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'How we prepare them in India'

BRITISH DIASPORIC IMAGININGS AND MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND*

THE TITLE OF THIS ESSAY is a shard from a story, one from the many stories handed down to me by my parents from their forbears who migrated by various means and routes from north-west and southern Europe and from the Middle East to New Zealand. My father's mother, Daisy Ella Atkinson, I used to think of as my 'English' grandmother. Born in northern Tasmania, the daughter of a pastoralist whose estate in the 1880s covered some 150,000 acres, Daisy is remembered as an 'accomplished' and educated woman: a proficient painter and pianist, reputed to be the first woman on the north-west coast of Tasmania to learn to drive a car. Her father, William Atkinson, disapproved of her choice of marriage-partner; it was not until after the former's death that she married William McClean, the charming and handsome Melbourne-born 'Highlander', with whom she had had a secret romantic attachment for many years. They married in 1920, migrated to New Zealand, and settled in the Auckland suburb of Onehunga. There Daisy kept the same modest house and garden (and bicycle, no car) through all the years of her marriage and widowhood. Daisy was a gentle, soft-spoken woman of deep religious (non-conformist) convictions. She had very regular routines, including an 'at home' day on Thursdays, when her women friends were welcome to visit. Daisy always drank tea with her 'pinky' finger in the air; when she served 'chocolate afghans', a staple of New Zealand family baking since about the 1950s, she would say, with clear English vowels: '*this* is how we prepare them in India'.

Daisy Atkinson was born, lived and died during a period of New Zealand history that James Belich has recently characterized as an era of 're-colonisation'.[1] From the 1880s to about the 1960s, New Zealand's trade dependency on the London market was accompanied by the renewal and reforging of cultural and social ties with Britain, a process that was strongly encouraged by the waning of imperial power, particularly in the inter-war years. Daisy's years of married life and early widowhood in New Zealand were circumscribed by what Belich evocatively describes as the 'great tightening' of this complementary relationship, regarded by 'Britons' and 'neo-Britons' alike as mutually sustaining and beneficial. After the First World War migration from Britain to New Zealand and to the other 'white settler colonies' was never branded as 'emigration'; on the contrary, the British government agencies that marketed and enabled the movement of people from the Mother Country to the self-governing dominions used a rhetoric that suggested a simple redistribution of population within 'Greater Britain'. According to Leo Amery, the architect of the Empire Settlement Act of 1922, this was not 'emigration', a word with unfortunate connotations of enforcement, eviction and exile, the movement of people from one nation home to another; this was 'Empire settlement' or 'settlement oversea [sic]' of 'British stock' to other parts of the 'British world'.[2]

Figure 1: Daisy Ella Atkinson driving her father William Alexander Atkinson around his estate 'Fairmount' near Burnie in northern Tasmania, c.1912–1913. Her sisters Florence, Emma and May sit in the back seat. (The car is a 'Flanders', 1911 model.)

Figure 2: William McClean with his sisters in Melbourne, 1914. From left are Clara, Jessie, Alice, Myrtle and Lila.

   Given her cultural location within re-colonization, Daisy Atkinson's identification with the imperial British is not surprising.[3] But neither is it unambiguous. For Daisy the word 'home' had a variety of meanings.[4] She spoke of Britain as 'Home'. After all, her own brothers, and the man who became her husband, had been prepared to die for King and Country in 1914. But to what extent, if any, did Daisy's knowledge and understanding of her forbears' origins in the British Isles and their migration stories impact upon her sense of self and the particular ways in which she located herself within her trans-Tasman British world? Daisy often claimed to be English, on the grounds that her mother, Amelia Byworth, was English, having been born on an English ship to an English ship's captain and his English wife. But Daisy also had Irish associations. Her father's family had been tenant farmers in County Tipperary. They left home in 1854, when William Atkinson was about eight years old, travelling to the port at Cork in secret circumstances in the dead of night — for

compelling reasons — which Daisy referred to as 'the troubles'. William regarded his new life in South Australia, later in Tasmania, as a new beginning. He renounced his former life in Ireland in the same way as he renounced the past when, as a young man, he decided to embrace evangelical Christianity and join the Church of Christ. When a letter came from the old world announcing his share in a family inheritance, he tore it to pieces. But his rejection of his origins was not absolute. He named his estate in Tasmania 'Fairmount' after the family farm in Tipperary; he kept household possessions from the Tipperary farm such as furniture, farm implements and linen. Some of these possessions from an almost forgotten past were taken from Tasmania to New Zealand when Daisy married, and after visits home with her children in the 1920s and 1930s. (Several objects such as a small table and a book are presently owned and cherished by her descendants as tangible relics from a distant past in rural Ireland.) When Daisy told jokes and stories from her childhood she would often use an Irish accent, using Irish expressions and mimicking with ease the cadences and inflexions of Irish speech. Although from a Protestant Irish background, she was a fervent supporter of Irish Home Rule. Possibly Daisy's 'Irishness' was derived as much from the male workers on her father's Tasmanian estate as from her father himself. While her self-proclaimed identity had no overtly 'Irish' connection, bound up as it was with her gendered expectations of herself and her strong identification with her 'English' mother, there were traces in her background and in her foreground of an 'Irish' self, nevertheless. But Daisy, I suspect, imagined Britain in the form of iconic London rather than as a farm in County Tipperary. Britain was more an *idea of belonging* than a specific territorial homeland, imbued with sensual memories of smells and colours and sounds. 'Britishness' was a code of behaviour that emphasized justice and fair play, controlled emotions and self-reliance: the male variants of these qualities echo loudly the attributions of imperial rule.

In recent years there has been a call by historians working mainly in Britain,

Figure 3: The children of William Atkinson's second wife Amelia Byworth, outside the homestead at 'Fairmount', c.1897. From left at back are Fred, Florence, Muriel, Emma, Essie, Daisy, May and Don; the little ones at the front are Roy and Rene.

Figure 4: Daisy with her second child, Euan, early in 1924. The portrait was taken in a Burnie studio during a visit home to Tasmania.

and in the old 'white' dominions of Canada, Australia, South Africa and New Zealand, to re-integrate Britain's imperial past into national and global histories and to interrogate the meanings and significance of a past, shared 'British world'.[5] Comparative analyses across time and space of the ways in which 'Britishness' was shared and contested, a focus on connections and shifting centres rather than the perspective of 'metropole' and 'periphery', and intentions to scrutinize the multiple layering of hues and textures that wove their way into the cloak of Britishness, are all pivotal to this renewed, invigorated imperial research agenda.

The British world reached its zenith in the period c.1880–1950, the final and culminating phase of what some world systems theorists define as the 'modern period of globalisation'.[6] The timing of its apogee corresponds with re-colonization in New Zealand, and not surprisingly, the work of James Belich has made a major contribution to rethinking by empire historians. During the last decades of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth centuries, a 'great interlude' in world global history characterized by British domination of world trade systems was drawing to a close. Paradoxically, the social, cultural and political networks that linked places and peoples across the British world were more extensive and pervasive than ever before.

One of the fascinating aspects of Belich's re-colonization thesis is the power of this process to mould the history of what had been before, including personal stories of the past and the ways these were retold within or as counterpoint to collective understandings and interpretations of European colonization and settlement in New Zealand. Personally I find this a very fertile idea. Fifteen to 20 years ago I researched and wrote a PhD thesis on migrants with Scottish backgrounds who left the British Isles between about 1840 and 1880, and who arrived at some point in their lives at a port in New Zealand. The initial aim of this thesis was to present a case study that contributed to a wider interdisciplinary search for systematic relationships in international migration. It ended as a plea

for structural and cultural studies to speak more directly to one another. I was aware as I researched and wrote the thesis that my ideas as a historian bore very little relation to what I thought I knew about my own Scottish background(s); indeed, with the possible exception of Daisy none of my forbears appeared to have lived the Pakeha genesis narratives. They lay outside of history. It is the contention of this essay that the concept of diaspora has the potential to allow me to bring them back in.

