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SCOTTISH EMIGRANTS TO NEW ZEALAND, 1840-1880:

MOTIVES, MEANS AND BACKGROUND

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 7.9)

The period 1840 to 1880 is important for the demographic history of both Scotland and New Zealand. During the second half of the nineteenth century Scotland had the second or third highest rate in Europe of emigration to destinations overseas. New Zealand became a British territory in 1840 and in the four following decades immigration, not natural increase, was the main source of New Zealand's population growth. Most of the immigrants who entered New Zealand during these years were born in the UK, and of these about one quarter were Scots. Between 1853 (when estimates can first be made) and 1880 Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand account for 12 per cent of the gross total of Scots emigrating overseas. This was a significant minority of all Scots who left the land of their birth in this period, and for a time emigration to New Zealand was a highly visible movement which captured the popular imagination in Scotland.

The thesis asks 'who' were the emigrants who left Scotland for New Zealand, 'why' did they travel 15 000 miles to Britain's farthest colony when other 'established' destinations were closer and cheaper to reach, and 'how' were they enabled to go. As a preliminary to answering these questions, the geographic and social background of the emigrants is explored. The thesis takes a 'longitudinal' approach: nominal data derived from New Zealand ships' lists are traced back to a variety of Scottish sources including vital registers and unpublished records of the census enumerators. Wherever possible the thesis compares these data with similar evidence from other studies and finds that emigration from Scotland to New Zealand was not aberrant from the general experience of Scottish emigration, although Scots who went to New Zealand had a number of distinctive characteristics which set them apart from, say, Scottish emigrants who went to the USA or to Canada. The thesis finds that these characteristics were not the resultant of selective criteria such as the regulations which governed eligibility for an assisted passage on an emigrant ship. However, Scots who went to New Zealand took advantage of cost-cutting facilities whenever they could.

This thesis aims to provide a quantitative contribution to both Scottish and New Zealand history. In addition, the thesis treats this particular exodus of people as a case-study to explore a number of themes current in the literature of nineteenth century European emigration. These themes include: the relationship between emigration and the social and economic origins of the emigrants; the relationship between emigration and internal mobility; the role of interventionist forces, such as recruiting agencies, in effecting the process of emigration; and the extent to which emigration can be explained by the self-generating effect of emigration 'chains'. The thesis contributes new data and ideas with relevance to each of these themes. Patterns of emigration from Scotland, and indeed from all of Britain, are found to diverge significantly from common trends detected in the emigration flow from other European countries.

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I am deeply grateful to people in Britain and in New Zealand who answered my appeal for information about Scots who left their native land last century. The generosity and the spontaneity of the response was overwhelming: some 300 people shared family documents, stories and letters from the days of their forbears. Although only a few of the contributors are mentioned by name in the footnotes, the whole collection of personal material provided a rich body of evidence which has profoundly influenced interpretations given in this thesis.

During research and in the early stages of writing I benefited greatly from the advice and assistance of librarians and archivists. I am very grateful to Frank Rogers, to Helen Spooner and others at Otago Early Settlers' Musuem, and to the staff of the Edinburgh University Library, the National Library of Scotland, the Scottish Record Office, and New Register House (Edinburgh). My thanks are also due to the Registrar General of Scotland for allowing me access to the records of births, deaths and marriages and to the unpublished census schedules held in New Register House. Throughout the duration of this project the

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For Cam, Ruth and Vera.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

AJHR	Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives (New Zealand)
BR	Birth Register
Cen.	Unpublished Census Enumerator's Book
CO	Colonial Office
FC	First Church (Dunedin, NZ)
GRO	General Record Office (Scotland)
HIES	Highland and Island Emigration Society
HL	Hocken Library (Dunedin, NZ)
ML	Mitchell Library (Glasgow)
MR	Marriage Register
NANZ	National Archives, New Zealand
NRH	New Register House (Edinburgh)
NZ	New Zealand
NZJH	New Zealand Journal of History
OESM	Otago Early Settlers Museum (Dunedin, NZ)
OPR	Old Parish Register
PRO	Public Record Office (London)
SRA	Strathclyde Regional Archives (Glasgow)
SRO	Scottish Record Office (Edinburgh)
WRH	West Register House (Edinburgh)



NEW ZEALAND: NORTH ISLAND
(Provincial boundaries as at 1876)



NEW ZEALAND: SOUTH ISLAND
(Provincial boundaries as at 1876, Southland as at 1871)

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION: SCOTLAND, NEW ZEALAND AND EMIGRATION IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY.

1.1 The Context of the Study

The span of years between the end of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of the First World War is sometimes referred to as 'the emigration century'. During this period over 44 million people left Europe for destinations overseas; most left during the second half of the nineteenth century and early decades of the twentieth.[1] At no other time has emigration from Europe been so sustained and so widespread. Young men and women grew up in a world where the prospect of leaving the land of their birth formed a central part of their vision, of their sense of opportunity and choice. In some parts of Europe emigration was a life-cycle event - an expectation almost as probable as finding a first job, or marriage.

No attempt to explain this phenomenon of mass international migration within a single theoretical framework has ever been wholly successful. This is partly because of problems of definition and measurement: for example, how do we distinguish between 'permanent' and 'temporary' migration, and to what extent are such distinctions important?

By its very nature the issue of migration lends itself to quantification. There is a rich analytical tradition, dating back to the early years of this century, associated with the work of economists and other social scientists who have attempted to build models of the nineteenth century emigration phenomenon. Their efforts to do so have been directed by empirical studies of the timing of business cycles in relation to the 'great

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[1] I. Ferenczi and W. F. Willcox, *International Migrations* , 2 vols (New York, 1929-31), Vol. 1 (1929), pp. 236-38.

waves' of immigration into the United States, the most important area for receiving European migrants last century.[2]

Most econometric models of the emigration phenomenon rely on what is essentially an analysis of the international market place (in which migrants are seen as a labour commodity). The efficacy of the models usually depends on the ability of postulated causal factors to explain regional or national rates of immigration or emigration. These causal factors may include differential income and employment levels in host and sender country,[3] differential levels of production and investment,[4] and population growth rates in the sending area.[5] The most ambitious of the models try to portray a complex interactive structure, reflecting a view of international migration as a crucial determinant of employment and wage conditions as well as a resultant of economic and social change.[6]

Despite the technical complexity and methodological rigour involved in the conception and creation of econometric models of emigration, this approach to the topic has yielded diminishing returns. When measured in aggregate, migration flows appear to show a reponsiveness to economic and demographic conditions, but the revealed correlations are

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[2]Influential studies which set the conceptual framework include: H. Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (New York, 1926); S. Kuznets, 'Long Swings in the Growth of Population and Related Variables', *Proceedings of the American Philosophy Society* CII, No. 1 (1958), 25-52; J. Schumpeter, *Business Cycles,* 2 vols. (New York, 1939); B. Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth. A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 1954); and D. S. Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements* (New York, 1941). This literature is briefly reviewed in J. D. Gould, 'European Inter-Continental Emigration, 1815-1914: Patterns and Causes', *Journal of European Economic History* 8 (1979), 593-679 and in D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy. Emigration and Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985).

[3]Baines, op. cit; T. Moe, 'Some Economic Aspects of Norwegian Population Movements: An Econometric Study', *Journal of Economic History,* 30 (1970), 267-70; and J. A. Tomaske 'The Determinants of Inter-Country Differences in European Emigration, 1881-1900', *Journal of Economic History* 31 (1971), 840-53.

[4]H. W. Richardson, 'British Emigration and Overseas Investment, 1870-1914', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XXV (1972), 99-113; B. Thomas, op. cit; and D. S. Thomas, op. cit.

[5]Baines, op. cit; R. A. Easterlin, 'Influences on European Emigration Overseas Before World War One', *Economic Development and Cultural Change* IX (1961); and J. M. Quigley 'An Economic Model of Swedish Emigration', *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 86 (1972), 111-126.

[6]For example see J. G. Williamson, 'Migration to the New World: Long Term Influences and Impact', *Explorations in Economic History* 2, No. 3 (1974), 299-310.

difficult to interpret, and the explanatory power of the models is limited. We do not know, for example, whether a correlation between high emigration rates from Europe and a period of prosperity in the USA reflects cause and effect (the 'pull' of the USA), or merely the effect of this pull on the timing and direction of emigration of those already with a desire to leave home. Nor do the models explain the diversity of the emigration experience. From mid-century, and particularly from the 1870s, a number of (but not all) European countries responded simultaneously to periods of boom in the USA, but emigration rates varied markedly between localities and regions within the donor countries. 'Level of previous emigration', rather than level of industry or population density for instance, is found to be the variable with the most consistent success in explaining this regional variation.[7] In addition the models deal almost exclusively with only one destination, the United States.[8] Not all emigration was directed towards the United States. The extent of emigration to other destinations varied strongly between sending regions.[9]

Perhaps the underlying weakness of the econometric approach to explaining the emigration phenomenon is that these attempts rely ultimately on what is still an unproven surmise: that most emigration was undertaken in order to maximise life-time earnings. The models fail to capture other types of motivation. For example, they do not account for the role of 'Empire' as a force initiating and channelling emigration from particular countries.

Because of the diversity and complexity of the nineteenth century European emigration phenomenon, and also because of the historical specificity of many of its aspects, the present author favours an historian's approach to the subject - albeit informed by insights from other disciplines. Historians have studied the phenomenon of

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[7]This is shown, for example, in the results of A. G. Kelley, 'International Migration and Economic Growth, Australia, 1865-1935', *Journal of Economic History,* 25 (1965), 333-54; Quigley, op. cit; and M. Wilkinson, 'Evidences of Long Swings in the Growth of Swedish Population and Related Variables, 1860-1965', *Journal of Economic History* 27 (1967), 17-38.

[8]Exceptions are the work of Kelley, op. cit. and D. Pope, 'The Push-Pull Model of Australian Migration', *Australian Economic History Review* 16 (1976), 144-52.

[9]This point is elaborated further below.

emigration from a variety of points of view. Many have been interested primarily in the development of countries which were net receivers of migrants last century. Typically, these scholars have asked questions about the ethnic composition of immigrant groups, their social mobility, their 'assimilation' into the new society, and their role in the economic and cultural development of that society.[10] Other historians have been more interested in processes of change and continuity in the sending regions, and have often viewed emigration as a symptom, secondary to economic and other forms of dislocation in the sending area.[11] A third important aspect of the historical tradition of migration studies has been the exposure of motives and the explanation of procedures associated with agencies - such as governments, landowners, entrepreneurs, trade unions and welfare institutions - which may have promoted or impeded emigration at particular times.[12] We still know very little, however, about the interplay between these 'external' agencies, economic forces and individual motives.

Some of the most interesting work in migration studies during the past twenty-five years has been in the 'Thistlethwaite' tradition. In 1960, at a conference in Stockholm, Frank Thistlethwaite argued that explanations of the emigration phenomenon be sought in detailed study of the social and economic context in which emigration took place. In

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[10]Much of the American literature of immigration falls within this tradition. Examples are the well-known works by R. T. Berthoff, *British Immigrants in Industrial America* (Cambridge, Mass. 1953); Oscar Handlin, *Race and Nationality in American Life* (Boston, 1957); and M. A. Jones, *American Immigration* (Chicago and London), 1960. More recent works by the last two authors are concerned with the European backgrounds of the migrants and this is also true of the classic study by Marcus Lee Hansen: *The Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*, Cambridge, Mass. 1940. However, the role of ethnicity in America's development still remains a central theme - 'perhaps the central theme' of American history, writes S. Thernstrom in a foreword to R. A. Easterlin, D. Ward, S. B. Williams and U. Reed, *Immigration. Dimensions of Ethnicity* (Cambridge, Mass. 1982). Other works which focus on the contribution of immigrants to developing societies include most of the essays in R. A. Cage, ed. *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London,1984); K. W. Thomson and A. D. Trlin, eds. *Immigrants in New Zealand* (Palmerston North, 1970) and M. Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney, 1983).

[11] The work of Scottish economic historians often falls within this category.

[12]Examples of studies which fit this category are F. Broeze, 'Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia, 1831-1850', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XXXV (May 1982), 235-253; O. MacDonagh. *A Pattern of Government Growth: The Passenger Acts and Their Enforcement* (London, 1961); and H. L. Malchow 'Trade Unions and Emigration in Late Victorian England: A National Lobby for State Aid', *Journal of British Studies* 15, No. 2, (1976), 92-116.

particular, he stressed the importance of investigating the relationship between emigration and internal migration (including temporary and seasonal movements) and the importance of a focus which regards emigration as intrinsic (as opposed to incidental) to processes of economic, social and demographic transformation within the country of origin.[13] Thistlethwaite's challenge was taken up by Scandinavian scholars, in particular a group at the University of Uppsala ,who adopted a multi-disciplinary approach to the problem. The findings of the Scandinavians have contributed vastly to our knowledge of the chronology and composition of migration and emigration and to our understanding of the relationship between emigration, internal migration, and urban growth.[14] Many ideas which direct the way we now view the study of emigration (for example, the current questioning of the relevance of statistics aggregated at the national level in relation to the investigation of migration motivation) can probably be attributed to the Scandinavians. The Uppsala group found that variation in emigration patterns measured at the level of the locality or region could not be explained by economic and social factors, and they drew renewed attention to the importance of information flows, kinship ties and local traditions of migration and emigration.[15] In recent years the Scandinavians have pioneered attempts at 'longitudinal studies' of emigration - these being analyses of the circumstances of particular individuals or communities at different locations across time.[16]

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[13]F. Thistlethwaite, 'Migration from Europe Overseas in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries', *XIe Congrès International des Sciences Historique, Stockholm, 1960, V: Historie Contemporaine* (Stockholm, 1960), pp. 32-60, discussed by Harald Runblom, 'A Brief History of a Research Project', in H. Runblom and H. Norman, eds, *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration.* (Minneapolis, 1976), p. 14.

[14]The contribution of Scandinavian research to our understanding of this relationship is discussed in more detail in Chapter Three. The findings of the Uppsala group are summarised in H. Runblom and H. Norman, eds, op. cit. Other influential studies include K. Hvidt, *Flight to America. The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York, 1975), Fred Nilsson, *Emigrationen från Stockholm til Nordamerika 1880-93* (Stockholm, 1970) and I. Semmingsen, 'Family Emigration from Bergen 1874-93', *Americana Norvegica* III (1971), 38-63. Many important findings of these and other studies are summarised in I. Semmingsen, 'Emigration from Scandinavia', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* XX No. 1 (1972), 45-60.

[15]H. Runblom and H. Norman, eds, op. cit. esp. chap. 6 and H. Norman, *Från Bergeslagen till Nordamerika. Studier i migrationsmönster, social rörlighet och demografisk struker met utgångspunkt från Örebo län 1851-1915.* Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 62 (Uppsala, 1974).

[16]One example is the work by Jon Gjerde: 'The Effect of Community on Migration: Three Minnesota Townships, 1885-1905', *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (1979), 403-

Surprisingly, in view of the importance of Britain's contribution to mass emigration last century, empirical studies of the British emigration phenomenon are few. This is usually attributed to lack of sources, although records which are available, sometimes for particular localities of origin or particular regions of destination, are by no means fully appraised, let alone exploited. Insights from the Scandinavian literature are sometimes applied when nineteenth century emigration from Britain is discussed.[17] But there are few attempts to test Scandinavian ideas against British data, and inadequate recognition of the ways in which the British emigration experience was different from that of other European countries. For example, British emigrants exhibited far more diversity in terms of destination than did their Scandinavian counterparts.[18]

The two scholars who have done most in recent years to advance a tradition of empirical study of emigration from the British Isles have both pointed to features of the British experience which diverge from what we know from the Scandinavian and other European studies. Charlotte Erickson analysing the composition of British emigrants going to the USA in a number of periods points out that maturing industrialisation did not stem the British emigration tide.[19] Dudley Baines has made estimates of net emigration rates for all English and Welsh counties in the second half of the nineteenth century and continues the theme of 'migration in a mature economy'. His investigation of the relationship between emigration and internal

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22; and *From Peasants to Farmers: the Migration from Balestrand Norway to the Upper Middle West.* Cambridge, 1985. Robert Ostergren argues the case for longitudinal studies in his essay, 'Swedish Migration to North America in Transatlantic Perspective', in I. Glazier and L. De Rosa, eds, *Migration Across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historical Contexts* (New York and London, 1986), pp. 125-47.

[17]For example see I. Levitt and T. C. Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission Report of 1844* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 240.

[18]For example, about 95 out of every 100 emigrants leaving Sweden and Norway last century went to destinations in the United States (Gould, op. cit. p.626); by contrast, nearly three of every five Scots going to destinations outside Europe between 1853 and 1880, did not go to the United States.

[19]C. Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century?', in D. V. Glass and R. Revelle, eds *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), pp. 347-81.

migration yields unexpected results and calls to question standard interpretations of this complex interplay.[20]

Despite the work of Baines and Erickson we still know very little about the most basic aspects of the British emigration experience - such as 'who left?', 'from where?' and 'in what numbers?' One of the main aims of this thesis is to enlarge our knowledge of the characteristics of people who chose to leave nineteenth century Britain, and to see in what ways this information helps us to recognise and understand the forces which propelled emigration from Britain in a period when many regions and the British economy as a whole could already be described as 'industrially mature'.

The thesis is also a case-study of a European-wide phenomenon. In his well known critical essay published in 1979, the economist J. Gould called for studies of European emigration which could provide data capable of disaggregation (especially for smaller geographical areas than those dictated by national boundaries) and which considered other destinations besides the USA.[21] The thesis aims to provide such a case study. Examination of the diversity of emigration experience and comparison of results seems to be the best way forward for our understanding of nineteenth century emigration.

The thesis is also an attempt to provide a longitudinal study of emigration, with a focus on the individual who is traced from place to place across time. So far, scholars of Scandinavian and other European migrations have been successful in tracing emigrants of the 'settler type' between rural communities in the United States and in Europe.[22] There are also studies of migration between and within the countries of Europe which have aimed to locate particular migrant-types very

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[20]D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985). The work of Baines and Erickson is discussed in more detail in the following chapters (especially Chapters Three, Five and Six).

[21]op. cit.

[22]J. Gjerde, op. cit. (1985); R. C. Ostergren, 'A Community Transplanted: The Formative Experience of a Swedish Immigrant Community in the Upper Middle West', *Journal of Historical Geography* 5 (1979), 189-212; R. P. Swierwenga, 'Dutch International Migration and Occupational Change: A Structural Analysis of Multinational Linked Files', in Glazier and De Rosa, eds op. cit. pp. 95-124.

precisely within the geographical, social and economic context of their origins.[23] These studies have yielded insights into both sending and receiving communities, and, by examination of the minutiae of the process of migration, have raised questions and tested assumptions as to why people were willing and able to leave 'home', why some went and not others, and why those who went 'chose' the particular destinations that they did. It is within this broad category of the literature that the present case study of emigration from Scotland to New Zealand hopes to find a place.

1.2 Why Scotland and Why New Zealand? The Case Study.

If we employ the same figurative language as nineteenth century commentators, who often described the trans-oceanic movements of their time in terms of 'great floods' and 'uncontrollable currents', then the tide of migration which flowed from the UK towards Australasia last century might be likened to a divergent stream, and that from Scotland to New Zealand as an inconsequential trickle. Why then, should the issue of emigration from Scotland to New Zealand be of interest?

Apart from the justification that this migration can be analysed and its constituent elements compared to other streams of human-kind flooding out from nineteenth century Europe (and from nineteenth century Britain in particular), a further pretext for study lies in the fact that international migration was of central importance to the nineteenth century development of both Scotland and New Zealand. Scotland's tradition of emigration is of course centuries old, and, compared with other European countries, her ranking as a loser of population extremely high. If we measure gross annual rates of emigration in terms of population size, Scotland ranks third after Ireland and Norway as the European country with the greatest loss to emigration overseas during the second half of the nineteenth and early decades of the

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[23]For example B. Collins, 'Irish Migration to Dundee and Paisley during the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', in J. A. Goldstrom and L. A. Clarkson, eds *Population, Economy and Society: Essays in Irish Economic and Social History in Honour of K. H. Connell* (Oxford, 1982). L. H. Lees, *Exiles of Erin: Irish Migrants in Victorian London* (Manchester, 1979).

twentieth centuries;[24] and, if net emigration overseas is measured against natural increase, Scotland's placing in 'this unenviable championship' is probably second only to Ireland.[25] New Zealand was of course a net receiver of migrants during the second half of the nineteenth century, and, for the period with which this thesis is concerned, 1840-1880, immigration not natural increase was the main determinant of population growth. Between 1839 and 1881, the 'Pakeha' or non-Maori population of New Zealand grew from about 1000 to about 500,000 and even at the end of this period only about 46 per cent of the non-Maori population was New Zealand-born.[26] In terms of immigration rates (net immigration as a proportion of the population of the receiving country) New Zealand attracted more incomers during the 1840-1880 period than did the USA.[27]

In contrast to other regions producing large numbers of emigrants last century (in particular the Scandinavian countries and Ireland, and also the countries of 'new emigration' in the south and east of Europe, especially Italy) Scotland has received very little attention. Levitt and Christopher describe the issue of emigration from Scotland as a 'dark corner of population history',[28] and in a useful summary chapter in *Scottish Population History,* Michael Flinn points out that precise knowledge of the emigrants' characteristics - their jobs and their origins - is extremely scanty.[29] Emigration from the Highlands is the main exception to this general comment, and recent work by Eric Richards and by Tom Devine has drawn renewed attention to the 'Highland problem' and emigration during the famine decades and middle years of

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[24]Baines, op. cit. Table 2.1, p. 10.

[25]M. Flinn et al. *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), p.448. Flinn estimates that during the period 1861 to 1939, Scotland lost 43.7% of her natural increase of population through net emigration overseas. The figure for Norway (which probably refers to gross as opposed to net emigration) is estimated as 'well over 40%' for the period 1865 to 1914. T. Moe, Dissertation Abstracts, International Series A (1971), 31, p. 6259, cited by Flinn, ibid. Flinn probably underestimates Scotland's population loss through emigration because in making calculations he assumes that the rate of return migration before 1895 was as high as after that date, which is unlikely to have been the case.

[26]Appendix I.XII, Table 2.

[27]Ferenczi and Willcox, op. cit. Vol. 1, Table 14, p. 209, cited by Gould, op. cit. p. 604.

[28]op. cit. p. 236.

[29]op. cit. pp. 452-5

the nineteenth century.[30] Most other work, however, concentrates on the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, especially on the period which begins roughly with the harvest failures of 1763-4 and includes the 'great removals' of people from Highland estates after the Napoleonic Wars.[31] Emigration from the Highlands and Hebrides is distinctive because of its long association with conflict, drama, suffering and debate, and also because it was characterised by the transplantation of extended networks of families (sometimes whole communities) and often under the instigation or leadership of landowners, tacksmen or ministers. With the exception of the Highland phenomenon, little has been said about the relationship between economic, social and demographic changes and conditions which rendered emigration structurally probable, and the mechanisms which 'tapped' these conditions and which ensured that tens of thousands of men and women were leaving Clydeside ports each year, long after Lowland Scotland was industrialised.[32] For the middle decades and second half of the

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[30]T. M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988); E. Richards, 'Highland Emigrants to South Australia in the 1850s', *Northern Scotland* 5 (1982), 1-29; and *A History of the Highland Clearances,* 2 vols, Vol 1: *Agrarian Transformation and the Clearances* (London, 1982), Vol 2: *Emigration, Protest, Reasons* (London, 1985). Adam Collier's economic analysis also covers the middle decades of the nineteenth century, as does work by Malcolm Gray and Michael Flinn. A. Collier, *The Crofting Problem* (Cambridge, 1953); M. Flinn, 'Malthus, Emigration and Potatoes in the Scottish North-West 1770-1870', in L. M. Cullen and T. C. Smout, *Comparative Aspects of Scottish and Irish Economic History 1600-1900* (Edinburgh 1977), pp. 46-60; M. Gray, 'The Highland Potato Famine of the 1840s', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. VII (1955) and *The Highland Economy 1750-1850* (Edinburgh, 1957).

[31]The following works include relevant material (this list is by no means exhaustive): M. I. Adams, 'The Causes of the Highland Emigrations of 1783-1803', *Scottish Historical Review* 17 (1920), 73-89; 'The Eighteenth Century Highland Landlords and the Poverty Problem', *Scottish Historical Review* 19 (1922), 1-20, 161-79; 'The Highland Emigration of 1770', *Scottish Historical Review* 16 (1919), 280-93; J. M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance, 1770-1815.* (Edinburgh, 1982); E. Cregeen, ed. *Argyll Estate Instructions, 1771-1805* (Edinburgh, 1964); R. M. Mitchison, 'The Highland Clearances', *Scottish Economic and Social History* 1 (1981); E. Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1973); A. J. Youngson, *After the Forty-Five. The Economic Impact on the Scottish Highlands* (Edinburgh, 1973). Also well-known is J. Hunter, *The Making of the Crofting Community* (Edinburgh, 1978), which focuses on the last quarter of the nineteenth century - on the period of the Napier Commission and the establishment of tenant right.

[32]A recent attempt to redress the balance in favour of a part lowland region has been made by Marjorie Harper: *Emigration from North-East Scotland,* 2 vols (Aberdeen, 1988). Works which incorporate important data about emigration from the Lowlands are C. Erickson, 'Who were', op. cit; M. Gray, 'Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands 1775-1875', *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 95-174; Levitt and Smout, op. cit.; Macdonald, D. F.

nineteenth century, when Scottish net migration overseas may have run at higher levels than at any other time during the 'emigration century' (this is if net out-migration is expressed in terms of population size)[33], not even a simple categorisation of those who left in relation to those who stayed at home and to those who left from other European countries has been attempted.[34]

One aspect of the Scottish emigration experience in this period which is relatively easy to establish, at least with regard to emigration overseas,[35] is the number of emigrants born in Scotland who left ports in the United Kingdom each year and the broad region of destination to which they were bound. This information was tallied and recorded for every year from 1853 by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, a government body which was established in Britain in 1840 in order to (among other tasks) supervise the implementation of the Passenger Acts.[36]

The number of Scots going to the three main regions of destination in our period is shown in Figure 1.1.

Scotland's Shifting Population 1770-1850 (Glasgow, 1937); and (despite its title) A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850* (Manchester, 1926).

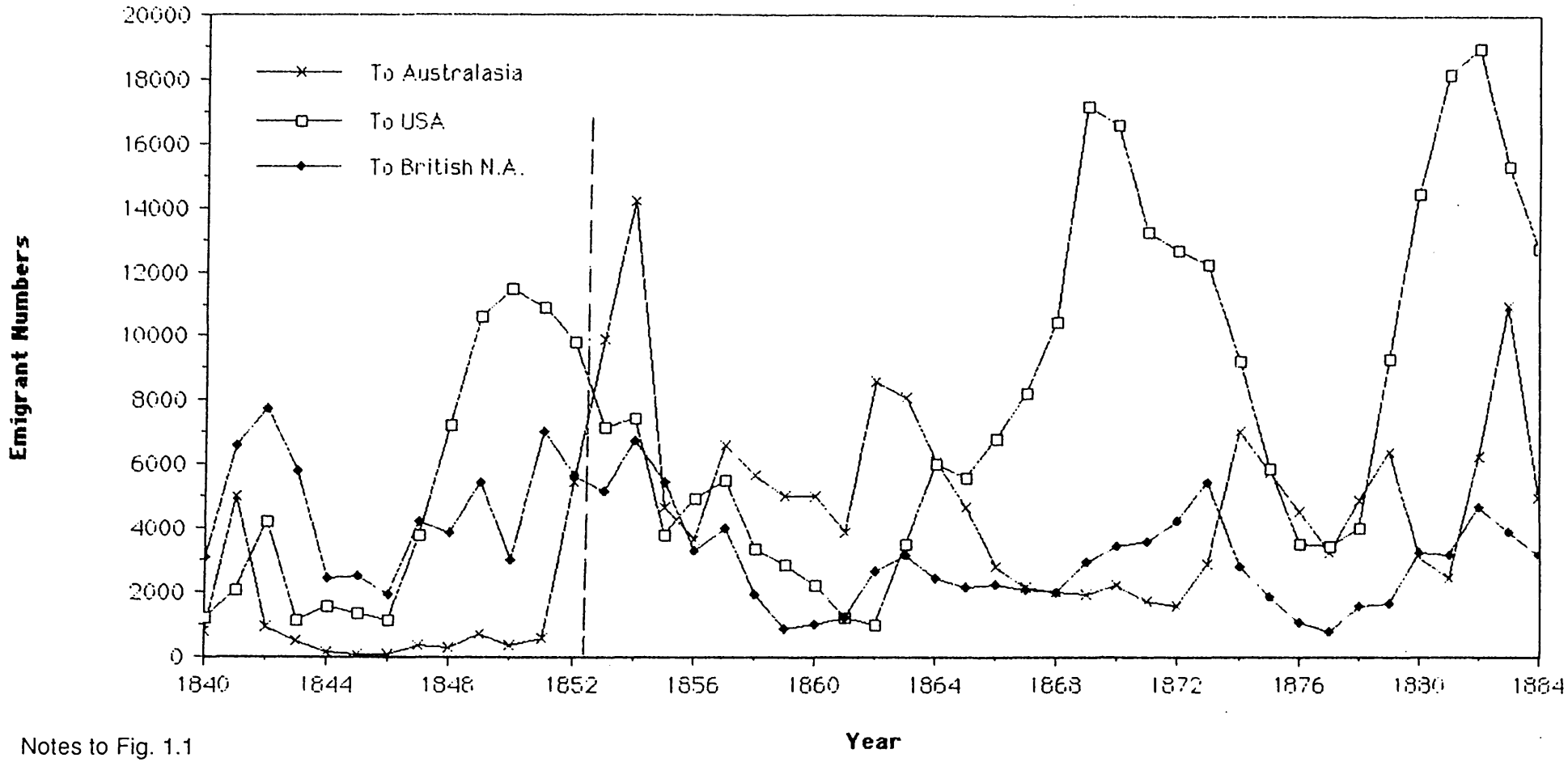
[33]Erickson, 'Who were', op. cit. Table 2, p.351.

[34]Erickson's analysis of the occupations of British emigrants who went to the USA at mid-century and in the 1880s does not distinguish between the English and the Scots. However, Erickson does provide us with information about the type of county (whether it was primarily industrial or primarily agricultural) from whence her sample of Scottish emigrants came. Erickson, 'Who were', op. cit. (There is further discussion of these aspects of Erickson's work in Chapters Five and Six below.)

[35]For an estimate of the number of Scots who left Scotland for other parts of the United Kingdom see Flinn, et al. op. cit. p. 442. (Migration from Scotland to England is also discussed briefly in Chapter Five below.)

[36]The detailed reports of the Commission, published annually between 1840 and 1873, give an indication of the scope of the Commission's activities. For further information see O. MacDonagh, *A Pattern of Government Growth: The Passenger Acts and Their Enforcement* (London, 1961). The Emigration Commission was disbanded in 1873 and from then on its activities were subsumed by the Board of Trade.

Fig 1.1 Scottish Emigration: Destinations, 1840-84



Notes to Fig. 1.1

Before 1853 the graph shows numbers leaving Scottish ports for various destinations rather than numbers of Scots-born leaving the United Kingdom. (Reliance on the port statistics inflates the United States element, and grossly deflates the aggregate numbers of Scots-born bound for Australasia.)

The graph shows that there were sharp fluctuations in the level of emigration to each destination. Between 1853 and 1880 more Scots went to the USA (45.9 per cent) than to any other destination, but significant proportions (31.7 per cent for Australasia and 18.0 per cent for British North America) went to the two rival regions of destination.[37] The tendency for emigrants from the UK *not* to go to the USA in this period was stronger for the Scots than it was for the English and the Irish. Between 1853 and 1880 about 55 per cent of English (and Welsh) emigrants went to destinations in the USA and the same is true of about 82 per cent of the Irish.

These percentages (and Figure 1.1) are based on tallies of *gross* out-migration from the UK. Only a fragmentary record of migration into Britain was kept by the Emigration Commission until the 1870s, and, returning migrants were not distinguished by country of birth until 1895. Hence, it is not possible to estimate net emigration from Scotland to each of the major regions of destination before the latter date.[38] Arguably, the absence of net figures is more problematic with regard to the measurement of Atlantic flows than it is for estimating the extent of annual migration between the UK and Australasia. Between 1873 and 1878, migration from the United States into the UK was equivalent to 59.7 per cent of emigration to the USA from the United Kingdom while the corresponding percentage for Australasia was only 8.3 per cent.[39] Admittedly the mid-1870s were years of depression in the USA and a period of expansion in Australasia. But, notwithstanding this, the main reason for the large discrepancy between gross and net levels of emigration to the two regions lies probably in the comparative ease of trans-Atlantic travel, and, possibly, in the differentials of labour demand in the two receiving regions. Steam superseded sail on the

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[37]The remaining 4.3% went 'elsewhere' to destinations such as the Cape, Natal, the Falkland Islands and the West Indies. (Only 0.1% of English (and Welsh) emigrants and 0.01% of Irish emigrants went to destinations outside the three main regions of settlement during these years.) All percentages given in this paragraph are calculated from Appendix 1.VIII.

[38]However, net migration from each Scottish county to all destinations can be estimated using 'Baines's method'. See discussion in Chapters Three and Five. (The port authorities were under no obligation to record the movement of cabin passengers until 1863, so the group most likely to be transients may not have been included in the gross totals (before 1863) in any case.)

[39]See data in Appendix I.XV.

Atlantic route in the 1860s, but it was not until the 1880s, and the technical break-through of the triple expansion engine, that steam travel became practicable on the long voyage to New Zealand and Australia. Most emigrants going to Australasia faced the prospect of 12-15,000 miles by clipper sail and a voyage of two to two and a half months as late as the 1870s, while the steam-boat journey across the Atlantic by this time was a matter of twelve to twenty days.[40]

It is also possible that return migration from Australasia to the 'mother country' was qualitatively different to the migration from the USA to the UK. At the end of the 1850s the Emigration Commissioners attributed migration from North America to Britain to 'commercial distress' in the former region, while migration from Australia to Britain was explained by 'persons having acquired property ... returning to enjoy it in the mother country'.[41] These descriptions support the notion of an 'Atlantic Economy' directing international migration between Europe and the Americas in the second half of the nineteenth century[42] while emigration from the UK to the farthest reaches of the British Empire does not fit easily within the same conceptual framework. Labour mobility, as far as it reflected general economic conditions in Australasia, was exercised in speculative ventures across the Tasman Sea. Curious middle class travellers, business promoters, and visitors who intended to return to Britain

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[40]On the other hand, the Emigration Commissioners noticed high levels of return migration from Australia (as well as from the USA) to the UK during the second half of the 1850s - although they give no precise estimates of the numbers involved. Nineteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners for the Year 1859. *PP* 1859 [c.2555 Sess. 2] XIV 159. This return migration from Australia occurred in the wake of the gold rush in Victoria. The population of Victoria rose from 77,345 to 409,637 between 1851 and 1857, an increase of more than five-fold in just six years. But, by December 1857, a total of 102,974 (about one third of the total increase) had already departed. Not all of these departing migrants were bound for the UK: for example, the Provincial Government of Otago, New Zealand, took advantage of high unemployment levels in Melbourne in 1857, and was successful in luring a shipload of Melbourne residents, most of whom were born in Scotland, away to New Zealand. Those who went back to Britain were probably the wealthiest of the migrants leaving Victoria. This was the comment in *Chambers Journal* with regard to the circumstances of migrants leaving Melbourne for Britain in the late 1850s:

> The increasing numbers have by their industry acquired an independence and a sufficiency to return to their native land.

(*Chambers Journal* X No. 249 (9 Oct. 1858), 240.)

[41]Nineteenth General Report.

[42]The expression 'Atlantic Economy' comes from the work of Brinley Thomas. His theories are discussed in Chapter Three.

probably accounted for a growing proportion of Australasian cabin passengers throughout the 1860s and 1870s. But it is also likely that most of those who travelled in the steerage had only ever tickets one way.

For these reasons the gross levels of out-migration from Scotland shown in Figure 1.1 probably underestimate the extent of permanent migration from Scotland to Australasia in relation to permanent migration from Scotland to other destinations, in particular, the USA. Before 1853 return migration from the Americas to the UK was unlikely to have been significant, and so the level of gross out-migration across the Atlantic is a better indicator of net out-migration from the UK for the first than for the second half of the century. However, information about the nationality of emigrants leaving the UK is not continuously available for the period before 1853. In Figure 1.1 the number of emigrants leaving Scottish ports each year (as opposed to the number of Scottish emigrants) is given for the years between 1840 and 1852 (inclusive). Once again this is an indicator which tends to underestimate the level of Scottish emigration to Australasia in relation to Scottish emigration to other destinations. Other sources suggest that most Scots who emigrated to Australasia in the 1840s and early 1850s left the UK from an English port and hence are not included in the tallies depicted in Figure 1.1.[43] On the other hand, the United States' tally includes the many Irish emigrants who embarked at the Clyde. The picture is especially likely to be distorted in the late 1840s and early 1850s - in the aftermath of the Irish Famine and in years which overlapped the discovery of gold in Australia.

Unfortunately, in most of their tabular returns, the Commissioners for Emigration made no distinction between New Zealand and Australia. However, it is possible to estimate the number of Scots who left ports in the UK for destinations in New Zealand each year between 1840 and 1880. This involves some tedious procedures using New Zealand shipping lists and incoming port statistics together with information (available in the Appendices to the Reports of the

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[43]Over three-fifths of the Scots who left UK ports for New Zealand between 1840 and 1852 (inclusive) embarked at an English port. In 1854, over four times as many Scots going to Australasia left the UK from an English port as left from a port in Scotland.

Emigration Commissioners for the period between 1853 and 1872) about the total number of emigrants leaving for New Zealand from each port in the UK, the proportion of all Australasian-bound emigrants from each port who were Scots, and the proportion of all Australasian-bound emigrants from each port who were going to New Zealand.[44]

Between 1853 and 1880 emigration to New Zealand accounted for 12.2 per cent of the gross out-migration of Scots to overseas destinations and 38.5 per cent of the gross total of Scots who went to Australasia direct from a port in the UK.[45] In fifteen years of this twenty-eight year period more than one in ten of all Scots who left the UK for extra-European destinations went to New Zealand, and in some years the ratio was very much higher. Between the December of 1859 and the July of 1863, for example, 11 284 Scots went to New Zealand out of a total of 35 207 Scottish emigrants to all destinations.[46] This period coincides wth the outbreak of Civil War in the United States which resulted in the overall level of emigration from Europe being very much reduced (although the total number of Scots emigrating soon recovered and was back on a par with the mid-1850s by 1862). These years also overlap with the discovery of gold in Otago, a province in the south of New Zealand which had been designated for Scottish settlement in the 1840s, and which, in 1858, contained only 11.7 per cent of New Zealand's non-Maori population, but 44 per cent of New Zealand's residents who had been born in Scotland. Between 1858 and 1864 the population of Otago grew from 6944 to 49 019, an increase of over 600 per cent in just six years, and, by the latter date contained 28.5 per cent of New Zealand's non-Maori population and 52 per cent of all New Zealand's residents who were Scots-born.[47] About 36 per cent of the increase in the population of Otago during these years can be accounted for by net migration into the region from the UK.[48]

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[44]These procedures are explained and the estimates set out year by year in Appendix One.

[45]Calculated from Appendix I.II and I.VIII.

[46]These figures are derived from a special accounting of emigrants going to the various destinations which includes data on each of the 'colonies' of Australasia and which was presented by the Emigration Commissioners to the House of Commons in 1863. (Data relating to Scotland and New Zealand are reproduced in Appendices I.III and I.XI)

[47]These data are derived from Appendix I.XIII.

[48]Net migration into Otago (and Southland) from the UK between the years 1858 and 1864 totalled 16,036 persons. (Calculated from Blue Books and Abstracts of New

(An unknown proportion of the incomers to Otago during the early 1860s who were born in Scotland came via the gold diggings in the Australian colony of Victoria.)

The proportion of emigrants who were born in Scotland and bound for New Zealand is also striking during the mid-1870s.[49] Between 1874 and 1876, those Scots who went to Britain's farthest colony account for over one-quarter of total external migration overseas by Scottish nationals. These years coincide with the period of peak emigration from the UK to New Zealand under what is known as the 'Vogel Scheme'. Julius Vogel was Treasurer, then Prime Minister, of the Colony between 1871 and 1875, and is generally held responsible for a massive public works scheme and immigration programme which was launched during the period of his office.[50] During the 1870s a loan to the order of 20 million pounds was raised in Britain for the financing of settler recruitment and the development of colonial infrastructure and, over 100 000 European immigrants (of whom about 93 per cent were born in the UK) were assisted to emigrate to New Zealand.[51] In 1871 New Zealand's non-Maori population was 256 393 persons. At the beginning of the following decade it was 489 933 persons, an increase of nearly 91 per cent (of which net immigration accounted for the greater part).[52]

Despite the importance of international migration for New Zealand's demographic development during the 1840 to 1880 period, there are very few studies which attempt to determine the precise geographical and social backgrounds of the European immigrants. Indeed, New

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Zealand Statistics, 1859-1864, PRO, CO 213/45-50.) Southland had separate provincial status from Otago during the decade of the 1860s: the figures given to depict population rise in the above paragraph refer to Otago only (see Appendix I.XIII, Table One and Two) while the percentage of population increase attributable to net migration from the UK refers to Southland as well as Otago.

[49]See Appendix I.II.

[50]In 1875 Vogel retired to London and assumed the position of Agent-General for New Zealand Immigration.

[51]'Bill for authorising a guarantee of a loan to be raised by the Government of New Zealand, for the construction of roads, bridges, and communications in that country, and for the introduction of settlers ' *PP* 1870 [c.190] III 569. An Act to amend "The Immigration and and Public Works Act, 1870" [16 Nov. 1871] *PP* 1872 [c.562] XVI 639, pp.155-77. See also Appendix I.X.

[52]During 1871-5, 67% of the population growth of New Zealand's non-Maori population was due to net migration; the figure was 47% for the years 1876-80.

Zealand's record in this respect is less impressive than that for Scotland. The important exception to this comment is the work by Rollo Arnold, now nearly ten years old, which demonstrates how the massive influx of immigrants under the Vogel Scheme was linked to the 'Revolt of the Field' and the promotion of emigration in rural England by agricultural trade unionists.[53] Arnold's interpretation is convincing but does little to advance our understanding of the continuing high levels of out-migration from Scotland to New Zealand. Agricultural trade unionism had very little relevance for Scotland in the 1870s.[54]

An older tradition in the New Zealand literature, which goes right back to the time of the Vogel Scheme (if not before), centres on the issue of the 'quality' of the immigrants - of their probity and their social standing. During the past thirty years there has been much debunking of the old 'myths', especially those surrounding the British immigrants who came out to New Zealand as 'Wakefield settlers'[55] during the 1840s. No longer are the emigrants who set sail for a 'brighter Albion' in the southern seas described as 'a sturdy yeomanry', 'the very pick of the race' or a representative 'slice' of the God-fearing, hard-working and respectable elements in British society. But, there have been few serious attempts to replace the myths. Those who seek to classify and describe the newcomers still employ a vague and cautious terminology: 'hewers of wood and drawers of water', 'relatively homogeneous', 'a rather

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[53]R. Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington, 1981). In recent years much valuable work has been done by biographers and genealogists researching the backgrounds of particular individuals and families. But there is as yet little by way of a general context against which these studies can be set.

[54]The long hire system (six months or a year) and the perpetuation of allowances in kind implied a level of security and a rural social structure in Lowland Scotland which was very different from Cornwall, Devon, Lincoln, Wiltshire, Warwickshire or Oxfordshire, the counties from which most of the English rural labourers to New Zealand, came. I. Carter, 'Unions and Myths: Farm Servants Unions in Aberdeenshire,1870-1900', in T. M. Devine, ed. *Farm Servants and Labour in Lowland Scotland 1770-1914* (Edinburgh, 1984), pp. 213-225; T. M. Devine, 'Scottish Farm Labour in an Era of Agricultural Depression, 1875-1900' in T. M. Devine, ed. *Farm Servants*, op. cit. pp. 243-255. Also relevant although relating to an earlier period is T. M. Devine, 'Social Stability and Agrarian Change in the Eastern Lowlands of Scotland, 1810-1840', *Social History* 3, No. 3 (1978), 331-46.

[55]See Section 1.3 below for a brief account of the Wakefield Scheme.

motley company', 'a fairly typical bunch of immigrants with an average number of both the worthy and the worthless'.[56]

One reason why there are few attempts to study the European backgrounds of settlers in New Zealand[57] (and this is particularly true with regard to the biggest group, who came from the British Isles) is because it has been unfashionable in recent years to do so. During the past decade the study of New Zealand's history in the 1840-80 period has centred on the issue of the legitimacy of European settlement and the theme of race relations.[58] The reappraisal of New Zealand's history from a non-European point of view has promoted a tendency to regard the colonising settlers as a uniform outside force - land hungry and determined to exploit the land and its people. Often the settlers' backgrounds are described simplistically, in terms of 'appalling conditions' and 'a surplus population' - with no recognition, it seems, of the diversity which existed, even in one country such as Scotland, and the fact that there were many other destinations to which the

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[56]Tom Brooking, 'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside - the Scots in New Zealand', in Cage, ed. *The Scots Abroad* op. cit. p. 160; David Herron, 'Alsatia or Utopia? New Zealand Society and Politics in the Eighteen-Fifties', *Landfall* XIII (Dec 1959), 329; K. A. Pickens, 'The Origins of the Population in Nineteenth Century Canterbury', *New Zealand Geographer* XXXIII (Oct. 1977), 69-75.

[57]There has been more work done on immigrants from continental Europe than on the settlers from Britain. See for example: I. H. Burnley, 'German Immigration and Settlement in New Zealand 1842-1914', *New Zealand Geographer* XXIX (Jan. 1973), 45-63; R. A. Lochore, *From Europe to New Zealand: An Account of Our Continental European Settlers* (Wellington, 1951); Thomson and Trlin, eds op. cit. Indeed, until about 15 years ago, the British settlers seemingly, did not even qualify as 'immigrants'.

[58]The two most influential books of the past decade are *The Treaty of Waitangi* (Wellington, 1987) by Claudia Orange and *The New Zealand Wars and the Victorian Interpretation of Racial Conflict* (Auckland, 1986) by James Belich. The former is an extended discussion of the background to, interpretations of, and the on-going impact of the treaty, signed in 1840, which ceded sovereignty of the islands of New Zealand from the native Maori people to the British crown. In the latter book, James Belich argues that substantive Maori sovereignty was retained (especially in the King Country of the central North Island) and vigorously defended in the armed conflict of the 1850s and 1860s, out of which the British troops emerged as victorious only because the European view of history tells us so, and not because they triumphed in the sense of winning a military campaign. The reappraisal of New Zealand's history from the point of view of racial conflict and interaction is reflected in the changing of labels. The wars of the central North Island, once known as the 'Maori Wars', then the 'Land Wars', and by the late 1970s and early 1980s as the 'New Zealand Wars' are now sometimes referred to as the 'Settler Wars'. These tags indicate beliefs about causation, responsibility and sources of aggression.

immigrants might have gone.[59] Obviously, race relations and the Polynesian heritage are central influences shaping life in New Zealand today. But surely New Zealand's developing sense of national identity also demands that we understand the European legacy? What did the settlers leave behind them, and what were they hoping to achieve?

There is still a popular belief that a derivative 'Scottishness' pervades New Zealand's Pakeha society. Sometimes this inheritance is described in terms of attitudes to education, religion, land-ownership, or work - and it has even been measured using pseudo-cultural indicators such as 'pipe bands per capita of population'. This thesis is not about ethnicity or the role of 'the Scots' in New Zealand's economic and social development, although one aim is to enhance our understanding of the background from whence the strong sense of Scottish identity derives. One point which is clear is that there were proportionally more Scots among the United Kingdom settlers who came to New Zealand than there were Scots living in the UK, and this over-representation is probably stronger for New Zealand than it is for any other nation which was a net-receiver of European migrants last century. In 1851 the Scots constituted 10.5 per cent of the population then living in the UK. But of the emigrants departing the UK for New Zealand between 1840 and 1880, the Scots account for 27 per cent, 21 per cent, 34 per cent and 18 per cent of the total in each of the four decades respectively. Even at the end of the 'Vogel' decade, during which (for the first continuous period of time) far more Irish emigrants had gone to New Zealand than had Scots, there were still more Scots-born settlers living in New Zealand than there were Irish-born. At no time in the second half of the nineteenth century can such an observation be made for Australia, even with regard to the so-called Scottish colony of Victoria, nor for Canada, the destination which is most often associated with the emigation of the Scots.[60]

Whether or not the Scots made an impact on New Zealand society 'out of proportion to their numbers' is another issue altogether and beyond the scope of the present study. On the other hand there is evidence that,

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[59]One piece which strongly reflects this tendency is: Rob Steven, 'Land and White Settler Colonialism: the Case of Aotearoa', in David Novitz and Bill Willmot, eds *Culture and Identity in New Zealand* (Wellington, 1989), pp. 21-34.

[60]Appendices I.VIII and I.XII.

in the period before 1880, the emigration of Scottish people to New Zealand made a mark on the general consciousness of the Scots which is indeed disproportionate to the numbers involved:

> Next to Canada, New Zealand is the most favoured resort of the Scottish emigrant. The reasons for this preference are various, but probably the chief is its resemblance to Scotland...[61]

> If the emigration from Ireland is chiefly directed to the Great Republic, the Scotch emigrants have chiefly been attracted to Canada and the colonies in the southern hemisphere. New Zealand is getting a large proportion ...one of the provinces (Otago) being originally colonised by Scotchmen. [62]

And, this was the comment of a young Australian travelling in Scotland during the early 1880s:

> In this country New Zealand is everything. That debt-laden, thinly populated country is the only one worth living in. Their wool licks Australia's; their climate is superior; our poor continent is behind in everything. That is the sort of drivel one is always hearing. In Scotland, going to the colonies always means going to New Zealand.[63]

The first two of the three comments cited above were written in 1869, a time of peak emigration from Scotland to the United States - indeed, the highest peak before the massive outflows of the 1880s.[64] People's perspectives about the popularity of different emigrant destinations were clearly not always in tune with the reality of numbers going. What then was the source of the beliefs?

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[61]'Field for Emigrants No. Four: New Zealand', The Glasgow Sentinel and Journal of the Industrial Interests No. 966, 10 Apr. 1869.
[62]'Fields for Emigrants No. One: Canada', *Glasgow Sentinel* op. cit. No. 963, 20 March 1869.
[63]Donald Mackinnon to Willie Mackinnon, 9 Feb. 1882. Cited by Margaret Kiddle, *Men of Yesterday* (Melbourne, 1961).
[64]See Fig. 1.1.

1.3 Background Factors Pertaining to New Zealand as a Destination for Migration.

In many respects the New Zealand emigration experience is a case study of the Australasian emigration experience in general. Like Australia, New Zealand was subject to a 'tyranny of distance'[65] which meant (among many other things) that the cost of shipping emigrants to New Zealand was very much higher than the costs involved in trans-atlantic shipping.[66] The two countries had similar labour requirements in terms of gender and skill, and the provinces of New Zealand and the colonies of Australia were often rivals in the international market for migrants.

In many years during the 1840-80 period, colonial governments in Australasia had to provide some sort of subsidy on the cost of passage fares in order to entice emigrants from Europe when labour was in short supply. However, in the long or medium term emigration to the farthest colonies still had to succeed as a business venture. By the 1860s, New Zealand, like Australia, was highly geared for the production and export of gold and wool. The high price for wool on the international market gave a high value to colonial land, and it was largely profit from the sale of crown lands which was used to subsidise the cost of immigration. On the long voyage out from the UK the clipper ships carried a human cargo; on arrival at ports in New Zealand and Australia, the steerage berths were cleared away and the 'tween decks filled with wool bales for the voyage home. It was primarily the profitability of wool which made large-scale emigration to New Zealand a viable enterprise - until the crash in world wool prices in the late 1870s.

The issue of emigration to Australasia is sometimes dismissed on the grounds that emigration was 'artificially' induced through the

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[65]Distance is a central theme in the history of European settlement in Australasia. See Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance. How Distance Shaped Australia's History* (Melbourne, 1968); Keith Sinclair, *Distance Looks Our Way. The Effects of Remoteness on New Zealand* (Hamilton, 1961).

[66]For example, the cost of a steerage berth aboard an emigrant ship bound for New Zealand or Australia in 1863 was some £18 whereas the cost of the cheapest berth aboard a sailing ship bound for the United States at that time was only £3 5s.

mechanism of passage assistance. But it can also be argued that passage assistance was no more artificial an inducement to emigration than the rupture of the North Atlantic Shipping Conference in May 1874 or the technical improvements in steam shipping which similarly operated to reduce passage fares on the Atlantic route. From the emigrants' point of view, the availability of an assisted passage often meant that the cost of going to Australasia was merely on a par with the cost of travel to the Americas (although at times free or very cheap passages to specified regions of Australasia were available, only to men and women who were deemed to be 'desirable' as emigrants, usually on the grounds that they possessed certain skills). In practice, it is often difficult to distinguish between 'assisted' and 'unassisted' emigrants because even those who paid full fare may have been privately aided to do so - by an emigration society, a family member, a benevolent institution, or an employer or landlord. Nevertheless the issue of passage assistance and its effect on the selectivity of emigration to Australasia will be addressed in the following chapters.

