. The Irish were more interested in politics and set themselves more at odds with New Zealand mores than did the Scots. This book is a first-rate guide to how they adapted to New Zealand and made a contribution to the fashioning of New Zealand society.

TREVOR BURNARD

University of Melbourne