This essay then is primarily about two contested concepts, 'diaspora' and 'Britishness', and the ways they might be meaningful and helpful for history research and writing in New Zealand. It aims to provide a brief review of some of the recent writings on both of these issues, particularly those works where the two concepts merge, contradict or redefine each other. The term 'diaspora', as the following discussion shows, is used in historical writing in many and varied ways; some, but not all of these meanings are fundamentally at variance with the idea of imperial nationhood. The empirical base for the essay (ever-changing) is what we know about the processes of migration and the local origins and identities of people who came to Aotearoa/New Zealand between about 1840, the formal beginning of British colonization of these islands, and the early 1950s, by which time official concepts of local national citizenship were being defined in Canada, Australia and New Zealand and 'de-dominionization' was well underway.[7] The key argument is methodological, staking out a cautious claim that recent conceptualizations of diaspora as a state of 'betweenness' and also as a 'space' might assist us to think against the grain — about power relationships, issues of identity and national belonging, and significant categorizations used widely in our history writing such as indigenous and settler, transience and place.[8]

The diverse colonization projects, trading and labour migrations that brought new peoples to Aotearoa/New Zealand during the last two hundred years were not, to my knowledge, ever described as diaspora or diasporas until late in the twentieth century. The ancient word was used by the Greeks to describe the movement of people that resulted from their own processes of colonization, and in this sense, diaspora may simply mean scattering or dispersal. However, the earliest known use of the word was in Greek translations of the Hebrew scriptures to describe the dispersal of the Jews from Palestine.[9] The associations of this usage have persisted across the centuries. The word diaspora holds religious connotations and in most modern dictionaries is still equated with Jewish experiences of exile. Used metaphorically, 'diaspora' is generally taken to mean 'a reluctant scattering'. Most of us still think of 'diasporic peoples' as those who have lost their homelands and who live in a condition tantamount to exile usually following catastrophic circumstances that might involve brutal dispossession.

In recent publications about British migration and the British world both these traditional meanings of diaspora are frequently invoked. Increasingly, historians are using the word very loosely (although in strict keeping with etymological derivation from the Greek) simply to imply migration over a wide geographical area (a scattering); sometimes (although less often than not) with the careful proviso that diaspora might not be an appropriate term, given that

most migration from the British Isles was voluntary rather than coerced.[10] Carl Bridge and Kent Federowich, for example, two of the leading advocates of the 'new' decentred British history, argue that the project must begin with a 'fresh look' at the British 'diaspora'.[11] What they are urging is renewed scrutiny of the 'phenomenon of mass migration from the British Isles', a phenomenon, they claim, which was ultimately responsible for the creation of a British world of people, ideas, institutions and fiscal and trading links. Mass migration from the British Isles to other parts of the globe was, of course, no random movement of people in response to expulsive or invisible 'structural' forces, although it certainly involved these elements. Usually identified as beginning at the end of the sixteenth century, mass migration from Britain was a project of colonization, a political project articulated in the English parliament with the precise intention of developing settler colonies in order to secure trade dominance and imperial hegemony.[12]

Other historians of British migration stress the problematic equation of migration (even in the sense of multidirectional dispersal) with diaspora. At a recent comparative conference on the Scots and Irish in New Zealand, Eric Richards, who has written extensively about the complexities, paradoxes and anguish associated with emigration from the Scottish Highlands, pointed out that even the poorest and most desperate of migrants from the British Isles were privileged in diasporic terms. Richards' methodology is to set British migration histories in juxtaposition to each other, and his work highlights the experiences of those who can be thought of as 'victims'.[13] A convict's wife offered an assisted passage to join her husband, the poor of the north-western Highlands facing famine or eviction, migrant children — frequently had little choice but to board an emigrant ship.

Rather than focussing on the conditions that migrants left, another approach is to consider the circumstances where British migrants found themselves to be discomforted as 'outsiders' in their host communities. In his recent article, subtitled 'From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?', Stephen Constantine presents a case that British migrants might have found themselves in diasporic situations post-1945, but their easy assimilation into the 'white' Dominions between about 1880 and 1940, and the early twentieth century discourse of 'empire' migration that denied all connotations of 'emigration', meant that British Isles migration in the era of 're-colonisation' was the reverse of diaspora.[14]

A further element in recent historical studies of diasporas focuses on the empirical search for links and networks which bound people of common ethnic or national origins who were scattered by migration across wide distances. Lyndon Fraser's detailed studies of Irish communities in nineteenth-century New Zealand have contributed to the transformation of emigration narratives that once focussed on uprooting and resettlement. His work makes visible some of the ways that Irish–Catholic ethnic-belonging overcame the dislocating effects of individual and family migrations, and at the same time operated as a quietly subversive force within a hegemonic English-settler Protestant majority culture.[15] The Irish did not come to New Zealand in significant numbers until well after the Great Irish Famine and the proportion that was Roman Catholic varied in different parts of New Zealand.[16] Nevertheless, the mythic association

of global Catholic Irish emigration with a single disastrous event, and the negative stereotyping of the Catholic Irish mark the 'Irish' as obvious candidates amongst British Isles migrants for categorizations in line with traditional conceptualizations of diaspora.[17]

A problem with much historical writing that attempts to draw on the idea of diaspora is that the latter term is used too often as synonymous with certain 'types' of migration. Even a focus in 'diaspora histories' on networks and connections between migrants is problematic, because the same sorts of communication channels taken as evidence for diaspora are also fundamental to migration processes (even in situations where 'chain' migration is unlikely to occur).[18] Migration scholars have long recognized that the phenomenon of human migration takes multiple forms and comes about for multiple reasons which defy attempts to form binary categorizations such as 'temporary and permanent', 'push and pull', 'involuntary and free'. Contemporary theorists of migration decry conceptual frameworks that view migration as in any way exceptional to the human condition, as something that takes place, for example, only at times of crisis or economic displacement.[19] At one level the word 'migration' has a universal and unambiguous meaning, implying simply the movement of people as individuals, or as a collective, from one place to another. Such a broad definition has limited analytical use but still has a valid place in language. On the other hand, the nature of migration and its human impact can only be known and understood in historically specific contexts. We cannot explain migration within a single paradigm. Even the resonance of the word 'migration' usually depends on the political and local contexts in which migration occurs. There are useful parallels here for discovering what we mean by the word diaspora and also being able to use 'diaspora' instructively as a conceptual construct in historical analysis.

As a field of enquiry diaspora differs most obviously from migration in that it is about the transmission and transformation of inter-generational identities and the reasons why and why not these identities become realised in community or idealized forms. The raising of diasporic consciousness at a community level is a process that mimics nation-building because it depends on a 'common intelligibility' created through channels of communication — letters, books, newspapers, television, the internet — that do not necessarily depend on face-to-face contacts (although direct contacts in families, schools, churches, clubs, or on marae are important too). An individual's relationships with those he or she holds as authorities such as parents, spouse, priest, teacher, kaumatua come into play. Benedict Anderson's persuasive argument that all communities larger than 'primordial' villages (and perhaps even these) are 'imagined' in the sense that they are built on a shared *belief* in commonality is central also to the notion of diaspora.[20] Diaspora is as much about cultural reproduction as it is about migration but it is also about the complex space where these two fascinating and universal phenomena merge.