'Assisted emigration' should not be confused with 'relief emigration' although there were certainly occasions when emigration of the 'shovelling out paupers' variety was directed towards Australia and New Zealand - more so to the former than the latter country. An extreme instance of relief emigration to Australia was the large scale removal of a desperate class of cottiers and crofters and their transportation to South Australia and New South Wales in the early to mid-1850s, an exodus which was largely the result of intervention by Highland landlords in association with the Highland and Island Emigration Society.[67]

With regard to the conduct of assisted emigration, New Zealand and Australia were very different, and these differences may have affected the characteristics of the migrants going to either destination. Most assisted emigration to Australia took place under the control, or at least the surveillance, of the Emigration Commissioners, who, from 1840, co-ordinated the activities of the Colonial Office agents formerly responsible

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[67]See Richards, 'Highland Emigrants to South Australia', op. cit. and *A History of the Highland Clearances,* Vol 1, op. cit.

for the selection and despatch of emigrants going to New South Wales under the 'Bounty' regulations.[68] From 1847 until 1872, colonial governments in Australasia could attempt to regulate the level of inward migration traffic by emptying their coffers and depositing appropriate sums with the Emigration Commissioners who supervised operations in Britain.[69] About 36 per cent of gross emigration from UK ports to Australasia in this period was conducted by the Commissioners for Emigration, the greater portion of the government-controlled emigration (54.2 per cent) taking place between 1852 and 1857 at the same time as 'unassisted emigration' to Australasia attained unprecedented levels, following the discovery of gold in the Melbourne district.[70]

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[68]Under the 'Bounty' system, tenders were called by the British Government for ship owners to provide steerage passages to Australia of the cheapest possible description. The government agents were reponsible for overseeing the welfare of the emigrants (although high mortality rates aboard Australian emigrant ships during the 1830s suggest that in the early years the Government's contracted shipping arrangements left much to be desired). The shipping interest received a 'bounty' on delivery of its human cargo for each emigrant whose characteristics conformed to the Sydney regulations. For the shipping interest, there was little risk involved because, had the Sydney authorities invoked the Bounty conditions and reneged on payment for 'unsuitable' emigrants, the government contract implied that the Government rather than the shipping interest would have been ultimately liable. (Auditor General's Survey. Papers Relative to the New South Wales Bounty System, Emigration to the Australasian Colonies *PP* 1847-8 [c.345] XLVII 679; Seventh General Report of the Emigration Commissioners for the Year 1846. *PP* 1847 [c.809] XXXIII 131.) Under the Bounty scheme, some 10,000 and 18,500 emigrants were assisted to South Australia (the first 'Wakefield' colony) and New South Wales, respectively, between 1837 and 1840. A further 6,453 emigrants were despatched by the Emigration Commissioners before 1846. (Of this group most went in 1842, and a resultant glut in the Sydney labour market then curtailed large-scale government emigration to Australia until 1847.) After 1843 the responsibility for 'selecting' emigrants was effectively delegated to the shipping companies under government contract. For further details of the operations of the Bounty system, and for analysis of emigrants from Scotland who were assisted under the scheme, see D. S. Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia, 1788-1850* (Oxford, 1967) and Prentis, op. cit.

[69]The migrants themselves were required to pay a deposit (usually on a par with cross Atlantic fares) and the British Government also made significant contributions to the cost of Australian emigration during this period. (For example, between 1847 and 1849 inclusive, £570,000 was spent on emigration to Australasia: £40,000 was furnished by the British Government; £70,000 came from the individual contributions of the emigrants; and the greater part £460,000 came from deposits made from the Colonial Land Fund. Tenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners for the Year 1849 *PP* 1850 [c.1204] XXIII 55, p.6.) The rationale behind this tripartite payment scheme was that emigration was mutually beneficial to colonial society, British society and the emigrants themselves.

[70](The Melbourne district was disjoined from New South Wales in 1851 and subsequently known as the Australian colony of Victoria.) The efforts of the Emigration Commissioners during these years were made in order to meet the frantic

Unlike Australia, New Zealand was of negligible significance with regard to the operations of the Emigration Commission. Between 1851 and 1871 the Provincial Councils of New Zealand had effective control over land revenues and immigration into their respective regions[71], and rather than deposit funds with the Emigration Commission, generally preferred to appoint their own agents to organise the shipping and recruitment of migrants in Britain. Between 1847 and 1872 only 839 emigrants went to New Zealand under the auspices of the Emigration Commission.[72] (This was 0.3 per cent of the total emigration to Australasia conducted by the Emigration Commissioners during these years.) About three-quarters (76.6 per cent) of the 839 were 'Lancashire operatives' despatched by the Commission in response to a single 'benevolent gesture' on the part of the Canterbury Provincial Council during the 'cotton famine' of the American Civil War years.[73] New Zealand played a more prominent part in the British Government's relief operations before the reorganisation of the Emigration Commission in 1847, than thereafter. In 1842, for instance, 830 emigrants travelled on three of the Commission's ships to the port of Auckland. Two of the ships, the *Duchess of Argyll* and the *Jane Gifford,* left Britain from the Clyde, the express purpose of this emigration was to relieve Paisley weavers during an acute trade

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colonial demand for labour as employers in New South Wales, South Australia and Victoria saw the mobile elements of their labouring populations filtering off to the alluvial fields. During the first year of the 'rush' the Commissioners had difficulty finding the 1500 or so emigrants required each month to fill the waiting colonial ships. The problem was especially acute in the summer season when it was necessay at times to 'resort to the more distressed parts of Ireland, and the Poor Law Boards'. Twelfth Report of the Emigration Commissioners for the Year 1851. *PP* 1852 [c.1499] XVIII 161, 23,32,121. Literary records testify that large numbers left Scotland for Australia during the early 1850s (although precise estimates cannot be made before 1853).

> 'Free trade and Australia are operating most beneficially on the material prosperity of our working classes'

was the comment of the *Glasgow Examiner*, 30 July, 1853. An observer from the Borders recorded:

> In the early 'fifties there was a great boom in emigration through the whole country...At the time of which I am writing, all the billboards and blind walls in the town were covered with notices of ships sailing to Australia...

James Turnbull, *Hawick in Bygone Days* (Hawick, 1927), p.17.

[71]A map of New Zealand in the prefacing section of the thesis shows provincial boundaries as they existed at the time of the formal abolition of the provinces in 1876.

[72]See Appendix I.XIV.

[73]Twenty-fourth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, for the Year 1863. *PP* 1864 [c.3341] XVI 477.

depression.[74] A further 671 persons were given aid to go to New Zealand between 1841 and 1843 under the provisions of the English Poor Law Amendment Act.[75] For the most part, however, emigration from Britain to New Zealand should not be regarded as 'relief emigration', and certainly, from the 1850s at least, the initiative behind the provision of schemes for assisting emigrants to the colony came from within the colony itself.

The story of immigration into New Zealand during the years 1840 to 1880 can be broken down into at least three distinct phases, and by way of shorthand these are referred to throughout the following chapters as the New Zealand Company period (1839-51), the provincial period (1852-70) and the Vogel period (1871-80).[76]

By the mid 1830s, the idea of New Zealand had captured the imaginations of the 'colonial reformers', a group of radical Whigs and neo-Malthusianists who viewed emigration not as a distasteful shedding of the poorest and most despised sections of the population, but as a means by which 'capital' and 'labour' could be exported from the mother country in due proportion, thus enabling the development of ordered society in the New World and at the same time easing the population burdens of Great Britain and ensuring her on-going international market and cultural supremacy. This, essentially, was the ideology of 'systematic colonisation', a set of ideas and theories which are most

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[74]General Report of the Emigration Commissioners *PP* 1842 [c.567] XXV 55.

[75]Most came from parishes in Kent and Somerset (35% and 17% respectively) with a further 9% from Cornwall and 4% from Devon. 'An Account of the Persons who have been Aided in Emigration from England and Wales under the Provisions of the Poor Law Amendment Act, July 1836 - Dec. 1847' *PP* 1847-8 [c.345] XLVII 679 , 14-23.

[76]The Provincial Councils gained autonomy over their respective regions by the (New Zealand) Constitution Act of 1852. The councils were not abolished until 1876, but the central government (consisting of an elected 'House of Representatives' and an upper chamber - the 'Leglislative Council' - the members of which were nominated by the Governor) gained effective control over immigration, land and customs revenues from an earlier date. There is some overlap between the second and third 'phases' delineated above because: during the Provincial period, the House of Representatives controlled aspects of immigration, in particular, the recruitment of 'military settlers' during the New Zealand Wars in the central North Island (c. 1859-1872); the South Island provinces, especially Otago, kept their own immigration agents in Britain during the early years of the Vogel period; and provincial rivalry certainly outlived the formal abolition of the provinces.

closely associated with the name of Edward Gibbon Wakefield.[77] The 'New Zealand Association' (later known as the 'New Zealand Company') was formed in London in 1837 with the aim of creating settlements in New Zealand along the lines laid down by Wakefield. In 1839 the Company began shipping emigrants to New Zealand before it had any legal right to New Zealand land.[78]

Before the arrival of the first 'Wakefield settlers' in Wellington, New Zealand's European population consisted probably of no more than one thousand settlers - residing mainly in scattered sealing and whaling settlements along the coast and in missionary settlements in the north. The country was also beginning to attract, in increasing numbers, speculators and squatters from neighbouring Australia. According to the papers of Colonel C. W. Hope (of Luffness) who was Undersecretary of State at the Colonial Office in the early 1840s, the British Government felt impelled to intervene in the New Zealand situation partly in order to protect the settler interests (because the British settlers who had emigrated with the New Zealand Company had done so in good faith) and partly to protect the Maori people and to ensure that any land purchases were made on an equitable basis.[79] New Zealand was colonised in an evangelical age, and there is a strong case that humanitarianism was as powerful an influence as any other on the politickings which led to the Treaty of Waitangi, signed by Maori chiefs and by representatives of the British crown on February 6, 1840.[80]

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[77]Wakefield's ideas are discussed further (briefly) in Chapter Six. For an intriguing analysis of Wakefield's theories and the groups to which they appealed see R. S. Neale, *Class and Ideology in the Nineteenth Century* (London and Boston, 1972).

[78]The notorious activities of the New Zealand Company, its long wrangles with the Colonial Office, and the factors which led to the cession of Maori sovereignty to the British crown in February 1840 are well covered in the secondary literature (although still hotly debated) and so are not elaborated upon in any detail here. See for example Peter Adams, *Fatal Necessity, British Intervention in New Zealand 1830-1847* (Auckland and Oxford, 1977); Patricia Burns, *Fatal Success: A History of the New Zealand Company* (Wellington, 1989).

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> 'You are aware that the annexation of New Zealand in 1840 was not the spontaneous action of the Queen's Government; but was forced on them as the only means of averting the evils with which unauthorised settlements of Her Majesty's subjects there appeared to threaten the inhabitants, whether European or aboriginal.'

SRO, (WRH) GD 364 Bundle 461, Lord Stanley to Grey, 13 June 1845.

[80]Keith Sinclair, *A History of New Zealand* (rev. edn, Auckland, 1988), Chap. 2. Another point of view is that the action of the New Zealand Company forced the

By this treaty New Zealand became a British colony. The New Zealand Company obtained its charter, and, by the end of 1842, 7364 emigrants despatched by the Company had already arrived at the 'Wakefield' settlements of Wellington, Nelson and New Plymouth.[81] The long-standing and justified recalitrance of Maoris in Wellington, earthquakes, the killing by Maoris of Wakefield's brother and a group of surveyors in Nelson, and the Company's quarrel with the Colonial Office then shelved the experiment for the next four years. The 'New Edinburgh Association', originally the brainchild of Whig MP, George Rennie, who had hoped to secure something of Wakefield's planned Utopia for Scotland, was a casualty of this demise.[82]

Irrespective of its other misfortunes, the New Zealand Company from the outset stood little chance of commercial success. This was mainly because its land policy was strongly rooted in Wakefield's ideas, including the most controversial of all his tenets - the doctrine of the 'sufficient price'.[83] By this piece of dogma, the price of colonial land was to be set artificially high in order to meet the cost of emigration, and also

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Government's hand. The Directors of the New Zealand Company were men of very considerable political clout. Their number included Joseph Somes, the biggest shipowner in London in the 1830s, and later a Tory MP, Lord Durham, Lord Petrie, Russell Ellice, J.W. Buckle and others closely associated with 'city' interests. (PRO, CO 208 293) On the other hand, the missionary societies also had friends in high places. (Sinclair, ibid.) Broeze's argument (op. cit.) that state intervention in the peopling of Australasia was forced through by the acts and influence of private enterprise is not at odds with the argument that idealism - whether expressed in terms of concern for native peoples or belief in the 'noble' cause of systematic colonisation - was also an important motivating force.

[81]'A Return for Each Year from 1837 ... in Regard to Each of the British Colonies in which Land Revenues are Applied for the Introduction of Emigrants' *PP* 1847-8 [c.345] XXLVII 679. Another estimate gives the number of emigrants despatched by the Company between 1840 and 1843 (inclusive) as 8767. *Statistics of New Zealand for the Crown Colony Period 1840-52* (Economics Dept., Auckland University College, Auckland, n.d.) The discrepancy between this figure and that stated in the text is too big to be accounted for by the fact that each refers to a slightly different span of years (1840-1843 in the former case and 1839 to 1842 in the latter). The discrepancy may arise because the larger total includes emigrants sent by agencies auxiliary to the New Zealand Company whereas the smaller total may not. (The Plymouth Association, for example, was responsible for organising the emigration of Cornish and Devonshire men and women who went to New Plymouth in the Taranaki region in the early 1840s. The Plymouth Association was later subsumed by the parent body.)

[82]See Chapter Four.

[83]For example, see 'Colonisation - Mr Wakefield's Theory', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine* No. CCCCIII, (May 1849), 509-28. The author is an advocate of systematic colonisation but is vehemently opposed to Wakefield's doctrine of the sufficient price.

to ensure that those who were assisted to emigrate did not quickly become land owners. (The ready provision of an adequate labour supply was intended to attract 'capitalists' to the scheme.) The crux of the problem with these ideas was that although enthusiasts were inspired to buy New Zealand land as a speculative or benevolent gesture, too few could be persuaded to emigrate themselves. And, those who were attracted by the prospect of owning and working land in New Zealand could seldom afford the high cost. Some Scottish families got around the problem by clubbing together to meet the cost of a town (quarter-acre), suburban (ten acre) and rural (fifty-acre) section (£120 in all) and then selecting 'labourers' (entitled to a free passage) from among their own kin, but, depending often on family life-cycle stage, it was not always possible (or permissable) to employ such a strategy.

Bolstered by a generous loan from Peel's Government, the New Zealand Company resumed its operations towards the end of 1847. By this time two new associations, the 'Otago Association' and the 'Canterbury Association', had come into being. These associations were both affiliated with the parent New Zealand Company, but both in addition had links with distinct sectarian interests: the Otago Association was presided over by a group of Scotsmen, based in Edinburgh, who described themselves as the 'Lay Association of the Free Church'[84] while the promoters of the settlement which was to form in Canterbury were mainly Tractarians, graduates of Christ Church, Oxford. Despite his Quaker origins, Wakefield seems to have had few religious scruples himself, but he was more than willing to harness those of others in order to revive his schemes. The plans for Otago, in particular, provided an outward justification for the Government's loan, and were appraised by the Colonial Office as evidence of the 'earnest ... intentions of the Company to regard their pecuniary profits as subordinate to the higher objects for which they have been constituted'.[85]

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[84]The Otago Association was formed by a small group of men who had had earlier connections with the aborted New Edinburgh Scheme. George Rennie and others were alienated by the Free Church emphasis of the Otago Association, so the scheme re-emerged in the late 1840s under the somewhat ponderous leadership of Peninsular War veteran Captain William Cargill and Free Church Minister, the Rev. Thomas Burns. More details are given in Chapter Four.

[85]SRO, (WRH) GD 364 Bundle 463, Stanley to Hope (n.d.) c. Oct. 1845, Hope of Luffness Papers, Edinburgh. In fact the loan was probably a political expedient. (The

Otago and Canterbury - both in the South Island of New Zealand, both far removed from the land and racial troubles which were to distinguish the history of the North Island for the next twenty-five years, and both containing extensive stretches of land fit for pastoralism - dominated the latter phases of the New Zealand Company's operations. Of the 2018 emigrants who went to Wakefield settlements between 1847 and 1849, 1242 (62 per cent) were despatched by the Otago Association, and, the majority of emigrants who left the UK for New Zealand in 1850 were Wakefield settlers bound for Christchurch in Canterbury.[86]

The New Zealand Company met with its final demise in 1851, and, thereafter, until the inauguration of the Vogel Scheme in the 1870s, the Provincial Councils conducted their own immigrant recruitment operations. This meant that much of the early 'character' of the fledgling settlements was retained. Of the six provinces which came into being by the constitution of 1852, only Auckland was not a 'Wakefield' colony, and Auckland, which is probably best regarded as having been colonised by New South Wales, continued to attract immigrants from across the Tasman, and always contained a higher proportion of Irish-born settlers than the other provinces. Location, geography and an international climate which favoured the production of wool, brought early prosperity to the southern provinces, although only Canterbury, the recipient from early years of high levels of English investment, was able to sustain assisted emigration throughout the 1850s and 1860s. The Otago Provincial Council retained the Edinburgh offices of the Otago Association, and periodically voted substantial sums for immigrant recruitment drives in Scotland. These took place in the late 1850s, in the early to mid 1860s (for single women, during the Otago gold rush) and in the late 1860s and early 1870s.

Government had not always looked good in the long and rancorous debate with the New Zealand Company which had been fully recorded in the *Times*. A 'generous course' is 'peculiarly advantageous to the Government'. Memorandum by Léfèvre, 17 Oct. 1845, Hope Papers, ibid.)

[86]Tenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners *PP* 1850 [c.1204] XXIII 55, p.22.

The provincial balance of wealth and power was dramatically upset by the discovery of gold in Otago in 1861. New Zealand's 'Scottish' province became the richest and most populous of all the regions and managed to retain its position as the favoured destination of UK migrants of all nationalities throughout the 'Vogel' decade.[87] This was despite the ending, by the early 1870s, of the New Zealand Wars in the North Island, and despite the central Government's attempt during the Vogel years to boost labour migration to New Zealand as a whole. As far as the editors of the *Glasgow Sentinel* were concerned, Otago was the South Island of New Zealand, and not just a province, deep in the south.

> The most valuable of the three islands is the Middle Island, or 'Otago' ... Emigration to Otago is conducted almost exclusively from the Clyde...[88]

The happy coincidence of the gold rush and the heyday of Australasian pastoralism firmly cemented connections between Dunedin (the capital of Otago), Edinburgh and the Clyde. In the late 1850s the Otago Association contracted emigrant shipping out to the Glasgow-based Henderson Company, which, by the mid-1860s was sending clipper ships on a monthly basis to Dunedin. The prosperity engendered by wool and gold encouraged Glasgow-based shipping and investment, which in turn became a force promoting emigration from the UK to New Zealand. The Henderson (later Albion) shipping line was the second of two major shipping lines under New Zealand Government contract to carry assisted emigrants during the Vogel period. A mere glance under 'New Zealand' in the Glasgow directories for the 1870s indicates the development of trade and the extent of capital investment associations (investment mainly in pastoralism) between Scotland and New Zealand. It was, indeed, the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank in 1878 which heralded the end of the the expansionist policies of the Vogel decade, the collapse of speculative purchasing in the New Zealand land market, and the New Zealand depression of the 1880s and early 1890s -

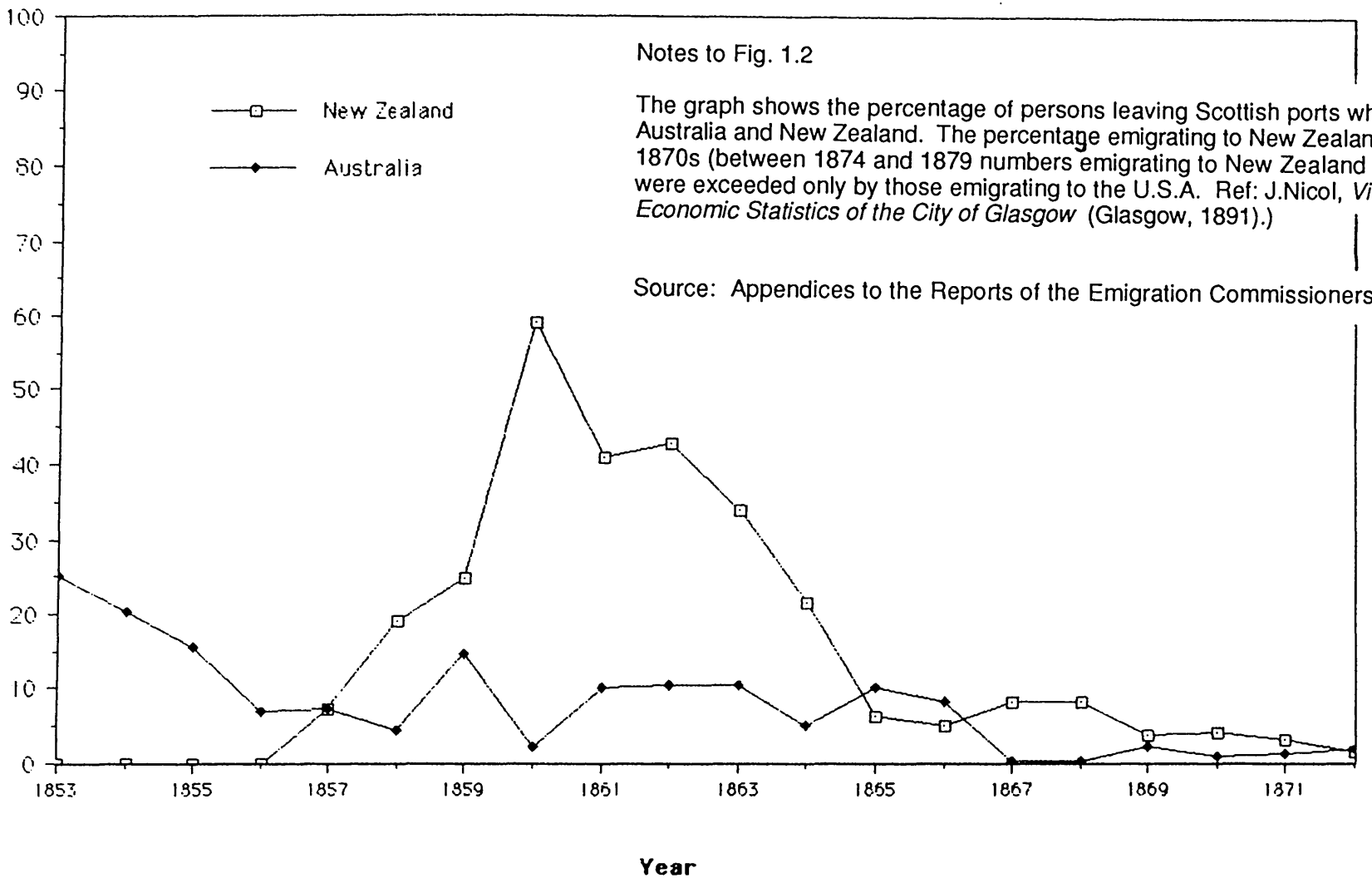
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[87]In 1863, the year of peak immigration into New Zealand during the Otago gold rush, 36.7% of incomers from the UK disembarked at Otago. In 1871 (that is, before the 'Vogel Scheme' had any significant effect on immigration levels) the percentage of emigrants from the UK who disembarked at Otago was 42.0%. The average proportion of the total immigration into New Zealand which was received by the province of Otago between 1873 and 1880 was 31%.

[88]'Fields for Emigrants', *Glasgow Sentinel*, 10 Apr. 1869.

during which time emigration from Europe to New Zealand was severely curtailed.

Fig 1.2 Emigration from Scottish Ports to Australasia, 1853-72



Notes to Fig. 1.2

The graph shows the percentage of persons leaving Scottish ports who were bound for Australia and New Zealand. The percentage emigrating to New Zealand was also high in the 1870s (between 1874 and 1879 numbers emigrating to New Zealand from Scottish ports were exceeded only by those emigrating to the U.S.A. Ref: J.Nicol, *Vital Social and Economic Statistics of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow, 1891).)

Source: Appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners.

1.4 The Main Objectives of the Thesis and the Structure of the Text.

In Section 1.2 above, we observed that emigration from Scotland to New Zealand was a phenomenon which for a period appeared to make a greater impact on the consciousness of people living in Scotland than was warranted by the numbers involved. Why did this happen? Perhaps those Scots who went to New Zealand came from particular localities and regions which for some reason were prominent in public awareness. Or, possibly, these emigrants were distinctive because of occupational background or some other personal attribute. Perhaps it was merely idiosyncratic patterns of emigration promotion and recruitment which made emigration from Scotland to New Zealand more obvious than other migration streams. The following chapters provide background evidence for exploring these ideas.

Chapters Three to Five focus on the issue of emigrants' origins. There are a number of reasons why such a large portion of the thesis is devoted to this theme. First, as Michael Flinn points out, we have less information about the geographical origins of the Scottish emigrants than we have about their other characteristics.[89] Flinn's concluding statement in his chapter on emigration in *Scottish Population History*, that 'shipping lists, alas, are too imperfect' for nominal linkage with the census or other Scottish sources, certainly presents a challenge. The second reason for the focus on 'origins' is because scholars have found that spatial patterns often raise interesting questions and are generally more perplexing than, for example, changes in rates of emigration measured against time. The time or period factor tends to affect emigration rates in ways which we would expect: it is hardly surprising that more Scots went to New Zealand during the gold rush of the 1860s than they did during the years of slump in New Zealand in the 1880s. Third, the focus on origins forces us to ask questions about the relationship between emigration and internal migration, and the relationship between emigration and cultural traditions. Hence, we are

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[89]Flinn, et al. *Scottish Population History*, op. cit. p.455.

forced to look back and to try to explain emigration in the 'Thistlethwaite' tradition, that is, in terms of economic and social conditions in the country of origin. However, we need not discount the likely 'selective' effect on emigration of conditions and labour requirements in the receiving country.

The latter perspective becomes more prominent in Chapter Six which centres on whether or not the Scots who went to New Zealand were distinct from other emigrant groups in terms of their occupational and demographic characteristics. Chapter Seven continues the theme of 'who were the emigrants?' but employs a very different focus. The aim here is to look at emigrants in terms of the families and households they left behind in Scotland, and in doing so to provide a more intimate view of the process of decision-making than has gone before.

This is a thesis which aims to raise rather than resolve issues. Unfortunately it is impossible within the scope of the thesis to present data on all the themes which have been investigated. For example, it would be helpful, perhaps, to discuss in more depth the differences in emigration behaviour between different occupational groups - to compare agricultural labourers with tenant farmers, or to compare domestic servants with female emigrants who had worked in industrial occupations.

Broadly speaking, the thesis has two main objectives. On the one hand, it is a case study which aims to enhance our understanding of the processes of emigration and migration in nineteenth century Europe. On the other hand, it is concerned with charting, exploring and interpreting the landscape of one terrain in this great story, that is, the case study is undertaken not just as a reflection of some larger scheme, but also for its own sake. Both these objectives require a basis from which to draw comparisons. The lack of comparable material poses a major methodological difficulty for the thesis. As one scholar has recently remarked: 'the collective profile of the British emigrant is

deficient'.[90] And, as yet, there is no Marcus Lee Hanson, no Oscar Handlin, no Bernard Bailyn for Australasia. In some respects we are going on a journey in which we must carve out our tracks as well as follow them. The following chapter contains some suggestions as to where and how we might begin.

[90]Eric Richards, 'Annals of the Australian Immigrant', in E. Richards, et al. *Visible Immigrants. Neglected Sources for the History of Australian Immigration* (Canberra, 1989), p. 13.

CHAPTER TWO

METHODS, SOURCES, AND RESEARCH DESIGN
or
"How can I know what I am about to say?"[1]

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide an overview of the types of sources used in this Scotland/New Zealand case study, to explain why and how they were used, and to outline any significant biases and caveats. In some respects the design of the research is experimental, and one aim of the thesis is to assess how far the methods proposed as the best way of approaching the issue of emigration are successful. In Section 2.2 the rationale behind several important features of the research design is explained. The procedures employed in selecting and handling the evidence are considered in more detail in Sections 2.3 and 2.4.

2.2 Methods - An Overview

The emigrants who left Scotland for New Zealand last century were not necessarily typical of United Kingdom or even of Scottish emigrants in general. This - the problem of assessing the generality of patterns observed - is a difficulty which besets all case studies. To meet this difficulty in the present study, attempts are made to use comparison in analysis whenever it is possible to do so. Data are coded and classified in such a way as to allow comparability with the data generated by other studies. And, when comparable data are not available, endeavour is made to create a comparative framework against which the highly specific case-study is then set. For example, the data collected by the Commissioners for Emigration are used to create a general picture of emigration from the United Kingdom to the United States of America, to British North America and to Australasia - the three main regions of destination.

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[1]Marc Bloch, *The Historian's Craft,* trans. Peter Putnam (Manchester, 1954), p.71.

We saw in the previous chapter that the subject of international migration can be explored in many different ways. Emigration is a phenomenon which is effected by and which affects the lives of individuals, and, in the period under study, it could also have a dramatic impact on whole communities left behind and on the development of new societies elsewhere. In the present study the method employed to approach this phenomenon is perhaps more recognisably similar to the demographic and social structural approach to history than to any other approach. The study is concerned with the economic, social and demographic contexts in which emigration decisions were made. But, it is also closely concerned with the particular individuals who made these decisions, and with their interpretations of their actions, and of their contemporary world. An attempt was made to 'hear' the 'voices' of the emigrants from their own 'words', or, if unavailable, from the 'testimonies' of their contemporaries. The reason for this endeavour is because the emigrants' perceptions of social reality were a feature of that social reality - even when their accounts of a situation cannot be reconciled with other evidence. The individual is also an important empirical focus for the study. This simply means that the individual (rather than the parish or nation for example) is generally used as the basic unit for the analysis of phenomena which are amenable to classification and measurement. Data about individuals were collected and coded into machine-readable format, then aggregated or reaggregated according to the concepts underlying a particular investigation. The 'individual level' data can be compared with 'contextual' factors (which may refer to a particular locality or region or occupational group, for instance).

The evidence about individuals which was amassed for the present study can be described as 'longitudinal data'. This is because information about any one individual was collected from a variety of records (a process sometimes referred to as 'record linkage'), each record containing references to this particular individual at different points in time. The types of sources used for the task were vital registers, census enumerators' books, shipping lists, church records and private documents such as letters, and the aim was to 'follow' individuals from place of birth to job, to marriage and family formation

and ultimately across the seas. Material was collected as though for a number of mini-biographies, with the aim of achieving 'maximal reconstruction' of the demographic and social evidence relating to each individual involved.[2] Because the focus of study is on emigrants as a group, and a key area of enquiry is to investigate the shared features of the group, the method could be described as 'prosopography'. This is the expression some historians use when they draw on biographical material relating to individuals who all meet a defined classificatory criterion.[3] The method is also similar to the technique used by demographers when they 'reconstitute' families across generational time using data appertaining to vital events.[4] Many of the sources used in the linkage project are records of vital events, and the types of questions asked about the individual emigrants are often akin to the questions asked by demographers and historians of the family. The nature of the information sought during record linkage generally pertained to all emigrants, irrepective of their wealth or gender. (Place of birth, place of last residence, age at marriage, travel companions, position with respect to other members of a household, are examples of the details sought.)

The main reason for this emphasis on the individual as the focal unit for study is to test the proposal that our understanding of emigration and migration is best advanced by 'micro' studies, by the collection of

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[2]The phrase 'maximal reconstruction' is attributable to Andrejs Plakans who in a recent monograph on the methodology of the study of kinship calls for the linkage of all possible sources across generational time and across household experience for groups of individuals who were connected to each other by ties of agnatic and affinal kinship. A. Plakans, *Kinship in the Past: An Anthropology of European Family Life* (Oxford, 1984).

[3]'Collective biography' and 'multiple career-line analysis' are alternative expressions used to describe this method which is discussed in detail in Lawrence Stone's essay, 'Prosopography', in his collected essays: *The Past and the Present* (London, 1981), pp. 45-73.

[4]E.A. Wrigley discusses this technique in his seminal essay 'Family Limitation in Pre-Industrial England', *Econ. Hist Rev.* 2nd ser. XIX (1966), 82-109. See also E. A. Wrigley and R. S. Schofield, *The Population History of England, 1541-1871: A Reconstruction* (London, 1981). One of the problems with 'family reconstitution' is that the focus is on a particular community (or communities) for which good records exist. This means that those who left the community are lost in analysis. The Scotland/New Zealand project provides a novel perspective because the focus is on the individuals themselves, some of whom were 'persisters' whose forbears had lived in the same community for several generations, and some of whom made frequent moves between different communities.

rich and detailed data which are 'meaningful' and 'reliable' (in the sense of being consistent). The accuracy of the data is checked and an 'in-depth' understanding of each case study is achieved because emigrants' backgrounds in Scotland are considered multi-dimensionally using a variety of sources - origins, internal migration, emigration of family members and kin, job, household and family experiences are all taken into account.

Of course the main problem with any actor-based study or focus on micro-structures (such as the family or household) lies in assessing the typicality of the evidence used. Often there was no consistent reason why some emigrants were found in a multitude of sources while others were not. Sometimes the individuals concerned were 'self-selected' because descendants, often amateur geneologists, had kindly sent me information derived from material as wide-ranging as official registration and census records on the one hand, and photographs, samplers and family folklore, on the other. Sometimes an unusual source provided in-depth information for a distinct group of emigrants: the Communicants' Roll Book for First Church, Dunedin (discussed below) is a case in point. The use of this source gives a slant to the in-depth evidence in favour of emigrants with certain characteristics - in this case, it is those emigrants who were sufficiently imbued with principles of piety to ensure that before leaving Scotland they had been duly certificated as worthy of receipt of the ordinances of the church. The existence of very large amounts of data about some emigrants, and very small amounts with regard to others, also introduces an element of awkwardness into data management.

The technical problems of data management were more easily resolved than the more fundamental difficulty of assessing the typicality of the evidence used. Information technology developed since the 1970s is designed to deal with the existence of widely varying amounts of data for each particular 'case' (such as an individual or some other unit of study) under scrutiny. In the present study a SIR ('Scientific Information Retrieval') data base management system was used to organise a large portion of the data. Different 'record-types' are assignable within the SIR structure, and each record-type is used to

store a discrete type of information, which may relate, for example, to a particular source or to a particular point in time in the life-cycle of any individual. In the present instance, one record-type is used to store the information from shipping lists, another, the information from the census. Altogether there are fifteen record-types in the Scotland/New Zealand data-base, and data pertaining to any one individual may be recorded in any combination of these, according to the extent and nature of information collated with respect to that individual. Depending on the nature of the investigation, information about any particular individual or group of individuals can be linked mechanically across any subset of the different record-types.[5]

The method employed for testing the representativeness of the actor-based evidence is perhaps the most novel and experimental feature of the research design. The principle is to think in terms of a spectrum or range of evidence, constructed on a 'typical' to 'meaningful' scale. Different types of evidence, lying at different stages along the scale, are used as a means for assessing the 'reliability' (in terms of representativeness or typicality) of other types of evidence, which, in turn, might direct or illuminate the former. Most social historians employ this 'method' automatically, but the 'distance' between the different groups of evidence they use is generally very broad, with few or no 'intermediary' types of evidence on the scale. On the one hand, for example, they may use national aggregates to justify their arguments and to suggest patterns and trends, while on the other hand, and usually for illustrative purposes, they draw on 'actor interpretations'.

"Emigrants' testimonies", a body of evidence collected from sources such as letters and diaries, lie at one extreme of the range of evidence used in the present study. An emigrant's letter may or may not illustrate 'typical' experience but it might well contain a wealth of explanatory detail as to motives and choices available for problem solving. At the other extreme of the range of evidence are aggregated port and shipping data. These provide comparatively little detail about emigrants but sustain minimum relative error in terms of

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[5]Further explanation of the structure of the data-base, and a description of the various record-types and their component variables, is provided in Appendix Two.

representativeness or 'typicality'. At intermediary stages along the scale (moving from the 'detailed' to the 'representative' ends) are: collections of evidence which relate to emigrants who were found in vital registers and the like, at three or more different stages of the life-cycle; evidence about emigrants who were located in records which refer to at least two points in time; and evidence which is the equivalent of a single snapshot of an emigrant's life - usually taken from a ship's list or similar source. Each of these three 'stages' in the range of evidence is more reliable than the last in the sense of representativeness, but probably less so, in the sense of 'accuracy' or precision (because when using a number of sources each will illuminate and at least provide a check upon the others).

Using the 'spectrum' approach, evidence from "emigrant's testimonies" can be subjected to assessment in terms of both accuracy (or consistency/precision) and representativeness (or typicality). In the first place, consistency is checked because the data linkage project provides a wealth of circumstantial evidence relating to a particular individual, against which his or her own interpretation of a situation can be set. An indication of the typicality of the evidence derived from the actor's interpretation is achieved indirectly. If, for example, most emigrants who left 'testimonies' declared that an increase in farm rents was the chief reason prompting their emigration, we then view the issue from another position on the range and ask: 'how many' emigrants were likely to have been affected by this situation, what proportion of emigrants were crofters or tenant farmers? If, 'repairing the family fortune' was a repeatedly stated 'cause', we then ask: were emigrants living in a family situation prior to emigration, did they still have close kin alive at the time of their departure, what evidence do we have that they kept contact with their families at home?

An important aspect of assessing the typicality of an explanation or observation is careful classification of persons into groups for whom the 'qualitative' data may be relevant. Groups may, for example, be based on occupation, or age, or gender, or locality of last residence (or any

combination of these).[6] Qualitative and other evidence available for a particular individual only, or for subsets of persons within a group, can be tested and considered in the light of experiences and characteristics known to have been common to the group as a whole. A series of letters from a young emigrant doctor will not be taken at first analysis as evidence of 'emigrants experiences', but will be scrutinised as possibly illustrative and suggestive of patterns pertinent to emigrants classified as 'professional middle class'. As the subject of study is not limited to middle class behaviour, it is important to consider the typicality of those with middle class backgrounds with respect to all emigrants from Scotland who were going to New Zealand.

The method of study, then, involves a constant process of conscious comparison between different types of evidence, a precise awareness of which types are currently being exploited, and a recognition of the limitations of those particular types - in terms of skewness and atypicality on the one hand, or limited meaning or lack of detail on the other. It is hypothesised that an in-depth or micro study of individuals will add a new dimension to our understanding of emigration and other processes - if and only if the method of analysis allows us to recognise which groups do not yet have an adequate 'voice'.

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[6]An advantage of the machine-coded sections of the data is that regrouping can be achieved with relative ease, and the homogeneity of group experience in terms of one grouping principle or concept tested against other grouping concepts. Cross-checking in this manner, and realignments of the data, are possible because an attempt was made during the initial coding of information for machine analysis to keep all distinguishable concepts separately preserved in discrete varibles as far as was practically possible.

2.3 Sources and How They Were Used

> ... the very poor ... are unthinkable, and only to be approached by the statistician or the poet.[7]

> The history of the nation may be in Macaulay or the columns of the Times, but the history of the people lies in the Registrar-General's vaults...[8]

2.3.1 Emigrants' Testimonies

The 'voices' of the emigrants were hearkened with respect to three central themes: individual aspirations and perceived social, economic and cultural 'needs'; relationships and conflicts between emigrants and others likely to have been affected by their emigration; and experience of work, leisure and family in both the Scotland the emigrants had known and in the New Zealand where they made their homes.

2.3.1.1 Written Testimonies

Emigrants' voices can be heard most directly from sources such as letters, diaries, autobiographies and memoirs written by emigrants themselves; they can also be discerned in 'second hand' accounts provided by first hand witnesses - who observed and spoke to emigrants, and who recorded their characteristics, experiences, actions and decisions.

The present study draws on the written testimonies of some 80 emigrants who came from a variety of areas within Scotland and who represent a range of occupational experience. Together, these 'first hand' accounts provide a substantial collection of in-depth evidence as to emigrants' aspirations, life-styles, values, fears and perceptions. The collection was amassed from a variety of public archival deposits and from the kind donation of emigrants' descendants living presently in Scotland and in New Zealand. Sometimes first hand testimonies were extracted from biographical material, especially essays and

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[7]E. M. Forster, *Howards End* (London, 1910; Penguin edn, 1941), p.58.
[8]*Chambers Journal* IX, No. 218 (6 March, 1858), 157.

compilations of notes written and occasionally published by descendants and amateur genealogists. Researchers of this ilk often cited large chunks of an emigrant's diary or letter in their compilations, so, although a further selection process has been imposed on the material available, the source itself is still accessible in its original form.

Of the various types of 'first hand' written testimony, letters are by far the most useful. This is because letters were written spontaneously rather than on reflection, with a purpose to communicate rather than to record. Autobiographies, memoirs and diaries are often more detailed than most letters, but they tend to have been written by a smaller range of people - those who cared about posterity or the keeping of personal records, and those who valued writing as a leisure pursuit and who possessed enough self-esteem to make themselves the key subject-matter of their reflections.

The desire and need to communicate is more common and widespread among people than the urge to record. Emigration is a process which separates people - temporarily and permanently - and to make plans, seek advice, arrange business or simply stay in contact with kin, friends or business associates far away, emigrants usually had to write letters. Postage between Scotland and New Zealand was reasonably cheap because there was little premium on the space in a ship occupied by a small letter. (However, paper was expensive.) In the early days, regular sailings from Otago to Britain spurred procrastinating letter-writers to 'catch the post', and by the 1870s to catch the boat connecting with "the 'Frisco Line" - a regular steam route between San Franscisco and the U K, which allowed communication with 'Home' to be made in about six weeks.

Not everyone wrote regular letters; nor have many letters survived. Yet many if not most people had to communicate by letter at some time. Consequently, domestic servants, agricultural labourers, married women, the semi-literate, and those who asked others to write on their behalf have all left some 'testimony' in the form of letters. Personal messages, sent by word of mouth, may also have been a vital form of communication between persons separated by distance in the mid-

nineteenth century, although, of course, we seldom have any record of verbal communication.

The diarists, like the letter writers, wrote without hindsight. Hence, diaries share with letters a quality of spontaneity which makes them potentially more useful sources than first hand accounts written long after events. An actor's interpretation of 'what happened' and his or her selective memory is inevitably affected by the filter of time.

Some middle class and even quite humble emigrants kept colourful diaries which interspersed details of events and personalities with comments about day to day family and work routines, wages, costs and accounts. Most emigrant diarists, however, had obviously been exhorted to write about their 'experiences' by posterity-conscious contemporaries. In countless shipboard notebooks we find latitudes and longitudes, sightings of birds and fish, dietary scales at sea, and equatorial crossings recorded with earnest deliberation. Usually these diaries lapsed soon after the long and tedious voyage between Scotland and New Zealand. They are a fine testimony to the monotony of shipboard life!

On the other hand, even the shipboard diaries make useful references to other emigrants, to births and deaths and crises at sea, to shipboard alliances and disputes, and, more rarely, to the writers' own fears, hopes and preoccupations. In particular, the peculiar horror of death and burial at sea - the quiet consternation of those bereaved with no other family, and perhaps little hope of ever returning from whence they had come - is often conveyed in even the most terse of shipboard accounts.

In general, diaries were more useful as 'second hand' as opposed to 'first hand' testimonies. Official and unofficial commentaries about emigrants were taken as a 'second hand' testimony if the commentator had either observed the situation he or she described, or else been told at first hand about the situation by the actor-emigrants themselves. Emigrants often made comments in diaries about the attributes of fellow travellers and settlers. Cabin passengers accompanying William Baines, en route to Auckland in December 1850, included: several

families with children; several single women - one 'going out to join a brother', another to take charge of a school, another ('a most eccentrick [sic] person ... who would not eat meat') 'going to the Bishop'; then, there was the 'Robertson lot ... twelve in all ... the old mother dying ... going to a near relation'.[9] Even simple and limited descriptions of emigrants, such as these provided by the young Baines, supply explanatory details not necessarily gleaned from the most extensive 'linkage' of demographic sources.

'First hand' accounts (written by the emigrant-actors themselves and about themselves) were sought more assiduously in the present study than eye witness or second hand records. However, the latter sometimes provided very colourful and detailed information about emigrants. One example, is the diary of Mr D W Dowling, Secretary to the 'New Edinburgh Association' which was formed as a subsidiary of the New Zealand Company in the early 1840s. In his diary Dowling kept a day by day account of the activities of the Association, and a detailed record of the would-be emigrants and investors, and of landlords, employers, ministers and 'benevolent' relatives of future emigrants, all of whom either wrote or called in person at his office. From this record 'quantifiable impressions' can be gleaned about the types of people interested in emigration from Scotland to New Zealand during the early 1840s - 'why' their interest arose, and 'for whom' it directly concerned.[10]

Other 'second hand' accounts which sometimes incorporate 'direct testimony' are official reports and despatches made, for example, by the Emigration Commissioners, by emigration agents and by the members of select committees. Many such reports have been published in sources such as the United Kingdom Parliamentary Papers (Accounts and Papers) and (for New Zealand) in the Appendices to the Journals of the House of Representatives. Ships' surgeons' diaries, newspaper accounts and the written records of emigrants themselves all fall into this 'eye witness' category of records in particular instances.

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[9]Hull University Archives, DDBH/27/5, Diary of William M. Baines, en route to Auckland, New Zealand, 1850.
[10]PRO, CO 208 295, Journal of Mr D. W. Dowling, Sept. 1843-Jan. 1844.

The value of all forms of contemporary 'written testimony' lies in the detail and 'colour' that is supplied by direct records of lived experience. Interpretation of these details, however, is not always a straight forward process. The problem of the 'representativeness' of those who left first hand accounts of their experiences has been raised already. Sometimes, those who were unable or unlikely to have ever written about themselves receive a 'voice' in the second hand accounts of contemporaries. But, second hand accounts are also highly selective as to whom is being described. The subjects of description usually conform to some idiosyncratic interest or concern of the observer and recorder. Young Baines, for example, whose shipboard diary is cited briefly above, was curious about the characteristics and motives of those with whom he was forced to share dining and living space; Dowling, the Secretary of the New Edinburgh Association, was mainly concerned with providing a working record of people likely to contribute financially (on any scale) to his precious scheme.

Written testimonies should not necessarily be taken at 'face value'. Hindsight may distort testimony in records such as memoir and autobiography. When analysing letters and other records made soon after an event there is a need to take into account the reasons for writing: Is she lonely? Does he describe New Zealand in glowing terms because he wants his kin to join him? When using second hand accounts, it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between 'eye witness' and 'hearsay'.

The value of a piece of written testimony as evidence depends to some extent on the writer's ability to express him or herself On the other hand, a badly spelt and faltering letter written, for example, by a domestic servant to her kin at home, or by a woman begging emigration assistance so that she may rejoin her husband 15,000 miles away, may sometimes offer more insights into the process and experience of emigration than any lengthy, pompous and abstract discussion about the state of the immigrant labouring population that was likely to have been written by these women's contemporaries and social superiors. Many emigrants from humble backgrounds were extremely articulate.

Their spelling may have been poor, but their imagery was often striking, incisive or simply refreshing:

> Their[sic] is no such thing as a grate to be seen, the work is not so hard as it is at home, nor the mistresses are not so sassay[sic], they are glad to get any person to work for them[11]

This statement is as valid and useful an indication of employment opportunities in the new colony as any number of half-digested, Wakefieldian pronouncements about the correct proportions of capital and labour!

The cadences of language in letters and especially in emigrants' diaries provide an obvious clue to the major source of their literary ability:

> 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.[12]

Emigrants read, and were read, the Bible. They often used biblical imagery and rhetoric to express feelings their own personal imagery and language had no power to convey. New Zealand was often referred to as 'the Promised Land', 'the Land of Goshen', Canaan, and sometimes, although less often, as a land of exile. One young immigrant having recently landed at what can be a very dismal, windy Wellington took cold comfort from the prophet Jeremiah:

> Weep ye not for the dead, but weep ye for he who leaveth his native land[13]

It is not difficult to discern that this lamentation reflected an engulfing (although perhaps fleeting) feeling of homesickness.

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[11]NLS, MS, Acc. 7117, Margaret McRitchie, Melbourne, to her father in North Queensferry, Fife, Scotland, 1848.

[12]Cited by Murial May in her biographical essay, 'Watson Shennan of Puketoi', in G. J. Griffiths, ed. *The Advance Guard* ser. I (Dunedin, 1974), p.172.

[13]Jeremiah 21:10.

Analysis of written records requires careful attention to contemporaries' use of words. Semantic usage in the mid nineteenth century can be different from today. Contemporaries also appraised and assessed their situation - and their fellow emigrants - and in describing the latter often used a language of 'class', seemingly similar to the language of class employed (rigorously and less rigorously) by commentators of the present-day. When exponents of Wakefield's tenets, for example, spoke of 'class settlements' they meant something very particular and precise;[14] class could also simply mean 'group'; and in other instances could convey vague yet subtle nuances of deference, status and power. Some words such as 'vexed' 'anxious' and 'earnest' recurred often in emigrants' testimonies; others, such as 'respectable', 'independent', 'colonist' 'settler', 'immigrant' and 'the ladies' were highly charged with meaning and held slightly different connotations for different groups of people. Contemporary conventions in the use of words, particularly in the form of greetings and closings in letters, also need to be recognised.

Records written by contemporaries - emigrants or otherwise - could be very perfunctory, and do not necessarily shed light on the key issues of emigrants' aspirations, conflicts and experiences under investigation in the present study. On the other hand, all sources of written testimony provide evidence, under scrutiny, about subjects quite incidental to the writer's original purpose or intent. Written testimonies, if appraised with sensitivity, may provide a comprehensive introduction to the world view of people in the past.

Other sources which may yield clues about 'peoples' perspectives', albeit less directly than their own written records, are considered in the following sections.

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[14]Otago, Canterbury and South Australia were all described at various times as 'class settlements':

> 'such as are composed, at the commencement at least, of men of the same country, holding the same religious faith and observing similar social customs.'

(G. B. Earp, *Handbook for Intending Emigrants to the Southern Settlements of New Zealand* (London, 1849), p.181.)

2.3.1.2. Contemporary Popular Literature

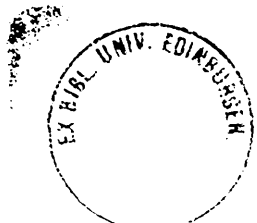
Novels and ballads, the penny press and periodicals played an important role in the lives of many emigrants who left Victorian Scotland for Victorian New Zealand. Reading, for entertainment and for information, was not a pastime limited to the better-off and better-educated of emigrants. By the middle decades of the nineteenth century reading had become an extensive if not always intensive activity, in Lowland Scotland at least.

In memoirs and in diaries emigrants often noted the names of books they had read, or had had read to them, while freight accounts and lists of possessions also give some idea of the likely 'world-view' of many emigrants, gained through a minimum of education and access to some form of literature. James Reid, a young draper's assistant who emigrated from Glasgow during the winter of 1873, kept a record of his daily reading in a shipboard diary: 'Pickwick', 'The Conscript', 'Young Man in the Battle of Life', 'Chambers' and 'Byron' appear frequently in his journal's pages.[15] Indeed, Dickens' novels, the popular Edinburgh periodical *Chambers Journal* and Spurgeon's sermons, together with Shakespeare, Burns, Sir Walter Scott, Macaulay and the Bible are recurrent names amongst the authors and books emigrants took with them from Scotland to New Zealand and read aloud to their young families in the new colonial setting.

Newspapers were also avidly read, both before and after leaving Scotland. Emigrants' letters often made reference to the interchange of newspapers. Copies of papers received from particular localities in Scotland were circulated amongst immigrants and friends who hailed from the same area.

For present purposes a range of popular literature selected mainly on the basis of emigrants' references, as cited above, was investigated. Ballad collections, published stories and books, contemporary newspapers and periodicals - held mainly in Scottish and in some

[15]I am very grateful to Miss J. Reid of Edinburgh for allowing me access to her grandfather's papers.


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London libraries - were searched for evidence of attitudes to emigration (particularly emigration from Scotland to New Zealand during the middle decades of the nineteenth century), and for clues as to emigrants' probable aspirations, fears, loyalties and other emotions. This limited overview of 'popular literature' does not, of course, constitute a full enquiry into the complex amalgam of imagery, fact and opinion which may have influenced and informed Scottish emigrants and would-be emigrants. The contemporary literature was read and examined for its expression of 'the popular imagination' and for contemporary beliefs that may or may not have been shared by Scottish emigrants. The 'voice' of emigrants' contemporaries may sometimes be 'heard' in popular literature, and the views of emigrants' contemporaries are a clue to what emigrants and would-be emigrants 'thought' and 'felt' about their world.

Chambers' Journal, *Blackwoods' Magazine* and several Scottish newspapers (the *Glasgow Sentinel* is particularly useful) frequently published feature articles about destinations for emigrants and emigrants' experiences. These accounts are a curious medley of muddled 'fact' (from sources such as quarterly statistical returns and the Emigration Commissioners' 'Emigration Circular'), advertisement, 'testimony' (derived from emigrants' letters and returned travellers' accounts), opinion and hearsay. They probably reveal more about popular impressions and images of emigration than the experience of emigration as a social reality.

Other references to emigration in newspapers and periodicals include sentimental descriptions of departures, graphic renderings of shipwreck and disaster at sea, and tales of ill-fortune, success and adventure in foreign lands. These reports indicate something of the pathos, fear and hope associated with what regular announcements of ship sailings, almost daily shipping and freight advertisements, and details of ships' brokers' offices reveal as the commonplace experience of emigration.

The extent to which emigration had captured the popular imagination by the middle decades of the nineteenth century is

inadequately expressed in fictional accounts of the phenomenon. Novels of the period rarely take emigration as a central theme (perhaps because successful novelists seldom aspired to be emigrants). Many well-known novels, however, make incidental references to trade, administration, travel and settlement in other lands, and these references are useful precisely because they are offered as contextual or circumstantial 'extras' to setting and plot. Ballads and less well-known serialised stories, on the other hand, sometimes did focus on the topic of emigration. In these, mawkish sentiment, fanciful romance or cynical disillusion give colour to what had become an everyday phenomenon. Again, ballads and stories are perhaps most useful when they do not focus directly on the subject of emigration, but touch (perhaps indirectly) on related themes: work, love, courtship, parting, death and religious faith.

Analysis of popular literature provides an oblique means for uncovering the perspectives of people in the past - a means perhaps more relevant for the period just preceding the development of cinematography than for any other. In the present study popular literature is valued as potentially expressive of emigrants' viewpoints.

2.3.1.3. Oral Evidence

The phenomenon of emigration from Scotland to New Zealand during the second half of the last century is just receding from what Eric Hobsbawm has recently described as the 'twilight zone', or 'no man's land of time' which lies on the border between personal recollection and a perception of the past as something remote enough to be viewed with a scholarly dispassion.

> For individual human beings this zone stretches from the point where living family tradition as memories begin - say, from the earliest family photo which the oldest living family member can identify and explicate - to the end of infancy, when public and private destinies are recognised as inseparable and mutually defining one another.[16]

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[16]E. J. Hobsbawm, *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (London, 1987), p.3.

In 1982 and 1983 I spoke to octogenarians and ninety-year olds for whom the particular emigration phenomenon I was investigating fell just outside personal reach. These people had grown up with parents' recollections and living accounts of occurrences in connection with emigration from Scotland to New Zealand - second hand memories which formed part of the immediate background and heritage of their own lives. One informant, for example, was still living with an unmarried sibling on the Sutherland croft from whence her uncle had emigrated in the early 1870s. She grew up with her mother's tales of this young man and his departure. The regular letters, photos and newspapers from New Zealand have now taken their place as one of the constant and secure recollections of her childhood. Others interviewed in 1982 and 1983 were even closer to the making of myths about Scotland and New Zealand. One woman in her nineties was niece to the Reverend William Bannerman who left Free St.George's church, Edinburgh in 1851 to take up an appointment as itinerant minister in the frontier areas of Otago. Bannerman married Jane Burns, daughter of one of the founders of Dunedin (and great-niece of 'the poet'), and both he and his wife are characters in the folklore which surrounds New Zealand's European origins and 'Pakeha' identity. Renewal of contacts with far away kin at the time of the First and Second World Wars is a recurrent feature of the items remembered by oral informants. These renewed contacts must have jostled memories and family discussions at the time and may be a chief reason why emigrations that took place well over a century ago are 'recollected' to this day.

Memories from the 'twilight zone' create an existential mood of history that is not necessarily irreconcilable with the evidence of more remote and seemingly more objective sources. The problems of 'oral history' - selective recollection, hindsight, the unconscious jumbling of private memories with public myths - compound the difficulties of tapping memories at one step removed from personal recollection. However, the potential contribution of oral history is also at hand. This contribution often involves the acquisition of 'empathy' with people in the past - the acquisition of a finer appreciation of their lived experience and a deeper insight into the cultural norms and values which coloured their world-view. 'Insight' aids interpretion of other forms of evidence -

possibly more detailed and more 'reliable' than personal memory and personal myth.

Can the 'voice' of the emigrants themselves be transmitted through this 'oral' evidence, which, as the generations and years pass, is fast approaching the realm of folklore? Sune Äkerman has argued that oral history is particularly irrelevant for migrant studies because, on the one hand, localised or small-scale labour movement disappears extremely quickly from collective and personal memory. On the other hand, the drama of the transoceanic upheavals of people was on such as scale that private recollections and general explanations are inevitably confused.[17]

Äkerman's criticisms are valid. It is often extremely difficult to disentangle the particular reasons given by descendants for a forbear's departure from generalised beliefs and half-digested theories as to 'why' the great emigrations occurred.[18] However, oral research (as with written testimony) is just as useful for incidental information accompanying interpretation as for the interpretation itself. In addition, there is no reason why 'myths' should be disregarded outright. Myth is intrinsic to people's perceptions. The problem is assessing whether or not emigrants and their contemporaries shared the same myths as their descendants claim on their account.

What do people remember? Often it is not the great why and wherefore, but simple things - names, places and details in connection with life cycle events. The value of the 'oral' record (and this is also true of memoir and autobiography) lies in the provision of an overview of events and personalities associated with particular families, an

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[17]S. Äkerman, 'How did the Great Decline in Fertility Start? A Study Based on Retrospective Interviews', in Anders Brändstrom and Jan Sundia, eds. *Tradition and Transition. Studies in Micro-Demography and Social Change* (Umea, 1981), pp. 187-240.

[18]One informant, for example, claimed that her forbears had been 'evicted' from an Orkney croft. New Zealand Company records confirm that the family concerned had been farmer/fisher folk in Orkney. However, a letter from the Secretary of the Otago Association to the New Zealand Company head-quarters in London, requesting immediate advice as to whether this family had been granted assisted passage, belies the claim of eviction. The reason given for the urgency was because the tenancy in Orkney was due for renewal. It is probable that the landowner paid the emigrating family's passage to London, but not the cost of their passage to New Zealand as family folklore testifies.

overview that is otherwise very difficult to obtain except by the 'linkage' of unusually detailed and complete demographic and emigration records. A simple mention of a ship's name, for instance, might confirm that a certain individual listed on a ship's muster role can be connected, without much chance of error, to a certain family in a certain locality. The oral record, then, encourages comprehensive and accurate 'data linkage', as as well as providing information and 'insight' unlikely to be obtained from many other types of source.

A further advantage of oral records is that individuals and families are not likely to be excluded on the grounds of gender or social status. Hence, these records may partially compensate for the fact that 'women's voices' are less frequently recorded in written sources than the 'voices' of contemporary men. The same could also hold true for other groups such as the very poor, or kin-connected families who all emigrated at the same time and so were unlikely to write regular letters. This is not to say, however, that all social groups and families have an equal chance of representation in the oral record. In particular, family oral tradition seems to have broken down when some sort of 'shame', perhaps connected with drink, or marital discord, or wife desertion, underlay family dissolution.

The following is an example of a family case study directed by an oral record. Mrs H. of Crieff, born in 1894, was able to tell me the names of her uncles and her grandfather's brothers who emigrated from estates in the vicinity of Milnathort, Orwell parish, Kinross, some twenty years or so before her birth. Mrs H. remembered tales of how her father and his brother gave up waiting for news of the original emigrants, and went to Ireland instead of New Zealand intending to train as shepherds. (Mrs H.'s emigrant forbears were also shepherds.) In her childhood local people had talked about the two sisters from the community, who, on their own volition, had followed the young men abroad - to ensnare them into marriage, people said ('and why not?', added Mrs H.). The original emigrants had been encouraged to leave by the estate owner on whose lands in Scotland they were employed, and they went mainly to the Hawkes Bay region of New Zealand, on the east coast of the North Island. Mrs H.'s family renewed contact with some of their New

Zealand relatives at the time of World War One, when a second generation of young men, this time on leave in Britain, had 'looked up' the Scottish families still talked about at home. At one stage in her life Mrs H. received a small share in a legacy left by a New Zealand relative.

Many details supplied by Mrs H. were verified and supplemented by other sources. The community which her descendants left, for example, was partially reconstructed from census enumerations. Estate records and New Zealand references confirm that Purvess Russell had owned the Orwell estates in the middle decades of last century, and that his family also acquired extensive lands in the Hawkes Bay district of New Zealand and spent their lives commuting between their interests in homes in two hemispheres. It is highly likely that Russell's influence lay behind the emigration of many workers on his Scottish estates, a probability reinforced by the folklore surrounding Mrs H.'s forbears, and by the known destination of these emigrants. Mrs H.'s record is suggestive as to the processes of 'chain' emigration and the motivating factors that propelled those who did, or eventually did not, leave their native land. In her testimony, the distant voices of the emigrants and their neighbours are still just able to be heard.

2.3.1.4. 'Unconcious' Testimony, or the Search for Symbolic Actions

Glencalvie crofters took refuge in the local kirkyard after their eviction in 1845.[19] This action may have been taken because the kirkyard did not form a part of the landlord's property, but seeking shelter amongst the tombstones was also highly symbolic. It was an action made in stoic silence, suggesting the despair and resignation of a people for whom the 'alternative' of emigration was perceived as tantamount to death. Grand and small gestures made in the receiving country can also be indicative of attitudes, and sometimes these provide clues as to emigration motivation. A settler in Wellington in the 1840s sent back fully laden to Scotland a ship charted by his wealthy father carrying gifts and stores; another was said to have torn up a lawyer's letter which

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[19]D. M. McKenzie, 'Sir John McKenzie', in G. J. Griffiths, ed. *The Advance Guard* ser. II (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 9-10.

declared his inheritance in the Old Country. Alienation from and rejection of the sending country and kin at home is implicit in these actions. By contrast, the naming of a farm or homestead after a birthplace in Scotland, or the naming of a child after an employer, or minister, or landowner, or relative in the country of origin are all actions which suggest nostalgia for 'Home', and loyalty to and affinities with the people there.

There was a unifying element in the use of sources discussed thus far: this unifying element could be described as the search for symbolic or 'meaningful' actions. 'Unconscious testimony' revealed through responses and actions, described but not necessarily interpreted by contemporaries, can be extremely suggestive as to individual or group motivation, inclination and identity.

Pictorial, archaeological and oral (as well as written) records can all be analysed 'symbolically'. The layout of a colonial farm house from the 1860s, for example, may indicate the nature of work and increasing division of household labour according to gender and social category. One wonders if the austere clothing of the earliest immigrants in Otago - the high necklines and long sleeves - was in part a measure to preserve privacy, personal space and distance in a world that afforded few of these luxuries.

Symbols associated with death and an obsession with the kirkyard find expression in rites de passage where we would expect happier images. Why did Mary Cuddie insist that her daughter Jane marry in black when the wedding had already been postponed a year after Mary's husband died?[20] The prevalence of death-in-life is also a feature of the ballads and stories associated with Highland (and sometimes Lowland) emigration. But this fixation with death did not seem to outlast the first generation of concentrated Scottish settlement in Otago. Perhaps blue skies, plentiful food, youthful companions and the apparent longevity of the first immigrants dimmed people's awareness of mortality. On the other hand, affinities in life may also be evidenced in the rituals associated with death. Wills, for example, can be profoundly suggestive

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[20]F. O. Bennett, 'Mary Cuddie', in Griffiths, ed. op. cit. ser.II, p.172.

as to family relationships, and one recalls the will-reading scene in *Middlemarch,* a tense and speculative moment, followed by shock and outrage when the will reveals old Peter Squires's mocking animosity to them all. In burial too one could show which wife was most dearly remembered, which siblings or in-laws were most closely identified as 'family'.

A wide variety of miscellaneous sources were found to be suggestive of personal affinities, values and loyalties. Family bibles, tombstones, heirlooms, samplers, copies of leases and other business or legal documents are examples of the main types analysed. There is some overlap here with Section 2.3.2 below because these same sources were also used for demographic linkage, and as evidence of the socio-economic status of emigrants. (In Burntisland kirkyard, for example, we see that early emigrants to Otago were seafaring folk; in Rothesay they were professionals; plaques and tombstones indicate that crofters and small farmers went from Latheron parish in Caithness to New Zealand.)

Also interesting with respect to aspiration and identity are pictorial and photographic records. One suspects that emigrants and their contemporaries, at least, those of the middle class, were deeply moved by pre-Raphaelite scenes of valediction and departure. The photographic record of life in Otago in the 1860s is an intriguing testament to regional identity especially when compared with photographs of British Columbia from the same period. Both regions were transformed socially and economically in the early 1860s by the discovery of gold. Yet, while Fraser River society seems synonomous with the gold rush - photos are of diggers and trails and wagons and tents - the Otago photographic record shows fine buildings and townscapes and comfortable settlers enjoying leisure pursuits. A consciousness of regional identity and aspiration preceded the gold rush in Otago, and conscious and unconscious efforts were made to reject and deny the effect on regional character that was wrought by the discovery of gold.[21]

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[21]'Visual Image and Regional Identity in Gold-Rush Societies: The Photographic Record', paper delivered by Joan M. Schwarz to the First Canada-New Zealand Comparative Seminar, Centre of Canadian Studies, University of Edinburgh, 11 May, 1985.

The main aim in the use of sources discussed thus far is to try to understand the emigrants' world as far as possible in contemporary terms. A common element in the use of sources which are found to express contemporary perspectives -irrespective of whether these sources are written, oral or archaeological - is the search for 'symbolic actions' which may reflect values, emotions, opinions and dreams. The making and preserving of records are themselves 'symbolic actions'. The identification of what contemporaries thought worth recording and remembering, juxtaposed with their incidental references and recollections, and systematised according to the three major themes of 'motivation', 'relationship' and 'experience' are the main aspects of the analysis of all those sources sought and collected as potentially expressive of the 'voices' of emigrants.

2.3.2 Verification - Household and Demographic Evidence

Sources discussed in the previous section supply evidence at one extreme of the data spectrum, that which concerns actors' interpretations of their own situation. Ideas and impressions derived from these sources can be set against information acquired from other types of records, such as shipping lists and birth registers which are far more likely than surviving letters and family bibles to encompass a broadly 'representative' group. The records which are grouped together and classified in the present project as 'household and demographic' sources have two major characteristics in common. First, no person is likely to have been excluded from the records on the grounds of criteria such as gender or social status. Secondly, all sources in this category record information about specific individuals.

2.3.2.1 Ships' Lists and New Zealand Sources Relating to Scottish Emigration.

Lists of passengers on ships which sailed from the UK to New Zealand between about 1840 and 1880 are not uniformly reliable, detailed - or necessarily even extant. In particular, there is a large gap during the early and mid 1860s, a pity because these years correspond with the heady days of gold rush in the characteristically 'Scottish' province of Otago. Shipping lists which relate to UK/New Zealand emigration are best for the 1840s and the 1870s, and less useful for the twenty odd intervening years when responsibility for immigration was thrust into the hands of representative councils in each of the six provinces of New Zealand.[22]

Because the immigration record for New Zealand's Provincial Government period is partial and incomplete, only those sources which relate to the province of Otago are used in the present study for the years between and including 1851 and 1871. Scots, of course, went to all destinations in New Zealand, but after 1847 they went primarily to Otago (and indeed from the 1860s until the end of our period this southern province was the most popular destination of all emigrants who went to New Zealand from the UK). The likely returns (in terms of results) from piecing together the fragmentary shipping records available for all New Zealand, for the entire provincial period, would probably not justify the work involved.

From 1839 to 1850 most emigration from the UK to New Zealand was conducted under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, the records of which, held in the PRO, London, are unusually comprehensive. Precise information about individuals who are recorded in the New Zealand Company's ship lists is often restricted to cabin passengers. (Usually only aggregate summaries of age and family structural characteristics are provided for emigrants who travelled in the steerage.) However, the information available on the ships' lists can frequently be supplemented by sources such as applications to the New Zealand Company for land orders (again relating mainly to cabin and

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[22]The lists for the province of Canterbury are exceptionally good.

intermediate passengers), and applications to the Company for free or assisted passage.

For the years during which the New Zealand Company conducted emigration from Britain to Britain's farthest colony, the 'Register of Emigrant Labourers Applying for a Free Passage to New Zealand, July 1839 - June 1850' is the single most useful source.[23] This register provides the name, age, occupation, marital status, address, application number, embarkation number and date of application for each applicant, who is usually identifiable as a male family head. Brief details of spouse and children - age, sex and usually name - are provided as well, while unmarried persons, male and female, fourteen years or over, are listed as separate applicants (with full details given) even if they were travelling with their parents.[24]

Of some 7020 recorded applications for the entire 1839 to 1850 period, 814 or 11.6% gave residential addresses in Scotland. Most Scots on the register made application before 1843, that is before the fruition of the plan to foster a Scottish variant on Wakefield's theme. From 1843 most of the Scottish would-be emigrants applied directly to the Edinburgh or Glasgow offices of the 'New Edinburgh Association', and after that body's demise, to its successor, the Free Church orientated Otago Association. The Edinburgh based associations kept their own records, but unfortunately the 'Black Register Books of Emigrants' are no longer extant.[25]

Fortunately, however, there are ships' lists dating from the time the New Zealand Company resumed its operations (in 1847) until the Company's ultimate demise in 1850. These incorporate information

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[23]PRO, CO 208 272, 273.

[24]This poses no difficulties as far as the piecing together of families is concerned. A consecutive application number usually indicates a family or kin relationship. In addition, the register sometimes gives other information, such as the name of the agent who had secured the family's application, or further personal information which bears relevance to the family's suitability for a free passage: 'About to be married' or 'has worked in agriculture' are examples.

[25]These books are mentioned in the Otago Association's correspondence: PRO, CO 208 122, McGlashan to Harrington, 14 Sept. 1848.

about all emigrants irrespective of class of passage.[26] Details such as name, age, occupation, destination and travel companions of emigrants can be derived from these lists. Place of last residence is the one significant omission, but for a substantial number of early emigrants (to Otago, at least) this information can be obtained from other sources.[27] Some 1500 UK emigrants landed at Otago's Port Chalmers between 1847 and 1850. The origin of nearly 30 per cent of these could not be traced, but of the remainder over two-thirds were Scots (68.1 per cent), one quarter were English and Welsh (25.4 per cent), and the others Irish or non-British emigrants travelling from UK ports.

After 1850 New Zealand shipping lists survived haphazardly. Immigrants entering Otago during the 1850s were listed in the local press, but information other than a surname was seldom given, and family members and steerage passengers often omitted altogether.[28] In this decade before the gold rushes, however, particulars normally derived from the shipping record can be partially reconstructed from Otago church and other local sources.

The Reverend Thomas Burns drew up Dunedin's 'First Church' Communicants' Roll Book in 1851. At that time some 44 per cent of all household heads in Dunedin and environs were members of Burns' Church.[29] Immigrants arriving after 1851, who joined the church, had their names entered in the Communicants' Roll Book along with information as to arrival date, Scottish origins (usually at the parish level), denomination of worship in Scotland, and name of minister or session clerk who had 'certified'[30] the immigrant concerned. The given

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[26]The Otago lists are published in T. M. Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (London, 1898), Appendix F. (Copies of the originals are also available in the Hocken Library, Dunedin: HL, Mss, F & J 3,4.)

[27]For example, it can be obtained from the individual entries made out at the time of the 'Otago Jubilee', discussed below.

[28]Lists extracted from the *Otago Witness* are available in the Otago Early Settlers' Museum (hereafter OESM).

[29]The religious affiliation of individuals in the community was noted by Burns in his 'Visitation Book'. (OESM, MS.) Burns's visitations were made annually between 1848 and 1858, and his 'Book' records details of individuals. (It is organised by district and household.)

[30]The 'certification' of church members when they left their parish of abode was a traditional form of social control (although no longer effective as such by the mid-nineteenth century). Before they could receive the ordinances of the church in a new

place of last residence information was confirmed or discovered by tracing ministers in Hew Scott's *Fasti*.[31] The large number of session clerks and ministers of Free Church and United Presbyterian congregations certifying emigrants from cities meant that only about one-third of Edinburgh and Glasgow parishes were able to be distinguished. Nevertheless, the origins of 463 individuals coming from 110 'localities' and certified by 194 ministers were located. These individuals were 'linked' to their families using Burns' Visitation Book (a local source which approximates to a series of census enumerators' returns taken annually over a decade). Proceeding from an assumption that communicants, their children and their spouses would generally have shared the same place of last residence in Scotland, data derived from Burns' Communicants' Roll Book was estimated to be indicative of the origins of about one-fifth of the Otago population as it stood by the end of the decade.

Another 'unusual' and highly detailed set of local sources are records deriving from the 'Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition of Early Settlers Prior to 1861'. As part of the 'first fifty years' celebrations in 1898, survivors of the pre-gold rush settlement days were invited to fill out individual forms stating their name, date of birth and place of birth, date and place of marriage, date of arrival in Otago, name of ship, place of eventual residence, and number of children and grandchildren. Usually these entries relate to emigrants who were themselves children at the time of emigration: their place of birth is a vital clue to their parents' place of last residence. On the other hand, the oldest informants, often widows, had usually married in Scotland, and they often supplied details of both birth and place of last residence. If either a Scottish birth or a Scottish marriage had occurred in 1855, or later, it was easy to find members of the relevant families in a range of Scottish vital registers. The 'Jubilee Record' favours the long-lived, and those who remained in New Zealand and felt a sense of identity with early Otago. Despite this bias, it nonetheless provides a basis for intriguing insights into a range of demographic phenomena, including: internal

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parish, incomers had to produce a certificate, signed by a minister or a prominent lay member of the church, testifying to their character credentials.

[31] *Fasti Ecclesiö Scoticanö. The Succession of Ministers in the Church of Scotland from the Reformation,* new edn, rev. and cont. (Edinburgh, 1915).

migration in Scotland, marriage and remarriage, and completed fertility.

During the provincial period, lists of emigrants were sometimes provided in Provincial Government gazettes. These are particularly 'good' for Otago for the years between the end of 1868 and the end of 1871, during which time some 700 emigrants (excluding their spouses and children) were 'assisted' by the Otago Provincial Council in ships leaving Scottish ports.[32] However, there is no equivalent information for paying passengers who travelled from the UK to Otago during the same decades. The record of emigrants derived from shipping lists and similar sources is not representative of all types of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand during the Provincial Government era: in particular, gold miners, their families and associates are missing.

By contrast, the 1870s are a golden age for New Zealand shipping records. Paddy Henderson's Company had controlled most New Zealand shipping from the Clyde since the mid 1860s, and from September 1871 until the early 1880s, detailed lists of all paying passengers (cabin, intermediate and steerage) who travelled to New Zealand on Henderson Company ships are available in Strathclyde Regional Archives.

About half of the 84 ships whose passengers are listed in the Henderson Company archive carried New Zealand Government assisted emigrants who left Scotland under the 'Vogel Scheme'. With a few exceptions, passenger lists of Vogel Scheme emigrants are all available in National Archives, Wellington, New Zealand.[33] Those 'Henderson' and 'Vogel' lists which overlap are particularly useful, because, if used in conjunction with each other, it is sometimes possible to detect family strategies, for example when one member of a family or kinship group

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[32]The estimate of 700 refers to the total number of family or individual units, that is, each unit represents either an unmarried adult or a family (which, for the purposes of this case study is generally defined as either a married couple with/without children or a single adult with, and parent to, a child/children). Unmarried adults were over-represented on these lists compared with other New Zealand shipping records. (The family orientation of emigrants is discussed in Chapters Six and Seven.)

[33]The lists have been microfilmed by Mormon libraries in Utah, and the microfilms are cheaply accessible through Mormon genealogical libraries in Britain.

paid full passage (and so is listed on the Henderson list) while the others were assisted under the Vogel Scheme.

During the Vogel period, the Scottish recipients of a free or an assisted passage did not necessarily leave from the Clyde (although they generally did if members of their families were paying passengers). A large minority of assisted emigrants (including groups of dispossessed crofter families from Shetland) left from London. Emigrants who left the UK from an English port, but who gave a Scottish address can usually be thought of as 'transients'. (Indeed, the cost of their internal transport was sometimes met by a landowner or employer in Scotland, or by benevolent groups in Scotland and New Zealand.)

Both the Henderson and Vogel scheme lists provide clear information as to passage payment and/or extent or type of passage assistance. Both records give names of emigrants, and the Vogel lists are particularly comprehensive with regard to details about age and occupation (probably because these features of emigrants, together with gender and family size, were the main criteria on which assisted passages were granted). Ages and occupations for cabin passengers are frequently missing on the Henderson lists - perhaps out of scruple to the sensitivities of the ladies and better-off travellers. This omission is more than partially compensated for by the detailed addresses (often including street number or the name of a farm) provided on the Henderson lists. The Vogel scheme lists, unfortunately, give origins at county level only.[34]

Taken together these various sources provide a reasonable coverage of most Scots emigrating to New Zealand from ports in the UK between 1840 and 1880. Indeed, when the total number of emigrants for whom

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[34]Although detailed addresses are not given on the Vogel Scheme lists, big families with uncommon names can be traced in Scottish records by first checking the birth registers of the children. Theoretically single adults can be located in the same way, but in practice these searches yielded too many possibilities for incorrect linkage. The massive task of checking all the Vogel emigrants against Scottish registers was not undertaken systematically in the present study, first, because of time constraints, and secondly, because of the inevitable bias in favour of family experiences that would have resulted. Unlike the Henderson and all other shipping records used in this study, there is some indication from the detailed case studies that the county origins provided on the Vogel lists referred occasionally to place of birth as opposed to place of last residence.

data are derived from shipping lists (and equivalent sources) is broken down according to New Zealand's three main administrative periods between 1840 and 1880, and compared with estimates derived from national aggregates (port statistics and the like) for the same three periods, it seems fair to conclude that the shipping list data provide an adequate coverage (in terms of 'typicality') of Scots who went to New Zealand for all three periods - excepting the Provincial Government era during the rush for gold.[35]

2.3.2.2. Scottish Demographic Records

Unlike records found in far away New Zealand archives, the sources used for 'maximal reconstruction' of emigrants' backgrounds in Scotland will often be familiar to a British reader.[36] The single most important source used in the study was the collection of unpublished nineteenth century census enumerators' schedules held for Scotland in New Register House, Edinburgh. These are available on a decadal basis from 1841.

The census enumerators' schedules provide a basis for assessing the family and household situation of individuals prior to emigration. This source not only provides a range of details appertaining to individuals - such as occupation, age, marital status, place of birth and relationship to household head - but also allows us to see, at one point in time, families and households as entities, existing in particular types of communities - villages, farmsteads and city streets.

The merits, demerits, ambiguities and potential uses of the census enumerators' books have been discussed by scholars at length.[37] Some of the points made by these scholars are more pertinent to the

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[35]This comment is made with respect to the data (initially derived from samples of the original ships' lists) after appropriate weights had been added. For more detail on the sampling and weighting procedures used, see Section 2. 4. 1 below.

[36]The use made of Scottish demographic records for the purposes of the present study was guided by M. Flinn et al. *Scottish Population History from the Seventeeth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977) and E. A. Wrigley, ed. *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972).

[37]See Wrigley, ed. op. cit., esp. essays by Anderson and Tillot.

emigration project than others. The 'rounding' of ages at the time of the 1841 census, for example, was not problematical (as it might be for studies which rely on a cross-sectional analysis of the returns) because the data about ages were able to be verified by other sources, in particular shipping lists.

Even verifiable data may be conceptually suspect. With respect to the census enumerators' schedules, migration is a case in point. Census data allow the birth and residential location of individuals to be compared, and, children's birthplaces sometimes give an idea of family migration. However, there is no way of estimating from the census the direction and frequency of intermediary moves which were not indicated by the birth of a family member. Individuals who moved away and subsequently returned to their birth place to settle might be counted as 'non-migrants' on the basis of the census, and, seasonal and temporary migration can seldom be traced. Even the realities of long distance emigration can be obscured by the decennial interval. One young Haddington girl, for example, known from family records to have joined siblings in New Zealand in 1855 was living with her parents in Scotland at the time of both the 1851 and 1861 censuses. She must have returned to Scotland from New Zealand, but to all accounts would appear from the census record as a 'non-migrant'.

Care was taken to extract information from the census schedules in a consistent manner. For example, attention was given to the contemporary confusion as to how a Scottish 'flat' (socially and politically the equivalent of an English 'house') should be defined. The 'household' or co-residing group was deemed to be all persons from the person designated on the schedule as 'head' to the next head, including lodgers who in some censuses were listed as separate heads (presumably because they paid separate rents) but who supposedly shared the same living space as the household under review.[38] Information appertaining to all members of the families and households

[38]In general then the assumed definition of a 'household' was taken to be a group of persons who shared the same living space, although the typically-used modern definition of a household - as a group of co-residing persons who share a daily meal - may not have applied. (Nor did the 'household' necessarily bear any relationship to what counted as the 'house'.)

in which emigrants were located was extracted from the enumerators' schedules.

Emigrants left Scotland for New Zealand from diverse locations. The main difficulty in using census enumerators' books for the present project lay in finding emigrants and their families in the schedules, and in assessing whether the assumed linkage between an individual in the shipping record with his or her census entry was in fact correct. There is no guarantee of course that emigrants from some areas were not more readily found in the census than emigrants from others, and only very rough estimates can be made as to the extent which this may have slanted results.[39] The 1841 schedules for parishes in Fife went down with a ship sunk in the Forth, so there was no way of locating in the census the clusters of emigrants who went from Fife to New Zealand in the 1840s.

Data linkage depends upon a series of assumptions, each of which supposes a criterion, which, if met, limits the possibility of an incorrect linkage being made. In the present study a correct connection between two sources was usually assumed if an individual's name and address as given on a shipping list concurred with a census entry. Occupation, age and family details might supply adequate verifying evidence in ambiguous cases. This procedure was not always straightforward. Names (for example, Ann and Agnes, Jessie and Janet) were often interchangeable. Emigrants sometimes identified with, and gave their address as, a village or hamlet situated in a parish or registration district just outside the boundaries of the parish in which they actually resided. Occupations were described in manifold ways: the ambiguous 'ag lab' of the ship's list might be recorded as a farm servant, dyker, shepherd, ploughman, dairyman, hafling or orraman in the census. Similarly, family details provided by two sources might not quite agree. These difficulties are surmountable by human brains, but would require leaps in 'artificial intelligence' and extreme sophistication of programming to ever be resolved by machines.[40]

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[39]See Section 2.5 below.

[40]See also the conclusions of Alan Macfarlane, et al. 'Reconstructing Historical Communities with a Computer', Final Report to the SSRC (Dept of Social Anthropology, University of Cambridge, 1983).

In general, emigrants are an elusive bunch. Shipping lists (and comparable sources) gave clues as to the precise local origins of some 1215 individual emigrants or emigrant families. About 57 per cent of these family or individual 'units' were found in Scottish census enumerators' books - amounting to the location in the schedules of over 2000 individuals.[41] Of the 522 emigrants and families not found in the census (but who gave what seemed to be a detailed address to the shipping authorities), nearly 28 per cent gave an address the precise location of which was simply not found on a map and/or in the census. A further 6.8 per cent gave a work address or employer's residence, and 1.8 per cent gave the address of a banker or shipping agent. About 7 per cent gave the address of kin.[42] And, of the remaining 57 per cent, more than half (nearly 33 per cent of the total 'not found') had almost certainly migrated since the last census prior to their emigration, that is, they were not living at the address they gave to the shipping authorities, at the time of the last census. For the remaining 24 per cent, no apparent reason why the emigrant or family was not living at the given address could be identified, although, once again, migration since the census is a possibility.

The numbers of emigrants and families not located in the census would have been greater without the aid of Scottish directories and detailed ordinance survey maps. Middle class emigrants who gave a business address could sometimes be connected to their residential addresses using the former source while the latter were particularly helpful for finding farms and small hamlets for which a regional but no local setting had been provided. (Farms were also traced to their localities using *Slater's Directory*.) Official birth and marriage registers (available for Scotland 1855 and thereafter) provide precise residence details for emigrants with young children, and sometimes for emigrants who married shortly before emigration.[43] With the possible

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[41]The 'representativeness' of this group in terms of all Scottish emigrants listed on a New Zealand ship's lists (or comparable source) is assessed in Section 2.5.

[42]This is a surmise based on the similarity between the emigrant's surname and that of the occupants of the address given.

[43]Marriage usually took place away from the prior residence of the bride and groom, often at the bride's former or her parents' place of abode. Residence details supplied from marriage registers, and the location of the marriage ceremony, were not

exception of the shipping lists, sources used for locating emigrants in the census favoured large and 'settled' families, well-off emigrants and emigrants from localities with very small populations. (The extent to which unmarried adults, the poorest emigrants, and most mobile sections of the emigrant population were under-represented in the group of emigrants who were successfully traced in the census will be considered in Section 2.5.)

Interpretation of the data derived from the census was assisted by supplementary information gleaned from other sources: most useful was a second census entry! About 20 per cent of the group of emigrants traced in one census, were found in at least one other census. A further 25 per cent were found in vital registers or in private family records such as family bibles which listed, for example, names of children who may have died, or who may have been living away from their parents' home at the time the family was found in the census.[44]

Ironically and inevitably, data management became more complex as the quality, detail and meaning of the data acquired for each case improved. For example, couples who married after the last census prior to their emigration were not likely to be living at their place of last residence at the time of the census. However, if their date of marriage was after 1855 they were often found in the census at the address stated on their marriage certificates. For these couples we know 'place of last residence' and 'place of a fairly recent former abode.' The census information relating to the latter is valuable because it appertains to the family and socio-economic background of emigrants. Yet it does not

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necessarily indicative of the couple's dwelling place after marriage. With respect to residence details, the evidence of the birth registers must also be regarded with caution. For example, first-time mothers often went home to their own mothers during confinement. A useful feature of Scottish civil birth registers, on the other hand, is that the date and place of the parents' marriage is supplied as well as the date and place of the child's birth. Hence, an easy 'link' between a birth and a marriage register can often be established.

[44]Because of time constraints on the duration of the project, the vital registers were not searched exhaustively. In particular, the pre-1855 parochial returns were seldom used: only 3.3% of the emigrants located in the census were also found in 'Old Parochial Returns' of baptisms or marriages. This was not so much because of the 'beadledom and bumbledom of parochial inefficiency' (*Chambers Journal* IX, No. 218 (6 March 1858), 155) as because of the time involved in securing results. For the same reason, sasines and valuation records were not searched systematically.

strictly measure the emigrants' situation prior to emigration, and so presents an anomaly not easily incorporated into machine-readable format.

The longitudinal nature of data derived from New Zealand shipping and other local sources and 'traced back' to a variety of Scottish demographic records (also haphazardly spaced in time) adds complexity to data base design and consequent analysis. No great sophistication in the methods used for analysis of the longitudinal data is claimed for the present project (although the need to control for spurious effects of life cycle and period is recognised). Research incorporating the use of longitudinal data is still at an experimental stage,[45] and no significant advances to this field of methodology are expected as a result of the present study. The data base project[46] was undertaken merely to organise the data and so add a wieldy element to analysis; the aim of the data linkage project, by contrast, was to derive meaningful and reliable 'indicators' of complex processes from a variety of hitherto under-utilised sources.

2.3.3. Other Sources

Sources used in this study which are not discussed in any detail in this chapter relate mainly to the 'outer' ends of the spectrum of evidence. Examples are the aggregate demographic and social data collected variously at national, regional and occasionally parish or local levels, and provided in a wide range of nineteenth century records. Those used in the present study include: the published census returns for Britain, reports of the Emigration Commissioners and special commissions of enquiry (for example the Scottish Poor Law Commission of the early 1840s); and for New Zealand - Abstracts and Statistical Returns, and Colonial Blue Books. These sources have been used in conventional ways to provide contextual evidence. They are listed in the Bibliography, and on occasion discussed in subsequent chapters.

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[45]For example, the issues of methodological principle, data characteristics, and general research strategies which incorporate the empirical use of longitudinal data are topical in the field of social medicine.

[46]This is described briefly above (Section 2.2) and below (Section 2.4) and in more detail in Appendix 2.

2.4 The Data-Base

Data relating to individual emigrants were sorted into three main groups of evidence, coded into machine-readable format and stored in a data-base. These three groups consist of: data about individual emigrants taken from shipping lists (or the equivalent); data about individuals who were found on a ships' list and at least one other Scottish source (usually a census entry); and data about individuals who were found in at least three sources (including a ship's list and a census entry - or their equivalents - and at least one other Scottish source). In the following chapters and appendices these three groups are referred to respectively as the 'total list', the 'census-traced group' and the 'in-depth group'.

2.4.1 The 'Total List'

Demographers, social scientists, statisticians and others are generally concerned with defining the 'population' to which their given sets of evidence relate. The base population with which the present study is concerned includes all persons born in Scotland who later lived in New Zealand, and who arrived in New Zealand some time between about 1840 and 1880. The best source for selecting a group as representative of this population are shipping lists - which describe people at the point when emigration actually occurred. Shipping lists are, of course, an imperfect source because not all nominal listings of emigrants are (or ever were) extant, and even if they did always exist, it would be a near impossible task to trace the large number of individuals who were born in Scotland and who travelled to another country before going on to New Zealand.

The criterion for 'selection' of emigrants as a focus for study was the existence of information about them. Some shipping lists provide a good deal of information about emigrants, so ideally all emigrants on that list would be included in the 'total list', and for consistency's sake, a one-in-one 'sample' of all the lists should be taken! This was of course impracticable, given the time-limits on the project, because the number

of emigrants known to have been Scottish, who went to New Zealand between 1840 and 1880, and who are recorded on extant shipping lists (or the equivalent) is something in the realm of 25 000 - 30 000. So - depending on the existence of information and the extensiveness of each type of record used - either all persons from a particular shipping list (or set of lists) were included in the sample[47] or a systematic sample of one in five, one in ten or one in twenty emigrants was taken, and weights of one, five, ten or twenty were added to each individual record as appropriate.

The sources used (described in Section 2.3.2.1 above) and the manner of selection proceeded as follows:[48]

(1) The Otago shipping record for the period between 1847 and the end of 1850, together with applications for assisted passage and the New Zealand Company's early ships' lists (stating information about cabin passengers) provide the 'base population' for New Zealand Company emigrants included in the 'total list'. From these sources a one in five sample of families[49] and of unattached adults was taken.

(2) The 'total-list' for the years between 1850 and 1872, on the other hand, is based on a one in five sample of families and a one in ten sample of individuals listed in either the Otago Provincial Government gazettes or the unpublished register of early settlers made out at the time of the 'Otago Jubilee'. Burns' Communicants' Roll Book and his Visitation Book were used for data linkage but individuals located in

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[47]The term 'sample' is generally not used to describe the 'total list' because a random sampling of emigrants from shipping lists was not undertaken. Such a procedure would inevitably have resulted in the loss of 'rich' data, which arguably is vital if our understanding of emigration and migration processes is to be advanced.

[48]A general selection procedure was that Scots only were selected from lists relating to ships which left from an English port, while all emigrants irrespective of nationality were selected from lists which related to ships which left from a port in Scotland.

[49]A marriage or parent-child relationship is taken as the criterion for defining groups aboard an emigrant ship as 'families'. Hence a widow (or unmarried mother) travelling with a child or children is classified as a 'family' while the members of a group of adult siblings are each classified independently as 'individuals'. In those cases when kin-related persons of three generations travelled together, several of these persons might be defined as a family (usually the parent(s) and child(ren) of the younger generation) while the others would usually be 'individuals' (classified in another variable as 'travelling with kin').

these sources were included in the data base only if they were also located in a more 'neutral' shipping (or equivalent) source.

(3) The 'total list' for the decade of the 1870s comprises a one in five sample of all families and one in ten sample of all single adults on the Henderson lists, together with a one in ten sample of families and a one in twenty sample of individuals (who stated Scottish origins or who left from a Scottish port) on the Vogel scheme lists.[50]

The total 'n' of units incorporated in the 'total list' (including weighted data) number 26 616 - or 21 636 if English and Irish born transients (who departed the UK from Scottish ports) are excluded. Most tables and analysis that draw on the 'total list' will be in terms of the 21 636 units of weighted data. At times the units will be referred to as 'individuals' - but, in fact, the 'total list' consists of only about 6,000 persons who would have classed as 'souls' if tallied by a nineteenth century commentator.[51]

2.4.2. The 'Census-Traced' Group

One third of all emigrants on the 'total list' were located in Scottish census enumerators' books, or in an equivalent source.[52] These individuals, who number 2064 in total, were found to have lived in households scattered throughout Scotland at the time of one, some or all of the decennial censuses taken between 1841 and 1881. Information about emigrants, their families, and the other members of the 693 households (or co-resident groups) in which emigrants were traced, was extracted from the Scottish sources and coded into machine readable format. All individuals - emigrants and non-emigrants alike - located and coded in this manner are referred to henceforth as the 'census-traced' group.[53]

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[50]Scottish paying passengers who left from London ports are not picked up in this 'sample'.

[51]Nineteenth century commentators often distinguished between the number of 'souls' aboard an emigrant ship and the number of persons. (For the latter category, children sometimes counted as a half.or a quarter.)

[52]Sometimes an individual or a family who could not be traced in the census (possibly because the people concerned were away at census time) were located in a Scottish vital registers, church records or directories. If enough information was found to establish

The 'census-traced' group provides evidence at one step removed from the 'total list'. It is not necessarily as 'representative' of the Scotland-New Zealand emigrant 'population' as the total list, but it provides a far more comprehensive basis for investigating the characteristics of emigrants. Because at least two records exist for every individual in the census-traced group, we have a means of assessing the accuracy and the 'meaning' (in terms of interpretation and understanding) of each record against the other. Did age and occupation data concur? Did single men (described as such on the ships' lists) in fact leave wives and children behind them in Scotland? What significant life cycle changes (likely to affect emigration decisions) occurred between the time of the census and the time of emigration (for example, remarriage or widowhood, or the setting up of a new conjugal unit at first marriage)?

The census is a particularly rich source because it provides so much detail about the probable context in which emigration decisions were made: father's occupation, size of house and number of servants, for example, are clues to the social status of emigrants; information about birth place allows analysis of the emigration phenomena in the light of probable patterns of internal migration. At this point on the 'evidence spectrum' a compromise between 'reliability' (in the sense of typicality or representativeness) and 'validity' (in the sense of consistency, detail and 'meaning') is probably achieved with the least aggregate loss (taking the two criteria - reliability and validity - into account) than at any other point. The most important (because they are new, verified and reasonably reliable) results of the case study may depend on this 'census-traced' group. Accordingly, the special concern of Section 2.5 of this chapter is to describe and assess the extent of bias and error at this 'middle point' of the range of evidence.

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that certain individuals had lived together in a 'real' household (that is, one which really existed in time and space) then the persons concerned were included in the census-traced group. About 90 households fall into this category.

[53]Including non-emigrants, the census-traced group consists of about 5000 individuals.

2.4.3. The 'In-Depth' Group

Both the 'total list' and the 'census-traced' group may be used for certain kinds of 'disaggregative' analysis: different variables (for example, occupation or place of last residence or age at emigration) may be broken down in terms of each other. The census-traced group has an additional advantage in that it allows the values of similar variables to be compared at a minimum of two points in time.

However, a single or even a dual-dimensioned type of evidence, no matter how representative of a given population, or how superficially accurate, will inevitably be distorting. The 'meaning' of the data will be limited especially with regard to the ways in which individuals interact with each other. For example: family members did not always emigrate at the same time; some young unmarried persons were likely to have been living and working away from their parents' homes on census night. The evidence of a ship's list together with a single census entry might not suggest these patterns. Similarly, kin relationships between married women and their siblings and parents who travelled on the same ship are not easily discovered using just one or even two different records.

The record linkage study was undertaken with the aim of overcoming the inadequacies of methods which rely on a cross-sectional perspective on peoples' lives. Initially the aim of the linkage project was to achieve 'maximal reconstruction' of the demographic and social evidence relating to as many emigrants already included in the 'total list' and 'census-traced group' as possible. This aim had to be abandoned because, thanks to nineteenth century habits of record keeping, sources incorporating data about individual emigrants were found far more readily than expected. In the end about 800 individuals (including the non-emigrating members of emigrants' households) were included in the 'in-depth group'. This group overlaps, but is not the same as, the group of emigrants who are included in the 'mini-biography' category of evidence. Altogether there are 283 families in the

latter and 231 in the former.[54] The overlap occurs when, for example, emigrants found in some 'unusual' source (such as a genealogical study) were also located early in the project on a ships' list. Although not included in the data-base and omitted from most of the tables and discussion in the following chapters, the mini-biographies are useful because they sometimes provide information about emigrants such as gold diggers and those who went to another destination before going on to New Zealand - the types of emigrants who are not represented in the 'total list'.

2.5. Sources of Bias in the Census-Traced Group

The following series of tables and graphs are devised to illustrate the limits of the reliability of the census-traced group. This is done by means of a comparison between the census-traced group and the total list. The first consideration is with respect to broad demographic and family structural characteristics, the evidence in the case of both groups taken from shipping lists.

[54]Unlike families in the 'in-depth' group, families in the 'mini-biography' category of evidence are not necessarily included in the data-base, and as a group, do not necessarily form a subset of the 'census-traced group' and the 'total list'.

TABLE 2.1 THE SEX OF EMIGRANTS: THE 'TOTAL LIST' AND THE THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP COMPARED.

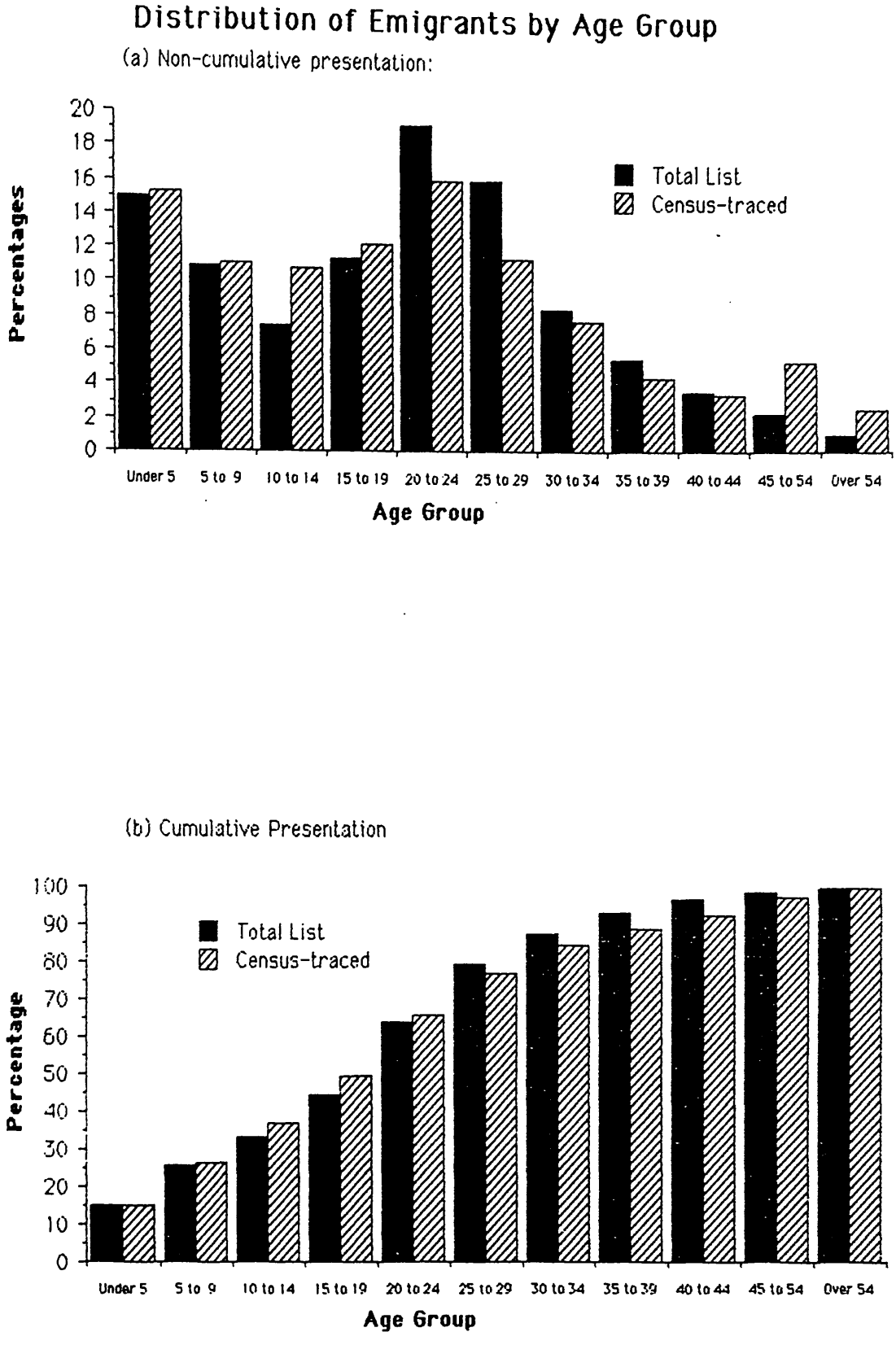
	'Census-traced' Group %	'Total List' %
Male	56.4	57.0
Female	43.4	42.8
Unknown	0.2	0.1
Total (%)	100.0	99.9
(n)	2064	21636

TABLE 2.2 FAMILY POSITION OF EMIGRANTS AT DEPARTURE TIME (SELECTED CATEGORIES): THE 'TOTAL LIST' AND THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP COMPARED.

	'Census-traced' Group %	'Total List' %
Head of family group	15.8	16.1
Adult with parents	13.5	9.9
Adult alone[a]	13.4	23.1
Other	57.2	50.7
Unknown	0.1	0.1
Total (%)	100.0	99.9
(n)	2064	21636

a Without family, kin, peers, employer, employees, or any other obvious travel companions.

Fig. 2.1


Distribution of Emigrants by Age Group
(a) Non-cumulative presentation:
Percentages
20
18
16
14
12
10
8
6
4
2
0
Total List
Census-traced
Under 5
5 to 9
10 to 14
15 to 19
20 to 24
25 to 29
30 to 34
35 to 39
40 to 44
45 to 54
Over 54
Age Group
(b) Cumulative Presentation
Percentage
100
90
80
70
60
50
40
30
20
10
0
Total List
Census-traced
Under 5
5 to 9
10 to 14
15 to 19
20 to 24
25 to 29
30 to 34
35 to 39
40 to 44
45 to 54
Over 54
Age Group

The overall sex structure of the two groups (Table 2.1) is very similar. The age distribution of both groups also shows the same broad pattern. We can see from the graphed cumulative age distribution for example (Figure 2.2) that the median age group of emigrants in both lists falls in the 20-24 year old age bracket. However, if we calculate from the data rather than read directly from the graph, we see that the median for the total list is nearly 22 years while for the census-traced group it is just on 20. A bigger proportion of emigrants in the younger and older age groups (those under 20 years of age and over 44) in the census-traced group, compared with the total list, is reflected in the steeper rise (Figure 2.2) and higher peaks (Figure 2.1) at these ages for the former group with regard to the latter. By contrast, the total list contains a relatively big proportion of young and early middle aged adults, with noticeably higher proportions of young emigrants in their twenties, than the census-traced group.

Table 2.2 indicates that these age differences partly reflect differences in the family structure at departure time of emigrants in the two groups. Unmarried adults, travelling without kin, family or other companions, are far more prominent on the total list than on the census-traced group. However, with the exception of the 'young adult with parents' category, the proportions of emigrants travelling with family members are not strikingly dissimilar between the two groups. Emigrants who travelled with kin outside the family, or with an employer, employee or peer, are more prominent in the census-traced group than in the total list. Rather than reflecting differences between two distinct 'populations', this may be due to the relative ease of establishing connections between emigrants who were record-linked compared to those who were not. On the other hand, age distribution is not so likely to have been affected by the extra detail supplied by record-linkage. The relatively high proportion of 20-24 year olds in the total list (the 20-24 year olds are the group most likely to have travelled unaccompanied) tends to confirm that the census-traced group contains a small but nonetheless inherent bias in favour of emigrants who travelled in families. This is at the expense of unmarried (and otherwise unattached) young adults.

TABLE 2.3 EMIGRANTS' CLASS OF PASSAGE: THE 'TOTAL LIST' AND THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP COMPARED.

	'Census-traced' Group %	'Total List' %
Cabin or Intermediate	12.8	6.2
Steerage	80.1	92.4
Unknown[a]	7.0	1.3
TOTAL (%)	99.9	99.9
(n)	2064	21636

[a] Includes unclassifiable, e.g. 'crew member'.

TABLE 2.4 OCCUPATIONS OF EMIGRANTS (SELECTED CATEGORIES): THE 'TOTAL LIST' AND THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP COMPARED.

	'Census-traced' Group %	'Total List' %
n[a]	852	10,026
Farm Workers (%)	25.8	32.7
Building Operatives (%)	7.6	8.9
Domestic Servants (%)	11.9	18.2
Finance/Clerical/ Professional Workers (%)	5.9	3.0

[a] 'n' excludes dependents and those whose occupations were not known.

TABLE 2.5 REGION OF LAST RESIDENCE [a] BY PERIOD [b] OF DEPARTURE: THE 'TOTAL LIST' AND THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP COMPARED.

REGION	New Zealand Company Period (c.1839-51)		Provincial Government Period (c. 1852-71)		Vogel Period (c.1872-80)	
	'Census-traced' %	'Total list' %	'Census-traced' %	'Total list' %	'Census-traced' %	'Total list' %
Far North	2.4	2.0	9.7	5.9	6.6	7.5
Highlands and Hebrides	3.1	4.9	10.4	6.5	9.9	7.7
North-East	10.9	8.3	9.9	8.0	8.9	6.7
East Lowlands	43.2	35.6	35.2	31.4	22.3	25.2
West Lowlands	39.0	42.7	17.8	33.1	44.7	43.7
Borders	1.1	5.5	17.0	13.4	7.6	5.7
Scotland-county unknown	0.0	1.0	0.0	1.8	0.0	3.5
TOTAL (%)	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0
(n)	741	1692	657	1533	619	18318

[a] The regions are based on Flinn's grouping of the civil counties. (M Flinn et al. *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), Map 3, p.xxiii.

[b] The effects of politics and period on emigration to New Zealand are discussed briefly in Chapter One.

The socio-economic and regional background of emigrants in the two groups are roughly indicated in Tables 2.3 to 2.5. The first of these tables shows that the better-off emigrants - those who not only paid their own fare in full, but who could also afford to travel in the cabin - were more likely to be found in Scottish sources than emigrants who travelled in the steerage. This is reflected in the occupational structure of the two groups as illustrated by Table 2.4. Professionals, for example, are more prominent in the census-traced group compared with the total list. On the other hand, both groups show unambiguously that steerage passengers far outnumbered cabin passengers on the route to New Zealand. In addition, both groups suggest that farm workers were the largest single occupation category outside family members and dependents. Young women described as domestic servants on the ships' lists are probably the least well represented, in terms of census findings, of all the emigrants with a listed occupation. This is not surprising considering the high mobility rates, likely urban concentration and life-cycle characteristics of domestic servants.

Despite the noted under- and over-representation of various categories of emigrant included in the census-traced group, the above tables suggest that differences between the census-traced and total lists are not fundamental. Broad similarities between the two groups are also maintained when the distributions are further broken down by period. This is illustrated by Table 2.5. The East Lowlands are noticeably over-represented in the census traced group for the New Zealand Company period, and the West Lowlands are noticeably under-represented in the census-traced group for the provincial period. Otherwise, distinctions between the total list and census traced group according to the regional distribution of emigrants' origins are not conspicuous.

Why were some emigrants found in the census and not others? Obviously, families were less mobile than young, single adults, and more likely therefore to be living at the same address at the time of the census as that just prior to emigration. The issue is, however, complicated by the possibility that some addresses - for example, those

appertaining to tenement buildings in crowded cities - are less easy to locate in the census than farms or small hamlets. There is also the complication of the effect of occupation on mobility, and the association between occupation and life cycle. Building workers, like farm and domestic servants in a mid-nineteenth century Scottish context, are noted for their mobility. The centres for the building industry are the cities and towns. Yet building workers are not under-represented in the census-traced group to any noticeable extent. There is also no consistent reason (apart perhaps from mobility) why 'better off' emigrants were more often found in the census than those who were less well off. Perhaps 'better off' emigrants provided more accurate and precise residence details than their less lofty peers.

These sorts of queries were investigated further by comparing the characteristics of emigrants who provided a seemingly precise and detailed address, but who were not found in the census, with the characteristics of emigrants for whom a search was successful. Results are surprising. The occupational profile of 'representative individuals' - either single adults (representing themselves) or the deemed representative of a family (usually the family head) - was far more similar for the two groups 'found' and 'not found' than for the two groups 'census-traced' and 'total list'. Farm workers, for example, accounted for 24.1 per cent of those found and 20 per cent of those not found. The corresponding figures for building workers and domestic servants respectively were 7.8 per cent (found) and 6.6 per cent (not found), and 8.9 per cent (found) and 7.4 per cent (not found). Indeed, the only occupational groups counting for a larger share of the 'not found' as opposed to the 'found' categories were professional and clerical workers, merchants and retailers, and the group described as 'widows and dependents'. This suggests that domestic servants, for example, were often not found in the census not because they seldom gave an adequate address, but because, in proportion to their numbers, they seldom gave an address at all! (This is indeed true of the large numbers of domestic servants who travelled from Scotland to New Zealand as Vogel emigrants.) Excluding the Vogel emigrants from all calculations (Vogel emigrants are substantially under-represented in the census-traced group - see Table 2.5 above) does not 'even out' the sorts of

discrepancies between the census-traced group and total list, discussed thus far.