The commonality that peoples of a diaspora share (maintain, invent, revitalize) is a sense of connection with a prior homeland, real or imagined, some other place usually conceived as being outside or 'away' from the current site(s) of residence. A dynamic of suffering, such as a shared belief in a background of

enforced dislocation and dispossession from the homeland, is frequently the force uniting a diaspora and supplying its political momentum. Paradoxically, this understanding of 'living in diaspora', at the margins, with a shared memory of suffering supplying the dynamic for group politicization, is more likely to be the lived experience of indigenous peoples subjected to colonization than of migrants whose settlement in new lands was under the protection of an imperial banner. Robin Cohen is aware of this paradox. As well as 'victim' diasporas, he deliberately includes 'labour', 'trade' and 'imperial' diasporas, taking the British as exemplars of the latter, in his typology of diasporas.[21] Cohen's own area of research in recent years has been a rereading of Jewish diasporic experiences. 'Babylon', he argues, was undoubtedly a site of exile and oppression but it also became a site of creativity and energy: for example, Jewish communities throughout the ancient world flourished in contexts of cultural encounter and competition, and became renowned for their academies of learning.[22] Cohen argues that to use effectively a diasporic framework in historical studies, we must both incorporate *and also* transcend the tradition of diaspora associated with the history of the Jews.[23] Cohen fully recognizes that a shared myth of suffering or dispossession (I use 'myth' here to imply a collective understanding or interpretation rather than to deny the 'reality' of loss) can be a potent political force enabling groups to resist those processes of nation-state building described by Anderson as the 'erasure' of difference (in other words assimilation or social amnesia) and also to turn diasporic longings into the desire for a separate nation-state.[24]

Because diasporas, like nations and ethnic groupings, are in part fictive ('imagined', socially constructed) and in part non-fictive, dependent on 'real' qualities such as birth-place, lineage, language, social networks and religion, there is no logical reason why 'the British' should be excluded from studies of diaspora. However, there seems to be something inherently unsettling in the idea of an imperial nation, intent on 'sowing over' cultures and peoples elsewhere, and 'diaspora', which has implications of a minority grouping maintaining or creating its own identity in contradistinction to a hegemonic majority. The apparent incongruousness of a 'British diaspora' arises partly because of irreconcilable contradictions within the imagery and between the meanings associated with traditional uses of the word diaspora and partly because, in some recent theorizations, diaspora is perceived as the antithesis of the nation-state and by implication of the imperial nation.[25]

World systems historians emphasize that diaspora was a significant form of social organization well before the emergence of the modern nation-state. From ancient times the populations of urban centres were constantly replenished through conquest, enslavement, labour migrations and trade. Ethnic homogeneity was only ever possible in very isolated regions.[26] The life channel of urban centres was based on trade, not just with rural hinterlands, but also with other far-flung cities. This system depended on networks of merchants, 'diasporic communities', whose members settled in 'foreign' towns, learned to operate using local languages and propelled the movement of people, goods and capital along trading routes that formed the wiring of a circulatory system with crucial points of exchange that became or revitalized the urban centres.[27]

Arnold Toynbee was the first historian as far as I am aware who positioned global diasporas as a potential counter-point to modern territorial nation-states. He cites Jews, Scots and Lebanese as examples of networking merchant communities that were once important to the wide distribution of money and goods, and capable also of maintaining distinct communal identities within the societies where they were resident. Phoenicians, Cantonese, Gujuratis can be added to his list. Toynbee's history focused on the rise and fall of 'great civilizations' — another version of 'the nation' — and he saw diasporas as potential civilizations which failed to come into being. Communities of identity like the Jews (from ancient times) and the Scots (from medieval times) substituted economic specialization (and scientific, theological and other forms of specialist knowledge) as an alternative to strong frontiers and their extension through imperial domination.[28] Toynbee's use of the metaphor 'aborted civilization' to describe diaspora is both arresting and perplexing. It links to the idea of 'failed nation', which is the exact reverse of diaspora in the Greek sense of 'sowing over', planting seeds in fertile lands. Early Otago settlement leader and Napoleonic war veteran Captain William Cargill described British colonies as 'empires in embryo', emergent nations with potential to supersede their progenitor as even greater civilizations.[29] This image is in sharp juxtaposition to Toynbee's envisioning of diasporas as 'aborted' civilizations. Diaspora and colonization appear simultaneously the same phenomenon and each other's reverse. Because of the simultaneous strains and parallels between metaphors of colonization and of diaspora I think it disingenuous and unhelpful to argue that the British are diasporic simply because their collective experience as a colonizing nation is akin to that of the ancient Greeks.

A central political aim underlying the creation of modern nation-states is an aspiration to define nation as a single bounded territory whose people are welded together by ties of language, culture and history. The deliberate and unconscious suppression of diasporic minorities through policies of exclusion, assimilation and occasionally genocide are aspects of the history of nation states. Further related aspects of nation-state building and maintenance include the regulation of immigration through legislation, the creation of an efficient state apparatus to police the frontiers of national territory, and strict legislative procedures governing the acquisition of citizenship or 'naturalization' on the part of those deemed to be 'foreigners'. These latter processes were tightening in New Zealand from the late nineteenth century. By the first decades of the twentieth century, collectives and individuals whose identities did not blend easily with the myth of a single national people were sited by the hegemonic majority or else they counter-positioned themselves as 'other' — the Chinese, Dalmatians/Croats during World War I, some Maori, some Irish. Alternatively, group identities dissolved or just became invisible and their histories were submerged — southern and eastern Europeans, Christian Syrians and Lebanese, and some British.[30] The creation of nationalistic narratives during the period of re-colonization deepened this process. Paradoxically, though, in this period those who claimed to be British could also claim to be indigenous. 'Pakeha' appropriated Maori symbols and stories and melded these with their own.[31] Both Maori and Pakeha claimed, if they so chose, to be 'British New Zealanders', and in official and daily discourse

these legitimate nationals were counter-poised with 'foreigners'. As late as the 1970s, library shelves on nineteenth- and early twentieth-century migrations to New Zealand could be measured in imperial inches: British settlers, like Maori, were generally excluded from the category of 'migrant'.[32]

The evolution of diaspora as a theoretical tool has taken place over the last 20 years in political and social contexts where policies of assimilation (the erasure of difference) are regarded as both unobtainable and undesirable. The background is of course a sharpening global awareness of contemporary migrations and of the ways that people and cultures seem to be constantly on the move, transforming and reinventing each and one another. This state of mobility, of flux, is not necessarily anything new except perhaps in terms of pace and intensity. It is the technologies that provide the vital currents for migration processes, rather than the processes themselves, that have changed. For example, the late twentieth-century revolution in electronic communications allows people who are widely dispersed to stay in contact with each other more easily than ever before. Increased emphasis on the visual in media technologies provides a different basis for finding 'common intelligibilities' between members of imagined communities — whether nations or diasporas — than in past centuries when ideas were disseminated primarily by word of mouth or print. It is not surprising that practitioners in new disciplines including media studies and cultural studies as well as academics working in more 'traditional' disciplines have made major contributions to academic theorizations of 'diaspora'. In political (and academic) discourse the emergent diasporas of the current world are viewed as forms of agency operating to overcome disadvantage or discrimination, such as that experienced by new migrants, or by minority groups whose common ethnicity sets them apart from national collectives.[33] The founding of the journal *Diaspora* in the early 1990s by Armenians living in the United States is an expression of political objectives.[34] An academic and political aim shared by influential exponents of diaspora is the desire to 'destabilize' the nation by shifting perspectives from majorities to minorities, from the centre to the margins; then, as minority populations are 're-centered' within hegemonic majorities, the margins themselves collapse and the centre is redefined as a meeting place, a site of conjuncture.[35] This meeting place is 'diaspora space' where 'there are no pure essences', only 'hybridities' on the part of those apparently 'inside' as well as those apparently out.[36] This notion of diaspora space is equally applicable to the many Britains that migrants left as to the New Zealand locations where they found themselves.