Seemingly, successful census tracing was dependent mainly on occupation (which, to a significant extent, reflects place of last residence, age-group and family status) controlled for length of time between departure and the preceding census.

TABLE 2.6 OCCUPATION DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS WHO WERE FOUND IN THE 1871 CENSUS BY DATE OF DEPARTURE.

OCCUPATION GROUP	April to Dec 1871 %	Jan 1872 to April 1874 %	After April 1874 %	Total (1870s) %
Farmers	1.6	3.7	15.1	7.1
Farm workers	40.0	9.8	16.8	23.9
Building Operatives	7.2	4.9	10.1	7.7
Tradesmen - Group 'P'[a]	4.8	26.8	5.0	10.4
Tradesmen - Group 'I'[b]	6.4	17.0	14.3	12.0
Merchants and Retailers	2.4	8.5	14.3	8.3
Professional and Clerical Workers	1.6	15.9	10.1	8.3
Domestic Servants	32.0	0.0	2.5	13.2
Others (excluding dependents)	4.0	13.4	11.8	9.2
TOTAL (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
(n)	125	82	119	326

a Tradesmen Group 'P' includes workers such as cabinet makers, blacksmiths and tailors involved in the production of metal and wooden goods, food and clothing. Skills required in these jobs changed little during the nineteenth century.

b Tradesmen Group 'I' includes workers in industries where skill requirements changed dramatically during the nineteenth century. Textile workers, tool makers and unspecified mechanics are incorporated into this group. The distinction between Tradesmen Group 'I' and Tradesmen Group 'P' derives from C Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century?' in D V Glass and R Revelle (eds) *Population and Social Change* (1972).

This is illustrated in Table 2.6 which shows emigrants of selected occupation groups as a proportion of all emigrants (excluding dependents) found in the 1871 census. The table is broken down according to whether emigration took place between April and December 1871, between January 1872 and December 1875, or after 1875. From this table we see that farm workers and, more noticeably, domestic servants, were likely to be found in the census only if they left Scotland in a census year. On the other hand, the infrequency of farmers, merchants and professionals amongst emigrants departing Scotland for New Zealand in the early 1870s (of those who were also found in the 1871 census) is partly attributable to the fact that the Henderson lists (recording paying passengers) were not available until 1872.

The census-traced group is by no means wildly dissimilar from the total list. The above findings suggest, however, that in subsequent analysis it would be wise to test patterns observed in the census-traced group by control factors such as age (or life-cycle), family status at emigration, occupation, origin, period of departure and gender (or by some combination of control factors such as age and gender, or gender and occupation). It seems fair to conclude that the census-traced group combines a reasonable degree of representativeness with the additional criteria of detail and meaning.

2.6 Summary

This chapter has been concerned with issues which effect research design - such as source availability, evidence selection, and the means by which we try to compensate for imperfect or non-existent data. A central concern has been to establish the limits of the reliability of the case study.

An underlying aim of this thesis is to contribute to the development of strategies for research that are not antithetical to either humanist or positivist traditions in historical writing. The strategy employed in the present study involves a deliberate attempt to 'hear' emigrants' 'voices' from their own (or ,if unavailable, their contemporaries') testimonies.

This aspect of analysis is concerned with perception and with corresponding action or response. Further, it is proposed that evidence supplied by the historical actors themselves can be used for establishing and interpreting patterns and trends (as opposed to merely illustrating these) if the actor's own evidence or 'testimony' is set within a dense continuum of related data. Central to the research strategy is the concept of a 'spectrum' or range of evidence, constructed roughly on what might be described as a 'typical' to 'meaningful' scale. Recognition of probable error limits at each stage along the scale is a crucial feature of the 'method', which also relies upon a constant and conscious process of compromise between each stage or type of evidence.

The following chapters use the evidence of the case study to probe some of the issues current in debates on the topic of international migration.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PERPLEXING ISSUE OF EMIGRANTS' ORIGINS

3.1 Introduction

From which parts of Scotland did the emigrants come? This was one of the first questions, perhaps the first, asked during the course of this project, and it has proved to be one of the most difficult to answer. The initial aim of the project was to quickly locate the origins of the emigrants, to find out what these areas had in common, and then to focus in on one or two localities in order to provide an in-depth local or community study which showed the processes of emigration working at the community level. But the issue of the emigrants' origins proved too perplexing for a cursory review. First, the emigrants who went from Scotland to New Zealand were not found to have resided in Scotland in any obvious locality or region. There were 'clusters' of emigrants leaving particular parishes at particular times, but by and large the origins of the emigrants appear to have been widespread, and emigration from Scotland to New Zealand seems unlikely to have had any remarkable consequence on the population or social dynamics of any one area. In the second place, what we already know about the origins of emigrants from Scotland and from other European countries is often puzzling. Why was it that in many European countries propensity to emigrate varied strongly from area to area, often between areas that were in close proximity to each other and with broadly similar economic and social characteristics? A prominent British emigration historian has argued recently that a cross-sectional analysis focusing on the issue of emigrants' origins raises far more problems and questions than the more common empirical approach of analysis in terms of time: the timing of emigration is not difficult to explain; people's emigration behaviour appears broadly rational when considered in terms of time.[1] The spatial factor on the other hand is altogether more perplexing.

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[1]D. Baines, 'Approaches to the Comparative History of European Migration', Paper Presented to the Social History Society Conference: Migration and Social Change,

'Origins' is a vague term. When we speak of emigrants' origins should we refer to place of last residence, or birth place, or the place where the emigrant had dwelt the longest? And, what is the most appropriate unit for analysis - the region, the district, or the parish? Unfortunately these questions are usually begged by the limitations of the data available. Most evidence concerning the origins of UK emigrants is at the level of the administrative county and relates to emigrants' place of last residence.

Arguably (depending perhaps on an individual's length of stay in a location prior to departure), place of last residence is a valid indicator of the economic and social contexts in which emigration decisions were made. Did emigrants leave from urban or from rural areas, from primarily commercial or from primarily industrial centres, from grain growing or from pastoral regions, from isolated, sparsely populated, perhaps insular or mountainous districts or from the main hubs of population and the centres of social and economic change?

This, and the following two chapters (Chapters Four and Five) are concerned with these issues. In Chapter Four the data are usually presented at a county or regional level, and interpreted on the basis of ideas emergent from European emigration research, with special reference also to idiosyncratic features and traditions associated with emigration from Scotland to New Zealand. In Chapter Five emigrants' places of last residence are considered at a parish level, and in terms of the location of emigrants' households within the civil parish. The issue here is fundamentally methodological - to see if conclusions derived from information about the geographical origins of emigrants are wholly dependent on the unit of analysis which is used to define location. Chapter Five also compares the emigrants' places of last residence with their places of birth. This comparison permits a rough investigation of emigrants' internal mobility. Were Scottish emigrants who left for New Zealand from industrial cities such as Glasgow or Dundee born in rural

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Oxford, 5 Jan., 1989. (A summary of this paper is in the *Social History Society Newsletter* 14 (Spring, 1989), 8. See also D. Baines (idem.), *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), Chap. One.

areas? If so, for how long had they lived in the cities? How many came from Ireland? What does information about the former migrations of Scottish emigrants bound for New Zealand contribute to current debates about the relationship between emigration and internal migration?

In this preliminary chapter an attempt is made to systematise the results of Scandinavian and UK emigration research which bear upon the issue of emigrants' origins and which may have manifold implications for interpretation of the New Zealand data.

3.2. The Origins of Scottish Emigrants: Sources and Surveys

So far, what is known about the regional origins of Scottish emigrants depends mainly on analyses of shipping and customs material relating to specific destinations at specific times. Charlotte Erickson has analysed United States' lists at certain points in the nineteenth century; D. S. Macmillan has investigated the county origins of Scottish emigrants who were assisted to Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century; and F. Crowley has done the same for the 1860 to 1900 period.[2] Early muster rolls provide clues as to the regional origins of Scots who went to British North America at the end of the eighteenth century,[3] and we also know a little about the backgrounds of emigrants assisted under a variety of cooperative and Hortonian ventures during the 1820s.[4]

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[2]F. K. Crowley, 'British Migration to Australia, 1860-1914' (unpublished D. Phil thesis, University of Oxford, 1951); Charlotte Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1831', *Population Studies* 35 (July 1981), 175-97 and 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century?', in D. V. Glass and R. Revelle, eds. *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), pp. 347-81; D. S. Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia, 1788-1850* (Oxford, 1967).

[3]These are used for example in the work of J.M. Bumsted, *The People's Clearance, 1770-1815* (Edinburgh, 1982). Transcripts of the original sources are found in V. Cameron, ed. *Emigrants from Scotland to America, 1774-5* (Baltimore, 1905).

[4] Brief surveys are provided in D. F. Macdonald, *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850* (Glasgow, 1937), Chap. 8 and in D. J. Wood, 'Scottish Migration Overseas', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 80 (Dec. 1964), 164-176. A useful and under-utilised source for this period is: Robert Lamond, *A Narrative of the Rise and Progress of Emigration from the Counties of Lanark and Renfrew, to the New Settlements in Upper Canada* ... (Glasgow, 1821).

Apart from ships' lists and muster rolls our knowledge of the origins of Scottish emigrants depends on local and descriptive sources. Newspapers, the Statistical Accounts, the Scottish Poor Law Commission Report of 1844, estate records, notes accompanying the early censuses, and the reports of various select committees (respecting, for example, social and economic conditions in the Highlands and Islands or the circumstances of cotton handloom weavers in the 1820s) are chief amongst these.[5] These records sometimes incorporate contemporary attempts to quantify emigration and migration from local areas. However, there is no nationally based register yielding information about the regional origins of Scottish emigrants on a consistent basis over any period of time; hence there is no quantitative context which locally based estimates (or destination-specific data) can be measured against.

One way of providing a broad aggregative picture of the regional origins of Scottish emigrants (possible from 1861) is by using the published county data relating to the residence and birth place of the Scottish population[6] to calculate net emigration and internal migration rates on the basis of cohort depletion estimates. The fullest statement of the methodological problems involved, and the types of assumptions regarding migrant age structures and mortality levels which must be made in order to derive county estimates in this manner, is set out in the work of Dudley Baines.[7] Baines's recent project using cohort depletion estimates with respect to English and Welsh migration 1861 to 1900 will

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[5]Combinations of these sources have been used in the following works: T. M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988); M. Gray, 'Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands 1775-1875', *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 95-174; Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission Report of 1844* (Edinburgh, 1979); Macdonald, op. cit. E. Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances,* 2 vols, Vol 1: *Agrarian Transformation and the Clearances* (London, 1982), Vol 2: *Emigration, Protest, Reasons* (London, 1985).

[6]These data are available in the published accounts of the decennial censuses (from 1851).

[7]See D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, op. cit. Chap. Four and his earlier articles: 'Birthplace Statistics and the Analysis of Internal Migration' in R. Lawton, ed. *The Census and Social Structure* (London, 1978), pp. 146-64; and 'The Use of the Published Census Data in Migration Studies', in E. A. Wrigley, *Nineteenth Century Society: Essays in the Use of Quantitative Methods for the Study of Social Data* (Cambridge, 1972), pp. 311-35.

probably alter standard interpretations of UK national and international mobility and the relationship between these phenomena and economic growth.[8] Until "Baines's method" is applied with rigour to the Scottish county data, understanding of the geographical origins of Scottish emigrants must rely on a comparison of more fragmented and often destination-specific evidence.

County-level estimates of net internal and external migration cannot tell us all we would like to know about nineteenth century emigrants. With respect to emigrants' origins, for example, it would be useful to have more precise information about the types of communities which emigrants left, and to be able to identify and compare the circumstances of the emigrants themselves in terms of the local social and economic conditions they left behind.

The emigration records of several Scandinavian countries are capable of being analysed in this manner. Scandinavian scholars have been able to calculate proportions of emigrants from cities, villages or rural hamlets, often identifying geographical origins with precision over time. In several instances they provide information about emigrants' birth places as well as their places of last residence.[9] Of course, patterns observed in Scandinavian studies may not be directly applicable to UK situations.[10] Nevertheless, consideration of empirical studies relating to other European countries is useful in the formulation of hypotheses, and the results of other studies provide a comparative framework for interpreting what is already known about Scottish emigrants and any new discoveries which may come to light.

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[8]Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy*, op. cit. A similar project for Scotland is currently being undertaken by a postgraduate student at the University of Strathclyde under the supervision of Dr. Tom Devine. Irish demographers have also estimated county net emigration rates using cohort depletion methods. See summary in D. Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration, 1801-1921* Economic and Social History of Ireland Series, Vol.1 (Dublin, 1984).

[9]Examples of studies which provide this information are: K. Hvidt, *Flight to America. The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York, 1975); R. Kero, *Migration from Finland to North America in the Years between the United States' Civil War and the First World War* (Turku, 1974); Fred Nilsson, *Emigrationen från Stockholm til Nordamerika 1880-93* (Stockholm, 1970); and I. Semmingsen, 'Norwegian Emigration in the Nineteenth Century', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* VIII No. 2 (1960), 150-60.

[10]This point is made in more detail in Chapter One.

3.3. The Origins of Scottish Emigrants: Implications of the European and UK Emigration Literature.

According to the present author's reading of the European and UK emigration literature respecting emigrants' origins, four key themes or sets of observations seem to be recurrent. These four themes can be said to relate to

1. local traditions
2. idiosyncratic local or regional factors
3. the economic and social character of the sending areas
4. the relationship between emigration and internal migration.

3.3.1. Local Traditions

In general, emigration rates varied with time more clearly in reponse to conditions abroad than to so-called 'push' factors at home.[11] However, it is well-known that during crises such as the Swedish famine of the late 1860s, or the Irish and Scottish potato blights of the 1840s, emigration from the countries affected received an enormous boost. An important conclusion deriving from Swedish (and some Irish) emigration studies is that the specific nature or locality of economic down-turns in the sending country did not necessarily determine which areas produced the emigrants. The localities from which Swedish emigrants came during the 1860s were not always those hardest hit, but were noticeably the same areas which had been sending out emigrants earlier in the nineteenth century. Similarly, the regional distribution of Irish emigration persisted during and after the Famine despite a gradual extension of 'intense' emigration down the western seaboard.[12]

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[11]This was established in the early quantitative studies of emigration from nineteenth century Europe, for example: H. Jerome, *Migration and Business Cycles* (New York, 1926); and D. S. Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements* (New York, 1941). The work of Brinley Thomas suggests that 'pull' factors gained in comparative effect to 'push' factors after the American Civil War. B. Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth. A Study of Great Britain and the Atlantic Economy* (Cambridge, 1954).

[12]Sten Carlsson, 'Chronology and Composition of Swedish Emigration to America', in H. Runblom and H. Norman, eds, *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration.* (Minneapolis, 1976), esp. pp. 138-40; H. Norman, *Från Bergeslagen till*

Scholars of the Uppsala group see this stability in the distribution of emigrants by regional origin to be determined by self-generating or 'stock' effects; that is, the stock of emigrants already gone from a region exerts a strong influence on later emigration. They conclude that tradition or habits of emigration affected later regional patterns, and that level of previous emigration made a decisive contribution to each region's emigration propensity. By implication (although not yet decisively proved) kinship ties and other local contacts were the main factors contributing to the stock effect.[13]

In the case of Scotland, we do not yet know how the regional distribution of overall net emigration varied with time. However, local and regional emigration 'preferences' in terms of destination, for example, the Hebridean connection with the Maritime provinces of British North America, and the continuing tradition of emigration to 'Upper Canada' (present day Ontario) in many parts of highland and lowland Scotland (despite the overall shift of Scottish emigration streams towards the USA after 1847) illustrate clearly the importance of tradition and local patterns in determining emigration behaviour.[14]

Levitt and Smout's analysis of replies to the Poor Law Commissioners' enquiries of 1844 shows that emigration patterns could vary markedly between adjacent parishes, and that areas with broadly similar economic, demographic and social characteristics could yield disparate emigration responses.[15] The effects of 'tradition' seem to be as much a localised as a regional phenomenon, implying that aggregates

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Nordamerika. Studier i migrationsmönster, social rörlighet och demografisk struker met utgångspunkt från Örebo län 1851-1915. Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 62 (Uppsala, 1974), cited in Runblom and Norman, eds op. cit. S. M. Coussens, 'The Regional Pattern of Emigration during the Great Irish Famine', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 28 (1960), 119-34; D. Fitzpatrick, op. cit. (1984).

[13]Carlsson, op. cit. Hans Norman, op. cit. and H. Norman (idem), 'Causes of Emigration: An Attempt at a Multivariate Analysis', in Runblom and Norman, eds op. cit. pp. 149-64.

[14]Devine, *Famine,* op. cit. Harper, op. cit. Vol. 1; Richards, op. cit.

[15]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. pp. 238-40. Levitt and Smout note that this observation did not hold or was less well marked in regions (such as the East Lowlands) with a relatively low rate of emigration in the early 1840s compared to the rate for Scotland as a whole.

of emigration indices at the regional and indeed at the national level are very much the sum of local patterns.

It is perhaps not surprising that the level of previous emigration is the only independent variable which holds consistent explanatory value in econometric models of emigration behaviour. Baines's recent work, using data aggregated for the administrative counties, provides an intriguing supplement to the econometric literature. Once again, apart from 'level of previous emigration', Baines's model provides no clue as to why thresholds of response to emigration opportunities varied so markedly between regions. However, a perplexing further discovery made by Baines is that the 'additional' emigrants who left England and Wales during the very heavy emigration of the 1880s *did not* come from areas such as Devon, Cornwall, London and South Wales, all with a past tradition of heavy emigration. They came primarily from urban areas excluding London, and from suburban areas to the south and east of London, regions with a typically low disposition for emigration.[16] Baines concludes that urban areas with a low disposition for emigration (that is, with a high 'emigration threshold') sent disproportionate numbers of emigrants only when opportunities abroad (relative to those at home) seemed particularly bright, as indeed they did in the context of the building boom in the United States in the 1880s.[17]

3.3.2. Idiosyncratic Regional Factors

Baines's results reinforce theories of emigration which attribute a primary role to local and regional cultural traditions or habits of emigration.[18] In addition, however, his estimates suggest that while emigration traditions generally determined regional levels of response to varying economic conditions abroad, this pattern was also liable to

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[16]Baines, op.cit. (1985), Chap. 7, esp. pp. 197-205, and Tables 7.10, 7.11.

[17]ibid.

[18]On the other hand, Baines also argues that the sudden and strong response of urban regions - with a typically low disposition for emigration - to the unusual conditions of the 1880s undermines the possibility that differential regional 'thresholds' for emigration resulted from regional variations in access to information. On the contrary, Baines argues, the evidence suggests that the emigration propensity of each region was as much a 'cultural' as a social and economic phenomenon, and that a high propensity for emigration may have even run in families! ibid.

modification by temporal, idiosyncratic and local factors which affected the expected local balance between 'push' and 'pull'. The London building boom of the 1880s (which was in stark contrast to the general contraction of the building industry throughout the rest of Britain), the crisis in Cornish copper and tin mining in 1866 and its aftermath, the peculiar instances of landlord control and interference in emigration from the Scottish Highlands, and the coincidence of rural trade unionism in certain English counties in the 1870s with the offer of free passages for agricultural labourers and their families prepared to go to New Zealand, are all examples of what in the present text are described as 'idiosyncratic regional factors'. These factors upset (and sometimes could alter permanently) the expected regional distribution of UK emigrants as determined by the 'stock effect'.

The above-noted connection, made by Baines, between levels of emigration from 'urban' counties for the entire 1860 to 1900 period, and the corresponding urban rates for the 1880s, does not hold for the rural counties. Unlike the urban counties with a high emigration threshold, those rural counties which were classed as having a typically low disposition to emigrate did not contribute decisively to the additional emigrants of the 1880s.[19] This may have been because 'idiosyncratic factors' made the United States boom conditions of the 1880s particularly compelling to emigrants from urban areas, while the contracting UK building industry had less profound effects on the rural counties (as it also had on London in particular).

An interesting parallel may be observed with respect to emigration from England to New Zealand during the Vogel period of the 1870s. Oxfordshire, one of Baines's rural counties which typically produced emigrants at a rate well below the average for England and Wales, and which failed to peak in the 1880s, had sent disproportionate numbers of agricultural labourers to New Zealand the decade before. The number of

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[19]Between 40,000 and 80,000 of the 'additional' emigrants in the 1880s came from urban counties where emigration had been relatively high in the 1870s, whereas between 165,000 and 235,000 of the increase in the 1880s came from urban counties where emigration had been relatively low the decade before, ibid, p.202. Baines does not explicitly declare the estimated contribution of the rural counties to the higher level of migration in the 1880s, but figures provided in Table 7.3 (ibid, pp. 186-7) imply that it was relatively small.

emigrants from Oxfordshire to New Zealand declined rapidly after the peak Vogel year of 1874, suggesting a pattern of customary wary response contrasting with a strong response when the prospect of paid emigration posed the only attractive alternative to winter lockouts by farmer employers during the mid 1870s.[20]

3.3.3. The Economic and Social Character of the Sending Areas

With respect to sending societies, we have seen that the regional distribution of emigration was partly determined by 'local traditions' and by period-specific 'idiosyncratic factors'. Both these factors can be thought of as expulsive forces which operated in conjunction with overseas magnets. We have seen also (from the results of Swedish studies and Levitt and Smout's analysis) that adjacent areas with similar agricultural and industrial structures often show disparate emigration patterns (particularly within regions where emigration frequencies were high overall). What role then (if any) can be attributed to the economic and social characteristics of the sending areas as regulators of the regional distribution of emigration? This question is not easy to answer, in the first place because the economic and social features of areas producing emigrants are seldom fully known. Even determining whether emigrants left their native countries from predominantly 'rural' or predominantly 'urban' localities is no straightforward matter.

During the period of mass emigration from Scandinavia (roughly defined as the half century between 1860 and the First World War) more emigrants (in absolute terms) departed from rural as opposed to urban districts but this was partly because the Nordic countries were still predominantly rural.[21] Emigration rates for urban areas, on the other

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[20]Baines, ibid, Table 7.11, p.204; For the county origins of English immigrants entering New Zealand during the 1870s see Rollo Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s,* (Wellington, 1981).

[21]More than 70% of emigrants departing Norway between 1866 and 1915 left rural districts and this percentage is smaller than expected on the basis of the population distribution of Norway. Semmingsen, op. cit. (1960), p.156. Between 1870 and 1914, only about 14% of the population of Finland lived in urban areas (Kero, op. cit. cited by Baines, op. cit. p. 40), and about 58% of the Swedish work force were still employed in agriculture as late as 1901 (Baines, op. cit. p.47).

hand, were generally as high or higher than rural emigration rates;[22] at least, this was the case for Denmark, Finland and Norway.[23]

Semmingsen (for Norway) and Hvidt (for Denmark) observe the highest emigration rates in small towns where job opportunities had been declining. Such towns include maritime burghs on the south coast of Norway - towns where the entire infrastructure was affected by the technological transition from sail to steam. The market towns of rural Jutland, where population growth through natural increase and in-migration was not accompanied by a comparable expansion in jobs and industries, saw similarly high rates of emigration.[24]

Despite the high emigration rates associated with these towns, the contribution of small-town urban emigration to total emigration from Scandinavia was small. By contrast, the rapidly expanding cities, capitals and ports of Scandinavia - Oslo and Bergen, Copenhagen, Helsinki, Stockholm, Malmö and Gothenberg - which produced emigrants in proportions roughly equivalent to or just in excess of their

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[22]Emigration rates are of course a measure of the intensity of emigration: the rate of emigration at any given time is the level of emigration from a particular area divided by the average population size of that area during the specified time.

[23]Hvidt, op. cit. pp. 45-51; Kero, op. cit. cited by Baines. op. cit. p.40; Semmingsen, op. cit. (1960), p.156. In the case of Sweden, the urban rates (of emigration to extra-European destinations) were slightly below those of the county provinces (except for the decade of the 1890s and possibly the 1860s). Because emigration from Sweden to Europe, on the other hand, was predominantly from the cities, Carlsson concludes that the total picture for Sweden can be said to favour urban emigration. S. Carlsson, 'Chronology and Composition', op. cit. p.137 and Table 5.2, p.122. The predominance of the urban areas is also qualified in a more recent article by Ingrid Semmingsen. In 'Emigration from Scandinavia', *Scandinavian Economic History Review* XX No. 1 (1972), esp. p.53, Semmingsen argues that, for Norway, the aggregate urban emigration rate for the entire period 1876 to 1915 was higher than the aggregate rural rate because the youngest and oldest emigrants, ie those who were under 16 years of age or over 30 years of age at the time of their embarkation, left urban areas in consistently higher proportions with respect to the 'population at risk' than was the case for the rural areas. By implication, there were more family groups, in proportional terms, among the 'urban' emigrants than there were among the 'rural' emigrants, and (except, perhaps, during the vital decade of the 1880s) it is this difference which accounts for the higher rates in urban as opposed to rural areas.

[24]Hvidt, op. cit. Tables 6.2, 6.3, pp. 59-60; Semmingsen, op. cit. (1960), pp. 156-7; Semmingsen, op. cit (1972), p.52.

population size, were numerically significant and increasingly so among the localities listed as places of last residence of emigrants.[25]

Apart from the cities themselves, those areas in Scandinavia which experienced the highest intensity of emigration included rural regions farthest from the centres of economic change, especially high ground farming and insular districts, together with rural industrial districts prone to economic dislocation. By contrast, emigration rates tended to be low in rural districts characterised by abundant flat arable land, or with new land available for cultivation, or in close proximity to cities.[26]

Unfortunately, most of the data relating to UK emigration is at the county level of aggregation. Hence we generally do not know whether emigrants from counties characterised by high levels of urbanisation and industrialisation came from predominantly textile or mining towns, from the bigger cities, or from industrial villages. Similarly, we cannot infer from 'rural' county emigration rates whether emigrants came from provincial towns and villages servicing rural communities or from indisputably rural localities.

Levitt and Smout's analysis of replies to the Scottish Poor Law Commissioners' investigations reveals parallels with the Scandinavian prototype. The highest rates of emigration from Scotland in the early 1840s were reported in the remote Highlands and Islands, and in rural Lowland districts far from cities. In the Eastern Lowlands a 'proximity to cities' relationship seems to hold for rural areas adjacent to Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen, as rural parishes near these cities reported relatively low proportions of their population emigrating. The 'proximity to cities' relationship did not hold for the western central

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[25]For example, between 1900 and 1914, 22% of all Danish emigrants lived in Copenhagen prior to departure; according to the 1911 census, 19.5%of the Danish population resided in the capital. Hvidt, op. cit. Table 6.3, p. 60.

[26]Carlsson, op. cit. p.140. See Semmingsen op. cit. (1972), pp. 49-50, also, for the argument that persons from isolated districts were more likely to migrate overseas than those living in rural areas close to towns. The latter group were more likely to move into the urban centres (Geographers sometimes say that the cities and towns exerted an 'urban influence field' which affected the patterns of emigration and migration from the surrounding rural districts. Eric De Geer was the first to map nineteenth century urban influence fields in Scandinavia. His work is cited in Runblom and Norman, op. cit. and Semmingsen, op. cit.pp. 49-50.)

Lowlands probably because the industrial region around Glasgow was subject to severe fluctuations in the textile and mining industries, and at this time, was characterised by the structural decline of handloom weaving and a high rate of emigration. Unfortunately, Levitt and Smout's evidence pertaining to the cities themselves is unreliable because parish respondents from the main urban areas of Edinburgh (and Leith), Glasgow, Paisley, Perth, Dundee and Aberdeen all failed to provide useful answers to the Commissioners' queries concerning emigration.[27]

These perceived associations between emigration rates and regional economic and geographic features may have varied in intensity with time. Scandinavian and German scholars distinguish the family or 'folk' migrations of the 1830s and 1840s from the more individualistic, often 'labour' migrations of the late nineteenth century. Scholars usually imply that this 'transition' is reflected in the changing regional distribution of emigrants' origins: emigrants came increasingly from urban areas and cities, and increasingly at faster rates from these areas than would be expected by the changing distribution of the populations at risk.[28] The notion of a transition in emigration has been refined by Sune Äkerman who posits a four-phase growth model for mass emigration - from 'origins' and 'growth' through 'saturation' or 'culmination' and finally 'regression'. The model prescribes a geographical widening of recruitment fields at the culmination phase and a subsequent narrowing again as total emigration rates subside.[29]

It has been noted by Gould and others that emigration from European countries often began in isolated, northern districts and then

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[27]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. pp. 238-41.

[28]Carlsson, op. cit; Hvidt, op. cit; M. Walker, *Germany and the Emigration 1816-85* (Cambridge, Mass. 1964); However, the association between the emigration of individuals (as opposed to family groups) and increasing rates of emigration from the cities is undermined by Semmingsen's discovery for Norway in the period 1876-1915 that urban emigration rates were consistently higher than rural emigration rates for emigrants less than 16 years of age and over 30 years of age, while the rural rates were usually higher than the urban for emigrants in the over 15 to 30 age group, ie those emigrants who were most likely to travel alone. However, in the 1880s (a decade of high emigration) the rate of emigration of 15 to 30 year olds was higher for urban than rural localities. Semmingsen, op. cit. (1972), esp. table, p.53.

[29]S. Äkerman, in Runblom and Norman, op. cit. esp. p.36.

spread (by a process which Gould terms 'diffusion') to areas of more centralised economic activity where conditions for mass emigration were less compelling although still sufficient.[30] The diffusion process could possibly be equated with the growth phase posited by Äkerman's model. It might also explain the apparent 'transition' in some countries from the disproportionately rural to the disproportionately urban areas as the main regional sources producing emigrants. Gould's proposition is convincing in the cases of Italy (on which his research is mainly based), and of Norway where early emigration from northern districts may have depended on information channels and transport networks based on the port of Trondheim. However, it does not hold for Sweden and Denmark (two countries where heavy emigration tended to begin in the central rather than the peripheral zones), nor for Britain where as early as the late eighteenth century two quite distinct 'metropolitan' and 'provincial' emigration processes have been discerned.[31]

No single prescriptive model for the advent of mass emigration from Europe in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries has been borne out by the empirical data about European emigrants' regional origins. However, it is generally accepted by scholars that once a 'diffusion' or 'growth' process is underway the level of urban emigration from any country or region can be perceived as an indicator of the capacity of industry to provide employment in the country or region of the emigrants' origins. Indeed, for several European countries, Germany and Sweden included, advancing industrialisation has been interpreted as eventually stemming the emigration tide.[32]

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[30]J. Gould, 'European International Emigration: The Role of "Diffusion" and "Feedback"', *Journal of European Economic History* 9 (Fall 1980), 267-316.

[31]These are described and analysed in recent publications by Bernard Bailyn: *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York, 1986); and *Voyagers to the West. A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York, 1987).

[32]Walker, op. cit; Äkerman, op. cit. By the early decades of the twentieth century, emigration from Germany was negligible and Sweden had achieved what Äkerman describes as the 'regressive phase' of mass emigration. Continuing high rates of emigration from Norway during 1900-1910 are attributed to the slow rate of Norwegian industrial development. Semminsen, op. cit. (1960). Semmingsen discerns also a considerable reduction in both the absolute numbers emigrating and the rate of emigration from Norway during the last three to five years before World War One, years of increasing industrial activity in Norway. High rates of emigration from Italy and from Ireland have been similarly attributed to slow urban and industrial development.

Charlotte Erickson points out the apparent paradox of emigration from Great Britain which continued apace in the late nineteenth century and reached its most dramatic peaks well after Britain can be described as 'industrially mature'.[33] Baines's recent demonstration that half and possibly two-thirds of emigrants who left England and Wales between 1861 and 1900 came from predominantly urban environments (and that at least 45 per cent were also born in these areas) suggests that even the modernised sectors of the British economy were failing to meet the aspirations of the British people, relative to seemingly brighter prospects abroad.[34] In the case of Scotland, for the same period, Flinn has shown that natural population increase (the difference between births and deaths) was barely exceeded by actual population increase (which reflects also population turnover) in the counties together comprising the largely urban and industrial West Lowlands. All other Scottish regions (including the West Lowlands during the 1880s and in the four decades after 1900) had population gains that fell short of expected increase through natural growth, and (outside the West Lowlands) this was true for all decades between 1860 and 1940.[35] Given the high inward migration into Scottish industrial areas (as indicated by published census birth place data available from 1841), the very slight increase of actual over natural growth in the West Lowlands in the second half of the nineteenth century, and the failure of other regions to retain their own natural increase during the same period, it must be concluded that Scotland, like England and Wales, lost and continued to lose significant proportions of its urban and industrial populations to destinations overseas.

And yet, there are anomalies in the net rates and county figures for Scotland which render the making of useful generalisations and

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[33]Erickson, 'Who were', op. cit.

[34]Baines, op. cit. (1985), Chap. 9. Taking the entire 1861-1900 period into account, Baines found in addition that women were more likely than men to emigrate from the urban counties, especially London. This implies that female emigrants, even more than male, tended to come from places where economic change had been rapid. (For example, one fifth of all English and Welsh female emigrants were born in London compared with 16% of all male emigrants.) ibid. pp. 162-5.

[35]Flinn, et al. *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), Table 5.1.2, pp. 304-5.

hypotheses about the relationship between emigration rates and the economic character of sending areas still somewhat remote. For example, during the massive emigration of the 1880s, population growth in the West Lowlands and in the eastern industrial city of Dundee fell short of the increase expected by natural growth. (This observation is not surprising given Baines's evidence of very high emigration levels from English urban areas during the same decade.) Glasgow, by contrast, experienced net in-migration as usual, and again this is not surprising in view of Glasgow's size and central role in Scottish industry, international trade and commerce, and consequent importance as a net receiver of migrants. During the 1870s, however, Glasow was a net loser of population through the inward and outward flows of migration: between the censuses of 1871 and 1881 the number of inhabitants in the city grew by only 2.3 per cent while the expected increase (on the basis of the difference between births and deaths) was 11.3 per cent. The West Lowlands as a whole during this decade (and in contrast to the 1880s) did not experience an excess of natural over actual growth.[36] The 1870s were years of typically high levels of internal migration directed towards cities and industrial areas of the UK, of high rates of return migration from abroad, and of low levels of emigration. Why then did Glasgow experience such a dramatic net migration loss during this decade and then fail to do so in the 1880s? The answer to this question may lie partly in processes of suburbanisation in Glasgow in the 1870s at a time when Glasgow itself was suffering a severe housing shortage,[37] or in development of the ship-building industry which in the 1880s may have encouraged the local population to remain at home. However, the puzzle is unlikely to be fully resolved until the patterns and intensity of internal mobility and migration into Scotland have been further clarified.

There is still much which is obscure about the relationship between emigration rates and the economic character of emigrants' places of last residence. Estate papers, newpaper accounts and official reports show that land hunger and a shortage of employment opportunities in isolated rural districts continued to be major forces expelling people from their

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[36]ibid. Tables, 5.1.2, 5.1.6, pp. 304-5, 312.

[37]A. K. Cairncross, *Home and Foreign Investment* (Cambridge, 1953), p. 24.

native Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century. Net migration rates for counties and cities support this conclusion but suggest, in addition, that high levels of emigration were by no means confined to areas which could be described as 'marginal' to Scottish economic growth.[38] From the net migration data we can infer (from 1861) that emigration rates for Scottish urban and industrial areas were likely to have been as high (or possibly higher) than the corresponding rates for many rural areas, but we cannot interpret this inference without ambiguity until more is known about the relationship between emigration and internal migration.

3.3.4. Emigration and Internal Mobility

The confirmation that most or a large proportion of emigrants came from urban areas at the centres of economic change merely leads to further speculation as to how long they had been in these areas, and whether they had initially come from rural backgrounds and agricultural jobs. The fourth major theme identified in emigration studies, with respect to the place of last residence issue, concerns this all-important relationship between external and internal migration.

Until about twenty years ago most scholars assumed that emigrants leaving urban areas were themselves in-migrants from rural regions. It was postulated that the cities and towns of western Europe acted as a type of 'urban reservoir' for rural incomers, a reservoir that would be partially drained at times of economic recession or when conditions abroad seemed particularly bright; out-migration from rural areas, on

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[38]Parish and county net migration rates can be calculated for Scotland from 1861. (See for example several of the works of Malcolm Gray, including: 'Scottish Emigration from the Rural Lowlands', op. cit; and 'Migration in the Rural Lowlands of Scotland 1750-1850', in T. M. Devine and T. Dickson, eds *Ireland and Scotland 1600 to1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 104-117.) The net rates, of course, reinforce the impression given by contemporary literary sources that emigration was primarily a rural phenomenon. This is because outward-bound mobility from the most industrial and urbanised parts of Scotland was to a large extent 'cancelled' by high levels of inward migration. However, when (as above) the net rates are set against the data about actual and natural levels of population increase, it becomes obvious that emigration was as much an 'urban' as a 'rural' phenomenon. It is not inconceivable that contemporaries, who were particularly concerned with rural depopulation, found less cause to comment on the patterns of population turnover in urban districts.

the other hand, was assumed to have been a fairly constant phenomenon.[39] Inherent in this model is the notion that internal migrants and emigrants were drawn from the same population, and that the causes of both phenomena can ultimately be linked to conditions in rural areas. An added implication is that emigration rates tended to be reduced by urban growth because expanding towns provided an alternative to destinations overseas: emigration and internal migration were viewed as 'substitute' responses to essentially the same set of economic and social strains.

These ideas were refined and formalised in the writings of Brinley Thomas[40] whose work on UK capital investment and the nature of associations between business cycles and population development drew heavily on an earlier tradition of research into the relationship between European and North American economic growth during the second half of the nineteenth and early years of the twentieth century.[41] Brinley Thomas claimed that the North American and west European economies were so integrated that they constituted an 'Atlantic economy' characterised by alternating 'swings' in the movements of capital and population from one side of the Atlantic to the other.[42] Thomas incorporated internal as well as external migration into his model. He postulated that high levels of internal mobility directed towards the cities and towns of the UK accompanied a flourishing construction industry and infrastructural development when the swing favoured Britain, while high levels of external migration paralleled capital flows away from Britain and towards the United States when the swing shifted in favour of North America. This 'inverse relationship' between migration and emigration is supported by Thomas's data for the period between about 1870 and the First World War.[43]

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[39]Cairncross, op. cit; Semmingsen, op. cit. (1960).

[40]B. Thomas, *Migration and Economic Growth*, op. cit; *Migration and Urban Development. A Reappraisal of British and American Long Cycles* (London, 1972).

[41]This research tradition is discussed briefly in Chapter One.

[42]In his later work, Thomas modifies his ideas to incorporate the concept of an 'international' rather than an exclusively 'Atlantic' economy. Criticisms of his initial thesis (op. cit. 1954) included (among other factors) the observation that British investment went elsewhere (i.e. outside both Britain and the United States) at times of economic downturn in the United States.

[43]Thomas, op. cit. (1954), p.124.

Scandinavian scholars lend cautious support to the theories of Brinley Thomas with respect to the implications of his model for internal and external migration. Hvidt for Denmark and Semmingsen for Norway find a rough inverse correlation between migration and emigration in the 1880s and 1890s[44], and, in a more critical review of the model with respect to Swedish mobility, Äkerman refers to local studies which reveal the inverse pattern in areas of very intense emigration. Äkerman also points out that the inverse relationship is not likely to hold in localities where emigration rates were low overall.[45]

Despite the inability of the Scandinavian scholars to find clear evidence of an inverse relationship between internal migration and external migration, there is still a tacit assumption in their work that the two phenomena were alternative responses to the same set of deterministic structural strains. Äkerman, for example, claims that 'migrational needs'can be satisfied by 'human populations' in different ways at different times and 'these successive streams of movement reveal a rather logical rhythm'.[46] Moreover, there is no striking contradiction between the results of Scandinavian internal migration and emigration studies and traditional interpretations of emigration which view the mass exodus from west Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century as primarily a response to declining opportunities in rural areas, relative to perceptions of brighter lights and better chances in the towns and abroad. (This point is argued in more detail below.)

Data on internal migration prior to emigration are available for Norway, Sweden and Denmark. Results show that emigrants who left the major cities of Stockholm, Copenhagen, Oslo and Bergen were often not born in those cities.[47] Birth place data suggest that many could be described as rural-urban stage migrants, a classification claims Semmingsen, that is further evidenced by the tendency for adult emigrants from urban areas to have been older than their rural

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[44]Hvidt, op. cit. p.67; Semmingsen, op. cit. (1960), p. 153.
[45]Äkerman, op. cit. p.62.
[46]ibid. p.45.
[47]For example, about 44% of Danish emigrants who gave Copenhagen as their place of last residence had been born in foreign countries or in rural east Denmark. Hvidt, op. cit. p.59.

counterparts, and more likely to have been married or travelling in family groups at the time of emigration. The implication is that these emigrants had already tried an internal migration option but had not found satisfaction in an urban environment.[48]

Detailed Swedish local studies have added considerable complexity to this picture. It has been shown, for example, that while a high proportion of 'provincial' urban emigration was by former rural-urban stage migrants, rural born dwellers living in the major cities tended not to emigrate.[49] Those who did so had usually lived in major cities like Stockholm for at least five years prior to emigration - a long enough time to suggest that the city rather than a former rural experience prompted their decisions to leave.[50] In addition most emigrants from Stockholm had lived in another industrial area as their penultimate place of last residence.[51]

The more recent Scandinavian studies indicate that many emigration decisions must have been taken in urban environments, by emigrants who can be described as 'fully urbanised'; hence the notion of the city as an 'urban reservoir' for rural migrants is undermined. In addition, it is now argued, that rather than reducing emigration overall by providing an alternative to internal migration, the growth of cities

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[48]Semmingsen, op. cit. (1960), p. 157; and op. cit. (1972), esp. pp. 53-4. There is a possibility that the relationship which Semmingsen detects between emigrants' place of last residence and their demographic characteristics is spurious. The demographic and residential characteristics of emigrants may depend on occupation, and the perceived association between the former does not necessarily reflect patterns of migration. (Compare evidence from the case-study, discussed in Chapter Six, Section 6.3.1.)

[49]B. Rondahl, *Emigration, folkomflyttning och säsongarbete i ett sågverksdistrikt i södra Hälsingland 1865-1910*, Studia Historica Upsaliensia, 40 (Uppsala, 1972), quoted in Runblom and Norman, eds. op. cit; and in Baines, op. cit. p.41.

[50]Nilsson, op. cit. p. 310, cited by Baines, op. cit. p.251. Semmingsen queries this assumption with regard to length of stay in the place of last residence. op. cit. (1972), p.52. However, most commentators would probably agree with Nilsson that a residence of five years in a city is long enough for assimilation to city ways, especially if the immigrants concerned are of the same ethnic and national origin as the dominant population in the city. See also Baines, op. cit. p. 42.

[51]Nilsson, cited by Carlsson, in Runblom and Norman, eds, op. cit. p. 138; cited also by Baines, op. cit. p.43 and by Semmingsen, op.cit. (1972), p.53. (In the case of Copenhagen, also, Hvidt infers from his data that it was more likely for emigrants who left from the major city, and who were in-migrants to the city, to have come formerly from other urban and industrial areas than from distant rural areas: op. cit. pp. 58-60.)

probably increased emigration rates because cities were centres for the dissemination of information about destinations abroad and transport deals.

On the other hand, even the Stockholm case study shows that in-migrants to cities - who lived and worked in those cities, who hailed from other towns, and who later became emigrants - were often born in rural areas, and indeed, many came from rural areas with a tradition of high rates of emigration.[52] The Scandinavian studies also indicate that emigrants were a good deal more mobile within their country of origin than the sending population at large.[53] These two factors suggest that emigration decisions could well have related to previous internal migration decisions, and that emigrants and migrants were drawn ultimately from the same 'population pool'.

Possibly the most important contribution to our understanding of British migration in the second half of the nineteenth century with respect to these perceived relationships between emigration, internal migration and urban growth has been made by Dudley Baines. Baines's recent publication is fundamentally at variance with interpretations of English and Welsh emigration as a response to economic stagnation in rural areas. On the basis of an assumption that rural-born migrants living in cities were twice as likely to emigrate as urban-born migrants, Baines demonstrates that rural-urban stage migrants could have constituted no more than one third of emigrants whose place of last residence was an urban area (with the exception of industrial Wales), and no more than 20 per cent of all emigrants.[54] This result undermines the possibility (in the case of English emigration) that emigration decisions were usually related to a previous decision to leave a rural area. In addition, further support is provided for Baines's argument that most decisions to emigrate from England and Wales in

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[52]Nilsson, op. cit. cited by Carlsson, in Runblom and Norman, eds, op. cit. p.138

[53]Hvidt, op. cit. pp.60-2.

[54]Baines, op. cit. (1985), Chap. 9. Baines's important discovery that the majority of English and Welsh emigrants could not have been rural-urban stage migrants undermines Brinley Thomas's theory that emigration and internal migration were substitutes. Thomas implicitly assumed that most emigrants leaving the urban 'reservoir' were ultimately from rural areas. B. Thomas, op. cit. (1954), pp.124-5.

the second half of the nineteenth century were made in environments at the centre of economic change.

Baines is also able to test the relationship between the rate of emigration from each county in each decade with respect to the county internal migration rate. He finds no general inverse correlation between the two sets of rates (in contradiction to what would be predicted on the basis of Brinley Thomas's model) although some rural counties with high emigration levels, particularly in the south-west of England, had low internal migration rates. Similarly, a trade-off between migration and emigration (favouring the former) might have occurred in the rural counties of Oxfordshire, Bedfordshire, Berkshire and Buckinghamshire, all in easy reach of London.[55] Excluding these exceptions, data measured at the county level do not support the thesis that emigration and migration were substitutes (although the model shows a better fit for women than men).

When Baines analysed the rates on a decadal basis he found that internal mobility rose in most English and Welsh counties during the 1860s and 1870s, and fell in the 1880s when emigration rates were generally high. However, internal migration also fell in the 1880s in several counties where emigration rates failed to rise, including areas where emigration levels actually fell. There is evidence, in fact, of a secular decline in internal mobility from about 1880, and clearly, the overall fall in emigration in the 1890s cannot be explained by the growing attractiveness of towns relative to the decade before. Internal migration rates failed to rise significantly in the 1890s and continued to fall in many areas.[56]

Baines observations point to a conclusion that fluctuations in British external and internal migration rates in the second half of the nineteenth century were due, by and large, to two distinct sets of variables operating independently on the two rates. Internal migration

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[55]Baines, op. cit. (1985), pp. 229-235, esp. Tables 8.5 and 8.7.

[56]ibid. pp. 237-249. Baines notes that the patterns of internal and external migration in London varied with time in a manner which was different from the general picture. (In the present study also a different pattern is noted for the Highlands. See Chapter Five.)

rates can to a large extent be 'explained' by the attractiveness of the towns, but the 'pull' factor of UK urban centres relative to bright lights abroad does not sufficiently explain variations in county emigration rates. Hence, there is no basis for an assumption that emigrants and internal migrants were drawn from the same 'population pool'; nor were the two sets of migrational behaviour necessarily connected.

Baines's results have yet to be verified for the Scottish case. If it can be shown for Scotland that emigration and internal migration were seldom 'alternative' responses to the same set of social and economic conditions, then a basic presumption underlying important work already done on Scottish emigration will be undermined.[57] It will be interesting to see if the New Zealand case study reveals patterns in accordance with Baines's conclusions.

3.4. Summary

In this chapter an attempt has been made to systematise the key results and implications of UK and west European emigration studies which deal with the perplexing issue of emigrants' origins. The main aim has been to provide a comparative framework against which results from the Scotland/New Zealand data-base can be set. Four major themes have been identified. These will now be used as a guide for interpreting information pertaining to the geographical origins of Scottish emigrants.

From which parts of Scotland did emigrants leave? To what extent can emigration traditions and local idiosyncratic factors explain patterns of regional distribution? Is it likely that particular economic and social environments or a past history of internal mobility predisposed people to emigrate? What is the potential of case studies for enhancing our understanding of Scottish emigration in general?

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[57]Malcolm Gray, for example, calculates net migration rates and makes no elaborate attempt to distinguish between internal and external migration on the possibly erroneous grounds that these were manifestations of the same phenomenon. 'Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change', op. cit.

The following two chapters seek to answer these questions by focusing on the 'origins' of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand.

CHAPTER FOUR

EMIGRATION TRADITIONS AND THE REGIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS' PLACE OF LAST RESIDENCE: THE CASE OF SCOTTISH EMIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND

> The emigrants seemed to have come from the east and the west, the north and the south, but the west was perhaps the greatest and worst contributor.[1]

4.1. Introduction

This chapter examines the geographical origins of emigrants born in Scotland who left UK ports for destinations in New Zealand between about 1840 and 1880. Evidence is usually presented at the county or regional level, and relates, for the most part, to emigrants' places of last residence in Scotland - presumably the best indicator of the economic and social contexts in which emigration decisions were made. The main aim of the chapter is to explore the role played by emigration traditions or 'stock effects' in determining the regional distribution of emigrants' origins over time. Discussion focuses first on the case study, and then relates the case study evidence to the broader realm of emigration from nineteenth century Scotland to all destinations.

This chapter further examines whether the concept of differential regional propensities for emigration (existing independently of local economic and social conditions) is likely to hold much relevance for the Scottish situation. Clear variations in regional levels of response to emigration opportunities have been noticed for several European countries, including England and Wales.[2] As yet, however, there is no consistent evidence to suggest that differential 'response thresholds' to emigration opportunities determined regional levels of emigration in the case of Scotland.

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[1]James Adam, *Twenty Five Years of Emigrant Life in the South of New Zealand* (Edinburgh, 2nd edn, 1876), p.23.

[2]Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), esp. Chap. 6.

The first major section of the chapter gives an outline of impressionistic and empirical evidence relating to the regional origins of Scottish emigrants bound for New Zealand. Section 4.3 attempts to explain and interpret the case study data in a 'historical' sense, by reference to period and idiosyncratic local and case study factors. This is followed by the major analytical section of the chapter (Section 4.4) which uses the distinctive features found for New Zealand-bound emigrants, respecting their places of last residence, as a starting point for an examination of current ideas concerning the regional origins of emigrant Scots. Finally, the implications of the case study for our understanding of Scottish emigration processes, and our current methods of examining these processes, are briefly addressed.

4.2. Scottish Origins; New Zealand Myths

There is a tradition, stretching back to the time of Otago's founding, which stresses that Scottish emigrants who went to the so-called Free Church colony in New Zealand were predominantly Lowland folk from the industrial towns and villages of west and central Scotland. Most rural areas and many small towns from the south-west Lowlands to the Far North find a measure of representation in the annals of the early emigrants, as do the major cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Aberdeen. Yet from a reading of the early accounts and correspondence one gains a fuzzy impression of the 'Bothwell Brig' faces which the Reverend James Begg had noticed beaming from Dunedin and Otago congregations during his lecture tours of the 1870s.[3]

To a certain extent this early set of images has been overlaid by the 'Highland legend'. Tales of eviction and clearance, of heroism in war and stealth in business dealings, of romantic acts of courage and bitter, bleak despair were already part and parcel of the emigrant Lowlander's

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[3]Presumably the Reverend James Begg used this description loosely. He was implying that church goers in Otago were staunch presbyterians - Lowlanders from the west and south-west of Scotland. James Begg, *A Visit to New Zealand ... An Address Delivered at a Meeting of the Edinburgh Literary Institute, 26th February, 1874* (Edinburgh, 1874), p. 11.

image of his former countrymen by the mid-nineteenth century.[4] One of New Zealand's most prominent land reformers who became Minister of Lands during the New Zealand Liberal Government's period of reform in the 1890s was a fiery, Gaelic-speaking, northern Scot, who in his youth in the Black Isle had witnessed the Glencalvie and the Strathconan clearances. This has probably contributed to the gradual engrafting of a 'Highland' onto a 'Lowland' identity, and the now typical dominance of the former over the latter in New Zealand's folklore, and indeed, in recent interpretations of the intangible 'Scottish presence' in New Zealand's history.[5]

Of course, there are some very tangible Highland elements in New Zealand's story. The small tenants and fisherfolk who followed their irascible leader, the Reverend Norman Macleod, from the Wester Ross and Sutherland parishes of Applecross, Gairloch and Assynt - first to Cape Breton in Nova Scotia, then to South Australia a generation later, and finally to Waipu, north of Auckland, where they settled in the 1850s - provide one well known strand.[6] The Waipu immigrants were joined by kin during the 1850s and 1860s, several families of descendants coming out to New Zealand directly from the same Wester Ross parishes which had been abandoned in 1815. About 800 people in total, from Australia,

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[4]In a recent article Leah Leneman argues that the romance associated with Jacobitism had contributed to emergent Scottish nationalism a good deal earlier. Leah Leneman, 'A New Role for a Lost Cause: Lowland Romanticisation of the Jacobite Highlander', in L. Leneman, ed. *Perspectives in Scottish Social History: Essays in Honour of Rosalind Mitchison* (Aberdeen, 1988), pp. 107-24. Similarly, tales of the clearances and the plight of the 'Highlander' became engrafted on to the complex set of images associated with what it meant to be a Scot. Note also a comment by Robert Louis Stevenson in 'The Foreigner at Home', *Memories and Portraits* (London, n.d.), p. 36: "...in spite of differences of blood and language the Lowlander feels himself the sentimental countryman of the Highlander. When they meet abroad, they fall upon each other's neck in spirit ..."

[5]See for example Tom Brooking's essay, 'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside - the Scots in New Zealand', in R.A. Cage, ed. *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London, 1984), pp.156-90.

[6]This dramatic migration of people continues to attract academic and popular attention. See for example: Maureen Molloy, '"No inclination to mix with strangers": Marriage Patterns Among Highland Scots Migrants to Cape Breton and New Zealand, 1800-1916', *Journal of Family History* 11 (1986), 221-243; Neil Robinson, *Lion of Scotland* (Auckland, 1953); Ian McKinnon, 'The Reverend Norman Macleod: the Cape Breton Tyrant', *Stornoway Gazette and West Coast Advertiser*, 3 March 1984.

Cape Breton, or Scotland, settled in Waipu between 1851 and the mid 1860s.[7]

Apart from work done on the Waipu settlers, and a study (using shipping lists) of domestic servants bound for Canterbury during the provincial period,[8] there are only two New Zealand based projects which incorporate a systematic attempt to locate the regional origins of Scottish emigrants. One of these focuses on Otago in the 1850s, and provides county-level data which reflect the vigilant campaign of Aberdeenshire-born James Adam, to whose efforts the emigration of some 2000 Scots, who came mainly from the Lothians, the Borders, south and east Perthshire and Adam's native Aberdeenshire, can be partly attributed. The other study is based on a sample of lists of passengers assisted to all parts of New Zealand during the 1870s and includes data on 364 Scots.[9] The author's delineation of Scottish regional areas in this study is not entirely clear, but his results point to the increased importance of Lanarkshire and the 'Highlands' as areas of recruitment for New Zealand-bound emigrants by the 1870s.[10]

A breakdown of Scotland into regional units based on the familiar county divisions is provided in Tables 4.1 and 4.2.[11]

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[7]Molloy, op. cit. p. 225; Robinson, op. cit. appendices.

[8]Charlotte Macdonald, 'Single Women as Immigrant Settlers in New Zealand, 1853-71', (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Auckland, 1986).

[9]J.Morris, Immigration into New Zealand in the 1870s' (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Auckland, 1973); The former mentioned project has been undertaken by Val Maxwell at Otago University. The results of both Maxwell's and Morris's studies have been summarised and interpreted with imaginative license by Tom Brooking in 'Tam McCanny', op. cit. pp. 159-62.

[10]Well over one third of the Scottish emigrants in Morris's sample came from a 'central area' (which probably included several of the counties grouped below as the 'West Lowlands', together with Perthshire). A further 20 per cent came from the 'Highlands' (a grouping of counties which seems to incorporate the regions classified below as the 'Highlands and Hebrides', the 'Far North' and the 'North-east'). Morris, thesis, pp. 72-3.

[11]The sources and selection procedure on which these tables are based are described in full in Chapter Two (Sections 2.3.2.1, 2.4.1 and 2.4.2). Otago shipping lists and local records were exclusively used for the 1850s and 1860s, which means that Scots who went to other provinces in New Zealand in these decades (including the Waipu contingent) are, unfortunately, not fully represented in the tables.

TABLE 4.1 THE COUNTY AND REGIONAL ORIGINS[a] OF SCOTTISH EMIGRANTS WHO WENT TO NEW ZEALAND, C.1840-1880[b], AND SCOTTISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1861[c].

COUNTY	1 The 'total-list' %	2 The 'census-traced' group %	3 Scottish population distribution 1861 %
Shetland (Zetland)	4.2	2.1	1.0
Orkney	1.2	1.8	1.1
Caithness	1.5	2.0	1.4
subtotal: Far North	6.9	5.9	3.5
Sutherland	0.9	1.8	0.8
Ross and Cromarty	3.0	1.2	2.7
Inverness	1.8	1.7	2.8
Argyll	1.1	2.0	2.7
Bute	0.6	1.3	0.5
subtotal: Highlands and Hebrides	7.4	8.0	9.5
Nairn	0.3	0.7	0.3
Elgin (Moray)	1.1	1.8	1.4
Banff	0.5	1.4	1.8
Aberdeen	4.3	5.3	7.3
Kincardine	0.6	0.7	1.1
subtotal: North-east	6.8	9.9	11.9
Forfar (Angus)	6.3	5.6	6.8
Perth	3.3	8.4	4.3
Clackmannan	0.4	0.6	0.7
Kinross	0.2	0.9	0.3
Fife	3.8	3.4	5.1
Haddington (East Lothian)	1.2	2.0	1.2
Edinburgh (Midlothian)	9.1	10.2	8.9
Linlithgow (West Lothian)	0.5	0.6	1.3
Stirling	1.8	2.9	2.9
subtotal: East Lowlands	26.6	34.6	31.5
Lanark	28.6	17.1	20.9
Dunbarton	1.5	2.1	1.8
Renfrew	4.3	5.8	5.5
Ayr	8.3	8.3	6.5
subtotal: West Lowlands	42.7	33.3	34.7
Berwick	1.0	0.7	1.2
Roxburgh	1.1	1.5	1.8
Selkirk	0.2	0.6	0.4
Peebles	0.2	2.1	0.4
Wigton	1.2	1.2	1.4
Kirkcudbright	0.1	0.2	1.4
Dumfries	2.3	1.8	2.5
subtotal: Borders and South-west	6.1	8.1	9.1
Scotland - county unknown	3.2	0.0	0.0
TOTAL %	99.7	99.8	100.2
n	21,636	2,064	3,062,294

a County boundaries are in accordance with the 'registration counties' at the time of the 1871 census. The 'regions' are groups of counties (as shown by the subtotals) based on Flinn et al. op. cit. pp.xxiii, 104-6

b The origins of emigrants (both the 'total list' and the 'census-traced' group) as shown above are taken from shipping lists and generally refer to place of last residence (excluding 'in-transit' addresses).

c The figures for Scottish population distribution in 1861 are derived from published census records: 'Scotland in registration counties and registration districts.....in 1871, and corresponding particulars in 1861', *PP* [c.592] LXVIII.1, 194-195.

TABLE 4.2 THE REGIONAL ORIGINS OF SCOTTISH EMIGRANTS IN THE 'TOTAL LIST'[a], BY PERIOD OF DEPARTURE AND MEANS OF PAYMENT.

	n	Far North %	Highlands and Hebrides %	North-East %	East Lowlands %	West Lowlands %	Borders and South-West %	Region Unknown %	Total %
NZ Company Period (c.1839-51):									
Assisted	1121	1.6	5.2	5.6	33.5	48.1	4.7	1.3	100.0
Self-paying	457	3.3	5.5	9.6	46.8	25.6	8.8	0.4	100.0
No payment information	114			29.8	12.3	57.9			100.0
Provincial Govt Period (c.1852-71):									
Assisted	1193	6.1	5.5	6.0	28.2	38.6	13.7	0.8	99.9
Self-paying	140	6.4	14.3	9.3	43.6	3.6	20.7	2.1	100.0
No payment information	200	4.0	6.5	19.0	42.0	20.5	6.5	1.5	100.0
Vogel Govt Period (c.1872-80):									
Assisted	15398	8.6	7.7	6.9	24.2	43.5	6.1	3.0	100.0
Self-paying	2920	2.0	7.5	5.6	30.3	44.8	3.7	6.1	100.0
TOTAL[b] (all periods)	21543	7.0	7.4	6.9	26.5	42.8	6.2	3.2	100.0

[a] Regional origins given in this table were derived from passenger lists and usually refer to place of last residence.

[b] The table excludes: persons who travelled outside the designated periods, crew members and those who chartered their own ships. Persons for whom emigration means and departure time was unknown are also excluded.

The administrative counties are not always useful as economic and geographical units, but are at least meaningful in a conceptual sense, and in terms of comparability with the nineteenth century censuses and other statistical data. (Most emigrants on the 'total list' provided information about their origins at no finer level of precision than the administrative county in any case.) For ease of assimilation of information the counties are further grouped into six broad geographical regions, using (partly for comparability) the aggregation employed by Michael Flinn.[12] This grouping may obscure many significant intra-regional differences in land use, population density, and economic and social character, but it also highlights some clear differences between the regions.[13]

The county distribution of the emigrants' places of last residence supports the overriding impression given by the early literary evidence that Scottish emigrants to New Zealand were predominantly Lowland folk. In terms of Scottish population distribution, the counties which together make up the 'Far North' and the 'West Lowlands', were over-represented as places producing emigrants (compare columns one and three in Table 4.1) while all other regions, particularly the 'North-east' and the 'Borders' were under-represented. The most striking feature of

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[12]Michael Flinn, et al. *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), Map 3, p. xxiii, and discussion pp. 104-6. In the present study aggregates of Levitt and Smout's 43 district divisions will replace Flinn's aggregation of the administrative counties whenever data are available at the level of the parish or registration district. Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission Report of 1844* (Edinburgh, 1979). The grouped 'districts' (based on Levitt and Smout's cartographic analysis) reflect regional, social and economic characteristics (such as type of farming and degree of industrial activity) more closely than the 'regions', which are based solely on administrative divisions. In practice, however, the two groupings are similar. See Appendix Three.

[13]When grouping the counties into regions the most perplexing decision involved placing the county of Perth. Perthshire contains vast, barren, 'highland' tracts of land in the north and west, and yet is indisputably 'lowland' in character in the south and east. Two-thirds of emigrants in the 'census-traced' group who resided in Perthshire were found to have come from parishes in the south and east, a finding which supports the decision to include Perthshire with the Lowlands. For a fuller discussion of the social, economic and geographic character of Scottish regions, and appropriate regional groupings of Scottish parishes, see Levitt and Smout, op. cit. pp. 4-6; and Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison, 'Scottish Illegitimacy in the Early Modern Period', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XL (1987), 42-44. (The latter study concentrates on the eighteenth century, the former study on the mid-nineteenth century.)

Table 4.1, however, is the overall similarity between the regional distribution of the emigrants' origins and the regional distribution of the Scottish population at large. A clear contrast is indicated here between the phenomenon of Scottish emigration to New Zealand and what is known about the general experience of emigration from Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century. European emigrants are usually found to have been very strongly clustered from particular regional areas. For example, 33.0 per cent of Finnish emigrants came from the region of Southern Ostrobothnia, an area which constituted only 9.6 per cent of the Finnish population between 1860 and 1930; similarly, 13.5 per cent of emigrants who left Germany between 1871 and 1895 came from West Prussia, an area which at the same time held about 3 per cent of the German population.[14]

Some of the implications of the relatively 'even' distribution of the origins in Scotland of emigrants who went to New Zealand will be explored in Section 4.4, which compares the New Zealand data with evidence drawn from other sources about the origins of Scots who left their native land. The following section aims to clarify and explain the figures given in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 by reference to 'idiosyncratic' factors and 'traditions' associated with Scottish emigration to New Zealand. Those instances where the crude shipping list data may be a misleading indicator of the likely 'regional factors' influencing this particular exodus are emphasised.

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[14]Baines, op. cit. Table 2.2, p. 24; Anna-Leena Toivonen, 'Emigration Overseas from Southern Ostrobothnia', *Finnish Historical Society* 66 (1963), 286-91.

4.3 Evidence from the Case Study

4.3.1 Regional Origins, Emigration Traditions and Idiosyncratic Factors

The regional distribution of emigrants' origins as revealed by the 'total list' in Table 4.1 is to a large extent determined by the county origins of emigrants assisted under the Vogel scheme. The Vogel scheme emigrants are numerically dominant in the group, and the regional distribution of their origins, as shown in Table 4.2, is very similar to the total given for all periods. Table 4.2 highlights some of the changes in the regional distribution of emigrants' places of last residence that occurred with time, and according to whether or not the emigrants had been institutionally-assisted to meet the costs of passage payment.

The over-representation of the county of Shetland (see Table 4.1) was a feature of the 1870s and due very much to 'idiosyncratic' factors unique to that decade. Thirty years previously, at the time of the Scottish Poor Law Commission, rates of emigration from Shetland were extremely low. The low level of emigration from Shetland during the early 1840s may be attributable to a 'truck' relationship between landowner and tenant which severely curtailed the voluntary mobility of the latter.[15] Correspondingly, during the New Zealand Company period, more interest in New Zealand was shown by relatively well-off entrepreneurial types living in Shetland than by the crofter-fishermen and their families who dominated the exodus from Shetland to New Zealand during the 1870s. For example, in the early 1840s one Shetland man, by name of Henderson, wrote an enquiring letter to Dowling, the Secretary of the New Edinburgh Association, about the feasibility of plans to establish a large-scale fishing enterprise in the new colony.[16]

By the late 1860s, advertising campaigns and agents appointed by the Otago Provincial Council had succeeded in diverting much of the contemporary agitation for emigration in the counties of Caithness and

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[15]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. p. 238 and Table 10.A, p. 251.
[16]PRO, CO 208 295, 'Journal of Mr D.W. Dowling', 20 Nov. 1843, 22 Feb. 1844.

Orkney towards the distant colony of New Zealand. Even in the early 1840s there were many expressions of interest in and enquiries about New Zealand, both on behalf of, and from, would-be free passengers resident in Orkney and Caithness. Two related familes, the Craigies and the Harolds from Orkney, who had given up their small croft in expectation of a free passage, were amongst the first shiploads of passengers to arrive at the Otago settlement[17]. Two decades later, families and young, unmarried men in their hundreds responded to repeated articles and advertisements about New Zealand in the *John O'Groats Journal* and *Northern Advertiser.* One was Andrew Watherston, a young shepherd about 20 years of age from the parish of Reay in Caithness. Watherston's niece claims that advertisements in the *Northern Ensign* had induced young Andrew to emigrate.[18]

A tradition of emigration from Orkney and Caithness to New Zealand was established relatively early, but the Shetland exodus can be more firmly located in the late 1860s and 1870s. In the 1870s emigration from Shetland to New Zealand was largely due to clearances in favour of sheep, and in some instances, to eviction: 'sundry changes in the management of properties' was the expression used by the New Zealand Government emigration agents.[19] Families went to Otago from the northernmost parish of Unst after clearances on that isle in 1867,[20] while the Queendale evictions of 1874 coincided with the most intense period of the Vogel campaign: "Houses were stripped and in some cases burned as soon as the tenants were out", and, noticed the contemporary

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[17]OESM, MSS 'Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition of Early Settlers Prior to 1861' (hereafter 'Otago Jubilee'), entry for Richard Craigie; HL, MSS Passenger Lists etc. F & J 3/ and F & J 4/ ; Passenger Lists (the Bernicia), listed in T.M. Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (London, 1898), Appendix F, p. 290.; R.J. Stuart, *Craigie-Lea. The Craigie Family History in New Zealand* (By the Author, Dunedin, n.d.)

[18]This information was in a letter written by Watherston in New Zealand to his Caithness relatives. Sadly the letter was lost in the post on its way to me. No copy of the letter had been taken. I am grateful to Mrs M. Bridgwater of Basingstoke for information about her uncle.

[19]Barclay to Featherston, Quarterly Report, July - Sept. 1873, AJHR(NZ), 1873, D.3, pp. 20-1.

[20]OESM, Passenger Lists, Otago Provincial Council Gazettes (1870); J.R. Nicholson, *Shetland* (London, 1972), pp. 74-75, cited by Eric Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances,* vol. 1: *Agrarian Transformation and the Clearances, 1746 - 1886* (London, 1982), p. 481

historian, "many of the people went immediately to Australia and New Zealand".[21]

The desire of the Shetland landlords to rid themselves of their tenantry is evidenced by their willingness to pay the passage costs of the would-be emigrants as far as the London ports. Some landlords may have had a financial stake in New Zealand, and it is not unlikely that these individuals would have been influential promotors of the colony. It was reported to the 1872 Royal Commission on Truck in Shetland that Robert Hoseason, who held extensive lands in Delting parish and Samphray, was temporarily in New Zealand.[22]

Although the majority of Shetland emigrants went to New Zealand during the 1870s, contacts were sometimes made well before the clearances associated with that decade, and were by no means always in response to landlord or entrepreneurial initiative. As was also the case for Orkney, and indeed for coastal areas in many parts of eastern Scotland, and in some parts of the south-west Highlands, these contacts were often made initially by seamen in the merchant navy. James Frazer, for example, was a seaman from Walls in Shetland who visited New Zealand on his voyages in 1863. Between voyages James worked as a fisherman, agricultural labourer and knitter on his father's croft at Braebister. In 1871 he married Lillian Moffat, daughter of a fisherman-crofter from the same parish, and early in the same decade James, Lillian and a young child, as well as kin from both families (each family emigrated separately) took advantage of the current offer of free passages for New Zealand.[23]

Like Shetland, the Highland county of Ross and Cromarty contributed far more emigrants (in both absolute and proportional terms) to New Zealand in the 1870s than it had in previous decades. It is impossible to tell from the Vogel lists from which parts of Ross and Cromarty these emigrants came, but it is likely that many were native

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[21]Cited by Nicholson, op. cit. p. 75; and Richards, op. cit. p. 481.
[22]*PP* 1872 [c.555] XXXV 192 (para. 7890).
[23]GRO, MR (Walls, Shetland) 71/12[1]/19; GRO, Cen. (Walls, Shetland) 71/12[1]/1/61, 71/12[1]/3/13; OESM, MS. 'An Account of the Descendants of William Frazer of Walls, Shetland Isles', by James Fraser, 1977.

Gaelic speakers: the distribution of pamphlets about New Zealand, written in the Gaelic, coupled (as in the Far North) with widespread public meetings and intense personal campaigning by the local emigration agents, seems to have been to a large measure responsible for awakened interest in the far-off colony. Parishes in the eastern part of the county had already sent emigrants to Otago during the 1860s, so the effects of the campaigns in the 1870s were probably most relevant for the north and the west.

In remote north-western parts of the Highlands and in insular districts, New Zealand still represented an unknown, untried and a somewhat exotic entity as late as the 1870s. A New Zealand resident who had travelled to Britain and toured in parts of the western Highlands in the early 1870s commented in an anonymous letter to the *Otago Daily Times* that:

> in some parts of Inverness-shire ... many had never heard of the colony, and others associated it with Maori cannibalism.[24]

This type of observation elicited a patriotic and sympathetic response from Scottish settlers already in Otago, some of whom formed a 'Highland Society' with the explicit aim of promoting emigration from the Highlands to New Zealand. The most important work of the society to meet this end was in the raising of funds to defray the cost of travel to the embarkation ports, an expense that was still a significant deterrent to the poorest families, even when completely free passages to the other side of the world were available.

The increased proportion of Highlanders amongst free and assisted passengers during the Vogel period, compared with earlier years, suggests that the 'Highland Society' and agents in the west may have had a measure of success in bringing to New Zealand, for the first time, significant numbers of cottier and crofter families from the poorest sections of Highland society and those parts of the north-west where emigration was typically sporadic and intense. There is no suggestion, however, that the movement made any long term impact on the

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[24]Cited by Morris, thesis, p. 113.

emigration patterns of these areas; nor is it likely that the numbers involved exceeded departures for New Zealand from the eastern parts of Ross-shire, Sutherland and Inverness.

Table 4.2 probably underestimates the proportions of free and assisted passengers from the Highlands during the New Zealand Company period. This is because the 'Register of Emigrant Labourers' was sampled from 1841 to ensure that the 'total list' accords as closely as possible with the 'census-traced group'. Hence, the 'total list' excludes a cluster of some 89 applicants from northern Argyll, who under the instigation of an early investor in the New Zealand Company, one Donald McDonald Esq. (who also seems to have acted as an agent for the Company), sailed to Wellington in the *Blenheim*, leaving Greenock, August 1840. A Gaelic Society in Wellington is the present day legacy of this migration, which like the Waipu settlement, may have made a greater impact on New Zealand's 'Scottish consciousness' than the numbers involved warranted. The emigrants were all described on the Register as from 'Fortwilliam'. One of their number, Gregor McGregor, is recorded in a family bible as having been born on North Uist, and his New Zealand death register records his birth place as Inveraray, which may have been a place of residence.[25] One factor these early Highlanders going to New Zealand had in common was an association with Highland regiments and garrison towns. The father of the woman who became McGregor's wife had been a blacksmith in Fort Augustus, and McGregor's brother was a Lieutenant in the Indian army.[26]

Although most emigrants on the *Blenheim* were free passengers who later became small farmers and tradesmen near Wellington and Wanganui, this migration is not likely to have had its direct cause in the land grievances of a small tenantry from a close knit community.

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[25]After 1876, persons registering deaths in New Zealand were required to give the birth place of the deceased. Scrutiny of about 50 of these death registers in conjunction with other records has led me to conclude that the death registers are a most unreliable source as far as the birth place of Scottish emigrants is concerned.

[26]PRO, CO 208 269, 'Register of Cabin Passengers [1839-50] by the [NZ] Company's ships'; PRO, CO 208 272, 'Register of Emigrant Labourers Applying for a Free Passage to New Zealand', c. nos. 1729-813; My thanks are due to Mr G. Mcleod of Tauranga (NZ) and Mr Frank Rogers of Wellington for copies of McGregor family documents.

Highland emigration is often characterised by the transplantation of extended networks of families (sometimes whole communities) under the instigation and leadership of tacksmen or ministers.[27] The Waipu settlement (mentioned above) illustrates this type of concentrated 'coagulated' emigration. Migrants aboard the Blenheim, however, do not fit neatly with the familiar scenario. There is no evidence, for example, that they had any obligation to Donald McDonald, and although a Gaelic speaking minister accompanied the emigrants to New Zealand, he was appointed to do so by the Colonial Committee of the Church of Scotland, quite independently of any association with the emigrants themselves. Indeed, it is with a hint of incredulity that the Paisley Presbytery Minutes of 1839 record the Reverend John McFarlane's application to be relieved of his charge at Martyr's Church, Paisley, in order to accompany the emigrants aboard the Blenheim. Apparently, McFarlane sought the New Zealand post in the hope that 'genial climes' would benefit his 'poor health', a reason often stated by middle class emigrants, particularly tubercular patients, for their emigration.[28] McFarlane returned to Scotland without his congregation, most disgruntled with the New Zealand Company and its less than honest schemes, in 1847.

It is clear from Tables 4.1 and 4.2 that more emigrants and certainly more assisted emigrants came from the counties designated as the 'West Lowlands' than from any other of the Scottish regions, and that this trend was consistent throughout the entire 1840 to 1880 period. Once again, however, the manner of sampling from the New Zealand Company's 'Register of Emigrant Labourers' has caused Table 4.2 to be somewhat misleading with respect to the probable extent that the West Lowlands was over-represented as a source for assisted passengers between 1839 and 1851. The sample 'picked up' clusters of applicants for free passages from western towns, particularly Paisley, during the

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[27]E. Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* 21 (Oct. 1985), 473-94.

[28]On the subject of the Rev. John McFarlane's 'transportation' to New Zealand see Martyrs' Church, Paisley, Session Court Minutes, SRO, CH3/862/1, especially minutes for the meeting on 8 Oct. 1839, p. 24; and records of special meetings of the Paisley Presbytery on 11, 17 and 21 Oct. 1839, SRO, CH2/294/15, pp.184-8; also Hew Scott, *Fasti Eccelesiae Scoticanae: The Succession of the Ministers of the Church of Scotland from the Reformation,* (Edinburgh, new edn, rev. & cont. 1915), vol. 3, p. 178.

acute trade recession of the early 1840s, and from Greenock and Glasgow, where New Zealand Company agent Andrew Mercer conducted a vigorous emigration campaign.[29] The breakdown given in Table 4.2 for the New Zealand Company period also reflects the origins of emigrants who went to Otago on the two ships the *Philip Laing* and the *Mooltan*. These two ships, which departed Greenock in November 1847 and September 1849, respectively, were the only vessels chartered in Scotland for the settlement at Otago during the period in which the New Zealand Company held sway over the Otago Association. Together, the two ships carried over one quarter of the emigrants bound for Otago between the foundation of the settlement in 1847 and the New Zealand Company's demise in 1851. Both ships, in particular the *Mooltan*, were noted by contemporaries for carrying large numbers of emigrants from the west of Scotland.[30]

Publicity in Glasgow and Edinburgh attendant on the departures of these two ships has probably given rise to a disproportionate amount of information about their human cargo compared to that which relates to passengers aboard the other New Zealand Company ships bound principally for Otago, during the same period. Most Scottish emigrants going to New Zealand destinations before the mid 1850s had to pay or be funded for the additional cost of the expensive Leith-London steamer. Scottish emigrants leaving from London in this period were more markedly from south and east Perthshire, Forfarshire, the Edinburgh area, East Lothian and Berwickshire than those who left from Greenock.[31]

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[29]PRO, CO 208 272, 'Register of Emigrant Labourers'; PRO, CO 208 295, List of emigration agents &c. On the other hand, the 'sample' largely excludes some 500 Greenock and Paisley emigrants (many of whom were in fact new arrivals at Greenock from Ireland) who sailed in the two ships the *Duchess of Argyll* and the *Jane Gifford* from Greenock to Auckland in 1842.'General Report of the Emigration Commissioners', *PP* 1842 [c.567] XXV, 55.

[30]See for example PRO, CO 208 123, A representative of Roxburgh, Richardson and Co. to McGlashan, 29 July 1849, p.576.

[31]There is also a difference in the regional origins of those Scottish emigrants who left from London and who had applied directly to the New Zealand Company for assistance and the regional origins of Scottish emigrants who left from London (also under the auspices of the New Zealand Company) but who had applied for assisted passage or land orders from the Otago Association's offices in Edinburgh. High proportions from the Lothians and to a lesser extent the Borders were characteristic of the latter while the former group contained high proportions from Angus, Lowland Perthshire and East Fife. See discussion in Section 4.3.2.

The New Edinburgh (later Otago) Association was based in Edinburgh, and this factor, in conjunction with the early shipping practices, partly explains the over-representation (shown in Table 4.2) of the Eastern Lowlands as a source of paying passengers during the New Zealand Company period. Artisans, shopkeepers and young professionals - not only from Edinburgh, but from any number of small towns between Dunbar and Coupar-Angus - as well as Eastern Lowland tenant farmers and their sons, were willing to invest savings and try their luck in Britain's farthest 'Scottish' colony. Table 4.2 suggests a transition from the 'East' to the 'West' as the regional source of interest in New Zealand from 'small capitalists'. This transition nicely parallels the change in emphasis from Otago, 'systematic colonisation' and the Free Church scheme in the early years, to the hey-day of Glasgow-New Zealand shipping and Glasgow-based financial concern in New Zealand pastoralism.

This interpretation of Table 4.2 is appealing, but somewhat misleading, because initial middle class interest in New Zealand - both on account of the future colony's potential for investment and trade, and its possibilities as a setting for a Brave New World - came not from the clerics and lawyers of Edinburgh, but from the commercial men and visionaries of Glasgow and Paisley.

In 1839, when the New Zealand Company was first established, Glasgow notables including the Lord Provost (Henry Dunlop) and John Crawford (financier, lawyer and merchant) formed a 'West of Scotland Committee' supported by the Earl of Glasgow, Duke of Hamilton and Duke of Argyll.[32] This committee organised an 'Emigration Meeting' held in the Glasgow Trades Hall in 1839, and oversaw the transporting of some 150 Scots on one of the very first New Zealand Company ships (and indeed one of the mere four New Zealand Company ships ever to leave the UK from a port in Scotland).[33] The *Bengal Merchant* left Greenock in October 1839 carrying about 25 cabin passengers (most were

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[32]See A. H. McLintock, *The History of Otago. The Origins and Growth of a Wakefield Class Settlement* (Dunedin, 1949), p. 155.

[33]The other three ships were the *Blenheim*, the *Philip Laing* and the *Mooltan* mentioned in text above.

land purchasers) and about 120 Scots in the steerage. The assisted passengers came from the East and West Lowlands, and included amongst their number agriculturalists (mainly shepherds) from Brora and Golspie in Sutherland, who probably emigrated on account of a 'boon' they received from the Duke of Sutherland, one of the early Scottish investors in the New Zealand Company scheme.[34]

Just over one half of Scottish investors in the New Zealand Company's 'first and principal settlement' of Wellington became emigrants themselves. Others, like the Second Duke of Sutherland, bought land as a 'charitable investment' - sometimes for their own employees, tenants and kin, and often also because they believed in empire, trade and 'systematic colonisation'. Four-fifths of the early land purchasers were from Glasgow, Paisley and elsewhere in the Western Lowlands; only about 10 per cent came from Edinburgh.[35]

There was, then, considerable middle class interest in the west of Scotland for the new colony in the southern seas well before the idea of a 'New Edinburgh' - or a specifically Scottish colony in New Zealand - was ever conceived. Further evidence of this interest was the formation of a Paisley-New Zealand Emigration Society which in July 1840 drew up a memorial to Lord John Russell, Colonial Secretary, requesting free passages for emigrants from the British Government and suitable land grants in New Zealand. The society pledged to raise additional funds from public subscription and would-be emigrants' contributions, and claimed to have the support of more than 3,000 working men and women.[36] The founders of the society were of the body of 'polite' public opinion of the day which applauded the righteous task of colonisation, and looked to state directed and state financed emigration as the 'only cure for evils arising from the redundancy of an unemployed population.'[37] It was intended that settlements in New Zealand would be 'moral and religious communities' drawn from the working classes,

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[34]PRO, CO 208 254, 'Applications for Land Orders [First Settlement]'; PRO, CO 208 269, 'Register of Cabin Passengers'; PRO, CO 208 272, 'Register of Emigrant Labourers'.
[35]PRO, CO 208 254; PRO, CO 208 255; PRO 208 269.
[36]New Zealand Journal, no. 1, 18 Feb. 1840, no. 15, July 1840.
[37]Address by the Rev. D. McLeod at a public meeting about colonisation held at the Glasgow Assembly Rooms, 15 May 1840, referred to in the *Colonial Gazette*, 20 May 1840, cited by McLintock, op. cit. p. 156.

who would 'carry abroad with them the arts, the literature and the religion of Scotland'.[38] Government support to the extent envisaged by the society's founders did not materialise, and although the Paisley-New Zealand Emigration Society created publicity for New Zealand in the west of Scotland, and probably worked with the Emigration Commissioners to assist the Renfrewshire artisans (mainly weavers) and Irish émigrés to Auckland in 1842, the hopes of its middle class idealists were not fulfilled.

Emigration was a business, and as such it had to succeed. The 'West of Scotland Committee' included prominent Glasgow ship owners and financiers of the day, but although repeatedly urged to form a Scottish branch of the New Zealand Company, the Committee repeatedly refused to do so, and would not give full support to any New Zealand emigration venture (no matter how 'worthy') without an assurance of control and direction independent of any London-based organisation. Such assurances were not forthcoming, and consequently initial 'Glasgow' enthusiasm for the idea of New Zealand gave way to a wary watchfulness, and after Edinburgh M.P. George Rennie mooted the idea of a 'New Edinburgh' to be founded under the auspices of the New Zealand Company, Scottish middle class interest in New Zealand shifted decidedly to Scotland's capital. In November 1843 a letter from Rennie to Harrington, London Secretary of the New Zealand Company, suggests that Glasgow interest in New Zealand had not fully waned, but lay dormant, dependent on the securing of Glasgow commercial interests:

> Several influential persons from Glasgow, including the Lord Provost, are anxious to know the intentions of the Directors of the New Zealand Company with respect to the embarkation of emigrants for the colony of New Edinburgh. I may state that the feeling is very strong in favour of the company chartering vessels from the Clyde, and indeed the assistance and cooperation of some of the leading Glasgow merchants will depend on their wishes being complied with on this subject.[39]

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[38]Address by the Rev. D. Burns to the Paisley Emigration Society, cited by McLintock, op. cit. p.157.

[39]PRO, CO 208 119, Rennie to Harrington, 18 Nov. 1843, p.170.

A few individuals from the influential 'Scotch Committee' of 1839 were keen to transfer their land purchases from Wellington to 'New Edinburgh' in Otago. James Lumsden, a Glasgow shipowner who became Provost of Glasgow at the end of 1843 even had his name added to the 'New Edinburgh Committee'.[40] However, initiative was now in the hands of the Edinburgh set whose highly successful emigration promotion campaign was, of course, completely frustrated by the long political wrangle between Peel's Government and the New Zealand Company, and the suspension of the latter's activities for three and a half years from 1844. When the rump of the New Edinburgh (renamed Otago) Association resumed activities late in 1847 - in affiliation now with both the temporarily revived New Zealand Company and (loosely) with the Colonial Committee of the Free Church - it was met with a response from would-be New Zealand land purchasers in Scotland that was, at best, subdued. The earlier failure of the New Zealand Company to secure its land titles in Wellington and the vicissitudes of the settlers already there had contributed to turning much of the initial Scottish enthusiasm for New Zealand into bitter disillusion, and nowhere was disappointment felt more keenly than in the West Lowlands.

'The West of Scotland' is 'especially unfavourable' because of 'past experiences', wrote McGlashan, Secretary of the Otago Association, to Harrington, New Zealand Company Secretary, in July 1847.[41] McGlashan hoped that the sailing of the *Mooltan* from the Clyde would revive some of the lost favour of the monied interests in Glasgow and other towns in the west. In this hope he and the Otago Association organisers were cruelly disappointed because an outbreak of cholera on the voyage took lives of family heads, crew and children, and further discredited the Otago scheme. An attempt by the ship's captain and cabin passengers to silence the *Mooltan* horror failed because steerage passangers (against orders) succeeded in throwing letters on to the deck of a passing ship. News of the disaster reached emigrants' relatives in

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[40]PRO, CO 208 119, Perry to Rennie, Feb. 1844, p. 332; PRO, CO 208 295, 'Journal of Mr D. W. Dowling', 17 Oct. 1843.
[41]PRO, CO 208 123, pp. 500-01.

Glasgow and Greenock before reaching McGlashan's Edinburgh office.[42]

The succession of calamities and setbacks in the 1840s is reflected in the low frequency of paying passengers from the West Lowlands bound for Otago during the Provincial Government period. The figures presented in Table 4.2 exaggerate but do not misrepresent the situation with respect to paying passengers in the 1850s, although undoubtedly the West Lowland interest in New Zealand was more than revived by the time of the Otago gold rushes and the American Civil War.[43] The most famous and probably the most influential Scottish entrepreneur associated with Otago in the 1850s was Aberdeenshire-born, Free Church man James McAndrew whose business and financial connections were more with Edinburgh and London than the city of Glasgow and the towns of the west. McAndrew's privately chartered ships intended for the inter-colonial trade proceeded to Dunedin at about the same time as the New Zealand Company met its ultimate demise. A note of triumph and an acute sense that a just God would not abandon David's side accompanies McGlashan's last letter to Harrington, in which he informed the New Zealand Company directors of the imminent departure of McAndrew's ships.[44]

Between 1850 and 1858 more ships left Scotland for New Zealand from the port of Leith than the port of Greenock[45] although a permanent connection between Dunedin and the Clyde seems to have been established by the end of that decade, that is before the discovery of gold in Otago (in 1861). Correspondingly, emigrants from Scotland going to Otago during the 1850s, both assisted and paying passengers, came predominantly from the east of Scotland - the Lothians, the Borders and south and east Perthshire being particularly over-represented.[46] This

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[42]PRO, CO 208 123, McGlashan to Harrington, 13 Dec. 1849, p. 803; PRO, CO 208 124, McGlashan to Harrington, 23 Jan. 1850, p. 71.

[43]Unfortunately detailed shipping data are not available for Otago during the peak years of the gold rush.

[44]PRO, CO 208 124, McGlashan to Harrington, 19 June 1850, pp. 314-5.

[45]Calculated from OESM shipping notice extracts.

[46]The percentages given in Table 4.2 (above) for assisted passengers' origins during the Provincial Period relate to the 1850s and late 1860s, whereas data for paying passengers relate to the 1850s only. See Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2.1.

regional concentration was in part due to recruitment campaigns conducted in 1857 and 1858 by the provincial agent for Otago, James Adam; these were focused in the aforementioned areas and in Adam's native Aberdeenshire. However, the pattern is also true of the early 1850s when emigration assistance was generally not available (although the Aberdeenshire and the Lowland Perthshire element was not so pronounced for the first as for the second half of the decade).

A cluster of emigrants from South Argyll explains the apparent over-representation shown in Table 4.2 of the 'Highlands' as a source for paying passengers during the provincial period. The emigration of this particular group can be partly attributed to quarrels between influential members of the Free Church of Rothesay and the landed interest in Bute.[47] The one time Provost of Rothesay (John Gillies), a Free Church school teacher in the town, a son of the Free Church minister, and family, kin and friends of these, all became residents in Dunedin during the 1850s. The Rothesay school teacher was from a large Dumfriesshire shepherding family, whose members formed the nucleus of another 'kin and community' migration from the Moffat region to Otago.[48]

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[47]The Disruption caused much bitterness on the Isle of Bute. Grievances against the Marquis included his refusal to renew the leases of dissenting tenants.

[48]Mary Gillies, 'John Gillies', in G. J. Griffiths, ed. The Advance Guard, ser. III (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 243-281; A. R. Tyrell, 'Adam D. Johnston of Paiwata', in Griffiths, ed. op. cit. ser. I, pp. 35-48; OESM, MS. 'William Johnston of "Annandale", Wreys Bush', anon. (n.d.); OESM, MS. 'Jubilee', var. entries for members of Gillies, McIndoe and Johnston families; FC, Communicants' Roll Book, entries for the above named families, and other Dunedin immigrants from Rothesay and Moffat, including Thomas Craig, son of the Free Church minister in Rothesay; GRO, Cen. (Rothesay) 51/431/19 (Craig); 41/558/3, 51/431/19 (Gillies); 51/431/18 (McIndoe); (Moffat) 41/842/1, 51/830/19 (Johnston); Also GRO, BR 55/558/1, 57/558/81 (Johnston); Tombstones in Rothesay Kirkyard; *Fasti*, vol. 4, p. 21.

4.3.2 Kinship and Community Links and the Distribution of Emigrants' Origins.

This example raises the issue of the role of kinship links and the distribution of emigrants' origins in the years after the initial founding of Otago province. Linkage of local Dunedin sources for the early 1850s - in particular the names on the First Church "Communicants' Roll Book" (which frequently gives emigrants' parish of origins) with marriage registers and the Minister's 'Visitation Book' (which show family and household composition and kin links in the colony) - suggests that at least one third of emigrants who arrived in Dunedin between 1851 and 1858 had connections with settlers who had gone to Otago under the auspices of the New Zealand Company.[49] The regional distribution of emigrants as indicated by the Communicants' Roll Book has a clear 'eastern' Lowland bias and shows pronounced concentrations of emigrants coming from particular areas. Of the 463 church adherents whose place of 'character certification' was identifiable, 20.9 per cent came from parishes described according to Levitt and Smout's district classification as belonging to the 'Edinburgh area'.[50] A further 13.4 per cent came from the 'East Borders' (a region composed of districts described by Levitt and Smout as Peeblesshire, the Dunbar area, South Berwick(shire), the Kelso area and the Hawick area) while another 4.5 per cent were from the 'West Borders'.[51] Glasgow and environs, by contrast, were under-represented: 8.9 per cent of communicants came from parishes in 'North Lanarkshire', a district which at this time held about 17 per cent of the Scottish population.

In terms of the population at risk only one West Lowland district - North Ayrshire (which provided 8.2 per cent of the communicants) - could be described as well-represented. The distinctiveness of Ayrshire is not surprising given the nature of links established between Otago

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[49]FC, Communicants' Roll Book; FC, Marriage Register; OESM, The Rev. Thomas Burns' Visitation Book.

[50]The group of parishes which Levitt and Smout, op. cit. describe as the 'Edinburgh area' is roughly equivalent to the county of Midlothian.

[51]The region referred to as the 'West Borders' also relies on Levitt and Smout's grouping of parishes, and consists of districts described by Levitt and Smout as Inner Dumfries, Kirkcudbright(shire), South Dumfries, South Kirkcudbright, Wigtown and the South tip of Ayr. (See Appendix Three.)

and parishes in Ayrshire during the New Zealand Company period. One of the principal leaders of the Otago settlement at the time of its founding was the Reverend Thomas Burns, who had been minister at Monkton, Ayr at the time of the Disruption, and afterwards the Free Church minister at Maybole and Prestwick. Although he took up a Free Church post at Portobello near Edinburgh in the mid 1840s, there is evidence that a number of his former Ayrshire parishioners were amongst the first Otago scheme migrants, and it is likely that kin and community links between North Ayrshire and Otago persisted into the 1850s.[52]

'Stock effects' produced the pattern of concentration or clustering of emigrants from certain areas during the 1850s, but probably had less relevance during the Otago gold rushes and the peak years of emigration to New Zealand in the mid 1870s. As has been explained in Chapter Two, data from shipping lists and the like are not available for Otago for the era of the gold rushes. However, the distribution (given in Table 4.2) of assisted emigrants' origins during the provincial period reflects the situation in the years immediately following the gold rush boom, as well as the situation in the 1850s. This breakdown indicates that the West Lowlands renewed its position as the most important regional source for Otago immigrants when the general volume of emigration from Scotland to New Zealand increased. By the 1870s the regional origins of both assisted and paying passengers (who were bound for destinations in all parts of New Zealand, but still principally for Otago) clearly reflected the regional distribution of the Scottish population at risk.

The Borders and the Lothians are two regions where kin and community links seem to have sustained the flow of emigrants from Scotland to Otago during the years of emigration trough in the early 1850s.[53] This particular regional concentration seems to have been a

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[52]*Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, pp. 121-3; *Fasti*, vol. 3; HL, Jane Bannerman (nee Burns), Reminiscences of Her Life to 1855 (typescript); F. O. Bennett, 'Mary Cuddie', in Griffiths, ed. op. cit. Ser. II, pp. 153-78.

[53]The term 'trough' is applicable only as far as emigration from Scotland to New Zealand is concerned. The early 1850s were peak years for emigration from Scotland to other destinations.

uniquely 'Otago' phenomenon. The Lothian counties (Midlothian in particular) were far less important as the regional source of free and assisted emigrants for New Zealand during the first phase of the New Zealand Company's operations (that is, before the promotion of 'New Edinburgh') than they became after the Otago Scheme eventually got underway. The Border counties in the early period were noticeably under-represented amongst the origins listed for free and assisted passage applicants. Indeed, if the Otago contingent is excluded from the New Zealand Company group, the aforementioned eastern bias in the regional origins of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand from London ports during the New Zealand Company period, can be seen as attributable to high proportions of emigrants from Forfarshire, east and south Perthshire and east Fife. (The inland towns and rural areas of Angus were as important, at this time, as Dundee and towns and villages such as Arbroath and Monifieth on the coast).[54]

In contrast to the Lothians' and the Borders' pattern, connections between Ayrshire and New Zealand were not confined to the 1850s, nor to the province of Otago. The persistency of Ayrshire as a county producing emigrants for New Zealand is perhaps worthy of an intensive regionally-based study (such as Marjory Harper has completed recently for the North-east with a focus on enduring links between the 'North-east Corner' and British North America).[55] Population movements - inward, outward and within the county of Ayrshire - were extremely fluid. It was a county with heavy concentrations of iron and coal mining, established traditions in textiles, and a rural economy geared towards dairying. Religious dissent and a fierce spirit of 'independence' amongst groups of workers (in particular the handloom weavers) are typically associated with Ayrshire.[56]

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[54]Only 2.7% of Scots who were early applicants to the New Zealand Company came from parishes in the Borders ('East' and 'West', using Levitt and Smout's classification), and 6.8% were from the 'Edinburgh area'. On the other hand, 30.6% came from the region consisting of Levitt and Smout's contiguous districts: Inner Angus, Coastal Angus, East Perthshire, South Perthshire and East Fife (and about two-thirds of these were from the single county of Angus) PRO, CO 208 272, Register of Emigrant Labourers.

[55]Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, 2 vols, Vol. 1: *Willing Exiles*; Vol 2: *Beyond the Broad Atlantic*, (Aberdeen, 1988).

[56]The notion of 'independence' implied independence of thought and the courage to stand by convictions as well as the idea of self-sufficiency. A desire for

In the rural sector, Ayrshire had a tradition of small owner-occupiers or 'bonnet lairds', and in the early decades and middle years of the nineteenth century the county was frequently noted for its aspiring agriculturalists.[57] It was reported to the Royal Commission on the Poor Law (Scotland) in 1844 that a typical unmarried farm servant in Ayrshire could look forward to having a farm of twenty acres or so, usually achieved through saving enough wages to stock a farm, and by marrying a similarly thrifty female farm or domestic servant.[58] The proponents of the New Edinburgh scheme were convinced that Ayrshire was a likely source for aspiring agricultural emigrants with a few savings and the required character credentials and religious sensibilities to make good settlers. Applications for assisted passage from Ayrshire agricultural labourers, and letters from small farmers in the vicinity of Ayr and Kilmarnock who were anxious to extend their holdings, suggest that Rennie, Dowling and McGlashan's assumptions with regard to Ayrshire were not unfounded.[59]

Emigration to New Zealand from Ayrshire was boosted in the 1840s and 1850s by the structural decline in handloom weaving, and in the mid 1870s by declining wages and conditions and a relatively new tradition of emigration (usually directed towards the United States) affecting workers in coal and iron mining. Ayrshire connections with New Zealand were not limited to Otago and (what is perhaps more

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'independence' could be manifested in a variety of ways: zeal for Republicanism, nonconformity in religion, a stance against the Corn Laws, workers' cooperative ventures, or willingness to take the initiative in the formation of voluntary societies.

[57]Aiton, for example, wrote of the benefit incurred to Ayrshire society by the great diversity in that county in the size of farms. He argued that gradations in property size created prospects for social mobility and were therefore an incitement to industry amongst all 'ranks in the community'.

> 'A few years industry exerted by the labourer will enable him to acquire some property and if he attains the rank of heritor he will be thereby stimulated to make still further exertions to add to his wealth and enlarge his estate.'

William Aiton, *A General View of the Agriculture of Ayr with Observations on the Means of Its Improvement: Drawn up for the Consideration of the Board of Agriculture and Internal Improvements* (Glasgow, 1811), pp. 64-5, 136.

[58]Cited by Levitt and Smout, op. cit. p.72.

[59]For example, see letters: from Robert Perry to George Rennie, 13 Feb. 1844, 'I am still of the opinion that much good may be done in the West of Scotland, particularly in Ayrshire...' PRO, CO 208 119, p. 332; John Sloan to Rennie, 12 Feb. 1844, PRO, CO 208 119, p. 324; Also entries in Dowling's diary 19, 28 Oct. 1843, PRO, CO 208 295, pp. 22,25.

interesting) often showed low reliance on the type of 'stock effects' usually associated with strong kin and community ties between host and sending society. This point can be illustrated by the example of a group of under-employed weavers from the seaport town of Girvan, a town situated amidst southern Ayrshire parishes of a predominantly rural character. In a highly self-conscious spirit of west Lowland tradition these weavers formed an emigration society in 1863 and sent a petition for assistance to emigrate - not to the Otago Provincial Council - but direct to the New Zealand Colonial Secretary's office in Auckland.

> Unto the Honourable the Governor General and Executive Council of the Colony of New Zealand ... your petitioners are handloom weavers ... the depression of trade, and the low rate of wages (being on average 4 shillings and 6 pence per week), and only partially employed [sic] for the last three years past, makes our position very deplorable.[60]

As it happened, the Southland Provincial Council (Southland was disjoined from Otago for the decade of the 1860s) met the weavers' passage costs (some £1113 for the entire ship's complement of passengers), and the petitioners and their families left Greenock for Port Chalmers near Dunedin in July 1864. It is noteworthy that no special preference was made by the weavers for assistance to settle in the characteristically 'Scottish' region of New Zealand. This was despite the existence of sustained contacts between Ayrshire and Otago, and despite the example of the Fenwick Emigration Society - also founded by weavers, and with a strong tradition of emigration to Southland.[61]

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[60] *Southland Gazette* Vol. 1, pp. 240, 269; Vol. 2, p. 604. Petition cited by Jim Dangerfield in *OESM Newsletter* No. 26 (June 1984), p.4.

[61] James Taylor, *The Annals of Fenwick* [Feb. 1842 - Dec. 1856], ed. Tom D. Taylor, Ayrshire Arch. and Natural Hist. Soc. vol. 9 (1970); George Neilson ed. 'Minutes of the Fenwick Emigration Society, 1839', *Scottish Historical Review* 17 (1920), 221-4.

4.3.3. Otago and the Free Church Tradition

How far can 'tradition' or the self-generating effect (where it can be discerned in the Scotland-New Zealand emigration experience) be attributed to the role of a church and to the Free Church in particular? The Free Church affiliation of the Otago Association is of course the distinctive characteristic of the Association compared to several other such associations with similar promotional tactics and also competing for emigrant recruits in Lowland Scotland in the 1840s and 1850s.[62] How far, for example, can the concentrations of emigrants leaving the Lothians and the Borders for Otago in the 1850s be attributed to an 'idiosyncratic role' played by the Free Church?

Commentators who have attempted to describe and explain the 'Scotland - New Zealand connection' seldom fail to mention and usually emphasize Otago and the supposedly Free Church emigration promotion campaign.[63] It is not often realised, however, that although most members of the Otago Association were lay members of the Free Church,[64] their organisation never received any official endorsement from the Free Church Colonial Committee or from its General Assembly. Speeches by Dr. Candlish at the Free Church General Assembly in 1848 reveal that the Free Church officially denied any responsibility for recommending or encouraging emigration, or for giving grounds 'to certify or recommend statistics of one particular colony over another.' Ministers were encouraged to recommend Otago to already intending emigrants on the grounds of the settlement's 'religious and educational advantages', but there is no evidence that they were encouraged to promote emigration in general terms from

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[62]The South Australia Company, for example, had similar promotional tactics to the Otago Association. An advertisement in the *North British Advertiser* in November 1843 (at the height of the New Edinburgh campaign) read as follows:

> 'Farmers and Emigrants are invited to settle in South Australia (where there are no convicts and the natives are few and inoffensive) under the auspices of the South Australia Company...'

[63]For example: Gordon Donaldson, *The Scots Overseas* (London, 1966); Harper, op. cit. Vol. 1.

[64]'Names of the gentlemen who have met to take steps to form an extended Association in Scotland for promoting the presbyterian settlement at Otago in New Zealand, on the plans sanctioned by the [New Zealand] Company', PRO, CO 208 120, p. 25. Details about the said gentlemen are in notes about committee members and respondents to William Cargill's 'Confidential Circular', PRO, CO 208 120, pp.1-10.

their pulpits - whether to Otago or to any other destination.[65] The ambivalent attitude of the Free Church clergy to the Otago Association's scheme, and to emigration in general, is not surprising. Many supported the ideology of colonisation, but few were willing to encourage the loss of actively supportive parishioners.[66] In any case, the reverend gentlemen would never have lightly recommended fellow Scotsmen to go to the other side of the world, although they praised the 'vision' of an enterprise and of fellow clerics who intended exactly this.

Members of the Otago Association attended Free Church Presbytery meetings and planned forums to attract the attention of clergy and visitors in Edinburgh at General Assembly time.[67] Despite such tactics the Free Church leaders showed no greater readiness to express interest in or to promote the Otago scheme than ministers of the Established or United Presbyterian Churches. One notable exception was the Free Church in the North-east. On his Otago promotional tours in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire in September and December 1849 McGlashan found the clergy, elders and deacons of the Free Church unusually cooperative: forthcoming emigration meetings were intimated from pulpits on the preceeding Sabbath, hand bills about Otago were distributed by Church offiice bearers during parish visitations, and on several occasions McGlashan used the Church buildings for emigration meetings.[68] This contrasts strongly with McGlashan's experience in the west of Scotland, in the Lothians and in Stirlingshire and Clackmannan. In these areas the typical platform for his public speeches was out of doors, at fairs and on market days, or else in the evenings inside Trades' Halls and Sheriffs' Courts.[69]

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[65]*Witness*, 23 Oct. 1847, p.4; PRO, CO 208 122, Robert Cargill to Harrington, 19 Oct 1848, pp. 243-4.

[66]'It is not the duty of the Free Church to tell the respectable classes to emigrate. It is even in their interest to keep such classes.' (Robert Cargill was more astute than other members of the Otago Association in his realisation of this.) PRO, CO 208 121, R. Cargill to Harrington, 29 May 1848, p. 435.

[67]PRO, CO 208 121, McGlashan to Harington, 16, 21 March 1848, pp. 227-8, 246.

[68]Advertisement for a public meeting about Otago New Zealand to be held Free South Church, Aberdeen' *Aberdeen Banner*, 4 Jan. 1850; PRO, CO 208 123, pp. 13-20.

[69]'Advertisement for a public meeting in Dunblane', Dec. 1848, PRO, CO 208 121; Reports of public meetings at Alloa, Dollar, Tillicoultry &c. PRO, CO 208 123, McGlashan to Harrington, 6 March 1849, p. 137.

The imminent collapse of the New Zealand Company and competition from the advocates of other emigrant destinations (including other destinations in New Zealand) meant that McGlashan's 'good work' in Aberdeenshire was 'in a manner, sapped'.[70] His campaign had little success in terms of numbers of recruits, but he may have sown seeds in the North-east, the harvest from which James Adam reaped a decade later. McGlashan never had the opportunity to fulfil his intentions of touring in Highland Inverness and the South-west (although he offered to do so at his own expense 'for love of the cause'[71]). Had he toured in these regions he might have met with a similar response from the clergy (especially the clergy in the Highlands[72]) as he found in Aberdeenshire. There is little evidence, however, that the Free Church in central Scotland acted in any formal capacity as a vehicle for emigration promotion.

Indeed, the sometimes incredulous and always regretful responses of Free Kirk session members to decisions made by their fellow elders regarding emigration to Otago suggest that a contrary case might be made.

> Thomas Ferguson, elder, left this country with his family for the Island of New Zealand - the session record the loss of his valuable service as an elder in this congregation.

This was the sole comment concerning emigration recorded in the session minutes of Kilmarnock High Free Church in 1848.[73] When Mr. James Patterson intimated his decision to leave Free Lady Glenorchy's Church in Edinburgh in 1857, having been an office bearer in the congregation for eighteen years, the session accepted the resignation of their 'venerable Friend and Brother' with reluctance, and desired earnestly 'to record the deep sense of a blank which his removal [would]

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[70]PRO, CO 208 124, McGlashan to Harrington, 16 April 1850, p.164.
[71]ibid.
[72]Both Tom Devine and Eric Richards show that the Free Church clergy played a important role in emigration from crofting districts. T. M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988); Eric Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances*, Vol. 2: *Emigration, Protest, Reasons* (London, 1985).
[73]SRO, CH3/1003/1(4), Session Minutes Kilmarnock High Free Church, 14 Oct. 1848, p. 52.

occasion'. (The 'self-generating' mechanism is suggested by a further note in the minutes recording that Patterson proposed to leave Scotland in order 'to join members of his family now settled in New Zealand'.)[74]

Contemporary New Zealand historians tend to regard the promoters of the Otago Scheme as bigotted, narrow-minded men whose aims involved the establishment of a theocracy based on idiosyncratic, staunch and exclusive principles, and the peopling of a community with emigrants of like-minded persuasion to themselves. Such accusations are unfair. The first Otago promoters were dogged (rather than astute) businessmen - middle class idealists, concerned not so much with religious zeal as with sound community building, and hence, the recruitment of 'good religious families, no matter from which side of the Tweed'.[75]

However, because they were Free Church men themselves, they had business and personal contacts with men and women whose religious affiliations were also biased towards the Free Church. In addition, the Otago Scheme promoters were city men, and Free Church adherence was stronger in the main Scottish cities than throughout the whole of Lowland Scotland.[76] It is therefore not surprising that Free Church members can be verified as the numerically dominant group amongst professed church-goers who went from Scotland to Otago before 1860. Of the new immigrant arrivals who joined First Church, Dunedin, in the 1850s, about half had been certified in Scotland by Free Church ministers or session clerks while over one quarter had been adherents of the Church of Scotland and just over one fifth former members of the United Presbyterian Church.[77] By contrast, the 1851 religious census indicates that 32 per cent of Scottish Church attenders were Free Kirkers, 32 per cent were Church of Scotland and about 19 per cent United Presbyterian.[78]

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[74]SRO, CH3/723/1, Session Minutes Free Lady Glenorchy's Church, Edinburgh, 13 July 1857, p. 153.
[75]PRO, CO 208 121, McGlashan to Jeffreys, 30 March 1848, p.292.
[76]Callum Brown, *The Social History of Religion in Scotland since 1730* (London, New York, 1987), Table 1, p.61.
[77]FC, Communicants' Roll Book. These percentages take no account of new communicants whose past denominational experience could not be verified.
[78]Brown, op. cit. pp. 61-7.