Contemporary cultural understandings of diaspora replace the finite, closed definitions offered by theorists such as William Safran with a more open and fluid system of ideas. Instead, for example, of a conception of migration that anticipates a one-way journey from a 'homeland' to a new destination, accompanied by changing forms of consciousness as the migrant either settles and assimilates or alternatively remains 'outside' the host society with eyes fixed homeward (processes that may occur gradually over several generations), diasporic identity is about multiple forms of consciousness being held at the same time, and often persisting, reinvented, over several generations. Myths of origins and migration stories combine with experiences of 'settlement' (which do not

necessitate remaining in the same place) to create a third dimension of individual identity — ever-changing and interacting with other aspects of self-identification such as gender, sexuality, religion and class. This may sound unwieldy but the conceptualization is really about altering the emphasis on whatever criteria we choose to use when we attempt to describe and explain social processes. Diaspora provides a non-static envisioning of social life that incorporates both social constructions and social 'realities'. James Clifford explains: 'Diaspora discourse articulates, or bends together, both roots *and* routes to construct what [Paul] Gilroy . . . describes as alternate public spheres, forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identification outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference.'[37] A central idea here is the notion of living 'inside, with a difference'.[38] The empirical subjects of this discourse are individual migration stories and networks, collective myths and memories, refracted images of diasporas (through film and other forms of media) and 'rootings' — the ways that migrants and their descendants accommodate themselves both consciously and unconsciously in homes, workplaces, trade unions, religious institutions, clubs, political associations and so on, in order to live comfortably 'inside, with a difference'.

'Diaspora space' is defined by the researcher according to his or her area of enquiry — whether it be an analysis of sectarian conflicts in the mid-nineteenth century or the limits on conformity in early twentieth-century New Zealand. The 'diasporic framework' provided by the idea of a clearly delimited 'space' invites examination of local situations and case studies and their interrogation by reference to a global context. As Clifford and others point out, diasporas are 'always entangled in powerful global histories'. Arguably, there is greater potential here to write New Zealand history within an international frame of reference than that currently offered by the reinvention of imperial history. A diasporic framework has the potential to bring currently 'marginal' subjects, like Scottish and Irish studies, into the mainstream. The geographer Avtah Brah argues that the 'white West', as well as areas colonized and settled by 'whites' has long been a 'diaspora space'. This space is inhabited both by those who see themselves as 'indigenous' as well as those who view themselves as 'migrants'.

Many useful insights are therefore to be gained from postmodernist exegesis of diaspora, not least from the theoretical positions that allow us to bring the British and other imperial peoples into the dialogue. The powerful and the dominant as well as the colonized and subjected inhabit 'diasporic space', a conceptual framework that emphasizes relationships of power and avoids the tendency of some celebratory diaspora studies to homogenize significant forms of difference including gender and class.

'Britishness', it must be recognized, is in part a legal construct and in part an idea of belonging with shifting meanings across space and time. In a recent newspaper article I read that Maggie Thatcher is still 'an icon of Britishness across the world'.[39] Having lived in urban Scotland during the 1980s, I was immediately conscious of the continuing power of this imagined construct of 'Britishness' to wipe over the strong sub-national, regional, class and ethnic differences that characterize contemporary Britain. In the current climate of

devolution and Europeanism, Scottish culture has entered a 'post-British' phase marked by strong literary and historic nationalisms. This was not always the case. A gentleman living in Edinburgh in the early twentieth century was as likely to mark his postal address as lying within 'North Britain' as in Scotland.[40] However, the gentleman in Edinburgh might well behave differently in this regard to an Irish-born dockhand in Glasgow or a dairymaid in Ayrshire or southern Argyll. Like the concept of 'Britishness' itself, sub-national identification within Britain shifts with time and generation, and interplays with gender, class, and religious identities in gratifyingly complex ways.

From 1853 the British Emigration Commissioners and (later) the Statisticians to the Board of Trade kept tallies of migrants departing British ports, documenting their country of birth along with a range of other social and demographic characteristics. Similarly, the bureaucratic procedures of countries receiving British-born migrants included tabulating the national origins of in-coming migrants in periodic runs of statistics. In addition, many ships' lists from the mid-nineteenth century onwards provide information on migrants' place of last residence, usually at county level.[41] There are a range of sources which denote the regional and national origins of migrants leaving Britain, and it is possible to make broad generalizations about the United Kingdom origins of migrants who set out for, arrived, or lived and died in New Zealand — and to compare these conclusions with British migrants who went to other destinations.

It is however a far more complex process to interpret these findings — partly because it is not always obvious if a 'place' of origins refers to a place of last residence, birthplace or elsewhere, and partly because county and national levels of aggregation conceal as much as they reveal. For example, just because a migrant comes from Midlothian, we cannot assume that she or he ever lived in the city of Edinburgh. The sources that provide us with patterns and trends must be set against more detailed, meaningful data which help us to interpret these trends.

Migrants from different regions in nineteenth-century Britain were identified and differentiated by their accents, by the social and economic contexts they left behind, by their demographic features, their religious preferences, and the types of migration processes that enabled them to leave. Even at national levels of aggregation, there are distinctive characteristics, although it is not always easy to tell to what extent these are simply the sum of distinctive regional parts.[42] Scottish male migrants, for example, were more likely to be skilled workers, professionals or the sons of substantial tenant farmers than were their English, Welsh and Irish counterparts, and they were more likely to come from high-wage industrial areas and agrarian localities near cities where agricultural labourers were in strong demand. An under-employed seasonal hop-picker from Kent, classed as 'agricultural labourer' on a nineteenth-century emigrant ship list, had a very different social standing and prospects in his local community than an East Lothian ploughman or 'hind'. Emigration was a very widespread phenomenon in nineteenth century Scotland, geographically as well as socially. Migrants from the poorest, remotest parts of the north-west Highlands found their way to New Zealand, although unlike much contemporary migration to parts of Canada or to the British colonies of Victoria and New South Wales,

much Highland migration to New Zealand was prompted by earlier migrations to other Australasian colonies, and by individuals networking with ideas and schemes that began in major British cities.[43]

We need, therefore, closely focussed regional and local studies of migration patterns from nineteenth-century Britain, but it is valid also to think of the 'British Isles' — an archipelago of some 5500 islands and islets on the Atlantic rim, within sight and easy reach of continental Europe — as the 'diasporic space' from which a substantive portion of New Zealand's nineteenth-century population growth and cultural development derived. From an old-fashioned economic historian's point of view, a British Isles perspective is important because of the extent of economic and social (if not cultural) integration between different parts of the archipelago. Take transport systems, for example. By the late 1850s a permanent shipping connection was established between Glasgow, Melbourne and Dunedin, but prior to that time most Scots who migrated directly from a United Kingdom port to one of the Australasian colonies left from England.[44] They generally travelled by carts to Scottish coastal ports, and from there took coasting boats or steamers to the major ports near London or Liverpool.[45] During the New Zealand Company period over three-fifths of Scots who left the United Kingdom for New Zealand embarked from an English port. Most left from London, a transit pattern that explains the early eastern bias in the origins of New Zealand-bound migrants from Scotland. The first railway link between London and Edinburgh was established in the late 1840s, reducing the overland journey from 43 to 12 hours. But the price of this form of travel was well beyond the means of most migrants going to New Zealand.

A British Isles perspective enables comparative analysis because it allows the juxtaposition of different regional and local traditions and experiences of migration. We can change our lens from comparisons to closer scrutiny of one component part, and then adjust our focus once more to see something of the myriad of interlocking and overlapping connections between component parts and also between specified British Isles locations and the wider world beyond.

In the early 1850s there was a strong 'glocal' connection between the parish and town of Rothesay, on the Isle of Bute, and Dunedin, the capital of Otago Province, in New Zealand. The 'Disruption' of 1843, which led to the creation of the Free Church of Scotland, caused much bitterness on the Isle of Bute where the local Marquis refused to renew the leases of some of his dissenting tenants. John Gillies, a crofter's son and local Free Church leader, who had risen through education, migration and a prudent marriage to become an eminent and respected lawyer ('writer to the signet') with numerous municipal posts in Rothesay township, decided to throw in his lot with the Free Church Settlement in Dunedin. This decision was prompted partly by his recalcitrant sons, one of whom had already 'run off' to Australia, and his wife, Isabella Lillie's, grief at this loss. The departure of Gillies senior and several family members for New Zealand in 1852 was the beginning of a local community migration that included, in the early 1850s, a school teacher in the town, the son of the Free Church minister, several tradesmen and members of local farming families, and other kin and friends of these, resident elsewhere. The Rothesay schoolteacher, for

example, was from a large Dumfriesshire shepherding family, whose members formed the nucleus of other kin and community migrations to Otago.[46]

John and Isabella's eldest daughter Elizabeth married James McIndoe in 1852, and they, with several young children, left Glasgow for Otago aboard the *Alpine* in 1859. At the time of the 1851 census James McIndoe was living with his mother Janet, a widow and 'proprietor of houses'; he is described as a 'wine merchant', aged 26. Nearly half a century later in 1898, at the time of the Otago Jubilee, when filling out the register of 'Early [Otago] Settlers Prior to 1861' James added the following remark to the standard information requested on the printed form about date and place of birth and marriage:

My forbears were natives of Lochaber, their name Cameron of the Lochiel Clan. On the rising in '45 my great-grandfather was 'out' for Prince Charlie. After defeat, the persecution of the bloody Cumberland caused him to leave his native glen and he settled in Maryhill, near Glasgow taking the local pronunciation of Mack Ian Dhu to McIndoe. My grandfather had no trade and went around the country with a pack selling odds and ends until settling in Rothesay about 1760. He married Hannah Black, of whose genealogy I have no trace: the progeny was 10, of whom my father born in 1793 has left a record.[47]

Many Scottish emigrants had a diasporic consciousness well before they came to New Zealand. Isabella Lillie, the mother of James's wife Elizabeth, was a descendant of Huguenots.[48]

The very rapid urbanization of Scotland from the mid-eighteenth century was a propellant of diaspora.[49] Migrants who left Scotland for New Zealand from urban areas, including the urban-born, had strong kinship and other forms of connection with rural localities. Some, like James McIndoe, harboured a sense of dispossession from an ancestral home. But not all emigrant Scots regarded lairds and the English as the oppressive 'other'. The early street names of Dunedin replicated those of Edinburgh's genteel 'New Town' and Cumberland Street is a prominent student thoroughfare in the north of the city.

For all its variety and complexity, at first glance Scottish emigration to New Zealand hardly seems 'diasporic' in the traditional sense associated with Jewish, Armenian and Black narratives.[50] Some of the poorest and most desperate of emigrants who came to New Zealand last century left Scotland with a stake (kinship ties and contacts) in the old land. This meant (or at least I once thought this meant) that the emigrants could rebuild bridges to home if they wanted to do so.[51] Even those who had been dispossessed in some way were privileged in diasporic terms as they believed in their entitlement to find a home in another land.

Scottish emigrants used a language of diaspora, and part of this was their self-identification as 'emigrants'. From early the 1850s (when everything seemed to 'ring Australia') the words 'emigration' and 'emigrants' had very different connotations in Scotland compared to their associations of guilt-laden negativity claimed in much recent literature and political discourse of Irish emigration, the latter now usually referred to as 'Irish diaspora'.[52] In Scotland from the middle decades of the nineteenth century, emigration was a positive word, not a negative. 'Transportation', 'eviction' and 'clearance' were the negatives. Scottish ballad and street literature may have expressed mournful sentiments

of 'the auld hoose', 'lonely and drear'; the 'auld folk' 'failin' and a'; of forlorn sweethearts left behind, but emigrants were 'hopeful bands' to be applauded and encouraged: 'you are right to seek a far off earth; you are right to boldly strive'. Emigration was not exile. Emigration was opportunity. Emigration was also the deliberate choice to find 'home' in a new location. Cabin passengers might describe themselves as 'colonists' — they were the ones who could afford to have aspirations to return — but most who travelled steerage to New Zealand anticipated a one-way journey.[53] This is not to deny that some migrants who became emigrants, such as merchant seamen, members of the armed forces and young males who set out primarily for adventure, were highly mobile and mobile on a global scale. Young female adventurers and travellers did not travel steerage and were not classified on ships lists as 'emigrants'.

On arrival in New Zealand some of the emigrants (who did not necessarily 'settle' in New Zealand) wrote about their major life experience in Babylonic terms: 'Weep ye not for the dead, but weep ye for he who leaveth his native land'. (This lamentation of First Testament prophet, Jeremiah, was quoted in one emigrant's letter after his arrival in Wellington.) Engulfing homesickness is an emotion commonly felt by long-distance migrants and it comes and goes with different seasons, special anniversaries, even times of the day and days of the week. It is possible, but not easily verified, that women's experiences of homesickness and nostalgic longing for a remembered landscape and remembered friends and kin, were of a different intensity and found outlet in different forms of expression than was the case for men.

The biblical imagery deployed by emigrant Scots who went to New Zealand was sometimes ambiguous: New Zealand was described as a 'Land of Goshen', the fertile area of Egypt where the descendants of Jacob made their home before the Exodus. More frequently, however, it was referred to explicitly and implicitly as the 'Promised Land', and this became a dominant narrative of pioneering settlement.[54]

It was men who cited the First Testament prophets, and who made doleful comments about 'my father's grave' in the old land. Emigration was a form of death, but it was also conceived as a regenerative process, a form of resurrection or rebirth in a new land. Women who wrote letters describing the experience of emigration were more likely to use Christian than Judaic imagery. Writing from her brother's sheep station in the hills above Lake Wakatipu, Sarah Wither confided in her sister 'at home' on the farm near Stranraer, that 'the Saviour and the Post' are the solace of the emigrant.[55] Their Christian religious faith enabled many Scottish emigrant women to conceive of 'home' as a transcendent space of hope and faith, uniting 'here' with 'there'. 'I don't want to be living in New Zealand, but really in Scotland', confided teacher Barbara Hamilton in a letter to Andrew Dykes, her fiancé, as she contemplated her long-anticipated emigration in order to join him in New Zealand.[56] While contacts with the old world were maintained, and renewed by journeys of return (especially during World Wars I and II) many emigrants knew the temptations of Lot's wife, and they would not look back.[57]

It is partly for this reason many individual stories of migration from the British Isles to New Zealand were lost or easily written over by collective

narratives during the period of re-colonization. By careful attention to the conscious and unconscious testimony of migrants, their contemporaries and their descendants, and by judicious readings of a wide range of non-textual sources including objects and old photographs, some of these stories can be recovered. During the last quarter of a century, the notion that the British were entitled to colonize and forge new homes in Aotearoa/New Zealand has once again been challenged, and this has encouraged many descendants of British migrants to look for forgotten 'homelands' and to ask questions about their own migration histories outside of New Zealand. The political climate and the contemporary revolution in communication technologies provide an atmosphere favourable to diasporic imaginings. In the current social and political context diaspora seems to be less about dispersion of the same than about fragmentation into otherness at the centre. The location of the latter depends on where you stand.