The interest of the denominational background of early Otago settlers lies in its regional context. Surprisingly, emigrants from the Lothians and the Borders who joined First Church, Dunedin, in the 1850s were more pronouncedly Church of Scotland than would be predicted on the basis of the denominational breakdown of all the new communicants. Only 34 per cent of new church members from the Lothians (excluding Edinburgh) had been members of the Free Church in Scotland, and the Borders' contingent showed an even less strong commitment to the Free Church, and a correspondingly stronger preference for the established church. By contrast, Edinburgh city and the West Lowland element (excluding Glasgow), were pronouncedly Free Church, while First Church adherents in Dunedin from Glasgow were under-represented with respect to both main Scottish churches, and over-represented with respect to the United Presbyterians and other smaller dissenting congregations. Emigrants from all other Scottish regions, in particular the Highlands (only South Argyll was an important source during this period), and including eastern parts - Aberdeenshire, Angus and Fife - typically had Free Church connections.

These observations are important because they suggest that the Scottish regional distribution of Otago Scheme emigrants cannot be explained by the Free Church affiliation of the Otago Association. Indeed, with the exception perhaps of rural Aberdeenshire and the North-east, the religious denomination of emigrants by region is in accordance with contemporary Scottish local and regional tendencies in denominational preference. However, Free Church connections were obviously responsible in some areas for the formation of those types of community links which sustain emigration streams. Community links between host and sending society which were created and sustained through a common experience of Free Church affiliation and worship were observed in the North-east, the Far North (especially in the county of Caithness), in parts of North Ayrshire and parts of Southern Argyll. The over-representation of the Lothians and the Borders as a source for specifically Otago Association emigrants may also have been due to the perpetuation of kinship and community links between emigrants which were reinforced by a common church commitment; however, in this

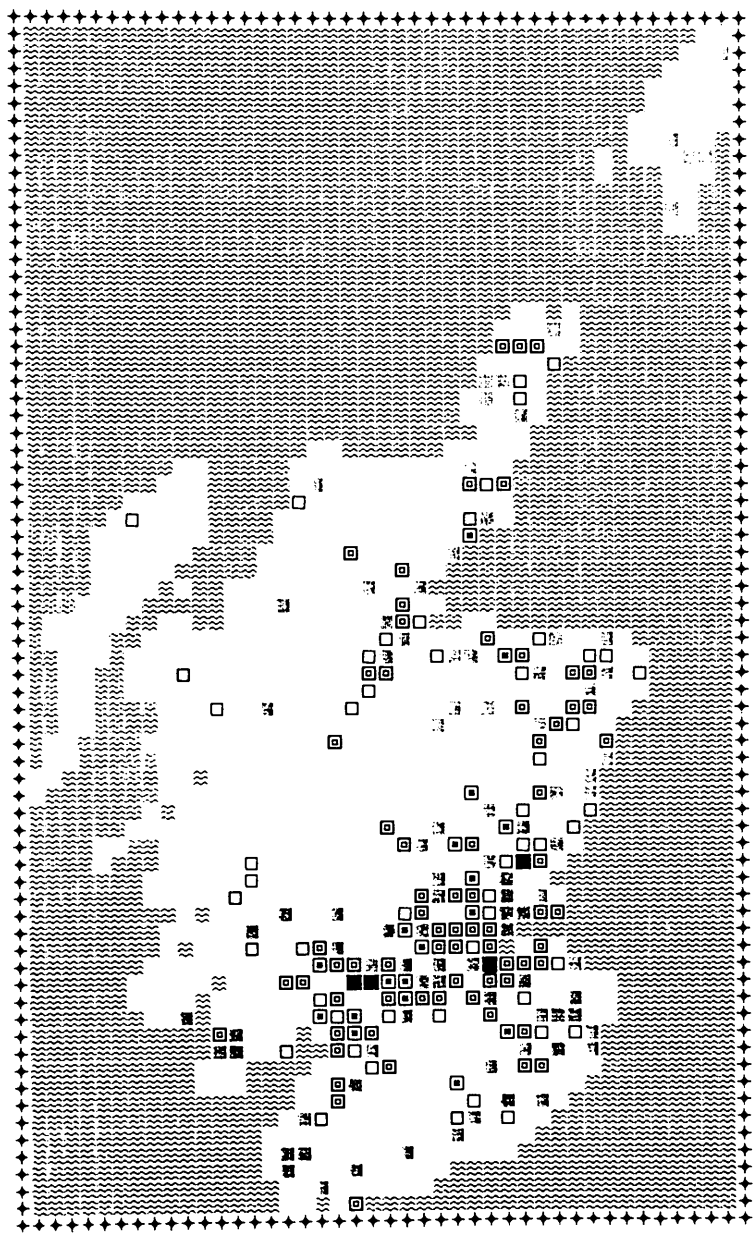
emigration process the actual denomination of church affiliation seems to have been immaterial.

These findings do not negate the possibility that there is an association between dissent in religion and tendency to emigrate. They merely suggest that the preferences and beliefs of middle class promoters of emigration schemes did not necessarily determine the characteristics of emigrants. In Lowland Scotland the clergy and the churches seldom played any formal role in the promotion of emigration. However, personal contacts based on church membership provided one means by which information about emigration could be channelled and tested. Hence, in an informal sense, the church can be said to have fostered community traditions of emigration.

Fig. 4.1. Place of last residence of Scottish emigrants (census-traced) going to New Zealand, c.1840 - 1880.

greater than:	0.0	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0
less than or equal to:	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0	204.0
number of occurrences:	52	92	70	18	4

units: individuals
resolution of map: 10.00 km
location of map: 00500530 to 04601210



4.3.4. Regional Distribution and Emigration Process

A very simple mapping of the geographical distribution of emigrants in the 'census-traced' group is provided in Figure 4.1.[79] This map is a rough guide suggesting geographical patterns and orders of magnitude; it does not indicate a precise measure of the numbers who left Scotland for New Zealand from any particular area.[80]

In terms of regional distribution the 'census-traced' group shows differences of degree from the 'total list'.[81] The sources of these differences affect the distribution shown in Figure 4.1 in several distinctive ways.

First, emigrants assisted under the Vogel Scheme are not fully represented in the census-traced group. Hence, counties such as Shetland, Ross and Cromarty and Lanarkshire, which became more important as sources for emigrants in the 1870s than they had been hitherto, are found to have a smaller percentage of the census-traced group than of the total-list. Secondly, counties containing cities tend to be under-represented in the census-traced group. This is noticeable in the case of Lanarkshire and Forfarshire, but not in Aberdeenshire or Midlothian because both Edinburgh and Aberdeen were important origins of Scots emigrants bound for New Zealand in the Otago Scheme years. The third feature of the distribution of the census-traced group is that emigrants leaving Scotland for Otago between 1848 and 1860 are over-represented in the group. This is reflected in the percentages given (Table 4.1) for the counties of Bute, Perthshire, Midlothian and Peeblesshire, all of which contributed more Scottish emigrants in proportional terms to Otago in the decade before the gold rushes, than they did to New Zealand as a whole during the 1840s, 1860s and 1870s.

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[79]This map was created by a package called 'Gridmap' which is capable of counting and pin-pointing grid references. Sometimes, when the difference between grid references is very slight, the program automatically aggregates information.

[80]Indeed, some addresses of emigrants given on the ships' lists are not shown at all on Figure 4.1. See note 79 above.

[81]Compare columns one and two on Table 4.1, above.

Despite these sources of misrepresentation Figure 4.1 shows clearly that the majority of emigrants who went to New Zealand from Scotland between 1840 and 1880 came from the central Lowlands with the west central Lowlands paramount: the West Lowland emphasis in the early annals of New Zealand settlement is justified. This interpretation of Figure 4.1 is convincing because the census-traced group tends to distort the regional distribution of emigrants going to New Zealand in favour of the years when emigration from Scotland to New Zealand was low. In other words, Figure 4.1 emphasises those areas where traditions or stock effects were important in sustaining emigration from Scotland to New Zealand. As we have seen, local habits of emigration were relatively more important in periods of emigration trough than in periods when emigration rates rose. Figure 4.1 gives undue emphasis, in fact, to the years when recent traditions and idiosyncratic factors worked against emigration from the West Lowlands.

A number of sizeable clusters of emigrants from distinct localities outside the heavily populated industrial belt of the central Lowlands are shown in Figure 4.1.[82] These clusters suggest areas where kin and community traditions and idiosyncratic emigration promotional factors may have been important in creating and sustaining local links between Scotland and New Zealand. The parishes of Latheron in Caithness, of Killean and Kilchenzie in South Argyll, of Bellie in Aberdeenshire, of Moffat in Dumfriesshire and of Kirkmichael in Perthshire would all provide useful starting points for locally based studies investigating the operation of emigration 'chains' or the 'stock effect'. However, the clustering of emigrants from areas outside the main centres of Scottish population is not a prominent feature of Figure 4.1. Indeed, there seems to be a close parallel between Figure 4.1 and the regional distribution of the 'population at risk'. Does this suggest that in order to unravel emigration processes we need techniques and approaches which will supplement the discovery and analysis of emigration 'chains'? If so, this conclusion would be in apparent contradiction to much of the

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[82]If more than ten people are found to have come from the same locality it can be reasonably assumed that they did not emigrate together as one family or one 'extended' family. See discussion below (Chapters Six and Seven) on the size of emigrant families and the extent of kinship networks between emigrant families.

evidence and argument emergent from the European literature.[83] Was Scotland different? The following section attempts to answer the latter question and its implications for the former by first assessing the New Zealand evidence as to emigrants' places of last residence in the light of what is known about Scottish emigration elsewhere.

4.4. The Case Study From a Comparative Perspective

With respect to emigrants' places of last residence there are three features emergent from the Scottish-New Zealand data which are noticeable and which may have been invalid for Scottish emigration to other destinations. First, as we noted above, the county distribution of emigrants' origins was remarkably similar to the county distribution of the Scottish population at large. It is pointed out in Section 4.2 that this feature is in marked contrast to what might be predicted on the basis of findings for other European countries. Secondly, Figure 4.1 indicates that while most Scottish emigrants bound for New Zealand came from the main centres of Scottish population, there was also a distinct eastern bias in their regional distribution: more people came from the west than the east, but emigration was possibly more widespread in eastern than in western districts. The third, and perhaps most immediately noticeable feature of the New Zealand data pertaining to Scottish emigrants' places of last residence is the apparent infrequency of emigration from the Highlands, and in particular from the north-west Highlands and Hebrides. This feature is undoubtedly exaggerated in Figure 4.1 for reasons which have been explained in the previous section. The absence of large numbers of emigrants from the poorest crofting zones, and the association between Scottish emigration to New Zealand and eastern districts of Scotland are both 'traditional' features of Scotland-New Zealand emigration. The similarity between Figure 4.1, which emphasises elements of tradition in the Scotland-New Zealand emigration experience, and Levitt and Smout's Figure 10.5, which shows the sprinkling of parishes recorded by the Poor Law

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[83]Compare Robert Ostergren, 'Swedish Migration to North America in Translantic Perspective', in I.A. Glazier and L. de Rosa, eds, *Migration Across Time and Nations: Population Mobility in Historical Contexts* (New York, London, 1986), pp. 125-47.

Commissioners as sending emigrants to New Zealand in the years just after New Zealand was annexed to the British crown, is remarkable.[84]

To what extent can these three features be regarded as exceptional to the general experience of Scottish emigration? As yet our argument must remain speculative and oblique because what is known about the 'general picture' of the regional origins of Scottish emigrants is partial.

4.4.1 The 'Evenness' of Distribution of the Emigrants' Origins

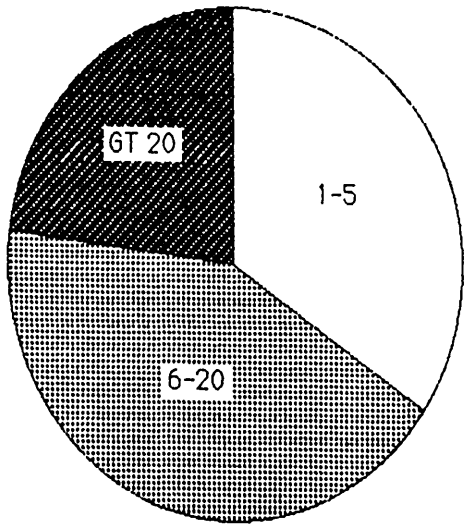
The first noted feature of Scottish emigration to New Zealand is that the movement was widespread and in unexpectedly close accordance with the Scottish population distribution. This is reflected in the apparent lack of clustering of emigrants from areas outside the main centres of Scottish population. Emigrants bound for New Zealand were located in 236 Scottish registration districts, but only 9.3 per cent of these registration districts provided twenty emigrants or more. Of the registration districts providing twenty emigrants or more over two-thirds contained or formed a part of a major city or town or series of contiguous villages. Hence, only a small minority of parishes, perhaps three per cent, provided a sizeable cluster of emigrants for New Zealand and were also located outside the Lowland industrial belt. Fifty per cent of all emigrants found in the census were found in the 9.3 per cent of registration districts which were, for the most part, major centres of Scottish population; thirty-four per cent of emigrants came from the 29.6 per cent of registration districts which sent between six and twenty emigrants, and sixteen per cent of emigrants came from the 61.0 per cent of registration districts which sent between one and five emigrants. In other words, the most common experience on a local level was the movement of the odd family or single individual here and there: this type of diffuse movement directed towards New Zealand was probably very widespread throughout Lowland Scotland and the north-east Highlands and Inner Hebrides.

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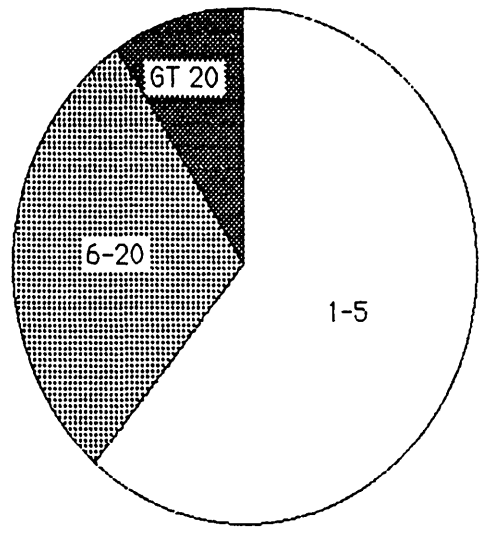
[84]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. Fig. 10.5, p. 258.

FIG 4.2 Parishes sending one to five, six to twenty, or over twenty emigrants:

a) Reported to the Poor Law Commissioners

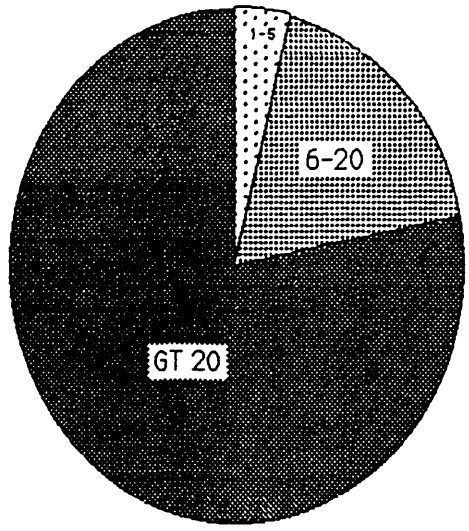


b) Going to New Zealand

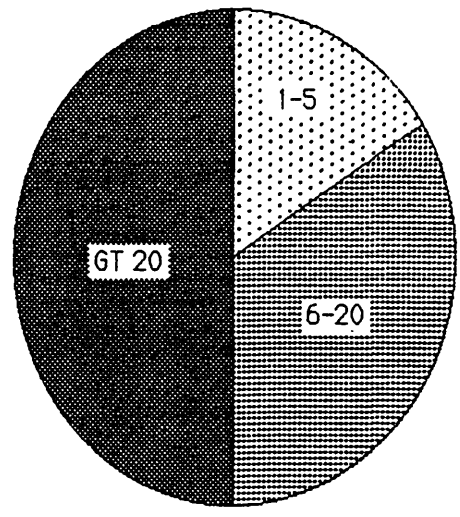


Individuals involved in each of the above groups of parishes:

a) Reported to the Poor Law Commissioners



b) Going to New Zealand



Sources: I.Levitt and T.C. Smout (eds), The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843, op. cit., Fig. 10.1 and discussion pp. 240-2; and the Scotland/New Zealand data-base (census-traced group).

Levitt and Smout's analysis of replies in response to the Scottish Poor Law Commissioners' investigations reveals some interesting parallels and contrasts to the New Zealand data.[85] Emigration was very widespread throughout Scotland in the early 1840s, and the common experience of a parish was to lose each year a tiny proportion of its population to destinations overseas. Of the 478 parishes for which emigration was reported for the three year period 1840 to 1842, over three-quarters lost fewer than twenty inhabitants through emigration. However, over 78 per cent of emigrants were reported as coming from the 23.2 per cent of parishes which provided twenty people or more.[86] Levitt and Smout's map (Figure 10.3) shows that this 'critical minority' of parishes was located mainly in Skye and the Outer Hebrides, South Argyll (especially Kintyre and Knapdale), the Renfrew district centred on the port of Greenock, the Glasgow area, the Hawick area and coastal parts of Angus. As was explained above (in Chapter Three) Levitt and Smout's data may well under-represent the city contribution to emigration at this time, but notwithstanding this, it is quite clear from their results that the most significant clusters of emigrants came from areas well outside the main centres of Scottish population. Parishes outside the Lowland industrial belt which, in the years between 1840 and 1843, lost through emigration over three per cent of their 1841 population total accounted for over 40 per cent of all emigration reported to the Poor Law Commissioners.

Levitt and Smout's results suggest that emigration from Scotland to all destinations was not as 'evenly distributed' between counties as was the case for emigration from Scotland to New Zealand. In relation to local populations it was most heavily concentrated in Skye, the Outer Hebrides, South Argyll and the south-east Borders region.[87] However,

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[85]The following paragraph is based on Levitt and Smout, op. cit. Figs 10.I & 10.II, pp. 241-2, Maps 10.2 & 10.3, pp. 255-6.

[86]Levitt and Smout give a different parish percentage in their text because they include in their denominator (total parishes) those parishes for which no emigrants were reported. ibid.

[87]Emigration rates were also high in Caithness, east Sutherland, the north-west coast region and western Argyll, Highland Inverness, Banff, Moray and north-west Perth; and to a lesser extent in the west Lowland industrial regions, Kirkcudbright and Dumfries. ibid. Table 10.A, p.251, Fig. 10.1, p. 254.

Levitt and Smout's data relate to a narrow time span, and significantly, capture a period when Hebridean estate owners were funding emigration to Upper Canada and the Maritimes on a large scale. Over 3250 individuals left Lord Macdonald's estates on Skye and North Uist between 1839 and 1842.[88] Devine has estimated recently that some 14 000 Highlanders were assisted by their landlords to the regions now called 'Canada' between 1815 and 1856. He claims that about 11 000 of these assisted emigrants left Scotland between 1846 and 1856 in the wake of the Great Highland Famine.[89] If Devine's estimates are correct, it seems that most of the remainder of landlord assisted emigration to Canada (between 1815 and 1856) must have occurred in the late 1830s and early 1840s - in the aftermath to the 1837-8 famine.[90] This suggests that much of the concentrated 'coagulated' emigration discernable from Levitt and Smout's results - emigration which drew away 'a heavy percentage of the population from a small number of parishes, sometimes without affecting the parish next door'[91] - was more strongly a feature of emigration from Scotland in the years just preceeding reform of the Poor Law, and in the decade after 1846, than for most other years in the nineteenth century. It is not improbable that in other years emigration from Scotland to all destinations was relatively 'evenly distributed' on a geographical basis in comparison with emigration from other European countries - and in accordance with emigration from Scotland to New Zealand.

Other evidence lends support to this suggestion. In his classic work *Scotland's Shifting Population,* D.F. Macdonald summarised in figurative form descriptive notes accompanying the 1851 census appertaining to emigration and migration.[92] His Map 'E' shows the parishes which registered depopulation due to emigration during one or more decades of the first half of the nineteenth century. This diagram is

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[88]ibid. p. 239.

[89]Devine, *Famine*, op. cit. p. 201.

[90]Hence, a significant proportion of the large net out-migration from crofting parishes in the 1840s, which Devine attributes to the impact of the Great Famine, in fact took place at the beginning of the decade. Devine, op. cit. Tables 3.10, 3.11 & 3.12 and accompanying discussion, pp. 70-4.

[91]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. p. 249.

[92]D. F. Macdonald, *Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850* (Glasgow, 1937), esp. Maps D and E, pp. 161-2.

interesting because it gives an impression of the consistency of certain regions in providing emigrants rather than an indication of the intensity of emigration experience at the regional level. It would appear that emigration was particularly widespread in several Border counties, especially in the upland and grazing parts of the counties of Dumfries-shire, Roxburghshire and Selkirkshire (around Hawick).[93] Many parishes in Perthshire and the North-east (in particular the counties of Moray and Banff) also lost population to destinations overseas on a consistent basis. In addition, the Highland counties of Argyll, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland and Inverness, together with the area around Dumbarton, are all shown in the diagram as areas producing emigrants, although to a slightly lesser extent. This does not mean that smaller proportions of Highland populations left Scotland for destinations overseas in the first half of the nineteenth century than was the case for rural areas in the Borders. It may imply, however, that emigration from the Highlands was in general more sporadic, intense and due more to idiosyncratic influences than was the case for emigration from parts of the rural Lowlands.

In the provision of Map 'E', Macdonald (like Levitt and Smout) used a source which relied on people's perceptions of emigration, and once again, it is highly likely that his diagram tends to underestimate emigration from city areas. Population turnover in the expanding towns and cities of the Lowland industrial belt may have been so rapid by the middle decades of the nineteenth century that any precision as to numbers of emigrants from urban areas could not be achieved.

Malcolm Gray has supplemented Macdonald's work using sources such as the Statistical Accounts and 1851 census notes with a

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[93]Notes appended to the early censuses indicate that depopulation occurred when arable land was converted into pasture. The extension of land under pasture was common at the beginning of the nineteenth century in Dumfries-shire, Berwickshire, Roxburghshire, Peebles-shire, and later in Selkirkshire, Fife, Forfar and Kinross-shire. *PP* 1843 [c.498] XXII Part 2. 597 pp. 1-76; *PP* 1852-3 LXXXVI pp. 4-97; Macdonald, op. cit. pp. 26-7. The effects of consolidation of holdings, and other agrarian reforms, on migration, also attributed in the Statistical Accounts and census summaries with causing depopulation, are more debatable. See J. D. Chambers, 'Enclosure and the Labour Supply in the Industrial Revolution', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. V (1952-3), 319-43; and N. F. R. Crafts, 'Enclosure and Labor Supply Revisited', *Explorations in Economic History* 15 (1978), 172-83.

consideration of net county migration rates calculated for the decade 1861-1871.[94] Net migration figures of course also fail to reflect the importance of areas such as the West Lowlands where outward-bound mobility was effectively 'cancelled' by high levels of inward migration. According to the net rates and Gray's reading of the 1851 census notes, Perthshire was the biggest loser by migration of all the so-called Lowland counties, at least until the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[95] Unlike Macdonald, Gray makes no attempt to distinguish between emigration and internal migration in his analysis, and this accounts for the slightly different regional emphasis in the two sets of results.[96] Gray's circumstantial evidence of migration from Perthshire relates to lowland parts of the county and his discussion centres on the deeply fertile and alluvial soil district of the Carse of Gowrie. Here young single men were predominant in the rural hired labour force - young men who would usually move away at marriage because openings for married ploughmen and their families in the area were too few. This situation had been exacerbated by the decline in the linen industry which traditionally provided by-employment for families.

According to Levitt and Smout's data emigration rates were low from south and east Perthshire in the early 1840s but high from the north-west and highland parts of the county.[97] Gray's argument that emigration and migration were manifestations of the same phenomenon in mid-nineteenth century Scotland,[98] and therefore, net migration rates indicative of the forces propelling external as well as internal migration, is possibly erroneous. On the other hand, Gray's concentration on Lowland Perthshire is in accordance with the New Zealand results.

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[94]Malcolm Gray, 'Scottish Emigration: The Social Impact of Agrarian Change in the Rural Lowlands, 1775-1875', *Perspectives in American History* VII (1973), 95-174.

[95]ibid. pp. 104,162. See note 13 above about the difficulty of classifying Perthshire which contains both highland and lowland parts.

[96]Gray's results complement rather than contradict Macdonald's discussion (based in the main on similar sources). Macdonald's map 'D' shows parishes registering population decline between 1801 and 1851, and highlights those areas where depopulation was claimed to have been associated with agrarian change. With respect to the latter - Perthshire, the North-east, Kincardine and Angus were prominent, as to a lesser extent were Dumfries-shire and Berwickshire. Macdonald, op.cit. p. 161.

[97]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. Table 10.A, p. 251.

[98]Gray, op. cit. p.95.

These various sets of evidence taken together are not necessarily contradictory. They testify that emigration from Scotland was very widespread, and not concentrated in particular counties or regions (as might be expected on the basis of European findings). Different geographical emphases emerge depending upon the nature of the data used and the period to which the data relates.

Finally, support for the proposition that emigration from Scotland may have been relatively 'even' in its geographical distribution comes from the work of Charlotte Erickson on emigration to the United States. Erickson found that Scottish emigrants at mid-century (1846-1854) went to the USA from 'agricultural' and 'industrial' counties, respectively, in proportions roughly quivalent to the Scottish population distribution at the time of the 1851 census.[99] By the 1880s emigration from Scotland to the United States had a pronounced urban bias (possibly inflated in Erickson's data by the difficulties incurred when attempting to distinguish between place of last residence and port of departure from the limited information on the United States ships' lists). It is noteworthy that the over-representation of lowland industrial counties in Erickson's sample for the 1880s is not as pronounced for Scotland as would be expected from the English case, and the change in the geographical distribution of emigrants' origins after the 1850s could be accounted for almost entirely by shifts in the Scottish population structure at large. Hence, it is difficult to conclude from Erickson's evidence that the composition of Scottish emigrants to the USA changed independently of 'structural' determinants between mid-century and the 1880s, at least as far as the place of last residence indicator is concerned. In both periods emigrants were apparently drawn from the broad regional areas in proportions consistent with the overall Scottish population distribution.

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[99]This paragraph is based on details in Charlotte Erickson, 'Who Were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth-Century?', in D. V. Glass and R. Revelle, eds *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), esp. pp. 359-63 and n.21, p.355.

4.4.2 The 'Eastern' Bias

The second noted feature of the geographical origins of Scots emigrants who went to New Zealand is the 'eastern bias' of emigrants' places of last residence (indicated on both Figure 4.1 and Levitt and Smout's Figure 10.5).[100] Clearly, this eastern bias does not hold for Scottish emigration to the United States, which as early as the 1840s was reported most frequently from west lowland districts and was especially noticeable from mining and textile towns in the west.[101] Indeed, total emigration from Scotland in the early 1840s was very much a 'western' phenomenon. Over two-thirds of all emigrants reported to the Scottish Poor Law Commissioners came from districts along the west coast; about two-thirds of these were from the western highlands.[102] Baines has also noticed, in the case of England and Wales during the second half of the nineteenth century, that emigration rates rose from east to west, often with no apparent relation to the urban/rural configuration of the counties, nor to their actual proximity to the major emigration ports.[103]

The most obvious explanation for the western bias of UK emigration lies in the patterns of coastal shipping and the nature of rail and steamship connections between local areas and major ports. Transport networks rendered the Atlantic highway more psychologically accessible to many in the west than to inhabitants of eastern and central districts of mainland Britain. Similarly, the passage of emigration to New Zealand, usually from London before the mid 1850s, may have been considerably less daunting and less expensive for inhabitants of eastern and east-central parts of Scotland than for inhabitants of the west. Peter Ayson was a carpenter by trade from Kirkmichael parish in Highland Perthshire. He and his wife Douglas Lamond (who had been a domestic servant at the time of her marriage) described to descendants their journey to Edinburgh, and then to London, in order to join the ship the Royal Albert which left the Gravesend docks for Otago in November 1852:

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[100]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. Fig. 10.5, p. 258.
[101]ibid. pp. 244-5, Table 10.B, p. 252.
[102]ibid. p. 238.
[103]Baines, op. cit. pp. 157-62.

The first part of the journey from Glenshee was made in horse drawn coaches, kindly lent by Mr Grant, who owned the Spittal Hotel in the Glen where Douglas had worked before her marriage.

> After travelling about a mile on the road a cousin of Douglas's stopped the coaches and gave them twenty pounds in sovereigns to help them on their way. They spent the first night at Couper Angus with Douglas's sister and next day proceeded to Edinburgh by train. A severe storm in the North Sea kept them there for a week before they could sail in a small paddle wheel steamer for London...[104]

Judged in terms of terrain, the cost and speed of horse drawn carriages and mid-nineteenth century railroad connections, the prospect of the longer journey by land, rail and sea from Glenshee to London may not have seemed much more formidable than a journey to Greenock.

The eastern bias of emigration from Scotland to New Zealand was not a New Zealand but an Australasian emigration phenomenon. It probably developed out of early Australian trading, shipping and investment ventures based in Leith and Aberdeen, and it was reinforced by the longstanding London influence in Australasian shipping. In his well-known study using Australian data for the first half of the nineteenth century, D S Macmillan shows that the majority of emigrants leaving Scotland for Australia between 1815 and 1832 came from Fife, the Lothians and Berwickshire, and, in the burst of assisted emigration to Australia between 1838 and 1842, from the North-east, Ayrshire, Dumfriesshire, Glasgow, the Lanark region, Renfrewshire and the Southern Highlands.[105] These latter results overlap and are broadly consistent with Levitt and Smout's data for the years 1840 to 1842. However, because Levitt and Smout count parishes rather than individuals, their results show the persisting eastern bias of Australian emigration more clearly than do those of Macmillan. In the early 1840s emigration to Australia was evidently more widespread throughout the Lowlands than emigration to the United States; like Canada it had a

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[104]William Ayson, *Looking Back: Glenshee to Otago, 1853-56 to 1953-56* (Clan Ayson of NZ Society: reprint edn, Hamilton NZ, 1975), p. 34.

[105]D. S. Macmillan, *Scotland and Australia, 1788-1850* (Oxford, 1967), pp. 271-203.

'substantial Highland component', but distinctively, at this time, there were more parishes in inland Forfarshire, east Fifeshire and east-central Perthshire reporting emigration to Australia than to either Canada or the United States.[106]

There is some evidence that this 'eastern bias' in Scottish-Australian emigration was sustained throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. In his 1951 D.Phil. thesis F. Crowley analysed the county origins of assisted emigrants going to Australia between 1860 and 1918. Crowley's data reveal a strong representation of emigrants from Lanarkshire and Midlothian, while the counties of Aberdeenshire, Forfarshire and Ayrshire were also significant.[107]

Unlike emigration from Scotland to New Zealand, emigration from Scotland to 'Australasia' cannot be dismissed as a divergent trickle. Total numbers of Scots bound for Australasia dropped dramatically in the mid 1840s but recovered later that decade and remained significant numerically until the end of the century. Between 1853 (when estimates can first be made) and 1880 nearly one in three of all Scots leaving UK ports (for destinations outside Europe) were bound for Australasia.[108] Since Macmillan's monumental work much of the analytical study of Scottish emigration to Australia has focused on emigration from the Highlands and Islands, and particularly on the poorest crofting regions of the north-west.[109] Emigration to Australia from the 'extreme peasant fringes' of the UK has attracted the attention of historians because it was so dramatic, because it was sometimes imposed on a people very reluctant to leave, and because these people's suffering in human terms - often before, during and after the long voyage to Australia - was so intense it calls in question a common assumption that, in the long run, emigration implied a general amelioration in the social and moral condition of the emigrants themselves.[110] In the first half of the 1850s,

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[106]Levitt and Smout, op. cit. pp. 242-6 and Figs 10.4 & 10.5, pp. 57-8.
[107]F. K. Crowley, 'British Migration to Australia, 1860-1914', (unpublished D.Phil. thesis, University of Oxford, 1951); also cited in Malcolm Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney, 1983), p. 75.
[108]See Chapter One, Section 1.2.
[109]Devine, op. cit; Richards, op. cit. vols 1, 2; E. Richards (idem.), Highland Emigrants to South Australia in the 1850s', *Northern Scotland* 5 (1982), 1-29.
[110]Richards, 'Emigrants to South Australia'.

some 5,000 people - mainly families of the poorest cottar class - were transported to Australia under the auspices of the Highland and Island Emigration Society. These people were often deliberately 'selected' by the landlord interests because they were among tenants the most in rent arrears. In the main they came from distressed and famine ravaged parts of Skye, the Outer Hebrides and the north-west coast of the Scottish mainland.[111] Moving these people to the other side of the world was a massive feat of social engineering. In consequence, it was fully documented in the contemporary record, and receives a good deal more interest from historians today than other types of Scottish emigration to Australia, including 'other types' of emigration to Australia from other parts of the Scottish Highlands.

In terms of numbers leaving their native land the 1850s were undoubtedly the most important decade ever for Scottish emigration to Australasia. From the appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners it can be calculated that between 1853 and 1860 (inclusive) 54 535 Scots left ports in the UK for destinations in Australasia, whereas 35 065 left for the USA and 28 402 for British North America. These same years 1853 to 1860 probably saw the highest levels of emigration from Scotland throughout the entire 'Emigration Century' if emigration is measured in terms of net emigration as a percentage of the sending population.[112] (Net emigration rates, of course, include emigration from Scotland to England, and can be calculated only for the period after 1855.) Emigrants leaving from the 'extreme peasant fringe' account for no more than one twentieth part of Scottish emigration to Australasia in the 1850s (although they possibly account for as high a proportion as one sixth in 1852, the peak year for departures under the auspices of the Highland and Island Emigration Society). Superficial analysis of the published figures can be misleading here because (unlike the majority of Scottish emigrants going to Australia at this time) cottar families supported by the Highland and Island Emigration Society generally left Scotland in special ships chartered from Scottish ports.[113] Their departures give a significant boost to the total numbers of

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[111]Devine, op. cit. pp. 207, 213, Table 11.4, p. 266.

[112]See for example Erickson's estimates of net emigration rates, op. cit. Table 2, p. 351.

[113]It is argued in Chapter One that the numbers of Scots leaving Scottish ports is a highly misleading indicator of total emigration to Australasia in the 1840s and 1850s.

emigrants leaving Scottish ports for Australia between 1852 and 1855. The year 1854 is usually cited as the peak year of Scottish emigration to Australia.[114] In 1854 a total of 2699 emigrants left for Australia from Scottish ports, and 1132 (about half) of these were supported by the Highland and Island Emigration Society.[115] However, in the same year 11,493 Scots left for Australia from English ports: literary evidence suggests that many were 'transit passengers' rather than 'stage migrants'.[116] Presumably, emigrants from the west of Scotland going to Australia generally left from Liverpool, while emigrants from the east and emigrants assisted by the Commissioners for Emigration generally left from London or Plymouth.

An incalculable proportion of Scottish emigrants who went to Australia in the late 1840s and early 1850s came from Highland regions outside the poorest crofting zones and represented elements of Highland society which did not include the most destitute. Undoubtedly, many of these Highlanders took advantage of cheap passages subsidised by the Australian (and to a lesser extent British) governments at this time but in doing so they acted on their own initiative in response to emigration marketing mechanisms or the example of peers and kin. Many raised funds through the sale of stock and household assets. The statistical record provided by the Commissioners for Emigration does not allow us to make inferences about Scottish emigration to Australia before 1853. However, an occasional glimpse of the scale and patterns of the movement can be obtained from the viewpoint of descriptive sources. Contemporary newspaper accounts, for example, suggest that considerable numbers of the 'better portion' of crofting families cut their losses, sold assets and emigrated during the early famine years before their resources and savings were entirely depleted by the famine

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[114]In fact 1852 (the year after the first gold discoveries in Victoria) is probably the peak year. Appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners show 86,163 persons leaving UK ports for Australia in 1852, and 82,187 leaving in 1854.

[115]The numbers assisted by the HIES are taken from Devine, op. cit. p. 257; all port statistics given in the paragraph are taken from Appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners.

[116]For example, a contemporary recalled that emigrants going to Australia from the Borders in the early 1850s usually travelled in carts to Annan, and from there took the coasting boat to Liverpool or Birkenhead. James Turnbull, *Hawick in Bygone Days* (Hawick, 1927), pp. 17-19.

crisis.[117] This type of emigration may have been a last resort attempt to preserve economic and social status and to maintain a traditional way of life, albeit on the other side of the Atlantic or the other side of the world. A mass migration of peasant families with some savings and apparently similar motives has been observed in the case of western parts of Ireland during the first phase of the Great Irish Famine.[118]

The most important regional source for 'unassisted' 'family' emigration from the Highlands in the late 1840s seems to have been mainland Argyllshire and the Inner Hebrides, and, the movement was directed towards 'North America' and, not infrequently, Australia.[119] Descriptive evidence suggests that self-paying, or at least, 'self-initiated' emigration was also common from eastern parts of the Highlands. Examples listed in the *Inverness Courier, John O'Groats Journal* and *Northern Ensign,* however, seem always to refer to Australasia as the destination for these emigrants, and often, especially after the discovery of gold in Victoria in 1851, implicate the departure of young unmarried men rather than the emigration of families. In April 1848 more than 200 emigrants from Sutherland were reported 'engaged for Australia' and ships leaving Invergordon for Australia (via London?) during 1852 were said to carry 'chiefly the young and active, the sober and industrious'.[120] Presumably the connection between New Zealand, the Far North of Scotland and eastern parts of the Highlands (discussed in Section 4.3.1 above) was an extension of an earlier-established 'Australian' tradition in this area. The following letter written by a contented Scot in Australia, and published in the *Inverness Courier* in February 1848, seems to foretell the nature and appeal of emigration to

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[117]In July 1848 an article in the *Scotsman* commented that the majority of emigrants leaving Glasgow and Greenock in the first six months of that year were from the western Highlands. 'A good number' were in 'possession of considerable sums of money' and 'well equipped with clothes and provisions for the voyage'. This and other examples from the press are cited by Devine, op. cit. pp. 199-200.

[118]David Fitzpatrick, *Irish Emigration 1801-1921,* Economic and Social History of Ireland Series, (Dublin, 1984), p.9.

[119]This comment is based on evidence from estate records, the press and the Napier Commission, presented in Devine, op. cit. chap. 8, esp. pp. 199-200, 204-5. For example, it was reported to the Napier Commission that some 1200 Islay people had emigrated between 1841 and 1851 'to North America and Australia'.

[120]*John O'Groats Journal,* 28 April, 1848; *Inverness Advertiser,* 5 Oct. 1852, quoted in Devine, op. cit. pp. 204-5.

New Zealand for inhabitants of the eastern Highlands and Far North, especially during the 1850s and 1860s:

> The time has now come when emigrants from Caithness, Sutherland, Ross, Orkney and Zetland may get a free passage from their own country if they choose ... to this country which is replete with plenty ... To the mechanics and farmers of Caithness I would say, take your ploughs, harrows and farming implements and tools, and come here as quickly as possible. You in a few years will be independent ... You can worship as you think proper here. Religious sects of all kinds and persuasions are on an equal footing ...[121]

It seems that the the 'eastern' element in Scottish emigration cut across Highland and Lowland county boundaries, and, during the middle decades of the nineteenth century, it favoured Australasia.

4.4.3 Emigration and the Crofting Population

The Highland contribution to Scottish-Australian emigration was intense, but intermittent; at least, this statement is certainly true of emigration from the north-west Highlands. One Australian writer who has studied the composition of assisted emigrants arriving at New South Wales between 1851 and 1900 finds that the proportion of 'Highlanders' amongst Scottish arrivals was high only during the first half of the 1850s: Highlanders accounted for 68 per cent of assisted passengers arriving in 1852, 25 per cent in 1855, but only about four per cent by the 1880s.[122]

In view of this wider 'Australasian' profile, the third noted feature of Scottish emigration to New Zealand - the unexpectedly low frequency of emigration from the Highlands and especially from the north-west and crofting zones - no longer appears a freak of the Scottish-New Zealand emigration experience. The 'traditional' areas of emigration from the Scottish Highlands to New Zealand seem to have been in the south-west and the north-east. This regional concentration corresponds with the areas where self-funded and 'betterment' Highland emigration can be

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[121]Quoted, and interpreted with a different emphasis, in Devine, op. cit. pp. 258-9.
[122]Malcolm Prentis, *The Scots in Australia* (Sydney, 1983), p.75.

discerned in contemporary descriptive sources. Highland emigrants who went to New Zealand did not always pay their own way but the subsidising of passages by a colonial government was not the equivalent of a vast social operation on the scale of that organised by the Highland and Island Emigration Society; nor should it be equated with the direct intervention and promotion of emigration by the owners or trustees of straitened Highland estates.

Fig. 4.3 Place of last residence of Scottish emigrants "assisted" to New Zealand, c. 1840 - 1880 (the census-traced group)

greater than:	0.0	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0
less than or equal to:	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0	111.0
number of occurrences:	43	66	42	7	3

units: individuals
resolution of map: 10.00 km
location of map: 00500530 to 04601210

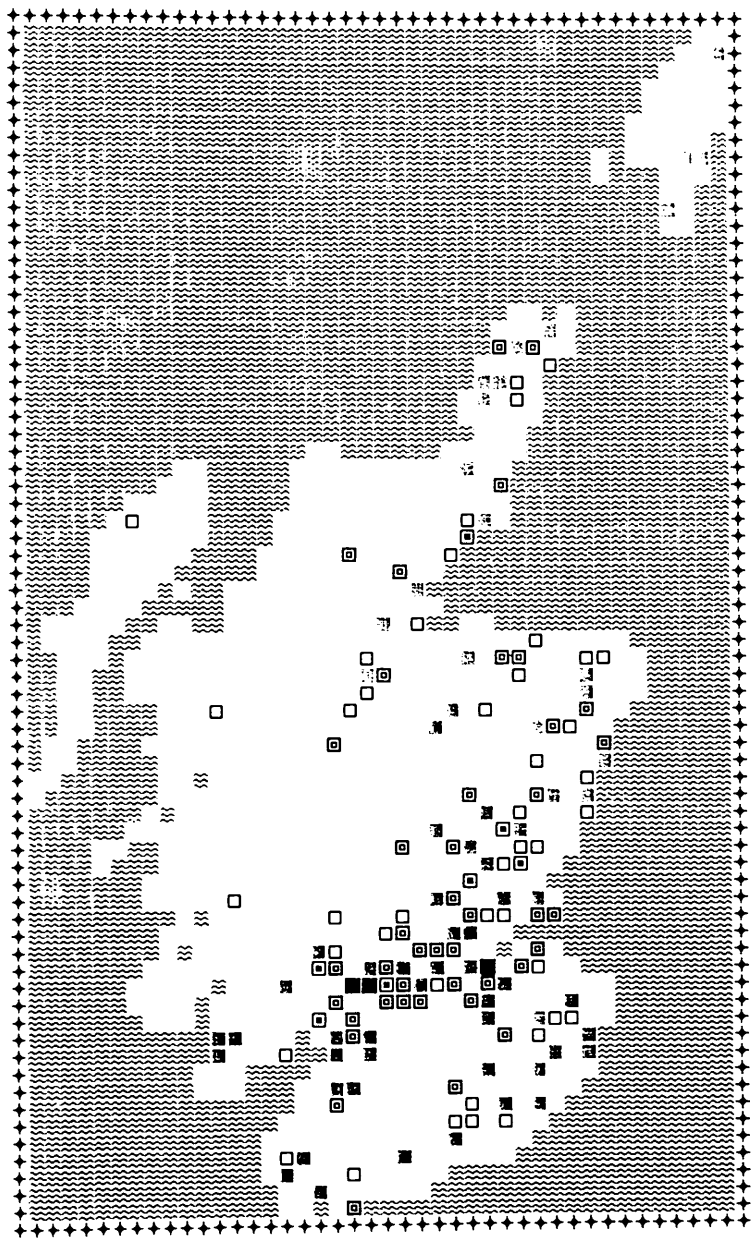
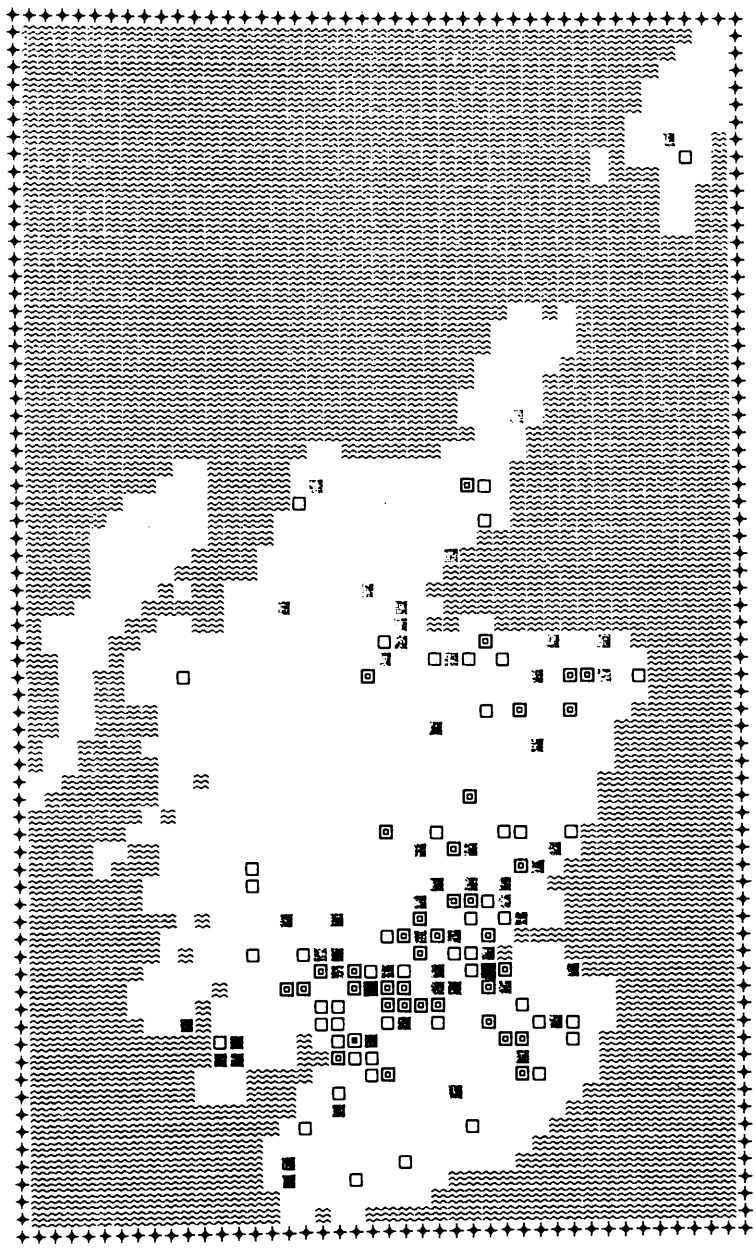


Fig. 4.4 Place of last residence of Scottish emigrants bound for New Zealand who were "self-paying", c.1840 - 1880 (the census-traced group).

greater than:	0.0	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0
less than or equal to:	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0	93.0
number of occurrences:	49	53	37	1	2

units: individuals
resolution of map: 10.00 km
location of map: 00500530 to 04601210



The regional distribution of emigrants 'assisted' to New Zealand was remarkably similar to the regional distribution of emigrants who paid their own passages in full. Scots who went to New Zealand exploited money saving options whenever they could, but distinctions between the 'assisted' and the 'unassisted' are frequently ambiguous, and it is generally unhelpful to try to 'explain' Scottish-New Zealand emigration in these terms.[123] Unless they received additional funding from a landlord, employer or benevolent association most emigrants going to New Zealand had to provide their own 'emigration outfit' (of stipulated clothing, utensils, bedding and so forth) and their own transport to the port of embarkation. These factors dictated against emigration to New Zealand from the poorest and most isolated parts of the Highlands. Indeed, the case of Shetland in the 1870s seems to be the only major instance where landowners in any part of Scotland co-ordinated estate restructuring with the availability of completely free passages from London or Greenock to far-away New Zealand.

Does this imply that emigration from the Scottish Highlands to New Zealand was merely a skimming of the 'better portion' and most mobile elements of the Highland poor and not at all typical of the vast bulk of emigration from the Highlands? Alternatively, might the apparent regional distribution of emigrants going from the Highlands to New Zealand reflect a highly significant, self-motivated type of emigration that continues to be underplayed in the Highland emigration literature?

Two thirds of New Zealand-bound emigrants who gave an address in the Highlands as their place of last residence came from 'farming' as opposed to 'crofting' parishes. In his 1953 study *The Crofting Problem* Collier showed that for the period after 1861 the rate of population decline in Highland farming parishes was at least 'on a par' with the rate of population decline in crofting parishes. Significantly, where Collier's data overlap with the New Zealand data (between 1861 and 1880) the rate of population decline (7.0 per cent) for farming parishes was appreciably higher than the rate (2.7 per cent) for crofting parishes.[124]

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[123]This argument is made in more detail in Chapter Six (Section 6.3.2)

[124]Adam Collier, *The Crofting Problem* (Cambridge, 1953), Table 11, p. 134.

Collier created an index showing trends in out-migration for Highland parishes by expressing net out-migration decade to decade as a percentage of average births in the preceding two decades. This index shows that net out-migration rates were higher for farming as opposed to crofting parishes for every decade between 1861 and 1910 except the 1870s.[125] In terms of the population at risk more people left Highland farming as opposed to crofting parishes in the second half of the nineteenth century, although it is impossible to tell whether more people were leaving the farming zones as 'emigrants' rather than 'migrants', compared to the crofting areas.

A rough distinction between net 'emigration' and net 'migration' can be made using cohort depletion estimates (or "Baines's method")[126] for the individual counties or for the Highland region as a whole. On the basis of Collier's calculations (applying normal death rates) it would seem that well over half (56.4 per cent) of people leaving the Highlands between 1861 and 1880 left Scotland altogether; about one quarter (26.1 per cent) went to cities in the Lowlands, about seven per cent to other areas in the Lowlands and about eleven per cent to another Highland county.[127] Contrary to what would be expected on the basis of what was happening elsewhere in the UK,[128] the ratio of emigration to total outward movement from the Highlands actually dropped in the 1880s (to just under 50 per cent) and absolute numbers of emigrants (in net terms) from the Highlands also dropped (by ten per cent compared with numbers leaving in the 1860s). Unlike emigration from most other parts of the UK, the rate of emigration from the Highlands shows no neat parallel with 'pull factors' from abroad.

Inferences about the nature of emigration from this sort of data are reached indirectly and must be treated with caution. However, the net

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[125]Collier suggests that in terms of 'gross' out-migration, disparity between the two types of parishes is even more marked because no comparable 'influx of strangers' (incoming farmers and farm labourers from other areas) occurred in the crofting as in the farming zones. Collier, op. cit. Table 12 and discussion p. 135.

[126]See Chapter Five (thesis) and Baines, op. cit. esp. chap. 4.

[127]All estimates in this paragraph are derived from Collier, op. cit. Table 14, p.138. Note that in Collier's table the numbers in 'other Highland counties' are also included in 'other Scottish counties'.

[128]Compare Baines, op. cit. chap. 7.

figures do suggest a general background of emigration from the Highlands against which the regional distribution of Scottish emigration to New Zealand appears as no startling exception. In the half century after 1861 farming parishes in the Highlands lost population through emigration and permanent migration to the Lowlands at a higher rate than crofting parishes, and as the Highland region as a whole lost a greater proportion of its population through emigration as opposed to internal migration in this period, it seems probable that emigration from eastern parts of the Highlands and from southwest and mainland Argyllshire (where most of the farming parishes were situated) ran at levels at least as high as emigration from the north-west and crofting zones.

It should be pointed out that this interpretation of the data conflicts with a recent book by Tom Devine. Data presented in Chapter Three of *The Great Highland Famine* indicate that while farming parishes in Sutherland, Argyllshire, Ross and Cromarty, and Inverness-shire increased in population size at slower rates than crofting parishes in the four decades before 1840, the rate of population decline in the farming parishes was never as high as that of the crofting parishes in any decade in the second half of the century.[129] In three of the four counties: Argyllshire, Inverness-shire and Sutherland, net out-migration levels were higher in crofting as opposed to farming parishes in every decade except the 1810s for Inverness-shire, the 1820s for Argyllshire and the 1800s, 1810s, 1870s and 1880s for Sutherland. Only Ross and Cromarty shows an aberrant pattern. In Ross-shire net migration was consistently negative for farming parishes in the nineteenth century, and net losses always greater for farming as opposed to crofting parishes except during the 1840s (in the wake of the 1837-8 and 1846 famines) when the rates for the two types of parish were almost exactly on a par.[130]

Why, with the exception of Ross and Cromarty and possibly Sutherland, do Devine's data seem to conflict with those of Collier? The

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[129]Devine, op. cit. Table 3.12, p.73. Devine's data show that population in the crofting zones declined in every decade after 1840 and before 1900, while small increases in population in the farming zones can be observed for the 1840s, 1870s and 1890s.
[130]ibid. Table 3.14, pp. 77- 8.

reason is probably because Collier isolates 'burghal parishes' in his analysis. Highland towns likely to receive significant numbers of in-migrants - Campbeltown, Oban and Inverness, for example, all lay in parishes which Devine has classified as 'farming'. Indeed, one of Collier's most important conclusions is that the apparent more rapid decline of population in the crofting districts, compared with other largely rural parts of Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century, can be attributed mainly to the fact that Highland towns (especially in crofting areas) were 'fewer, smaller and increased less in size and number' than elsewhere in the country.[131]

Population loss through net out-migration from crofting districts was concentrated in the 'famine decades'. This is especially true of crofting parishes in insular areas: Uig in Lewis, and South Uist, for example, saw migration losses between 1841 and 1861 that accounted for over 60 per cent of total population loss through out-migration between 1801 and 1890.[132] Net migration losses from Highland farming (and some mainland crofting) parishes were not so concentrated in the famine decades as was the case for insular districts. Nevertheless, net out-migration from the farming parishes ran at very high levels during these years, especially during the 1850s. According to Devine's estimates and definitions, crofting parishes lost 15.75 per cent of their 1851 population during the 1850s and 11.75 per cent of their 1841 population in the 1840s. Loss measured in the same terms for the farming parishes was 15.6 per cent in the 1850s and 8.0 per cent in the 1840s.[133] It may be no coincidence that the high rate of loss from the farming parishes in the 1850s occurred in the same decade as peak rates of 'self-initiated' emigration from Scotland to Australasia. A more important implication of the net migration data, when considered over a time-span of a century, is that emigration from crofting and insular districts must have been extremely dramatic and devastating in some periods. Emigration from Highland farming areas, on the other hand, was not only high, but also sustained, perhaps less of an upheaval in community consciousness than the crofting experience, but equally

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[131]Collier, op. cit. p. 137.
[132]Devine, op. cit. Table 3.11, p. 72.
[133]ibid. p. 74.

significant - possibly just an ordinary and expected feature of many people's lives.