The aim of this essay, and indeed of this special issue of the *New Zealand Journal of History,* is to encourage critical engagement with the concept of diaspora and to promote debate about the ways it might open the spaces of our thinking about New Zealand's history, not just in relation to 'Britishness', but to current and past global issues and to concepts we sometimes think of in binary terms like 'settler and indigenous', 'male and female', 'black and white', 'colonist and colonized', 'we and they', 'home and away'.

Academic interest in the discourses of 'Britishness' is not just a harping call 'back to the future'.[58] Apologists aspire to incorporate Saidian theories of colonial 'othering' as well as more recent scholarship about the varying shades of 'whiteness' and the entanglements of identity amongst those whose lives hovered in and out, around and between the linked spaces of the British world. Britishness was a matter of legal and political belonging but the degree to which it was embraced or rejected by individuals might depend as much on class and gender as on ethnic or territorial belonging.

In a published autobiographical account of his lone voyage on the *Spray*, American Joshua Slocum records a pleasant harbour early in 1897 at the coastal town of Devonport, the next major port from Burnie along the northern coast of Tasmania: '[The] *Spray* was the first vessel to bring the Stars and Stripes to the port . . . . For the great distinction [she] enjoyed many civilities while she rode comfortably at anchor . . . . From the magistrate's house "Malunnah" on the point, she was saluted by the Jack [Union Jack] both on coming in and going out, and . . . the mistress of Malunnah supplied the *Spray* with jams and jellies of all sorts, by the case. . . .Mrs Wood, further up the harbour, put up bottles of raspberry wine for me . . . . Mrs Powell sent on board chutney prepared "as we prepare it in India".'[59]

Daisy Atkinson's 'Britishness' was acquired during her childhood and upbringing, possibly in the parlours of her mother's neighbours, near Burnie in Northern Tasmania. Possibly it was the substitution of coconut for cornflakes that distinguished Daisy's Tasmanian-Anglo-Indian way of cooking chocolate afghans from that of her friends in Onehunga.[60] Daisy's husband William McClean saw 'Britishness' from a very different perspective — but that is another story.

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NOTES

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1 James Belich, *Paradise Reforged*: *A History of the New Zealanders From the 1880s to the Year 2000*, Auckland, 2001.

2 L.S. Amery, *My Political Life*, 3 vols, London, 1953, vol.2, p.183. See also the titles and use of language in contemporary publications such as G.F. Plant, *Oversea Settlement: Migration from the United Kingdom to the Dominions*, London, 1951. A useful exposition of the British political stake in 'Greater Britain' and 'settlement oversea' is provided in Keith Williams' essay, '"A way out of our troubles": The Politics of Empire Settlement, 1900–1922', in Stephen Constantine, ed., *Emigrants and Empire: British Settlement in the Dominions Between the Wars*, Manchester, 1990, pp.22–67. Williams quotes from the Hansard record of Amery's speech to the House of Commons on 2 November 1920: 'I shall be glad if the word "emigration" with its implied suggestion of expatriation of the individual and of loss on the part of the community which he leaves, could be habitually confined to migration to *foreign countries*. (Emphasis added). Change of residence to another part of the empire, is . . . more appropriately described by some such term as "oversea settlement".'

3 I continue to puzzle as to why she associated chocolate afghan biscuits with British India (an hypothesis is posited below.)

4 Home was the house and family in Onehunga, Trafalgar Street; it was a region of memory on the north-west coast of Tasmania, where her siblings and their children still farmed and lived; it was a space associated with her faith, where one day all her networks of people, the living and the dead, would be regrouped and reunited in an unbroken circle. (When she received letters that caused her to recall memories of friends and kin, Daisy would look out of the window and sing or hum the tunes from hymns. One had a refrain: 'Will the circle be unbroken, by and by, by and by?').

5 A series of five international conferences has been planned. The first of these was hosted by the University of Capetown in January 2002 and the second held at the University of Calgary in July 2003. The third, fourth and fifth will be in Melbourne, Auckland and London respectively, 2004–2006. A volume of essays from the first 'British World' conference has been published: Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, eds, *The British World: Diaspora, Culture and Identity*, London, 2003.

6 David Held, et al., *Global Transformations: Politics, Economics and Culture*, Stanford, 1999; Roland Robertson, *Globalization: Social Theory and Global Change*, London, 1992.

7 See 'Appendix II: The Legal Status of Aliens and the Foreign-born in New Zealand — A Layman's Exposition', in R.A. Lochore, *From Europe to New Zealand: An Account of our Continental and European Settlers*, Wellington, 1951. For the theme of changing conceptual and legal definitions of citizenship from a Canadian perspective, see Lloyd L. Wong, 'Home away from home? Transnationalism and the Canadian Citizenship Regime', in Paul Kennedy and Victor Roudometof, eds, *Communities Across Borders: New Immigrants and Transnational Cultures*, London and New York, 2002, pp.169–81.

8 The conceptions of 'diaspora' and 'diasporic space' as envisioned in the writings of Paul Gilroy, Daniel Boyarin and Jonathan Boyarin, Robin Cohen, James Clifford, Stuart Hall, Avtar Brah, Anne-Marie Fortier and Bronwen Walter, among others, have influenced my thinking on the issues of this essay. Useful collections of recent key empirical and theoretical writings on 'diaspora' include Steven Vertovec and Robin Cohen, eds, *Migration, Diasporas and Transnationalism*, Cheltenham, 1999; Jana Evans Braziel and Anita Mannur, eds, *Theorizing Diaspora: A Reader*, Oxford, 2003; Avtar Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora: Contesting Identities*, London, 1996; Anne-Marie Fortier, 'Bringing it all (back) home: Italian-Canadians' Remaking of Canadian History', in Kennedy and Roudometof, *Communities Across Borders*, pp.103–15; and Bronwen Walter, *Outsiders Inside: Whiteness*, *Place and Irish Women*, New York, 2001.

9 This translation was explicitly intended for the use of Jewish diasporic communities resident throughout the Hellenic world. On the etymological roots of the word diaspora see introductions to Braziel and Mannur, eds, *Theorizing Diaspora*, and Robin Cohen, *Global Diasporas: An Introduction*, London, 1997.

10 Donald Harman Akenson stresses that a diaspora can be either voluntary or involuntary, but

always implies a multi-directional dispersal. See 'The Historiography of English-speaking Canada and the Concept of Diaspora: A Sceptical Appreciation', *Canadian Historical Review*, 76, 3 (1995), pp.377–409, in which 'British diaspora' in Canada is presented as a process that closely resembles colonization and 're-colonization'.

11 'What is needed then, to begin with, is a fresh look at the British 'diaspora', or more accurately in most cases the British 'dispersal', for most migrants were not cast out of Britain but left voluntarily in order to better their lots. This included the Irish.' Carl Bridge and Kent Fedorowich, 'Mapping the British World', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History* (JICH), 31, 2 (2003), p.3.

12 Colonization projects always have complex motives and are not necessarily intentionally exploitative (although exploitation is the usual outcome for the colonized). In the early seventeenth century, Scottish aristocrat Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar listed the motives behind his proposal to form a colony in North America as including 'the propagation of the Gospell [sic]', 'the service of my Prince, and native Countrie' and 'to live happilie, plentifullie, and at ease', *Encouragements, for such as shall have intention to bee Under-takers in the new plantation of Cape Briton [sic], now New Galloway in America, by Mee, Lochinvar*, Edinburgh, 1625. It is interesting that well prior to the union of the Scottish and English parliaments, the symbolism associated with a single monarch provided the basis for the semblance of a single, cohesive nation. On the symbolism of monarchy in nineteenth-century Otago, see Alison Clarke, '"With one accord rejoice on this glad day"': Celebrating the Monarchy in Nineteenth-Century Otago', *New Zealand Journal of History* (NZJH), 36, 2 (2002), pp.137–60.

13 Eric Richards, 'Scotland and the Idea of British Diaspora', paper delivered to the 'Celtic Connections' Conference: Irish-Scottish Studies Down Under', Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Victoria University of Wellington, 24–26 October 2002. See also his essay, 'The Last of the Clan and other Highland Emigrants', in Tom Brooking and Jennie Coleman, eds, *The Heather and the Fern: Scottish Migration and New Zealand Settlement*, Dunedin, 2003, pp.33–47.

14 Stephen Constantine, 'British Emigration to the Empire–Commonwealth Since 1880: From Overseas Settlement to Diaspora?', JICH, 31, 2 (2003), pp.16–35.

15 Lyndon Fraser, *To Tara via Holyhead: Irish Catholic Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Christchurch*, Auckland, 1997; 'Irish Migration to the West Coast, 1864–1900', in Lyndon Fraser, ed., *A Distant Shore: Irish Migration and New Zealand Settlement, Dunedin*, 2000, pp.86–104; 'No one but black strangers to spake to God help me': Irish Women's Migration to the West Coast, 1864–1915', in Lyndon Fraser and Katie Pickles, eds, *Shifting Centres: Women and Migration in New Zealand History*, Dunedin, 2002, pp.45–62.

16 Fraser, 'Irish Migration to the West Coast', pp.91–92; Alasdair Galbraith, 'The Invisible Irish? Re-Discovering the Irish Protestant Tradition in Colonial New Zealand', in Fraser, ed., *A Distant Shore*, p.53; and the essays in Brad Patterson, ed., *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts and Perspectives*, Wellington, 2002.

17 Even Akenson, a world-renowned scholar of the Irish diaspora, insists on defining diaspora histories in terms of migration, as studies dealing 'with the homeland and with two or more countries of reception . . . . Otherwise, one is not studying diaspora, but simple migration from one point to another.' Akenson, p.387 On the other hand, most of his own published work, including the essay just cited, tends to confirm his speculation that: 'in practice as distinct from paradigm, "diaspora" has wide application'(p.385). Contrariwise, some scholars of the Irish in Victorian New Zealand have written what I would describe as nuanced diasporic studies without drawing overtly on diaspora as a conceptual framework. For example, Fraser, 'No one but black strangers'; Galbraith, 'The Invisible Irish'.

18 Rosalind McClean, 'Scottish Emigrants to New Zealand, 1840–1880: Motives, Means and Backgrounds', unpublished PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1990, ch.7, 'Kinship Strategies and Emigration'.

19 See, for example, Leslie Page Moch, *Moving Europeans: Migration in Western Europe Since* 1650, Bloomington, 1992; and the useful introduction to Jan Lucassen and Leo Lucassen, eds, *Migration, Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives*, Bern, 2nd edn, 1999.

20 Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, London, rev. edn, 1991; 'The New World Disorder', *New Left Review*, 193, May/June (1993), pp.3–14.

21 Cohen, *Global Diasporas*.

22 Robin Cohen, 'Rethinking "Babylon": Iconoclastic Conceptions of the Diasporic Experience', *New Community*, 21, 1 (1995), pp.5–18. As well as over-emphasis on suffering and oppression and under-emphasis on the creative potential of diaspora as exemplified in Jewish experience over many centuries, Cohen points out that Christian traditions have exaggerated and perpetuated the myth of 'wandering Jews': eternally homeless because of their role in the crucifixion of Christ (who of course was himself a Jew, as were his first followers).

23 See also James Clifford, 'Diasporas', *Cultural Anthropology*, 9, 3 (1994), pp.302–38. Clifford argues that 'Jewish (and Greek and Armenian) diasporas can be taken as non-normative starting points for a discourse that is traveling or hybridizing in new global directions' (p.306). Khachig Tölölian makes a similar point in his editorial 'preface' to the first issue of the journal *Diaspora*: 'The Nation State and its Others: In Lieu of a Preface', *Diaspora*, 1, 1 (1991), pp.3–7.

24 Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, esp. p.23, chs 2 and 5.

25 There is also an inherent illogicality in counterpoising 'diaspora' with nation-state, first, because diasporas sometimes aspire to state-hood, and secondly, because diasporas themselves are usually identified by some national referent. We speak, for example, of the Irish diaspora, the Palestinian diaspora, the Lebanese diaspora and the Chinese diaspora.

26 '[G]overnments presided over an ordered ethnic diversity and no one ever supposed that uniformity was desirable or that assimilation to a common-life or pattern of culture was either normal or possible.' William H. McNeill, *Polyethnicity and National Unity in World History*, Toronto, 1986, pp.14–17. Demographic historians have shown that the growth of urban populations through natural increase (a positive balance between births and deaths) was never likely before the nineteenth century because of infant and child mortality, periodic bouts of epidemic and the constant ravages of endemic disease.

27 Philip Curtin, *Cross-Cultural Trade in World History*, Cambridge, 1984.

28 For a useful summary of Toynbee's ideas see Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, pp.102–4.

29 Presumably the male colonists are virulent seeds springing from the British fatherland (somewhat confusingly referred to as the 'mother country'). See G.B. Earp, *Handbook for Intending Emigrants to the Southern Settlements of New Zealand*, London, 1849, p.19. The rhetoric of nineteenth-century British colonization drew heavily on the Greek metaphor of diaspora even though the actual word was not used in contemporary discourse. The imagery of dispersing and planting 'seeds' in British colonial discourse was explicitly sexual, as well as horticultural.

30 For an example of the former process, see Judith Bassett, 'Colonial Justice: The Treatment of Dalmatians in New Zealand During the First World War', NZJH, 3, 2 (1999), pp.155–79; for the latter, see Galbraith, 'The Invisible Irish?'

31 Peter Gibbons, 'Cultural Colonization and National Identity', NZJH, 36, 1 (2002), pp.5–17.

32 Presumably, British migrants were excluded from important studies such as K.W. Thomson and A.D. Trlin, eds, *Immigrants in New Zealand*, Palmerston North, 1970, because assimilation was the dominant theme of New Zealand immigration history in this period.

33 Cohen argues that the 'stranded minority' is not (normally) a diaspora: *Global Diasporas*, p.22. 'Diasporic minorities' are generally distinguished from 'ethnic minorities' (although there are many overlaps) on the basis that the former are connected by shared migration histories that link members to an ancestral home.

34 Because of their shared twentieth-century experiences of genocide, migrations, remigrations, national absorption (into the USSR) and national re-formation as a Republic, Armenian history, like that of the Jews (and more latterly the Palestinians) is frequently cited as a normative pattern of diasporic experience.

35 Tölölian, 'The Nation State and its Others'; Iain Chambers, *Migrancy, Culture, Identity*, London, 1994, p.27 (cited in Cohen, *Global Diasporas*, p.133); Paul Gilroy, *There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack: The Cultural Politics of Race and Nation*, London, 1987; *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* London, 1993; Walter, *Outsiders Inside*.

36 This is the central theme of Brah, *Cartographies of Diaspora*. See also Walter, *Outsiders Inside*, p.14. Like diaspora, 'hybridity' is a problematic concept-metaphor, the meaning of which becomes apparent through its repeated use in specified historical contexts.

37 Clifford, p.308.

38 Gilroy's important writings show how black diaspora cultures in contemporary Britain struggle to find different ways to be both British and also something else that relates to shared histories of migration and displacement. Bronwyn Walter explores similar ideas in her recent book about Irish women in Britain and the United States.