In terms of Scottish population distribution, the Highland region as a whole was slightly under-represented amongst the places of last residence listed by emigrants going to New Zealand.[134] Except for the Highland focus of much of the Scottish emigration literature is there any reason why this observation should be surprising? Evidence presented above suggests that emigration was very widespread throughout Scotland, and that most Scots who went to the United States and Australia (the two most 'popular' destinations for Scottish emigrants between 1840 and 1880) had lived in the industrial Lowlands prior to their departure.

By the second half of the nineteenth century (and possibly earlier) the Highland region as a whole was losing population to no greater extent than other mainly rural regions in Scotland. If regional net out-migration is expressed as a percentage of average regional population for any decade between 1861 and 1940, indices show that the Highland region *retained* its population to a greater extent than either the Far North, the Borders or the North-east (except in the case of the latter region during the 1860s and 1920s). In other words, net migration losses were higher outside the Scottish Highlands for all Scottish regions except the West and East Lowlands. This was despite low levels of migration into the Highlands, and despite the slow growth of Highland towns (including Inverness) which accounted for a considerably smaller proportion of total population growth in the Highland region compared with the contribution to regional growth of Lowland towns such as Aberdeen and Dumfries, also situated in predominantly rural regions.[135]

Flinn has pointed out that while net out-migration rates in the second half of the nineteenth century were considerably lower for the

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[134]See Table 4.1 above.

[135]Flinn, et al. *Scottish Population History,* op. cit. Table 6.3.3, pp. 464-5; Collier, op. cit. Table 13, p. 137.

Highlands than was the case for other mainly rural regions, a higher proportion of Highlanders, compared with other Scots, appear to have resided within Scotland living outside their region of birth. At the time of the 1851 census 18.1 per cent of Highlanders were living outside their region of birth compared with 9.3 per cent, 7.7 per cent and 14.5 per cent of Scots born in the Far North, the North-east and the Borders.[136] Perhaps Highlanders were less inclined to leave Scotland than their compatriots, but more ready to migrate internally. This possibility anticipates Chapter Five so will not be discussed extensively here. It should be noted, however, that the census percentages are difficult to interpret because the figures may include 'temporary' migrants who would eventually return to the counties of their birth, or 'migrants' who were earning passage money in the Lowlands in order to become 'emigrants'.

Except in years of extensive subsidisation of emigration by Highland landlords, emigration rates for the Highland region as a whole were possibly lower, by the middle decades of the nineteenth century, than the rates for all other Scottish regions. This may have been because relatively few Highlanders could afford the emigration option. As early as 1805 commentators observed a duality in Highland migration behaviour which was largely determined on the basis of wealth. The strategy of migration to the Lowlands (whether for a long or shorter term) was attributed by early nineteenth century observers to the poorer members of Highland society - to the cottars and those with fewest assets in terms of land and stock - while emigration (before landlord-supported emigration) was thought to have been an option afforded only by the relatively better-off:

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[136]Flinn, et al. op. cit. Table 6.3.2, p. 463 and comments pp. 464-5.

> Two prospects present themselves. In the Low Country of Scotland the wages of manufacturing labour; in America, the easy acquisition of land in absolute property ... but the execution of the latter plan must be attended with more expense than the other. It will be practicable, therefore, to those only who can afford this expense ... The cottars have seldom property enough for the necessary expenses of emigration ... they have in general removed into the manufacturing districts of the Low Country of Scotland.[137]

It would be naive to assume that most Highlanders wished to leave the region of their birth. Internal migration to the 'Low Country' was not necessarily permanent (and hardly a cheap option for those who lived in the most isolated and far-flung extremities of the Highlands and Islands). There is always a danger in emigration analysis of confusing opportunity with motivation, and a problem of knowing to what extent these two factors should be regarded as distinct. In the 'Highland case' there is evidence to show that at certain times and in certain places opportunity for emigration existed while motivation was lacking. Somewhat paradoxically, it seems likely that those very Hebridean regions which are most associated with the great out-pourings of people in the nineteenth century also had amongst the highest regional 'response thresholds' to emigration pressures of any area in Scotland. The intermittent and sporadic quality of much Highland and Hebridean emigration is testimony to this. Also, there are many documented instances where emigration from the Highlands seemed a 'last resort',[138] and it was not uncommon for groups of people who had resolved to emigrate to change their minds unanimously at the vaguest prospect of improved conditions. The Emigration Commissioners reported, for example, that 595 people from a specific locality on Skye 'well fitted by their habits of attending cattle for employment in the sheep-runs of New South Wales' had come forward and declared a willingness to emigrate in response to a recruitment mission in the early months of 1852. However, not one of these people could be induced to leave in the summer of 1852. Apparently the promise of fine weather

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[137]*The Economic Writings of Francis Horner* ed. F. W. Fetter (London, 1957), pp. 120-22, cited by Bernard Bailyn, *The Peopling of British North America: An Introduction* (New York, 1986), pp. 30-1.

[138]See for example in Richards, *A History of the Highland Clearances,* vols 1 & 2; and Devine, op. cit.

and hope for a good harvest was enough to undermine the firmest of resolves.[139]

Undoubtedly, 'response thresholds' to emigration opportunities varied on a regional basis within the Highlands. We will be able to say more about regional propensities for emigration at a county level when "Baines's method" has been applied systematically for Scotland. A crude series of cohort depletion estimates derived some years ago by the present author (these estimates take no careful account of probable migrant age structures and consequent migrant mortality levels)[140] suggest that persons born in Argyll and Sutherland were more likely to emigrate in the second half of the nineteenth century than natives of Inverness and Ross and Cromarty. It would not be surprising if Highland areas most integrated with the Lowland economy are someday shown as more open to emigration opportunities than those Highland areas where, at times, emigration was at its most intense.

4.5 Conclusion: Was Scotland Different?

At first glance Scottish emigration to New Zealand appears idiosyncratic in several respects affecting the regional distribution of emigrants' place of last residence. The stance of the preceding section has been to argue that in terms of emigrants' regional origins, the New Zealand experience was not so much aberrant from Scottish emigration in general, as illustrative of important aspects of Scottish emigration which have tended to be overlooked in the literature. The New Zealand case study highlights a significant strand of emigration from Scotland which was diffuse rather than clustered, sustained rather than sporadic, located in the Lowlands rather than the Highlands, and the east as well as the west.

Emigration was endemic in nineteenth century Scotland. In 1843, when the 'New Edinburgh Scheme' was mooted, the Secretary of the newly formed 'Association' for promotion of the scheme, Mr D..W.

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[139]Twelfth General Report of the Commissioners for Emigration *PP* [c.1499] XVII. 161.
[140]See Chapter Five.

Dowling, began to keep a diary.[141] This diary runs from September 1843 until the following March when it ends abruptly: circumstances far removed from Scotland caused the ill-fated 'New Edinburgh' to be quietly shelved. Dowling's diary records the queries and aspirations of would-be New Zealand land purchasers and emigrants. It suggests that keen interest in the new colony could be located throughout the length and breadth of Scotland. Every county, every major city, towns, villages and rural areas are all referenced in the journal; only the Hebrides and north-west of Scotland receive no mention. The response in Scotland to the idea of a 'New Edinburgh' in New Zealand was nothing short of enthusiastic, spontaneous and widespread. A series of ill-fortunes narrowed the geographical distribution of Scottish interest in New Zealand during the early 1850s, while other 'idiosyncratic factors' - estate restructuring in Shetland and a far-flung recruitment campaign initiated by the Vogel Government - caused the typical geographical field of Scottish-New Zealand emigration to widen in the mid 1870s. The initial response to the idea of a New Edinburgh, however, suggests that throughout most of Scotland motivation for emigration was high; the New Zealand alternative provided another horizon, another option, another block to accommodate in the already complex opportunity-structure of ordinary Scots.

The Scottish emigration experience may have been different from that of many other European counties in that, for Scotland, emigration was more of an ubiquitous cultural phenomenon, and the emigration process less dependent on localised economic and social traditions. A map showing the regional origins of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand looks very like a map indicating zones of prosperity in mid-nineteenth century Scotland,[142] or a map showing the main centres of population and population growth. On the basis of inferences drawn from county and city net migration rates, and the results of studies using United States and Australian shipping records, we might expect to find that many Scots who went to New Zealand came from regions at the centre of economic change. This aspect of the results of the case study is not surprising. More perplexing is the apparent evenness of the

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[141]PRO, CO 208 295, 'Journal of Mr D. W. Dowling'.

[142]See Fig. 4.1 and Levitt and Smout, op. cit. Fig. 11.1, p. 266.

distribution of Scottish emigrants' regional origins. The relative lack of clustering of emigrants from particular counties suggests that on-going high rates of emigration from Scotland did not rely to the same extent on the self-generating or stock effect of emigration 'chains' as was the case for other European countries. On the other hand, if emigration from Scotland was an entirely rational process, that is, if emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century can be described in terms of an 'international labour market', why did not more emigrants go to the United States?

Local emigration traditions - usually going back to the time of the founding of a specific settlement overseas - often did determine the pathways that emigrants would take. Contemporaries were aware of long-standing connections between villages in the west of Scotland and Ontario's Ayr and Dumfries, and of ties between other Ontario townships and rural districts and the north-eastern counties of Scotland.[143] Similar connections may be traced for the locality of Purvess Russell's estates in Kinross-shire and Hawkes Bay on the east coast of the North Island of New Zealand, and for parishes such as Midcalder in Midlothian and Ewes in Dumfries and the purportedly Scottish settlement of Otago in New Zealand's South Island. However, for the Scottish Lowlands at least, these emigration traditions or chains seem to tell a very partial story. In any case, there may be a tautological hazard in interpreting emigration patterns in terms of 'chains' because so often our information about emigration has been generated by the very existence of the chains.[144] Perhaps we would learn more about Scottish emigration processes if we concentrated on the volatility of the chains - the speed and apparent ease with which local emigration traditions could be established, broken and reformed - and the general willingness of the Scottish people to try out new destinations.

The on-going high representation of Canada as a destination for Scottish emigrants after 1847, continuing during a forty year period when more Scots went to the United States or Australasia, and total UK

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[143]*Glasgow Sentinel and Journal of the Industrial Interests,* 20 March, 1869; See also Harper, op. cit.

[144]This point was made in a paper given by Dudley Baines at the annual conference of the Social History Society, Oxford, Jan. 1989.

emigration turned away from British North America, can perhaps be explained in terms of local emigration traditions. Local emigration traditions may have been more important for maintaining emigration flows from crofting districts - where emigration was characteristically clustered and sporadic - than was the case for other parts of Scotland. Emigration from crofting districts in the north-west of Scotland was directed for the most part towards the Maritimes and Upper Canada.

If it were possible to create an index measuring national 'cultural disposition for emigration', the 'response threshold' of Scotland as a whole to emigration opportunities would surely rank amongst the lowest in Europe. Paradoxically, those very areas in Scotland which have received so much attention from demographers and historians may have produced disproportionate numbers of emigrants only at times when the normal disposition in *these* localities to remain at home was countered by harsh disincentives.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMIGRATION AND INTERNAL MIGRATION

> Emigration as is well known was simply an extension of migration.[1]

> One would naturally expect to find that some general law prevailed which regulated the intermigration of the people, but ... no such law has yet been discovered.[2]

5.1 Introduction

The investigation of emigrants' origins is further advanced in this chapter by experiments with data which measure 'origins' in different ways. These data were intended to capture and convey something of the range of concepts and problems implied by the vague term 'origins'. In Section 5.2 emigrants' places of last residence in Scotland are considered using a range of units to measure regionality, including the registration district and place of location within the registration district. The aim is to see whether emigrants came from villages, towns or rural parts, and whether the use of different units of analysis produces different results. Discussion is related to current debates about the probable social and economic characteristics of areas most likely to create a climate for emigration in the context of mid-nineteenth century Scotland.

To what extent were emigration decisions affected by the social environment in which emigrants were born and raised, as opposed to the environment in which they had lived and worked prior to their embarkation? How long had most emigrants lived in their place of last residence, and is our former assumption that 'place of last residence' is the best indicator of the economic and social context of emigration decision-making necessarily correct? In Section 5.3 emigrants' birth

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[1]J. D. Wood, 'Scottish Migration Overseas', *Scottish Geographical Magazine* 80 (Dec. 1964), 164-76.

[2]Report to the Eighth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland, 1871, Part II, *PP* 1871 [c.841] LXXIII p. xxxv.

places are compared with their places of last residence, and, on the basis of this comparison, tentative suggestions made about the nature and extent of emigrants' mobility within Scotland prior to their departure overseas. What proportion of emigrants who left Scotland from urban areas were 'stage migrants' who had been born and raised in rural areas? Is it likely (as has been verified in some Scandinavian studies)[3] that previous migration experiences undermined individual 'thresholds of response' to emigration opportunities and predisposed people, already 'uprooted', to take the further step of joining an emigrant ship?

The final section of the chapter (Section 5.4) further explores the relationship between emigration and internal migration. The issue is complex, partly because we are dealing with a highly fluid 'shifting' population: in mid-nineteenth century Scotland migration was a normal rather than a deviant behaviour. This section uses data from Professor Michael Anderson's 1851 census sample as a 'control' to compare emigrants and their internal migration patterns with Scottish population mobility in general. Were emigrants more or less migratory than other Scots? Is it useful to think of migrants and emigrants as belonging to the same population pool, and can migration and emigration be described as two alternative responses to essentially the same set of economic and social conditions?

Finally, what implications do our attempts to answer these questions hold for the methodology of the study of emigration and migration, and for our understanding of emigration causation?

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[3]This has been shown, for example, in the work of K. Hvidt, *Flight to America. The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York), 1975.

5.2 Emigrants' Places of Last Residence: Social and Economic Categories.

In Chapter Four we considered which counties in Scotland were most frequently declared by emigrants as their places of last residence, and tried to chart some of the changes over time in the geographical distribution of emigrants' regional origins. No attempt was made to categorise counties except by geographical position, although there are a number of variables relating, for example, to population density, degree of occupational diversification, modes of agricultural production, consumption patterns and wage rates, which are capable of measurement (if crudely) at the level of the administrative county.

Economic variables such as these are unlikely to show clear correlations over time with regional or county emigration rates.[4] However, we know from recent studies, and can deduce from published census data pertaining to 'actual' and 'expected' levels of population increase, that by the late nineteenth century most British-born emigrants had been living in urban districts and industrial areas prior to their departure from Britain.[5] The idea of a 'rural exodus' has been discounted by recent scholars as largely irrelevant with respect to attempts to explain high levels of emigration from Britain during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[6] Largely on the basis of Charlotte Erickson's work, it is also argued that there was a shift in emigrants' origins from low to high wage counties and from agricultural to industrial counties in the second half of the nineteenth century.[7] The following discussion, and the various attempts in this section to measure and define locality, respond to these two ideas in the

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[4]This is implicated by the results of several econometric studies of emigration (see Chapter One). With regard to British emigration, the most important is D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy. Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), esp. Chap. Six.

[5]The evidence for this somewhat unsurprising result is given in Chapter Three. (By the late nineteenth century the bulk of the British population was resident in predominantly urban and industrial districts.)

[6]The most important work is by Baines, op. cit. and Charlotte Erickson, 'Who Were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth-Century?', in D. V. Glass and R. Revelle, eds *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), pp. 347-81.

[7]op. cit. Table 5, p. 362.

literature, and in particular to their pertinence with regard to emigration from nineteenth century Scotland.

Erickson's results respecting the origins of Scottish emigrants going to the United States are reproduced with comparable data from the Scotland/New Zealand study in Table 5.1. In this table counties have been classified according to the percentage of the adult male work force in agriculture at the time of the 1851 and 1881 censuses. If one third or more of total working men in the county had jobs in agriculture, the county was deemed to be 'agricultural'; otherwise it was classed as 'industrial'.

TABLE 5.1 TYPE OF COUNTY OF LAST RESIDENCE: A COMPARISON BETWEEN SCOTS (ADULT MALES) ARRIVING AT PORTS IN THE UNITED STATES AND SCOTS (ADULT MALES) BOUND FOR NEW ZEALAND, BY DATE OF EMIGRATION

	US Ship Lists		NZ Ship Lists (The 'total-list')		Census (Scotland)		INDEX[b]			
	1846-54 (1) %	1885-88 (2) %	1839-51 (3) %	1872-80 (4) %	1851 (5) %	1881 (6) %	US 1846-54 (1/5 x100)	NZ 1839-51 (3/5 x100)	US 1885-88 (2/6 x100)	NZ 1872-80 (4/6 x100)
Agricultural Counties	41.1	20.1	29.6	26.4	40.4	24.8	102	73	81	106
Industrial[a] Counties	58.9	79.9	70.4	73.6	59.6	75.2	99	118	106	98
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0				
Total n	68	2421	500	6869	873,000	1,109,000				
Missing	172	415	6	184						

a Industrial counties (defined as those where less than one third of the male labour force worked in agriculture) were, in 1851, Ayrshire, Renfrewshire, Dunbartonshire, Lanarkshire, Stirlingshire, Linlithgow, Midlothian, Selkirkshire, Fife, Clackmannanshire and Forfarshire, and in 1881, the same, together with Bute, Peebles-shire, Dumfries-shire, Roxburghshire and Perthshire. All other counties are defined as 'agricultural'.

b The index is the same as that used by Charlotte Erickson. It is derived by dividing the percentage of emigrants from a group of counties by the percentage of the Scottish population living in those counties at the nearest census, and multiplying by 100. (A value of '100' indicates that the emigrants came from the regions concerned in the proportions expected with respect to the population at risk.)

Sources: C Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century' in D V Glass and R Revelle, eds *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), Table 5, p. 362, Table 11, p. 377; The New Zealand figures are from the Scotland/New Zealand Emigrants' Data-Base (Total List).

Erickson's data show that the proportion of adult male emigrants coming from agricultural counties declined by the late 1880s, compared with the situation at mid-century. However, in the Scottish case, this decline was closely paralleled by the changing distribution of the Scottish population at risk. By the 1880s industrial counties were over-represented as the origins of Scottish emigrants going to the United States, but not markedly so.

The New Zealand data present an interesting contrast to the results for the United States. The proportion of adult males going to New Zealand who came from agricultural counties also declined between the earlier and later periods. However, this decline was small and considerably less than the commensurable decline in the proportion of people living in areas where more than a third of all working men had jobs in agriculture. Indeed, agricultural counties were slightly over-repreented amongst the origins of emigrants going to New Zealand during the 1870s while industrial counties were markedly over-represented during the 1840s.

The divergence of the New Zealand data from the United States results is not difficult to explain. In the 1840s a variety of factors ensured that the publicity about New Zealand, which was focused upon Scottish towns and cities, was also most readily received in these areas. For example a severe trade recession affecting textile towns, particularly Paisley, elicited a favourable response to emigration opportunities among inhabitants of these towns in the early 1840s. By contrast, the Vogel campaign of the 1870s pushed emigrant recruiters into areas like Shetland and the North-west Highlands which had provided few emigrants for New Zealand hitherto. Once again the nature of response to the recruiters was tempered by local conditions, but the overall effect of the campaign was to boost the contribution of the agricultural counties as providers emigrants for New Zealand during the later decade shown in Table 5.1.

Rollo Arnold has analysed the county origins of English assisted immigrants entering New Zealand during the 1870s. He also found that a disproportionate number came from districts which were largely

rural and well away from the main centres of commerce and industry. London was over-represented as a place of last residence, but, outside the metropolis, counties such as Lincolnshire, Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, Bedfordshire, Kent, Cornwall and Devon figured most prominently on the ships' lists. This observation can be explained in terms of the coincidence of agricultural trade unionism and the 'Revolt of the Field' in England, and the New Zealand Vogel Government's emigration recruitment campaign.[8]

Dudley Baines's recent publication is fundamentally at variance with other interpretations of English and Welsh emigration in the second half of the nineteenth century which regard emigration as primarily a response to conditions in agriculture and lack of opportunity in the rural sector. Baines concedes, on the basis of Charlotte Erickson's work, that large numbers of British emigrants before 1850 may have come from areas little changed by industrialisation. The implication of his argument is that some time before 1880 the 'nature of emigration' changed.[9]

The idea of a 'transition' in emigrants' characteristics and behaviour is not supported by data indicating the regional origins of British emigrants who went to New Zealand. It is tempting to regard emigration from the UK to New Zealand as exceptional, outside the mainstream of emigration from the UK, and a phenomenon best explained by idiosyncratic causes that bore little relevance to emigration elsewhere. However, we cannot tell on the basis of Erickson's data whether a shift in emphasis from emigration as a solution to potential or real problems in the agrarian economy, to emigration as a response to conditions in the industrial sector, really did take place between the end of the first and the end of the second halves of the nineteenth century. The figures for the United States given in Table 5.1 may simply reflect trade cycles and a range of factors pertinent to the two periods selected, rather than any decisive change in gear. The earlier period under Erickson's scrutiny, the years 1846 to 1854, exclude some of the

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[8]R. Arnold, *The Farthest Promised Land: English Villagers, New Zealand Immigrants of the 1870s* (Wellington, 1981).
[9]Baines, op. cit. Chaps 6 and 8, esp. pp. 164-5.

worst years of industrial recession during the 1840s. Qualitative evidence suggests that under-employed artisans in Scottish towns were very willing to emigrate to the United States in the early years of the decade.[10] On the other hand, Erickson's data for the first of the two periods given in Table 5.1 may have 'picked up' representatives of those crofting families who sold assets and fled Scotland during the onset of the Great Famine. Farmers leaving Scotland after the repeal of the Corn Laws and gradual fall in grain prices in the late 1840s and early 1850s may have further slanted Erickson's results for the 1846 to 1854 period in favour of the 'agricultural counties'. Similarly, the strong representation of emigrants from industrial counties in the years 1885 to 1888 may simply reflect the very heavy emigration directed towards cities in the United States during the 1880s rather than indicating any decisive break with an earlier trend.

Baines's own evidence can be used to support the case that the character of the heavy emigration of the 1880s did not mark a watershed, but was, by contrast, reflective of the relative conditions at home and abroad specific to that decade. When Baines's data are disaggregated by decade it is noticeable that a far higher proportion of the 'urban' contribution for the whole period under Baines's scrutiny (1861-1900) was limited to the 1880s than was the case for the rural areas.[11] Baines himself argues (to prove his 'differential threshold of response' theory) that the 'additional' emigrants of the 1880s came for the most part from urban areas without a recent tradition of heavy emigration.[12] The ratio of emigrants born in rural areas to emigrants born in urban areas was lower in the 1880s than it had been in the 1870s, but this relative decline did not continue apace into the 1890s.[13]

The idea of a 'transition' in emigration is implicit but not central to Baines's arguments. More important is his discovery that in the second half of the nineteenth century the majority of English and Welsh

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[10]The willingness of unemployed weavers to become emigrants in the early 1840s is mentioned in T. C. Smout, 'The Strange Intervention of Edward Twistleton: Paisley in Depression, 1841-3', in T. C. Smout, ed. *The Search for Wealth and Stability. Essays in Economic and Social History Presented to M. W. Flinn* (London, 1979).
[11]Baines. op. cit. Table 7.3, pp. 186-7.
[12]ibid. p. 202.
[13]ibid. Table 7.4, p. 192.

emigrants left Britain from urban and industrial areas at the centre of economic change, and that for the most part these emigrants had been born in the 'advanced' regions. These findings contradict an older literature associated with the work of A K Cairncross and Brinley Thomas who assumed the causes of late nineteenth century emigration (whether from predominantly urban or from predominantly rural localities) to have lain in the condition of agriculture and state of the rural economy. This proposition depends on a close interplay between emigration and the former migration of rural dwellers into the towns, an idea also undermined by the work of Dudley Baines.

Generalisations derived from data such as those presented in Table 5.1 are valid only to the extent that they are made in the same terms as the classifying criteria for the grouping of the data in the first place. Hence, the results of Erickson and Baines are not strictly comparable because Erickson's classification of the counties is based on occupational structure, while Baines's grouping depends on the percentage of the population in any county who lived in 'urban' or 'rural' areas. An urban district is defined by Baines as a continuous series of built-up areas with a total population of 20 000 people or more. A major city, two adjacent towns, or a group of adjoining villages - with an aggregate population size as specified - would each meet the criteria for urbanism laid down by Baines. In Chapter Six of *Migration in a Mature Economy* Baines shows that, over the entire period 1861 to 1900, 35.3 per cent of all emigrants were born in predominantly urban counties, 30.6 per cent in counties where it cannot be said 'with certainty whether the emigrants ... were more likely to have been urban than rural born' and 34.1 per cent in rural (but not necessarily 'agricultural') counties.[14] Expressed in this way, Baines's argument that emigration was overwhelmingly an 'urban' phenomenon in the second half of the nineteenth century appears somewhat less convincing than in his subsequent chapters, where the first two groups 'urban one' and 'urban two' (or 'less urban')

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[14]ibid. Table 6.1, p.144, and discussion esp. p. 146. Using Baines's method, emigrants' counties of last residence cannot be calculated. Arguably, data derived in terms of emigrants' birth places are a good indicator of the patterns which would emerge should data respecting place of last residence be available. For example, Baines argues that no more than one third of emigrants whose place of last residence was an urban area could have been born in a rural area. (See also discussion below about the relationship between birth place and place of last residence.)

are often aggregated in analysis and discussion. In terms of the 'population at risk', moreover, it was the rural counties (with the exceptions of London and the mining areas of Durham and Glamorgan) which had the highest emigration rates, when the rates are averaged out over the entire 1861 to 1900 period.[15] England was already highly urbanised in the second half of the nineteenth century, so it is not really surprising that a large proportion of emigrants were both 'born and raised' in urban environments. Even so, we cannot be sure whether emigrants from urban counties came from urban districts within the counties. The probability that they did not seems high in the case of 'urban two' counties: 37 per cent of the population of Yorkshire; 44 per cent of Durham and Gloucestershire, and about half of the populations of Essex, Surrey and Kent lived in rural parts of these respective counties as late as the 1890s.[16]

There is still a good deal of uncertainty about the relationship between economic environment and an individual's propensity for emigration. The New Zealand data suggest that the issue of a rural contribution to high levels of emigration in the late nineteenth century is not fully resolved. In addition, the evidence of those who have argued against on-going high levels of emigration from the rural sector is not strong enough to invalidate other opinions. Similarly, the idea of a 'transition' in the pattern of emigrants' origins is not upheld by either the New Zealand data or by major studies which have measured emigration at the county level over continuous periods.

One of the advantages of the Scotland/New Zealand data-base over most other data-sets containing information about emigration from the UK is that several concepts, including emigrants' "origins", can be measured in a variety of ways. For emigrants in the census-traced group, for example, we can define place of last residence in terms of the local registration district, a far smaller geographical unit than the administrative county, and hence less likely to contain variation in population density or land use (or any other economic characteristic) within the bounds of each administrative unit. In 1871 Scotland was

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[15]ibid. Tables 6.2, 6.3, 6.4, pp. 150-3, 158, and Table 7.3, pp. 186-7.
[16]ibid. p.146.

divided for administrative purposes into 33 civil counties and 901 registration districts. About one third of the latter are known to have provided emigrants for New Zealand between 1840 and 1880.

What is the best way to group Scottish registration districts to create a system both wieldy and also capable of giving some meaningful idea of the economic character of districts which emigrants chose to leave? In the Scotland/New Zealand data-base the registration districts are grouped in the first instance on an experimental basis according to criteria indicating urban/rural differences, and then, where possible, each urban or rural grouping is further subdivided according to local occupational structure. The level of urbanism of each registration district is defined according to population size in 1871 of any municipal district or districts incorporated within the registration district (or of which the registration district formed a part) and secondly, according to the proportion of the population within the registration district which could be located within the municipal or 'village' areas. One reason why 'level of urbanism' takes precedence over occupational structure in the economic classification of registration districts is because population size and density can be measured with reasonable ease and precision at the local level whereas this is generally not true of occupation distribution.[17] A second reason is because urbanism was probably an important aspect of the emigration process: the proximity of a village or small town to a predominantly rural population, for example, may have increased the likelihood that rural dwellers were exposed to commercial influences promoting emigration.[18] The definition of urbanism adopted for the classification system rests on administrative divisions rather than cartographic evidence, so is less accurate in a geographical sense than that employed by Dudley Baines. However, municipal definitions of urbanism are important in a social sense because the complexity of

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[17]Although a breakdown of occupations practised in each Scottish registration district is unavailable, this is not the case for England. Compare Dov Friedlander's organisation of 600 English and Welsh registration districts into six 'socio-economic types'. His categorisation is made on the basis of local occupation distribution. D. Friedlander, 'Demographic Responses and Socio-Economic Structure: Population Processes in England and Wales in the Nineteenth Century', *Demography* 20 (Aug. 1983), 249-72.

[18]Geographers sometimes describe the influence exerted by a commercial centre on the surrounding rural district as an 'information field'.

structures in a town does not necessarily co-relate with the size of town or with population density. A 'burgh' designation for example refers to the functions and legal status of the municipal area as well as its size.[19]

[19]Further details of the classification of registration districts used in Table 5.2 are given in Appendix III.II.

TABLE 5.2 ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF REGISTRATION DISTRICT IN WHICH EMIGRANTS WERE FOUND IN THE SCOTTISH CENSUSES, AND SCOTTISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1861.

		Registration Districts incorporating or part of a:	Emigrants %	Scottish Popn 1861 %
I.	'URBAN' REGISTRATION DISTRICTS	A. PRINCIPAL TOWN[a]		
		1 Glasgow	10.3	11.8
		2 Edinburgh	6.7	5.0
		3 Dundee	2.5	2.7
		4 Aberdeen	0.5	2.4
		5 Paisley	2.3	1.4
		6 Greenock	1.3	1.3
		7 Leith	0.3	1.0
		8 Perth	1.5	0.8
			25.4	26.4
		B. LARGE TOWN		
		9 port, shipbuilding	0.5	1.3
		10 textiles	3.4	3.5
		11 mining	1.3	1.4
		12 other industrial	0.3	0.3
		13 other (Lowland)	1.0	0.8
		14 other (Highland)	0.6	0.4
			7.1	7.7
		C. SMALL TOWN		
II.	'LESS URBAN' REGISTRATION DISTRICTS	15 industrial (1) (two or more towns)	3.5	
		16 industrial (2) (one town)	11.6	
		17 other - Lowland	6.1	
		18 other - Highland	0.5	
		19 other - Island	1.0	
			22.7	
		D. VILLAGE(S)[b]		
		20 small royal burgh (and villages)	1.0	
		21 two or more villages, least one with an industrial base	5.1	
		22 textile village	1.7	
		23 mining village	0.2	
		24 other village(s) (including non-industrial or industrial designation unknown)	6.2	
			14.2	

TABLE 5.2 (Cont'd)

	Registration Districts incorporating or part of a:		Emigrants %	Scottish Popn 1861 %
III. 'RURAL' REGISTRATION DISTRICTS	E. VILLAGE(S)			
	25	small royal burgh (and villages)	0.9	
	26	two or more villages, at least one with an industrial base	0.7	
	27	textile village	0.7	
	28	mining village	0.5	
	29	other village(s) (including non-industrial or industrial designation unknown)	6.9	
	30	predominantly rural, bordering with a town	0.9	
			10.6	
	F. NO CONCENTRATED SETTLEMENTS OF 300 PEOPLE OR MORE			
	31	non-urban, significant industrial employment	2.8	
	32	farming	10.1	
	33	crofting - mainland	4.2	
	34	crofting - island	2.7	
			19.8	
TOTAL (%)			99.8	
TOTAL (n)			2033	3,062,294

a For ease of classification 'town' and 'village' definitions follow the criteria laid down in the 1871 census. (See text.)

b Registration districts containing villages are classified as 'urban' if more than half of the population of the registration district resided in village(s) in 1871.

Sources: Eighth Decennial Census of the Population of Scotland (1871): Abstracts Section III. Town, Village and Rural Groups (1861-1871) PP. [c.592] LXVIII-I pp. 124-149.

Table 5.2 suggests that a clear majority of emigrants going to New Zealand from Scotland between about 1840 and 1880 left from urban-commercial and urban-industrial localities. Almost one-third left from registration districts populated by people who dwelt in one of Scotland's large or principal towns; about one half of these had lived in one or other of the major cities of Glasgow or Edinburgh. A further 37 per cent of emigrants came from registration districts incorporating small towns or villages where local inhabitants were more likely than not to have lived in the built-up areas, and significantly more emigrants came from registration districts containing industrial towns and villages as opposed to localities where the local towns and villages were without a prominent industrial base. Only about one-third of emigrants leaving Scotland for New Zealand came from registration districts which could be described as 'non-urban', and a significant minority were from non-urban localities which sustained industrial workers, had connections with industrial villages, or else bordered with a town. As far as evidence is available, Table 5.2 suggests a rough parallel between the distribution of the Scottish population at risk and the distribution of emigrants' places of last residence according to 'economic type' of registration district.

In order to create a more concise classification of registration districts than that given in Table 5.2, the subcategories of registration districts (as shown in Table 5.2) were merged along the lines of the major group headings (also given in Table 5.2).[20] These new 'merged' categories of registration district, and the numbers and proportions of emigrants found in each category, are shown in Part I of Table 5.3.

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[20]Some minor reorganisation of the subcategories was made on the basis of the percentage of emigrants who had either lived in agricultural dwellings or had jobs in agriculture in each subcategory. The main change was that registration districts containing 'small towns' were divided into two groups, 'industrial' and 'other'. In addition, registration districts described as 'non-urban with significant industrial employment' (in Group 'E' of Table 5.2) were regrouped with the 'urban villages'. Similarly, registration districts described as 'predominantly rural but bordering with a town' (in Table 5.2) were grouped with 'rural registration districts containing villages' for the purposes of Table 5.3. These changes involved too few cases to affect results and in practice the new merged categories are very similar to the major group headings as shown in Table 5.2.

TABLE 5.3 THE DISTRIBUTION OF EMIGRANTS' PLACES OF LAST RESIDENCE ACCORDING TO:

I ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF SCOTTISH PARISH IN WHICH EMIGRANTS WERE FOUND IN THE CENSUS;

II PART OF THE PARISH IN WHICH EMIGRANTS WERE FOUND, BY ECONOMIC CLASSIFICATION OF THE PARISH.

I Parishes which contain, or are a subset of a:	Major city	Large town	Other town/ industrial belt	Other town	Village[a] (urban)	Village[b] (rural)	Mainly farming popn	Mainly crofting popn	Total
n	513	145	288	147	331	211	205	131	1971
%	26.0	7.4	14.6	7.5	16.8	10.7	10.4	6.6	100.0
II Parts of the parish in which emigrants lived (%):									
Town (mainland)	95.7	77.9	71.2	48.3	-	2.4	-	-	44.9
Town (island)	-	-	-	14.3	-	-	-	-	1.1
Outskirts of town	3.3	4.9	1.0	2.0	-	-	-	-	1.6
Village (mainland)	1.0	6.2	9.0	9.5	49.2	19.4	4.4	2.3	13.7
Village (island)	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	-	-	0.1
Hamlet (mainland)	-	9.0	13.9	15.0	25.4	43.1	45.4	21.4	18.8
Rural (mainland)	-	2.1	4.9	10.9	25.4	34.1	50.2	38.9	17.4
Rural (insular)	-	-	-	-	-	0.5	-	37.4	2.5
TOTAL (%)	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.1
(n)	513	145	288	147	331	211	205	131	1971

a Parishes are classified as village (urban) when at least half of the parish population resided in village(s) of no less than 300 people.

b Parishes are classified as village (rural) when less than half of the parish population resided in village(s). This classification included parishes which were mainly rural but bordered with, and conseqently contained a few inhabitants of, towns.

SOURCE: The Scotland/New Zealand Emigrant Data-base: 'census-traced' group.

We see from this breakdown that over half (55.5 per cent) of the emigrants came from registration districts containing towns, and over two-thirds (72.3 per cent) from registration districts where the majority of inhabitants lived in urban parts and/or were unlikely to have been employed in agricultural occupations. Less than one-third of emigrants came from non-urban districts, and less than two-thirds of these (just over 17 per cent of all emigrants) came from registration districts which could be indisputably described as 'agricultural'.

The degree of urbanism in emigrants' origins as suggested by this data is quite surprising, first, because of the level of New Zealand's economic development and labour requirements, which would suggest a bias towards 'rural' districts, and secondly, because the census-traced group tends to under-represent the proportion of Scottish emigrants who came from cities and industrial districts (especially during the Vogel period).[21] The breakdown given in the first part of Table 5.3 is consistent with Baines's conclusion that a majority of emigrants (between a half and two-thirds according to Baines's definitions and estimation procedures) came from 'urban' districts. This is despite the fact that the New Zealand data reflect an earlier period (1840 to 1880) than do those generated by Dudley Baines (1861 to 1900).

On the basis of analysis conducted at the level of the parish or registration district it would appear that emigration from Scotland to New Zealand in the second half of the nineteenth century was more of an urban and industrial than a rural and agricultural phenomenon. When we consider the location of emigrants' households within the boundaries of the registration district, however, it seems that this statement requires qualification. Part II of Table 5.3 shows the extent to which emigrants came from the urban or rural parts of each economic

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[21]Table 5.1 above shows that during the New Zealand Company period 29.6% of New Zealand-bound emigrants from Scotland (included in the 'total list') came from agricultural counties while 70.4% came from industrial counties. The respective percentages for the census-traced group are similar: 28.4% and 71.6%. However, the divergence between the two 'samples' is considerably greater for the Vogel period: 26.4% of emigrants on the 'total list' came from agricultural counties and 73.6% were from industrial counties; the respective figures for the census-traced group (with reference to the Vogel period) are 30.1% and 69.9%. (Sources of bias in the census-traced group are further discussed in Chapter Two.)

type of registration district. The constituent parts of a registration district include: towns and villages, which are defined as before;[22] hamlets, which are defined as consisting of a minimum of three households, each household corresponding with a separate economic enterprise;[23] and other rural areas.[24]

We see from Table 5.3 that most people who came from a registration district which incorporated or formed part of a major town or city had lived in the urban area itself. However, a significant minority of emigrants from registration districts containing towns of less than 25,000 people lived in the rural parts of the registration districts. Over one in ten, almost one in five, and over one in four emigrants from registration districts containing large, small-industrial and small towns, respectively, came from rural areas very close to the towns. These people chose the emigration option despite the apparent ease of internal migration suggested by the proximity of an urban area.

The total figures given in the right hand column of Table 5.3 show that considerably more emigrants came from non-urban areas than is suggested by the breakdown of registration districts according to economic type. Nearly two-fifths of all emigrants came from non-urban localities, although these localities were not necessarily at any great distance from the main urban and industrial centres. About half of the emigrants from non-urban areas had lived in small hamlets, and were, thereby, just as likely to have been employed in local trades, such as masonry or blacksmithing, as to have held jobs in agriculture. On the other hand, the inhabitants of 'hamlets' (who especially in the early part of our period included shoemakers, tailors, weavers and their families)

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[22]Towns are defined as municipal districts of at least 2000 people and villages as areas of concentrated settlement containing no fewer than 300 people. (See Appendix III.II)

[23]For example, the hamlet of 'Erchless' (near Erchless castle) in the parish of Kiltarlity, Inverness, consisted of six households in 1871, and probably four 'separate' economic concerns. A gamekeeper, a housekeeper and a gardiner were heads of three of the six households, but all three were employed in the upkeep of a single estate. The heads of the other three households were, respectively, a farmer, a mason and a sawmiller. GRO, Cen. (Kiltarlity) 1871/101/3/30.

[24]A farm steading to which was attached several farm labourers' cottages, or, an estate house with adjacent gamekeeper's and gardener's cottage were counted as 'other rural' rather than as 'hamlets' because in both intances the several households involved were each connected with the same economic enterprise.

were often under-employed.[25] Many would have worked as agricultural labourers on a casual basis, and probably most had acquired at least limited skills in work with plants and animals. It is likely that the daily work routines and seasonal patterns of employment of most rural dwellers, irrespective of whether they had lived in 'hamlets', were closely integrated with the agrarian calendar and the needs of agriculture.

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[25]See, for example, the testimony of the Girvan weavers quoted in Chapter Four (Section 4.3.2).

TABLE 5.4 NATURE OF LOCALITY IN WHICH EMIGRANTS WERE FOUND IN THE CENSUSES, AND SCOTTISH POPULATION DISTRIBUTION, 1861.

	Emigrants %	Scottish Population 1861 %
Towns	47.6	52.8
Villages	13.8	11.1
Rural Areas	38.7	36.2
TOTAL (%)	100.1	100.1
(n)	1971	3,360,018

Source: As for Table 5.2.

Table 5.4 shows that the distribution of emigrants' places of last residence according to the nature of locality of residence was similar to the distribution of the Scottish population according to locality of residence in 1861. Of course, the two distributions are not strictly comparable because of period differences and because the small royal burghs (of under 2000 people) are included with towns in the case of the Scottish population distribution and with villages in the case of the emigrants' distribution. Despite the crudeness of the comparison given in Table 5.4 it would appear that rural as well as urban areas were well-represented amongst the places of last residence of Scots who left their native land for New Zealand. Once again, the generality of the emigration experience in mid-nineteenth century Scotland is brought out.

Tables 5.2 to 5.4 illustrate how different 'units' of measurement can give rise to slightly different interpretations of the same set of data. When we consider the actual location of emigrants' households, irrespective of the economic characteristics of the local registration district, it becomes apparent that more emigrants came from rural and agricultural localities than was initially supposed. To some extent this result reflects the 'type' of emigrant who is easily found in the census.[26] On the other hand, emigrants from urban localities were no more difficult to locate in the census than emigrants from rural localities (all other factors being equal[27]) as long as detailed addresses were provided on the ships' lists.[28] Some urban addresses such as 'Rawyards,

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[26]There is an inherent bias in the census-traced group which tends to favour the 'agricultural' counties and thereby the rural and agricultural localities. This bias is not strong however and refers mainly to the 'Vogel period' when detailed addresses were not provided on the ships' lists of free and assisted passengers.

[27]The probability of finding emigrants in the census depended on a number of factors. (See Chapter Two.) The most important of these were length of time between census and date of departure, occupation, and family status of the family concerned. Miners (irrespective of family status) were the most difficult of all occupation groups to find in the census because of their very ready mobility.

[28]The lack of a detailed address is sometimes less crucial for a rural than for an urban locality. For example, there is a good chance of finding a cluster of emigrants from 'Shetland' in the census if the detailed address of one family can be located using birth registers. However the chance of finding a cluster of emigrants from 'Glasgow' would be slender (unless the emigrants concerned had lived in the same tenement or at the same street address).

Airdrie' or 'Springbank, Shotts' were easier to find in the census than their rural equivalents. An address such as 'Erchless by Beauly" or 'Earnhill by Forres' could present problems, if, as in the instance of these two examples, the hamlet or farm concerned lay outside the registration district containing the small town or village given as a reference point.[29]

A significant proportion of emigrants from rural areas lived near major urban centres, within the bounds of what might be described as an 'urban influence field'.[30] This was partly the result of a simple accident of geography, arising because the heartland of Scottish industry lay very close to a sizeable rural population.

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[29]The hamlet of Erchless lay in the registration district of Kiltarlity while nearby Beauly lay in Kilmorack. Similarly, Earnhill was a farm in Dyke registration district (which lay adjacent to Forres). In some rural localities furthermore emigrants are difficult to identify in the census because of the frequency of a particular surname in that area and the small range of christian names given to children. (In the present study this posed a particular problem for finding emigrants from some parts of Caithness and from Easter Ross.)

[30]This is in contrast to the results of Scandinavian studies. See Chapter Three (Section 3.3.3).

TABLE 5.5 NATURE OF LOCALITY IN WHICH EMIGRANTS WERE FOUND IN THE CENSUS, BY REGION OF LAST RESIDENCE

	n	Town (mainland) %	Town (island) %	Outskirts of Town %	Village (mainland) %	Village (island) %	Hamlet (mainland) %	Rural (mainland) %	Rural (insular) %	Total %
Far North	106	3.8	2.8	-	-	0.9	15.1	35.8	41.5	99.9
Highlands and Hebrides	157	11.5	11.5	-	10.8	-	33.1	29.3	3.8	100.0
North-east	167	16.8	-	-	28.7	-	28.1	26.3	-	99.9
East Lowlands	726	46.8	-	3.3	16.0	-	16.5	17.4	-	100.0
West Lowlands	665	69.0	-	0.9	10.7	-	11.7	7.7	-	100.0
Borders and South-West	150	24.0	-	-	12.0	-	38.7	25.3	-	100.0

Source: The Scotland/New Zealand Data-Base: 'Census-Traced' Group.

Table 5.5 shows how the locality of emigrants' origins varied by geographical region in Scotland. As expected, those emigrants who had lived in regions at the centre of economic change, were, in accordance with the population distribution at large, more likely to have lived in towns and villages than emigrants from the more 'peripheral' zones. However, residence in a rural locality[31] did not necessarily imply isolation from the mainstream of Scottish industrial life. If the percentages shown in Table 5.5 are worked vertically instead of horizontally (as shown) we deduce that about 17 per cent of emigrants from all rural localities came from the West Lowlands. (Similarly, about 15 per cent of inhabitants of all Scottish districts lived in the West Lowland counties).

The distribution of emigrants from rural localities according to geographical region is very similar to the distribution of all emigrants in the census-traced group according to region.[32] For both groups (all census-traced emigrants, and emigrants traced in a rural locality) the West Lowlands, Far North and county of Perth are over-represented as areas of last residence compared to the regional distribution of the Scottish population and the Scottish rural population at large.[33] However, there is also a rough similarity between the geographical distribution of the two emigrant groups and the geographical distribution of the respective populations 'at risk'.

An experiment was made to see whether the occupational profile of emigrants, when considered on a regional basis, shows a rough conformity to the occupational profile of the inhabitants of the sending areas. The counties which emigrants listed as their place of last residence were classified as 'agricultural' or 'industrial' according to the percentage of emigrants from each county who had lived in agricultural dwellings. The resultant grouping of counties was

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[31]A rural locality is defined here as a region which was not a town or a village.

[32]The regional distribution of all emigrants in the census-traced group is given in Chapter Four (Table 4.1).

[33]The West Lowlands, the Far North and the county of Perth provided 17.0%, 12.9% and 15.6% of emigrants who came from rural districts, whereas in 1871: 14.6%, 7.9% and 5.9% of rural dwellers lived in these localities.

compared to that suggested by Charlotte Erickson on the basis of the census breakdown of male occupations by county.[34] The two groupings were found to be very similar. For example, seven per cent of emigrants from Lanarkshire lived in agricultural dwellings, while seven per cent of the male work force in Lanarkshire in 1851, and three per cent in 1881, had agricultural occupations. All the counties Erickson found to be 'industrial' in 1851 were also found to be 'industrial' according to the emigrants' dwelling place criteria, and all the counties Erickson found to be 'agricultural' in 1851 were found to be agricultural according to the dwelling place criteria, with the one exception of the small county of Kinross. In other words, a New Zealand-bound emigrant from the Western Isles or from Shetland was far more likely to have grown up in an agricultural household than a New Zealand-bound emigrant from Lanarkshire. On the other hand, far more agricultural emigrants left Scotland from Lanarkshire and from areas near or within an urban sphere of influence than from regions at a great distance from the major cities.

[34]See the discussion concerning Table 5.1 above.

Fig. 5.1 Place of last residence of workers in agriculture who emigrated to New Zealand, c. 1840 - 1880.

	0.0 to 1.0	1.0 to 5.0	5.0 to 9.0
number of occurrences	69	67	5

units: individuals
resolution of map: 10.00 km
location of map: 00500530 to 04601210

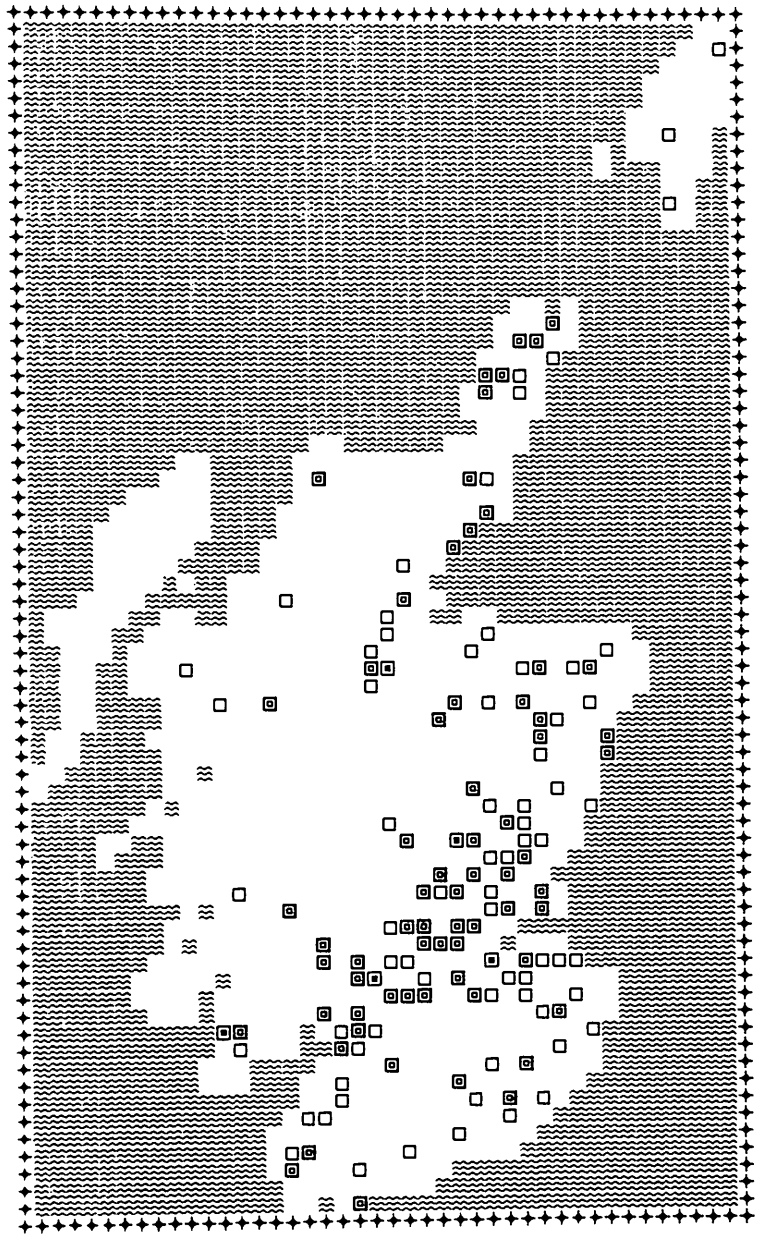


Figure 5.1 shows the place of last residence of emigrants who had worked in agricultural occupations shortly before their emigration. Like other emigrants bound for New Zealand, the agricultural workers tended to come from high wage industrial counties where wages for agriculture were also high and unemployment in the agricultural sector generally low. This suggests that the process of emigration from Scottish rural localities to New Zealand had less to do with the nature of land use, size of farms, and the structure of employment in agriculture than with personal aspirations and ability to meet emigration costs, transport and communication networks, and personal contacts - often between city dwellers and those who lived in the countryside. In contrast to findings presented in Scandinavian studies,[35] agricultural emigrants leaving Scotland for New Zealand seemed just as likely to have come from flat arable areas where grain growing was often combined with cattle raising and dairying as from rugged pastoral districts in the hill-country. As was the case for all emigrants leaving Scotland for New Zealand, we see that only the far-flung insular and crofting zones of the north-west were under-represented as a source for agricultural emigrants.

Conclusion

The ubiquity of emigration from Scotland in the high Victorian period, and the rough similarity between the distribution of emigrants' origins and the distribution of the population at risk are impressed upon us repeatedly in these attempts to measure place of last residence according to economic and social criteria. Scottish emigrants going to New Zealand came overwhelmingly from industrial counties and regions (as predicted by the results of other recent studies of emigration from the British Isles) at the centre of economic change. However, a rather more complex pattern emerges when the data are considered at the level of the registration district, and in terms of the location of emigrants' households within the registration district. This analysis suggests that recent scholars may have overstated the case that emigration from Britain's 'mature economy' cannot be linked to an

[35]These are discussed briefly in Chapter Three, Section 3.3.3, above.

actual or perceived lack of opportunity in rural areas. Dudley Baines's series of estimates of net emigration rates by county do not dispel the possibility that emigration continued to be a vital factor in the social horizons of rural dwellers (many of whom were probably agricultural workers) as late as the early twentieth century. In his conclusions and main argument Baines probably underestimates the steady drain of migrants from rural areas going to overseas destinations. However, his demonstration that the condition of agriculture was not primarily responsible for the spectacular rise in the number of emigrants in the 1880s is wholly convincing.

As yet there is no firm evidence to suggest that we should disregard contemporary social comment which attested to the continuous rural and agrarian nature of much emigration. However, the peopling of New Zealand by immigrants from the Scottish rural lowlands may have depended more on communication networks and marketing forces than on economic and social conditions in the sending areas.

5.3 Places of Last Residence and Places of Birth

Evidence from the Scotland/New Zealand case study suggests that people left the land of their birth directly from the countryside and small villages as well as from the large towns and major cities. How many emigrants whose place of last residence was a town were, in fact, born in the rural areas, and how far can we be sure that peoples' decisions to leave their native land were influenced primarily by social conditions in their places of last residence? Section 5.3 draws on census-data and individual case studies to try to answer these questions and to make observations on the nature and extent of emigrants' mobility prior to their emigration.

5.3.1 Patterns

Travelling aboard the *James Nicol Fleming* which left the west of Scotland for New Zealand on the seventh of July 1871, there were amongst the assisted passengers three young men from Glasgow - two had recently married, and all three (like most of the other male assisted passengers on the ship) were described as 'farm servants'. These men were incomers to Glasgow who had managed to find work in the city, but whose background or past work experience gave them the right to claim agricultural skills, and hence to apply for assisted passage to New Zealand.

Gilbert Grant at twenty was the youngest of the three men. He had been born in the parish of Rogart, in Sutherland, the eldest son of a 'lotter' of six acres. Shortly before emigrating, at the time of the 1871 census, Gilbert was working as a 'shopman and spirit dealer' in Glasgow. He shared lodgings with his uncle Thomas Gunn, who was his mother's youngest brother and his own senior by only six or seven years.[36]

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[36]GRO, Cen. (Glasgow) 1871/644[9]/59/13; (Rogart) 1851/36/1/12, 1861/55/1/25 (Grant), 1851/36/1/36, 1861/55/1/47 (Gunn). OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *James Nichol Fleming* (July, 1871), (typescript).