39 *Waikato Times*, 5 August 2003, p.5.

40 See *Enclopaedia Britannica* entry for 'Scotland', 1900 edition. Like Sir Walter Scott's novels and Sir John Reith's BBC, the *Enclopaedia Brittanica*, founded in Edinburgh in the 1760s, was originally a Scottish initiative aimed to imbue 'Britishness' with a distinctly Scottish hue.

41 New Zealand historians have also sampled sources such as probate records and death certificates to discover the origins of migrants. The most comprehensive analyses so far are those by Terry Hearn for a joint project of the Ministry of Culture and Heritage. Preliminary overview findings are on the Ministry's website and in a number of short publications. See Terry Hearn, 'Irish Migration to New Zealand to 1915' and 'The Irish on the Otago Goldfields, 1861–71', in Fraser, ed., *A Distant Shore*, pp.54–74, 75–85; 'The Origins of New Zealand's Irish Settlers, 1840–1945', in Patterson, ed., *The Irish in New Zealand*, pp.15–34; 'Scots Miners on the Goldfields, 1861–1870', in Brooking and Coleman, pp.67–86.

42 For a full discussion see McClean, 'Scottish Emigrants', ch.6.

43 For example, when Donald McLean made enquiries about Argyllshire shepherds from Glenorchy 'being provided for New Zealand' his intermediary contact was his kinswoman in Glasgow whose brother-in-law was a parish minister in the Highland parish of Glenorchy. (I am grateful to archivist Frank Rogers for pointing out this exchange to me.)

44 Over one-quarter of all Scots (irrespective of destination) who left the United Kingdom between 1853 and 1880 embarked at ports outside of Scotland. (Calculated from British Parliamentary Papers: Appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners and data collected by the Board of Trade.) In 1854, a peak year of Scottish emigration to Australia, a total of 2699 emigrants left for Australia from Scottish ports, about half of these supported by the Highland and Island Emigration Society. In the same year 11,493 Scots left for Australia from English ports. This was the era of gold rushes in Victoria and everything seemed to 'ring Australia'. The latter phrase is from James Turnbull who gives an account of emigration from his district in the 1850s, *Hawick in Bygone Days*, Hawick, 1927.

45 Literary evidence suggests that most of the Scots leaving English ports were passengers-in-transit rather than stage migrants. See Turnbull, *Hawick*, pp.17–19; William Ayson, *Looking Back: Glenshee to Otago*, *1853–56 to 1953–56*, Hamilton (NZ), 1975, p.34.

46 Community networks were uncovered by linking data from ships lists and local records in Dunedin with individual and household information from Scottish census enumerators' books. Personal details about the Gillies family are from Mary Douglas Gillies' essay, 'John Gillies' in George J. Griffiths, ed., *The Advance Guard*, ser.III, Dunedin, 1974, pp.242–81.

47 Otago Settler's Museum MS (I have added punctuation to the original).

48 Gillies, 'John Gillies', p.244.

49 The proportion of Scots living in Glasgow and Edinburgh rose from about 9% to about 17% during the second half of the eighteenth century. But this level of growth (probably higher than anywhere else in Europe) is partly accounted for by the relatively small populations of Scottish towns at the beginning of the period. (The nature of Scottish urban development is linked, I think, to the readiness of Scottish males to become diasporic traders in other parts of the globe). Even as late as 1800, the population of Dublin was greater than Glasgow and Edinburgh combined, and Cork was as big as either of the major Scottish cities. By the time of the Treaty of Waitangi Glasgow was a major hub of the British Empire. Scotland's very rapid urbanization had enormous repercussions.

50 In the period of my PhD study, 1840–1880, the Scots as a collective went to a greater diversity of destinations than probably any other European, and certainly any other United Kingdom national group; so they were scatterers and sowers of seeds (and they were also more likely to be male and unmarried than was the case for their English and Irish counterparts). As a collective they are also regarded as keen participants in and in many ways seen as giving definition to imperial projects. John M. Mackenzie argues that the Scots created their own Empire rather than merely acting as collaborators in a British (English) enterprise. John M. MacKenzie, 'A Scottish Empire? The Scottish Diaspora and Interactive Identities' in Brooking and Coleman, pp.17–32.

51 The author, Martin Spitzer, who was born in Vienna, lost his family in the Holocaust, and split his working life between Adelaide and Tel Aviv, once told me that living in diaspora means that not only are the bridges burnt, but they can never be rebuilt because the homeland that was, is gone forever.

52 One reason why the word diaspora is now preferred by Irish academics is because the concept of diaspora has been presented by Irish politicians and others as positive, something to be embraced, even 'cherished'. In her inaugural presidential address in 1992 Mary Robinson urged the Irish to 'cherish' the diaspora. Piaras Mac Éinri, 'The Global Irish Diaspora: A View from Ireland', Stout

Lecture, 'Celtic Connections' Conference, 25 October 2002. The 'Irish Diaspora' gives Irishness and Ireland a global setting. 'Emigration', on the other hand, is presented as shameful, coercive, exilic and (here is yet another paradox) something akin to our dictionary and commonplace understandings of 'diaspora'.

53 This would change with time as the long global passage became cheaper and swifter. In the 1870s (when the percentages can first be calculated) migration from the Australasian colonies to the United Kingdom was equivalent to about 8% of migration from the United Kingdom to Australasia. The corresponding figure for the United States, by contrast, was about 60%. Calculated from British Parliamentary Papers, Statistical Tables Relating to Emigration and Immigration, Reports to the Board of Trade.

54 'Here is the country we are looking for; a land well grassed and watered — a very land of promise. Here we will pitch our tent, and we shall stay and make our home for good.' Diary of Watson Shennan, cited in biographical essay by Murial M. May, 'Watson Shennan of Puketoi', in Griffiths, ed., *Advance Guard*, ser.I, p.172.

55 Sarah Wither to Barbara Wither, 7 January 1897, Wither family papers, private collection. Although Sarah herself feels homesick and contemplates shortening her stay in New Zealand, she comments that 'the New Zealanders' (presumably her brother, who left Scotland over 30 years previously, and his family) had no desire to accompany her. They blame the price of wool, but in reality had 'no desire to visit the old country'. Mrs Mary Wither of Portpatrick, Stranraer, kindly gave me access to family papers in 1983.

56 'Courtship By Correspondence', typescript of letters (1912–1919) from Barbara Hamilton of Brackenridge to Andrew Dykes in New Zealand, private collection. I am very grateful to Carolyn Deverson, the editor of this collection, for allowing me to cite from her grandmother's unpublished letters.

57 For another expression of these themes see Stephen Turner's essay, 'Settlement as Forgetting', in Klaus Neumann, Nicholas Thomas and Hilary Ericksen, eds, *Quicksands: Foundational Histories in Australia and Aotearoa New Zealand*, Sydney, 1999, pp.20–38.

58 A.G. Hopkins, 'Back to the Future: From National History to Imperial History', *Past and Present*, 164 (1999), pp.198–243.

59 *Sailing Alone Around the World and Voyage of the Liberade* by Captain Joshua Slocum, London, nd.

60 I came to this conclusion after comparing Daisy's hand-written notebook of recipes with my mother's recipes and cutting books made in the 1950s There is a small newspaper cutting of a recipe for 'chocolate roughs or afghans' in Mum's recipe book, which suggests the substitution in Daisy's recipe is for 'chocolate roughs', and while coconut is in the list of ingredients, there is no reference to cornflakes (hardly surprising). I can find no reference to chocolate afghans (or roughs) in printed New Zealand recipe books prior to the 1950s.