How should we interpret this information? Was Gilbert's decision to go to New Zealand prompted by his experience of Glasgow, where he had at least one close contact, and to all appearances reasonably secure and promising employment, or was it directed by aspirations and a perspective on the world that had more to do with his place of birth and upbringing than his place of last residence? We can make only indirect inferences about decision making from this type of data. Probably, Gilbert Grant came to Glasgow with the short-term intentions of joining his uncle and finding work; his plans and hopes for the future were likely to have been very open and vague, but he was ready for new opportunities, and one opportunity which the facilities of a major port and 'hub of empire' made readily available was that of emigration. Why New Zealand? Perhaps there was some personal connection. Others from Grant's locality may have gone to that destination, and the discussions and half-remembered reports of their experience might have given a familiar and appealing ring to the advertisements and promises on Glasgow bill-boards and in shipbrokers' offices. Perhaps destination did not matter: it was the idea of emigration that counted and the New Zealand option was simply timely, and seemed as promising as any other.

Whatever the influences of his birth place and upbringing, it seems likely that Grant's decision to emigrate was made in his place of last residence. He was not a 'transit passenger' using Glasgow as a stopping place on his way to the 'New World'. This is suggested by the nature of his employment and his length of stay in the city. Grant had lived in Glasgow at least four months before emigrating, and perhaps considerably longer. He may have left Sutherland at the same time as his uncle, who can be reckoned (on the basis of his child's age and his own marriage details) as having been in Glasgow for at least two years.

The case of Gilbert Grant does not blend easily with the scenario of the 'urban reservoir'. We do not get the impression of an underemployed, desperate young man driven in to the city from the countryside, who, after hard times and disappointment in the city was 'siphoned off' like many of his kind on to an emigrant ship. When

looking at the emigration process from the point of view of individuals it becomes apparent that the emigration option was often taken when other personal options also looked good. Hope rather than despair was the dominant mood of emigration.

Recent interpretations of internal migration and urban growth in mid-nineteenth century Britain emphasise the ready ability of incomers to the cities to exploit their skills and contacts in an urban situation. 'Urban' cultures were, by and large, 'migrant' cultures: in the 1851 census report the great cities of Britain were likened to 'camps' or 'fields', on which 'the people of other places exercise their energies and industry' and where 'families seldom live for more than two generations'.[37] A recent study by Michael Anderson demonstrates the remarkable similarity, in terms of occupation profile, housing patterns, and responses to crisis situations, between those born in the city and the 'native-born' migrants.[38] The 'urban reservoir' theory, which has at essence the idea of migrants in the cities as a type of under-class, seems to contradict the notion that migrants were typical city dwellers who were often rather successful in adapting whatever skills they had to an urban environment.

A protracted period at school and the attainment of a good level of literacy and numeracy may have provided Thomas Gunn (Grant's uncle) with his passport to the big city. At the time of the 1861 census Gunn was still living on the ten acre 'lot' which lay adjacent to that of the Grant family, and like his younger neighbour and nephew was still attending school. Ten years later, married with a child, Thomas Gunn was working in Glasgow as a commercial clerk in the clothing industry - a secure and respectable, albeit lowly-paid occupation. The experience of both Gilbert Grant and his uncle Thomas Gunn seems more in

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[37]The latter comment probably referred to high mortality rates in the cities rather than population turnover. It was a gross over-statement to claim that most families died out because of the unhealthiness of the towns, but the general impression of contemporaries that cities were inhabited mainly by incomers is interesting. The commentator looked forward to a time he perceived (in 1851) to be in the near future when cities would be great migrant communities no longer, but 'the birth-places of a large part of the British race'. *PP* 1852-3 [c.1691] LXXXVIII (Part I), p.cviii.

[38]M. Anderson, 'Urban Migration in Victorian Britain: Problems of Assimilation?', in E. Francois, ed. *Immigration et société urbaine en Europe occidentale, XVI^e^-XX^e^ siècle* (Paris, 1985), pp. 79-91.

accordance with recent interpretations of migration and the urban growth process than with the older 'urban reservoir' theory.

An emphasis on native-born emigrants as ready assimilators to a culture and environment which was created and sustained by migrants seems to go hand in hand with a new idea that 'migrants' and 'non-migrants' in the cities reacted very similarly to a whole range of opportunities including opportunities for emigration. This idea undermines old assumptions about the centrality of 'rural-urban stage migration' to the emigration process, and suggests that emigrants from urban areas were no more likely to have been born in rural areas than the vast majority of urban dwellers.

How typical, then, was the experience of Gilbert Grant? How many emigrants whose place of last residence was an urban or industrial area were, in fact, born in less complex, predominantly rural localities? This question is not easy to answer because the moves of the most mobile of emigrants are often extremely difficult to detect. Had Gilbert Grant moved to Glasgow and emigrated to New Zealand in 1879 rather than 1871 he would not have been locatable in the 1871 census (because only his Glasgow address is given in the ship's list). Hence, the chance of discovering his origins in Sutherland would be very slim and there would be probably no way of testing whether his statement of occupation given to the shipping authorities bore any true relation to his origins and skills. Six months is too long a period to keep tags on a 'migratory class of people', wrote the Registrar General for Scotland in frustration when reporting the working of the Vaccination Act in Scotland in the mid 1870s.[39] For the present-day researcher the problem is less acute when dealing with families and married persons (as opposed to single adults) because birth and marriage certificates (after 1855) often provide the important clue which links a family on the shipping list with a family in the census. On the other hand, even when families and unmarried adults are found in the census and vital records their migration history may still remain obscure.

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[39]Tenth Annual Report on Vaccination (Scotland) *PP* 1875 [c.1201] XIX 77.

This is illustrated by the case of Adam Scott, who, with his wife and his four younger children, left the Clyde for New Zealand in July 1879. On the shipping list Scott's occupation was given as shepherd and his address as Cowcaddens in Glasgow. Not surprisingly, the family cannot be found at the Cowcaddens address in the 1871 census, but from the birth certificates of the two oldest of the four children (in 1879 aged 17 and 15 respectively) we can trace the family back to Kilmorack Parish in Inverness-shire. Adam was working as a shepherd in Kilmorack at the time of the 1861 census. He himself was born in the Borders, but his wife, mother-in-law and five children (none of these children appear on the shipping list) were all listed as born in Contin parish in the county of Ross and Cromarty. The family was not present in Kilmorack in 1871, where, then, did they go between 1864 and 1879? The only clue is the absence of birth records for the two youngest children, of age eight and eleven years in 1879. The family probably left Scotland entirely some time between 1864 and 1868; they may have gone to Ireland where shepherds were in demand in some parts, or to England, or even, possibly, to New Zealand.[40]

Almost impossible to quantify are the migration patterns of 'double emigrants' (those emigrants who returned to the country of their birth and then re-migrated); of emigrants who left Scotland for another country before they went on to New Zealand; and of emigrants who had made numerous moves within Scotland (especially the unmarried and those who emigrated late in any decade). We must be wary then of data which do indicate the collective mobility patterns of emigrants, because the group for which information is available will tend to include a disproportionate number of the more 'stable' elements in the emigrant population. This qualification affects the reliability of Table 5.6.

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[40]GRO, BR (Kilmorack) 1862/100/6, 1864/100/19; Cen. (Kilmorack) 1861/100/13/4. SRA, TD35/2, P. Henderson Shipping Co, Passenger Lists (*Timaru*, July 1879).

TABLE 5.6 BIRTHPLACE OF EMIGRANTS (THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP) [a] BY PARISH-TYPE OF LAST RESIDENCE [b]

RESIDENCE	BIRTHPLACE									
Parishes incorporating or part of a:	Major City	Large Town	Other Indust Town	Other Town	Village(s) Urban	Village(s) Rural	Predom Farming Popn	Predom Crofting Popn	TOTAL	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	n
Major city	65.4	5.4	13.7	3.9	5.4	2.4	2.4	1.5	100.1	205
Large town	4.2	64.8	15.5	1.4	2.8	7.0	4.2	0.0	99.9	71
Other indust town	8.8	5.4	63.9	0.7	10.2	3.4	6.1	1.4	99.9	147
Other town	8.9	1.1	2.2	67.8	4.4	4.4	5.6	5.6	100.0	90
Village(s) Urban	5.4	3.0	8.4	1.0	68.3	7.4	5.4	1.0	99.9	202
Village(s) Rural	2.9	5.1	5.8	1.4	5.1	70.3	8.7	0.7	100.0	138
Predom Farming Popn	4.2	2.5	3.4	1.7	10.1	8.4	66.4	3.4	100.1	119
Predom Crofting Popn	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1	1.1	1.1	0.0	96.6	99.9	88
All Scotland	16.8	7.7	15.5	7.4	17.9	13.4	12.0	9.3	100.0	1060

a The table excludes all children under 8 years old at the time of their emigration.

b Both birthplace and place of last residence refer to the given economic classification of the parish rather than any individual's residence or birthplace within the parish.

Table 5.6 sets the economic type of registration district in which emigrants were living, just prior to their emigration, against the economic type of registration district in which they were born. In addition to the aforementioned problem of omissions, emigrants found in the 1841 census are seldom included in Table 5.6 because, in 1841, the census enumerators provided birth place information in terms of an individual's county or country of birth and did not give parish of birth as is the case for later censuses. Emigrants born outside Scotland, for example, in Ireland or in England, are also excluded from the table.

Despite their weakness and bias, and although they tend to seriously underestimate the extent of emigrants' former mobility, the data used to construct Table 5.6 provide some interesting clues with respect to patterns of migration behaviour prior to emigration. For example, we are able to detect the direction of migration and to make rough estimates of the frequency of different types of internal migration relative to each other.

5.3.1.1 'Rural-Urban' Migration

The general shift of the British population at mid-century was of course towards the 'advanced regions' - the big urban localities and main centres of industry - and away from the predominantly rural areas. If we compare the 'all Scotland' figures given in Table 5.6 with Part I of Table 5.3[41] we see that only the major cities gained significantly from the general turnover of the future-emigrant population; all non-urban and rural localities were the most significant 'losers'. This comparison gives an intuitive impression of a number of emigrants, perhaps one third of all Scots who left Scotland from a major city, as having migrated at some point prior to their emigration away from the non-urban and agricultural areas to the biggest of the towns.

However, when we consider the birth-place figures broken down for each individual category of residence shown in Table 5.6 it becomes apparent that the patterns of emigrants' mobility within Scotland were

[41]Table 5.3 is given in Section 5.2 above.

too diverse to be encompassed by any single concept such as 'rural-urban stage migration'. Only about ten per cent of emigrants who resided in a registration district containing any category of town had been born in any of the three types of registration district classified as rural. By the same criterion less than one in twenty of all emigrants in the census-traced group can be described (as was Gilbert Grant) as a 'rural-urban stage migrant'.

Of course, as we have seen, there is a strong possibility that rural-urban migrants are under-represented in the census-traced group. Also 6.8 per cent, 11.8 per cent and 7.4 per cent of emigrants from major, large and industrial towns were born in Ireland, and if most of these incomers to Scotland had agricultural or rural backgrounds, then the 'Irish factor' would increase the maximum number of emigrants whose experience conformed to the 'urban reservoir theory'.

During the 1840s, furthermore, a significantly greater proportion of emigrants leaving urban and industrial areas seem likely to have come originally from rural locations and agricultural jobs than those of the 1850s, '60s and '70s.[42] About one fifth of assisted emigrants on the New Zealand Company's Register whose address was a large or principal town gave their occupation in a combined form, such as 'agricultural labourer and tailor', or 'agricultural labourer and weaver'. Of the emigrants on the register whose place of last residence in a large town can be confirmed by a listing in the 1841 census, 15.9 per cent had been born in a county outside that in which the town was situated, and a further 7.5 per cent were born in Ireland. Table 5.1 above[43] shows a significantly greater proportion of emigrants bound for New Zealand coming from industrial counties in Scotland during the 1840s (compared to the distribution of the Scottish population at large) than was the case for later decades. Possibly, the 'additional' emigrants from urban areas during the urban depression of the 1840s had been born in rural areas.

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[42]Emigrants found in the 1841 (and no other) census are generally excluded from Table 5.6 (see above).
[43]See Section 5.2.

Despite these various qualifying points the evidence of the census-traced group shows that a considerably smaller proportion of all emigrants bound for New Zealand from Scotland can be classified as 'rural-urban stage migrants' than the maximum estimates derived for English and Welsh emigration in the work of Dudley Baines. Hence, we must conclude, in accordance with Baines, that the majority of urban dwellers who became emigrants had lived all their lives in an urban area. In addition, the proportion of urban emigrants born in rural districts was probably considerably less than the proportion of the rural-born amongst those who lived in Scottish cities and towns.[44] For the period after the 1840s at least there seems little evidence that emigration from urban areas depended on the existence of an 'urban reservoir' of rural incomers - a reservoir which in turn owed its creation to problems inherent in the diverse agrarian sectors of the Scottish (and Irish) economies.

5.3.1.2 'Stepwise' and 'Replacement' Migration

Because the extent of migration into larger towns and cities by former rural dwellers was probably rather limited amongst the emigrant population (compared to the Scottish population in general), we can assume that emigrants' former mobility patterns were unlikely to have been characterised by a 'stepwise' progression from rural backgrounds through increasingly urbanised districts and on to the centres of highest population density and greatest degree of occupational differentiation. A few emigrants, like Gilbert Grant, moved from a crofting or predominantly farming locality directly to a city, and others moved long distances between localities which were rather similar in terms of degree of urbanism; however, there is little evidence to suggest that a common migratory track for individuals was from croft or farm, to village, to town, to industrial town, then on to a major city.

From Table 5.6 we see that the probability of birth in a farming or crofting registration district was inversely related to the level of

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[44]Certainly there were proportionally fewer Irish-born amongst the emigrant population (for all types of locality of residence) compared to the concentrations of Irish in the Scottish population during the same period.

urbanism of the emigrants' place of last residence. (At least, this is true for emigrants whose place of last residence was a town, or outskirts of a town.) This suggests that although individual 'stepwise' migration was uncommon, a general 'population replacement' was a significant mechanism for overall population redistribution The process of population replacement is illustrated by the following two case studies.

James Dow, his wife Ann McNicol, and their young family of five children emigrated to Otago in the early 1850s. (The children were all under ten years of age.) The family's place of last residence in Scotland was a small hamlet named 'Greenlawhill', situated near the town of Carnoustie in the Forfarshire parish of Barry. James worked there as a handloom weaver at the time of the 1851 census, and Ann augmented the family income by dressmaking. The family had already made at least one move from the Perthshire parish of Alyth where the three older children had been born, and where James and Ann may have met and courted. James had been born in Kirkmichael parish in Highland Perthshire, and Ann in adjacent Glenisla in Forfarshire. Both Glenisla and Kirkmichael are hilly, farming parishes bordering with Alyth. It is likely that before their marriage, and as separate individuals, both Ann and James left tiny communities in the glens to look for work in the more concentrated settlements of the neighbouring lowland region - a region which had housed linen handloom weavers for the previous three or four generations.[45]

Over the span of their lives prior to emigration, James Dow and his wife moved from a hamlet or farm in or near the Perthshire Highlands to a hamlet near a town by the Forfarshire coast. William McFarlane and his wife, Mary Ann Hadden, by contrast, were born in parishes which lay at the heartland of the Forfarshire linen industry; they migrated (again separately, before their marriage) to the major town of Dundee. Their marriage certificate of 1872, and the 1871 census, show that McFarlane, the son of a ploughman, lodged with his cousin in Dundee and worked as a 'shore porter' prior to his marriage; meanwhile, Mary Ann Hadden, the daughter of a master blacksmith

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[45]FC, Archives, Communicants' Roll Book (c. 1848-1870); OESM, MS. Burn's Visitation Book (c. 1848-1858); GRO, Cen. (Barry) 1851/222/4/75.

from a small settlement in the parish of Forfar, worked in the city as a domestic servant. The McFarlane family did not emigrate until the end of the 1870s, and the children's birth certificates suggest that the family remained in Dundee. Like many other town dwellers with an agricultural background, McFarlane was able to exploit his skill with horses in an urban situation: he worked as a carter in the early years of his marriage, and as a police constable towards the end of the decade.[46]

We can perhaps think of James Dow and his wife, who moved from a farming to an industrial 'semi-urban' locality, as 'replacing' the McFarlanes who moved from a 'less urban' to a highly urbanised district. It is interesting to note that a changed 'degree of urbanism' in residence did not necessarily dictate a change of job or a need to acquire a new set of skills for a new work environment. Over their life-times enough emigrants moved to a registration district somewhat 'more urban' than the one in which they had been born to result in a general shift of the future emigrant population towards the big urban localities and main centres of industry. However, from the point of view of individual experience, the difference between birth-place and place of last residence - in terms of either distance or degree of complexity - was not necessarily great.

5.3.1.3 'Circular' and 'Backwards' Migration

The aggregated life-time moves of an entire group of individuals was usually in the direction of the most industrially complex areas. However, it is misleading to present nineteenth century mobility as a steady progression of individuals and families towards the 'more urban' and 'more industrial' localities. Despite its crudeness (and the problems of intuitive reckoning) Table 5.6 gives some idea of the variety of emigrants' former migration experiences prior to the act of emigration.

In the first place, much migration seems to have been of a 'circulatory' character: many life-time moves by individuals were

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[46]GRO, Cen. (Dundee) 1871/282/6, (Forfar) 1871/288/29; MR (Forfar) 1872/288/29; SRA, TD35/2, P. Henderson Shipping Co, Passenger Lists (*Marlborough,* Oct. 1879).

between localities which were probably rather similar in terms of industrial and commercial activity. Over two-fifths of 'former migrants' who left Scotland from a registration district incorporating a small industrial town (or its environs) had been born (and were probably brought up) in another 'type' of town. A further twenty-eight per cent of this same group had been born in 'less urban' registration districts where most of the population lived in large and/or industrial villages. (It is not unlikely that these individuals moved between an industrial village and an industrial town over the course of their life-times, experiencing rather similar work opportunities in both localities.) Less than one third of the 'mobile' group who left Scotland for New Zealand from registration districts containing small industrial towns had been born in a non-urban environment.

A second feature of emigrants' former mobility behaviour which is suggested by Table 5.6 is the rather high level of 'backwards migration', that is, movement counter to the main flow of population, and away from the more urban and towards the less urban environments. Of emigrants whose place of last residence was a registration district containing large and/or industrial villages nearly one in five had been born in or very near to a town; for rural (villages) and agricultural (but non-crofting) localities the numbers of emigrants born in towns were about one in six and one in ten individuals, respectively. 'Nobody voluntarily quits the city to become a farm labourer', wrote a newspaper columnist in 1874.[47] Why, then, was the observed level of 'backwards mobility' so pronounced?

Part of the answer to this question lies in the fact that some occupations, notably professional and service jobs, could be followed in a variety of economic environments. Bank agents, teachers, clerks, doctors and gardeners, for example, although born and trained in an urban area, might be recruited to outlying regions especially at the time of acquiring a first job (at that stage of the life-cycle when they would be presumably most perceptive to the opportunities provided by emigration). James Dunbar, who eventually became a lecturer in

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[47] This comment is in an article entitled 'The Farm Labourers Lockout', *Glasgow Sentinel and Journal of the Industrial Interests* 11 April, 1874.

classics at the University of Otago, met his wife Jane Fairweather when they were both teaching on Skye during the 1870s. Although Dunbar's place of last residence was on Skye, his place of birth was in Angus.[48] Similarly, John Sharp, the son of a mason, was born in Glasgow in 1802; however, his place of last residence (for about fifteen years prior to his emigration in 1859) was the parish of Rhu in Dumbartonshire. He worked in Rhu as a gardener.[49]

Of the emigrants whose economic type of residence changed between birth and the census prior to their embarkation, 47 per cent can be said to have moved to a more 'advanced' region, 25 per cent can be said to have moved between regions that were rather similar in terms of industrial and economic activity, and 29 per cent lived in a region less 'advanced' than that in which they had been born.[50] The extent of the second of these three 'types' of life-time moves is of course under-estimated by reliance on the data used to construct Table 5.6. We cannot see, for example, what proportion of emigrants moved between one small industrial town and another, or from one farming district to another, or within the bounds of a major city.[51]

The pattern of 'circulatory migration' is most obvious when the economic framework for migration can be identified with a reasonably

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[48]This information is courtesy of Miss F. Michie of Edzell, Brechin.

[49]This information derives from the researches of Mr Jackson (of Hamilton, New Zealand) who has made extensive searches in Lanarkshire, Renfrewshire and Dunbartonshire Old Parish Registers in the course of finding out about his forbears. I am grateful to him for sharing his work with me.

[50]These percentages are derived from the same raw data used to construct Table 5.6.

[51]A high level of mobility within a constant industrial or economic framework (described above as 'circulatory' migration) is a recurrent theme in recent local and community studies of migration. Richard Lawton's work on railway coachmaking, and Colin Pooley's study of Welsh migrants, who left Dowlais in the suburbs of Methyr-Tydvil to work in the iron mines of Middlesbrough demonstrate the willingness of people to move, sometimes very long distances, in order to exploit their skills in a familiar and what they hoped would prove to be a remunerative work environment. R. Lawton, 'Population and Society, 1730-1900', in R. A. Dodgshon and R. A. Butlin, *An Historical Geography of England and Wales* (London, 1978), pp. 313-67; C. Pooley, 'Welsh Migration to England in the Nineteenth Century', Paper Presented to the Social History Society Conference: Migration and Social Change, Oxford, 5 Jan., 1989. Similarly, Michael Anderson finds that most mill workers in nineteenth century Preston who had migrated into the town had already experienced life in another industrial town. M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), pp. 38, 150.

clear geographical boundary. The high mobility of farm servants and their families within the Borders region is an instance of this. Similarly, several miners' families who became emigrants to New Zealand had moved extensively between towns and villages in Ayrshire, Lanarkshire, Midlothian and Fife, but seldom outside of these counties.[52]

Another repeated pattern of internal migration behaviour observed in the detailed case studies of emigrants, but obscured to a very large extent by the presentation of data in Table 5.6, is one of mobility (and sometimes very high mobility) of young adults and young married couples (at an early stage of the family life cycle), followed by a return to one or other of the spouse's (usually the husband's) place of origin, and then by a long period of stability or limited mobility within a more narrowly defined geographical area. Between about one-fifth and one-quarter of emigrants who can be described as household heads living in their parish of birth (described so on the basis of the census taken just prior to their emigration) were almost certainly 'migrants' (that is, living outside their parish of birth) in former years.[53] The pattern of 'return migration' can perhaps be thought of as coming under the general category of circulatory migration. According to the evidence used to construct Table 5.6, individuals who were 'returned migrants' appear as 'non-migrants'.

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[52]In the case of one family, the Cunninghams (who would appear as 'non-migrants' if included in Table 5.6), three generations of ironstone miners were born in the iron mining and steel making town of Carluke. Some members of each family in each of the three generations were born outside Carluke, and at different times one or other of the three families can be located at Bellshill near Motherwell, in Shotts parish, in Hamilton, and in the Ayrshire town of Muirkirk. Descendants testify that moves were frequent, and often taken to procure quite small wage increases. Despite the high mobility of the families concerned, descendants in Scotland to this day associate their forbears strongly and particularly with the town of Carluke, as well as with a broader regional and industrial area. My thanks are due to the Lawrie family of Peebles who provided me with information about their forbears.

[53]The figure is 18.7% for the 'census-traced' group and 24.1% for the 'in-depth' group. With regard to the census-traced group, previous migration is indicated when, for example, a household head appears in the census as a 'non-migrant' (i.e. he/she is living in his/her parish of birth), but at least some of the children and (usually) the spouse of the household head appear as 'migrants'. With regard to the in-depth group (and this is true in some instances for the census-traced group also), the previous migration of the household head was verified using another source such as a marriage certificate or an earlier census entry.

In Table 5.6 the migration history of an individual who moved away and then returned to his or her place of birth appears identical to the migration history of an individual who spent his or her entire life prior to emigration within the bounds of a single parish. However, the pattern of return migration does receive some reflection in Table 5.6 by what is described above as 'backwards' migration (that is, mobility from a more urban to a less urban environment). Emigrants such as stone mason David Calder who served in the Peninsular War, married the daughter of a builder in Edinburgh, and then returned to his native county of Caithness - where he and his growing family made frequent moves between towns and villages but within the confines of a single county - could well be shown as non-migrants in Table 5.6. However, Calder's wife, Jane Paterson, is counted amongst the emigrants whose place of last residence was in or near a small town, but whose place of birth had been a major city.[54] The exclusion of young children from Table 5.6 lessens the effect of 'backwards' migration, but only partially because some adult emigrants 'returned' to one or other of their parents' places of birth when they themselves were children.

The pattern of return to the place of birth is interesting, first, because it appears to have been very common, and secondly because it is evidenced by emigrants from a wide range of occupations: for example, the pattern was observed for professionals, workers in the textile industry, and agricultural workers from both the Highlands and the Lowlands; there is evidence also that it was relevant for women as well as for men.[55] Probably, the initial departure from the place of origin was made in youth in order to learn skills or to find work and to accumulate savings, and sometimes the return was occasioned because an inheritance was at stake. But the latter was by no means always the case, and although we might expect high levels of individual mobility (in terms of both distances moved and numbers of moves) to coincide with youth and that stage of the life cycle which occurs before or at the onset of family formation, the incidence of a return to the place of birth was

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[54]GRO, Cen. (Wick) 1841/42/2; T. M. Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (London, 1898), Appendix F; OESM, 'Genealogical Table of David Calder Compiled at the Centennial of the Family's Arrival' by D. J. Calder (Dunedin: by the author, 1949); OESM, MS. 'Otago Jubilee' entry for George Calder.

[55]Examples and other evidence are given in Appendix Three.

unexpected, and the widespread relevance of this pattern for apparently diverse sectors of the Scottish population raises a number of questions about migrants' ultimate ambitions, and influences our interpretation of the relationship between emigrants' places of last residence and their places of birth.

In many senses a 'life cycle' migration which culminates in the individual or family concerned returning to a place of origin can be thought of as a form of prolonged 'temporary' migration. The question of return may have always been open-ended, one option in many, depending on alternative opportunities and possibly kin commitments. For all those who did 'return', many more did not, and these become the 'permanent migrants'. We cannot assume that the eventual outcome of migration bore any close relationship to the migrants' initial intentions. For example, the aims of a young man who left his parents' home in the Outer Isles, and who stayed longer in the Lowlands than he ever anticipated, might have been very different from those of his neighbour who set out from home with the object of raising enough cash to meet the cost of passage to America; however, the eventual outcome of the two moves might be similar. Undoubtedly, many emigrants were 'migrants', snapped up at that stage of the life-cycle when new opportunities were eagerly sought, and any long-term 'return' to a place of origin not yet on the agenda. But, if emigration involved major cost, it also implied limited possibilities for return, and this prospect may have forced individuals into a process of conscious decision-making, with an eye to the long-term future. In affecting this process of decision-making would place of birth or place of last residence take precedence?

5.3.2 Environment and Identity

Travel writers of fiction and of non-fiction have often expressed the experience of change that every new traveller undergoes: it is a change 'accompanied by examining not the place of arrival but the place of departure'.[56] Similarly, an act of emigration or of migration and the concomicant adjustment to a new culture and environment involves individuals in a process of questioning their own personal identity. From where have I come? Who am I? Who are these others around me? Who am I becoming? Usually a sense of personal identity, in so far as identity is dependent on a place of origin, reflects an individual's place of birth and upbringing, or any place where an individual spent a long period of time during formative years. This is the reason why settlers in Otago, some forty to fifty years after leaving Scotland, remembered and recorded the details of their origins in terms of their places of birth. The potted biographies published in the 'Fifty Year Jubilee' edition of the *Otago Daily Times* and *Otago Witness* (which drew on information sheets filled out by the emigrants themselves), and the self-funded biographies published at the turn of the century in *The Cyclopaedia of New Zealand*, seldom contain information about emigrants' place of last residence, place of marriage, or extent of migration within Scotland, but generally make reference to a birthplace and sometimes to a place or institution of education.[57]

In her chapter on 'The Australasian Emigrant' in *Emigration from North-East Scotland,* Marjory Harper has drawn on sources such as biographical publications to find out about the characteristics and aspirations of emigrants who left the 'North-east corner' for Britain's farthest colonies.[58] Several of the emigrants she picks out: 'Robert Chapman, a lawyer from Stonehaven', and 'George Matthews and his family who came out from Aberdeenshire in 1850 to start a nursery and seed business' were born in the North-east, but they made their respective decisions to emigrate while living well away from the region

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[56]Janet Frame, *The Envoy From Mirror City* (Auckland, 1985), p.5.

[57]The same comment is applicable to G. H. Scholefield's well-used *Dictionary of New Zealand Biography,* 2 vols (Wellington, 1940).

[58]M. Harper, *Emigration from North-East Scotland,* 2 vols. (Aberdeen, 1988), Vol. 1: *Willing Exiles,* pp. 304-5.

of their birth. Robert Chapman learnt and practised his law in Edinburgh prior to emigration; George Matthews (son of an Aberdeenshire tenant farmer) was working as a gardener and living with his family in Ireland when he made the decision to start a business in Dunedin with fellow-gardener, James Gebbie (a 'native of Ayrshire'). Matthews and Gebbie were influenced in their decision by Dublin-resident Gilbert Burns (another 'Ayrshire man') who had invested in the Otago Scheme and was brother to one of the founders and leaders of the Otago settlement.

Shipping lists, or other records made at or near the time of emigration, are more likely to provide information about the places of last residence of emigrants than are family records, such as family bibles, or genealogical or biographical material in general. Unless very detailed, the latter tend to be more informative about places which were important in terms of an individual's sense of identity, as opposed to the places where emigration decisions were actually made. This may explain why studies with a primary aim to establish what percentage of UK emigrants came from any region or locality have somewhat different conclusions and implications from those which focus on social conditions in a particular sending area and which draw on contemporary descriptive evidence or biographical detail to explain the process of emigration.[59] The sources of the former group reflect place of last residence in the main, whereas the sources of the latter often reveal a good deal about how emigrants thought of themselves and how at the end of their lives they interpreted their actions and experiences in terms of this sense of self-identity.

Did a sense of origins or identity with a certain area have any real effect on emigration behaviour? Relevant here is the observation that identification with a particular area did not always depend on the individual's place of birth and upbringing. John Halliday emigrated to New Zealand from Lockerbie in the late 1860s. He appears as a young, unmarried man on the ship's list, but he was, in fact, an agricultural

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[59]For example, Marjory Harper's conclusion that emigration from the North-east was primarily a movement of small farmers and other agricultural workers is diametrically at odds with the conclusions of Charlotte Erickson and Dudley Baines.

labourer in his early thirties who had been living in Lockerbie village with a wife several years older than himself and their children since the time of the 1861 census. The older children had been born outside Lockerbie (and outside the mother's parish of birth) suggesting family mobility within the county of Dumfriesshire during the early years of John's marriage. John himself was born in Cumberland, and had not come to live in Dumfriesshire until his 'teens', when his own father had 'returned' to the region of his birth to become 'farm steward' on John's grandfather's 58 acre farm.[60] Although born in Cumberland, John Halliday probably 'identified' with the district of Lockerbie which held the 'family' farm and where he had spent most of his working life. Similarly, Duncan MacFarlane who was born on Mull and who served his apprenticeship as a ship's carpenter on Clydeside and who married in Arrochar Parish in Dunbartonshire (just two months before emigrating to New Zealand in 1862) probably had a sense of identity with the latter rather than the former areas. Duncan's father had been born near Tarbet, and died there after a mobile life as a sawyer, and Duncan's wife's family were also MacFarlanes from Luss and Tarbet.[61]

Sometimes a sense of origin or identity with a certain area could be transferred from one generation to the next. When filling in details of his birth and marriage on the registers drawn up at the time of the Otago Jubilee (1898), James McIndoe felt compelled to add the following:

> My forbears were natives of Lochaber ... 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 Inn Dhu to McIndoe. My grandfather had no trade and went around the the country with a pack selling odds and ends until settling in Rothesay about 1760. He married Hannah Black ... the progeny was ten of whom my father born in 1793 has left a record ...[62]

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[60]GRO, Cen. (Dryfesdale) 1851/827/5/18-19, 1861/820/5/8; OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes,* list of passengers aboard the *Otago,* (1869), (typescript).

[61]GRO, Cen.51 (Arrochar) 1851/392/1/15, 1861/492/2/76, 1871/492/2/13; MR (Arrochar) 1862/492/1; also family details extracted from letters and wills, courtesy of Mrs L. Falconer of Balclutha, New Zealand, to whom I owe thanks.

[62]OESM, MS. Otago Jubilee entry for James McIndoe.

James McIndoe was himself born in Rothesay in 1824; he married there in 1852, and remained in the same town until his emigration to New Zealand in 1859. His decision to emigrate must have been strongly influenced by the fact that several Rothesay families, including that of his wife, Elizabeth Gillies, had already settled in New Zealand.[63] Yet in the testimony cited above there is a sense of dispossession, almost as if McIndoe believed that the heritage of his forbears somehow 'explained' his own act of emigration.

It may be the legacy of family folklore transmitted verbally down the generations which has caused present-day historians in New Zealand to speculate as to whether a large proportion of incomers to New Zealand from the Scottish Lowlands had been 'Highlanders' a generation or two (or three?) before.[64] To explore this proposition further the surnames of families which included at least one member who became an emigrant were compared with the surnames of other families in the data-base with no members known to have been emigrants.

The results of this experiment are ambiguous. Certainly, a higher proportion of 'emigrant families' have Highland names compared with the proportion of emigrant families who were actually resident in the Highlands: 10.6 per cent of families with at least one emigrant member lived in either the West Highlands, Central Highlands or North-east Highlands prior to emigrating, while 19.4 per cent of all emigrant families have surnames which could be indisputably associated with these regions.[65] This suggests that a fair proportion of emigrants from the Lowlands had a 'Highland heritage'. Indeed, 15.9 per cent of

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[63]ibid. Also Otago Jubilee entry for Elizabeth Gillies. Other references to the Gillies family are given in Chapter Four, note 48.

[64]R. R. McClean, 'Class, Family and Church, Otago, 1848-1852', (unpublished B.A. Hons dissert. University of Otago, 1980); Tom Brooking, 'Tam McCanny and Kitty Clydeside - the Scots in New Zealand', in R.A. Cage, ed. *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital, Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London, 1984), p.160.

[65]Information about the association between a region or a locality and a particular surname is derived from George F. Black, *The Surnames of Scotland. Their Origins, Meaning and History* (New York, 1946). The delineation of regions for this exercise is based on Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission of 1844.* (Edinburgh, 1979).

emigrant families resident in the Lowlands had 'Highland' surnames: over half (57.4 per cent) of this group were resident in the West Lowlands, and a large proportion (45.3 per cent) had names associated with the West Highlands (particularly with Argyllshire).[66]

On the other hand there is no evidence to suggest that Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand were any more likely to have a Highland background than the general population resident in Scotland at mid-century. We have no comparable data for the Scottish population at large. However, Highland surnames were more common amongst families resident in the Lowlands and recorded in the data-base as having no members who became emigrants than they were amongst the emigrant families.[67] In addition, the surname evidence suggests that emigrants who left Scotland directly from the Highlands were more likely to have forbears born in *Lowland* areas than was the case for the non-emigrating Highlanders in the data-base. William Burnett, a twenty year old shepherd who emigrated to New Zealand in July 1879, is one example of an emigrant 'Highlander' whose forbears had lived in the Lowlands just one generation before the emigrant's birth. The Burnett family can be located in the 1871 census listings for the parish of Portree on Skye. All the children living at home at 'Scorrybreck' were born in Portree, but their mother was born in the county of Caithness, and the father of the emigrant, also by name of William Burnett, was a shepherd from Selkirkshire.[68]

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[66]This is an interesting contrast to emigrants with Highland names who actually resided in the Highlands at the census prior to their emigration. Of this group, the biggest proportion (43.9%) had names associated with the North-east Highlands: names associated with East Ross-shire were particularly prominent. Of the group with Highland names who lived in the Highlands only 24.4% had names associated with the West Highlands. These results suggest that emigrants from the Lowlands with a Highland ancestry had a different 'Highland heritage' than emigrants who went to New Zealand directly from the Highlands.

[67]The proportion of emigrant families resident in the Lowlands with Highland surnames was 15.9% while the corresponding proportion for non-emigrant families was 23.1%.

[68]In 1871 eleven year old William was living with his maternal grandmother in a house next door to that of his own parents. His mother's parents, like those of his father, were shepherding folk originally from the Borders. GRO, Cen. (Portree) 1871/114[1]/8/26 & 27; SRA, TD35/2, P. Henderson Shipping Co, Passenger Lists (*Invercargill*, July 1879).

Individuals may think of themselves as Highlanders, or Borderers, or Ayrshiremen or Aberdonians, and, for reasons which have been speculated upon briefly in Chapter Four above, the Highland identity is one which has lingered long in the consciousness of Pakeha New Zealanders (almost to the extent that a Scottish ancestry is often thought of today as synonymous with descent from the Highlands). An individual's sense of identity with a certain area often pervades his or her recounting of events, especially events, such as the act of emigration, which lead the individual to question and perhaps to define and discover this sense of identity in the first place. This is why emigrants tended to interpret and justify their emigration decisions in terms of their places of birth (or whatever place they perceived to be their place of ultimate 'origin'). However, there is no systematic evidence to suggest that events or social conditions associated with a time or a place far removed from the circumstances in which the emigrants were actually living, prior to their emigration, had any direct or tangible effect on the making of emigration decisions.[69] Information from the individual case studies which bears upon the process of making (rather than justifying) emigration decisions shows that potential emigrants were usually concerned with opportunities in the present, and looked to prospects in the future, rather than back to the explanations of the past.

It seems probable that decisions to emigrate were generally made in the emigrants' place of last residence and bore little relation to any previous migration decision. In support of this statement is the

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[69]This is illustrated by the case of David Maxwell who emigrated to New Zealand in the early 1870s, some years after others had gone from his locality. David's family lived in the hamlet of Awhirk in Stoneykirk parish in Stranraer where his father worked as a shoemaker. It is probable that several members of the family, including David, took part (or full-time) work at the local farm of 'Awhirk', especially at 'tatty' time and at the harvest. The second son of the tenant of Awhirk (John Wither) went to New Zealand where he became a successful pastoralist. He was also an avid letter writer.and it is likely that his decision to emigrate to New Zealand influenced that of David Maxwell. Any descendants of David Maxwell alive today may not know of his connection with Awhirk farm and with John Wither. On the other hand, they may well know that David's immediate family (parents and several siblings and also other relatives who lived in the Maxwell household at census time) had migrated to Stranraer from Ireland. Indeed, at the end of his life in New Zealand, David Maxwell may have had as strong a sense of identity with Ireland as with Scotland. GRO, Cen. (Stoneykirk) 1861/898/11/12, 1871/898/11/29; OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *Agnes Muir* (Dec. 1870), (typescript).

evidence that most emigrants in the Scotland/New Zealand data-base (for whom data are available) lived long enough in their place of last residence to 'settle' - that is, to acquire jobs and accommodation - and long enough to make the necessary contacts and find out about the opportunities that eventually lead to their emigration.

Usually only rough estimates can be made about length of time in place of last residence, and in most instances information is available only for those emigrants who left Scotland in family groups. This is because the estimates are made on the basis of children's ages and places of birth. If, for example, a family emigrated from Glasgow in April 1874, and was found in the 1871 census with youngest child shown to have been born in Glasgow and aged twelve months at the time of the census, we can estimate that the family had lived in Glasgow for at least four years. From the ages and birth-places of any older children, or from the parents' marriage certificate (if available) or birth details, we can make estimates as to the maximum length of time the family had lived at this place of last residence. If the two oldest children in the hypothetical example were born outside Glasgow, and the younger of these two was aged six years at the time of the 1871 census, we can deduce that the family (or the family head) had lived between four and nine years in Glasgow before emigrating.

For all family heads who became emigrants information as to minimum and maximum time at the place of last residence was entered into the data-base. From this information we can calculate that between just under one quarter (23.7 per cent) and just over one half (53.0 per cent)[70] of heads of families lived at their place of last residence in Scotland for less than five years; in other words, the majority (probably about three-fifths)[71] of emigrating family heads were resident at their place of last abode for five years or more prior to emigration.[72] Five years is the period which some Scandinavian scholars cite as time enough to ensure that rural-urban migrants (for example) would have

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[70]This can be expressed as 38.3% +/- 14.6%.

[71]The percentage calculated is 61.7% +/- 14.7%.

[72]Between 62.1% and 93.7% of emigrant families lived at their place of last residence for at least two years prior to emigration, and between 87.5% and 99.2 % lived at their place of last residence for at least six months prior to emigration.

been fully assimilated to urban ways before emigrating, and hence to ensure that emigration was not simply the culminating phase of staged migration.[73] Arguably, a family or single individual may have lived in a particular environment for a period considerably less than five years and still have been more affected by that environment in the process of making emigration decisions than by any previous dwelling place.[74]

The average length of time for families at their place of last residence did not vary much according to the economic type of district in which families last resided.[75] Most of the variation in time spent at last residence can be accounted for by occupation and age of the family head.[76] For emigrant families from urban registration districts, length of time in place of last residence does not seem to have been affected by economic category of place of birth; that is, as far as families are concerned, in-migrants to the towns from rural areas were just as likely to have lived long periods in the town before emigrating as were in-migrants from other towns.

One example is the family of James Johnston who settled in the Napier area of New Zealand in the mid-1860s. James, who was about forty-eight when he emigrated, became a farmer as did several of his sons; one became a hotelier. James Johnston probably worked as an agricultural labourer in the east Fife and south-east Perthshire region when his family was young: all his children (whose birth places are known) were born in different parishes in this area. By the time of the 1861 census, however, James (at age forty-three) had been widowed, and he and his four youngest children (aged between eleven and eighteen

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[73]Fred Nilsson, *Emigrationen från Stockholm til Nordamerika 1880-93* (Stockholm, 1970); L. G. Tederbrand, *Vasternoerland och Nordamerika, 1875-1913,* Studia Historica Upsalensia, 42 (Uppsala, 1972). See also discussion in Baines, op. cit. esp. Chapter Nine.

[74]See for example the case of Gilbert Grant described in Section 5.3.1 above.

[75]The one exception here is for crofting districts. In those cases where entire families (or at least several members of a family including the family head or spouse of the head) emigrated from crofting districts, the family concerned were far more likely to have resided at the same address for a period of over five years than was the case for families from all other categories of district. (Of emigrant families from crofting districts, 83.7% +/- 16.4% had lived at the same address for at least five years.)

[76]For example, only 35.7% +/- 22% of emigrant families headed by farm labourers had lived five or more years at their place of last residence. (The figure for all emigrant families is 61.7% +/- 14.7%.)

years) were living in the city of Glasgow. James worked there as a 'railway porter', and his oldest son living at home worked as a carter or van-man; another son, who lived away from home and who married in 1861, also worked on the railways.[77]

The family probably lived in Glasgow between five and fifteen years prior to their departure for New Zealand in September 1865. Undoubtedly, the world-view of most members of the family was strongly conditioned by life in Glasgow city. James's adult sons were probably the family members most keen to emigrate, and the work experience of these young men may have only ever been in an urban context. It was their long-term prospects which lay behind the emigration decision. Almost certainly that decision was made in the city, and almost certainly it was made without much reference to the one-time itinerancy of an agricultural labourer's young family, nor to the earlier migration of that family into an urban and cosmopolitan world. Probably, the family's emigration occurred about half a generation after the initial move to the city.

On the basis of time spent at place of last residence it seems fair to conclude that 'family emigration' decisions were usually prompted by the social environment in which families had lived and worked prior to their embarkation. However, as the last example shows, the influence of birth and nurturing place could affect the eventual outcome of emigration decisions - for example, the types of employment emigrants were able to take on after their arrival in the new land, and perhaps, even their choice of destination. In addition, place and social conditions of birth and upbringing may have had an intangible effect in the realm of each individual's aspirations, emotions and temperament, and in this sense affected emigration decisions in an indirect way.

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[77]Only two of the children emigrated with their father. Another son probably preceded the family group as there is evidence that he enlisted with a volunteer company during the New Zealand Wars. GRO, Cen. (Govan, Glasgow) 1861/644^{9}/63/11; Copy of entry from Marriage Register for James Johnston (Jnr), from ship's list, *King of Italy* (departed Gravesend Sept. 1865) Auckland Museum Archives, and from Records of Volunteers in New Zealand Land Wars, National Archives, Wellington, all courtesy of A. E. Grafar of New Zealand.

Most emigrants found in the census at their place of last residence had 'experienced' that place of residence in the sense that they had lived and worked there. When this was not the case, for instance in the case of 'transit passengers', it may have been a penultimate place of last residence which had the strongest bearing on emigration decisions. William Webster, at age forty-three, was described as a 'retired farmer' in the 1871 census schedule for the town of Inverness. The Webster family emigrated in May 1871, just after the census; they may have stayed in Inverness for a few weeks only, perhaps to make preparations for the voyage. The youngest child was six years old at the time of the 1871 census, so it is impossible to be precise about the family's length of residence in Inverness - it was between six weeks and six years! For this particular family, the decision to emigrate probably related to the family's situation in their penultimate place of last residence. The clue here is Webster's constant commitment to farming, reiterated in the censuses and on the ship's list. There is no way of knowing whether the decision to emigrate was made because of declining fortunes in Scotland. Webster had been a substantial tenant farmer before selling up: in 1861 he farmed 212 acres in Dores, a farming parish in eastern Inverness, and employed 'four labourers and two boys'; in 1851 he farmed 111 acres in King Edward parish in north Aberdeenshire. The earlier census entries (for 1851 and 1861) suggest that the family's fortunes had been rising rather than on the wane. Perhaps Webster hoped to own rather than lease property, or perhaps he was concerned about the prospects for the future of his three sons.[78]

'Transit passengers', who stayed temporarily in a city before their emigration, are seldom included in the group of emigrants for whom length of time at place of last residence is available. Most emigrants gave a residential or 'permanent' address to the shipping authorities, although some gave a temporary address, for example, the name of a

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[78]Webster was born into a family with a seafaring tradition, and in this sense his place of birth may have had a bearing on the decision to emigrate. He was born in Fordyce on the Banffshire coast, and at least two of his younger brothers became sailors. The census shows that these brothers visited their senior brother from time to time and they may have brought tales of fertile lands in far-away seas. GRO, Cen. (King Edward) 1851/188/1/22, (Dores) 1861/96/1/42, (Inverness) 1871/98/14/34; OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *William Davie* (May, 1871), (typescript).

hotel or a kinsman's address in Glasgow.[79] Presumably, these 'in-transit' addresses should not be taken as indicative of the economic and social contexts in which emigration decisions were made. (However, they may reveal something about communication networks and the processes by which information about emigration was disseminated.) Sometimes emigrants gave two addresses to the shipping authorities. If the emigrants could be found in the census-listings, it was almost invariably at the first of these two addresses. Hence, the first given address probably can be taken as the place of last residence, as long as we have reasonable grounds to assume that the second address is indicative of an 'in-transit' rather than a 'permanent' abode.

Helpful in making these sorts of assumptions are the addresses of assisted emigrants who sailed aboard the *William Davie*. This ship left Greenock on 24 May 1871, that is, very shortly after the 1871 census. William Wylie gave addresses in Lambholm and Kirkwall in Orkney, and James Johnston was described as a farm servant from 'The Manse at Evie, Thurso'. Both these young men were found in the 1871 census listings for the place indicated by the first part of each given address. William Wylie is shown as a farm servant living on the tiny island of Lambholm between Burray Island and the parish of Holm on mainland Orkney. He had been born on Burray, and was the fourth of eight children who had all grown up on a fisherman's nine-acre croft.[80] James Johnston was also working as a farm servant in the Far North of Scotland less than two months before the emigrant ship sailed. He is listed in the census as living in the household of his father, a farm manager (probably for the minister) of the parish of Evie and Rendall on mainland Orkney.[81] The Thurso and Kirkwall addresses given by the two young men probably refer to 'in-transit' stops where they made preparations for the voyage, or perhaps to the site of a ship broker's

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[79]In Chapter Two, Section 2.3.2.1, an estimate is given of the extent to which this occurred.

[80]GRO. Cen. (Burray) 1851/15/8/39, 1861/29/11/45, (Holm and Paplay) 1871/19/1/3; OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *William Davie* (May, 1871), (typescript).

[81]A young girl who was probably James's sister also worked for the minister (as a domestic servant). GRO, Cen. (Evie and Rendall) 1861/16/3/20, 1871/16/3/27, 1871/16/3/30; OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *William Davie* (May, 1871), (typescript).

office with which the young emigrants had made contact. Information about emigration to New Zealand may have depended on such contacts. The young men may have been touted by emigration agents, but the information opportunity presented by the broker or agent had relevance for the two young emigrants because of the social environment in which they had lived, worked and been nurtured.

Place of birth and upbringing may have had a more immediate and direct impact on the emigration decisions of young, single adults than was the case for married couples with children. This would be expected simply because young emigrants were closer in time and (usually) in circumstance to their place of birth compared with older emigrants. Many young single emigrants had already lived and worked away from their parents' homes.[82] At the time of their emigration they were experiencing that stage of the life-cycle when individual mobility levels were high and important career and family decisions often made. For these young adults emigration to a destination as expensive to reach and as far away as New Zealand may have been a significant rite de passage: it forced them to ask questions about their long-term future, and perhaps to acknowledge that the prospect of a 'return' to their place of birth (or to any place where close kin still resided) had little hope of realisation.[83]

Data about length of stay at place of last residence is usually even less precise for unmarried adults than is the case for families because we can generally 'see' the whereabouts of single individuals only at the decennial intervals regulated by the timing of the nineteenth-century censuses. More precise information is sometimes available for the 'in-depth' group, and this suggests (as expected) that the young and single had often lived shorter periods at their place of last residence than was the case for family groups. About two-fifths of unmarried male emigrants in the in-depth group had lived at their place of last residence for a period of less than two years[84] and a clear majority had spent less

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[82]Estimates from the census-traced group are given in Chapter Seven.

[83]Inevitably, as transport became more efficient and cheaper, this 'psychological' aspect of emigration changed.

[84]Of 73 unmarried male emigrants in the in-depth group who travelled to New Zealand unaccompanied by their parents, 41.1%.+/- 18.2% had lived at their place of last

than five years at their place of last residence prior to emigration.[85] Single emigrants, then, were less likely to have been as deeply affected by their last place of abode as were the heads of families. However, as is illustrated by the case of Gilbert Grant (above), emigrants may have lived just a few months at their place of last residence and still have been at that vicinity long enough to have found work and been influenced by the working environment. So, evidence of a short stay at the place of last residence does not imply that a decision to emigrate bore any necessary relation to a previous internal migration decision.

Yet, in some instances, emigration and internal migration decisions did seem to be related; this can be observed for young single emigrants (especially males) in circumstances which heads of families would seldom have had the flexibility to exploit. Twenty-four year old John Robertson, the son of an agricultural labourer, resided in his parents' household at Harripool in the parish of Strath on Skye at the time of the 1841 census. He emigrated shortly afterwards, influenced by a New Zealand Company agent, Andrew Mercer, who was based at Greenock.[86] Similarly, Daniel Douglas, a young cabinet maker from Thurso in Caithness, was probably diverted from an original purpose of looking for work in Edinburgh by Thomas Jones, the New Zealand Company agent for Leith.[87] For both these young men emigration seems to have taken place within the context of internal migration and perhaps the search for temporary or seasonal work in the industrial Lowlands. The young men each gave an address in either the Highlands or Far North of Scotland, but their respective decisions to emigrate were prompted by contact with emigration agents based at the major Lowland ports of Greenock and Leith. Had the two migrants been en route from home to the Lowlands in the spring of 1841, they would have disembarked at one or other of these major ports. Emigration, in these two instances, seems to have been an alternative to seeking work

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residence for less than two years prior to emigration. (In the case of family groups, 77.9% +/- 15.8%.had lived at their place of last residence for two years or more.)

[85]The calculated figure is 69.6% +/- 13.9%.

[86]GRO, Cen. (Strath) 1841/119/9/1; PRO, CO 208 273, 'Register of Emigrant Labourers', no. 5931.

[87]PRO, CO 208 273, 'Register of Emigrant Labourers', no. 6652.

in the Lowlands,[88] and, especially in the case of John Robertson from Skye (who was extremely unlikely to have even heard of the new colony of New Zealand before he left his parents' home) the emigration decision arose directly from a previous decision to migrate. On the other hand, the experiences of the two young men do not conform to the 'urban reservoir theory' because there is no evidence that the two migrants sought and were unable to find appropriate work in the cities. Their emigration was not a last resort venture made in desperation but the result of impetuous grasping of a risky opportunity. The opportunity was made available by contact with the Lowlands, but it was the work and migration traditions associated with the birth-places of the two young men which lead them to seek new opportunities in the Lowlands in the first place.

Further evidence that some young, unmarried emigrants were 'in touch' with their birth-place (or some other place that was not their most recent place of residence) in a manner which strongly affected their emigration decisions lies in the nature of contacts between emigrants who travelled together on the emigrant ships. If members of a family (including families whose only members were a young married couple without children) emigrated together, the place of origin they held in common was usually their place of last residence; hence, it was the place of last residence rather than any other place of abode which had a common influence on all members of the family involved in making the emigration decision.[89] However, when young, unmarried persons emigrated with a sibling or a peer, the emigrants were less likely to have been living at the same place of abode before their emigration than was the case for the members of a family group. The place of 'origin' that the young, unmarried emigrants held in common was often a place of birth.

In one instance, the brother of an emigrating 'sibling-pair' was found to have been living and working as a farm servant in Aberdeenshire shortly before departure, while, at the same time, his

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[88]On the other hand, the two young men may have intended to emigrate when they left home, in which case they were probably 'diverted' to New Zealand by the availability of free passages thither.

[89]A possible exception to this statement is shown in the case of Duncan MacFarlane 'of Tarbet', see above.

fellow-traveller and sister was resident in Edinburgh where she worked as a domestic servant. (Both siblings had been born in the North-east.)[90] In another instance, two siblings, William and Helen McLeod, emigrated under the auspices of a Dumbarton emigration society although neither of the two lived in Dumbarton at the time of the census prior to their emigration. William was actually in Africa[91] and his sister Helen probably worked in Glasgow. William and Helen are the only known emigrants (William was the eldest son and Helen, the third eldest daughter) from a very large family born to a Stirlingshire ploughman and his wife over a period of two decades spanning the middle years of the nineteenth-century. All twelve children in this family were born in Campsie, Stirlingshire, although only six were at home at the time of the 1861 census. William and Helen emigrated to New Zealand in 1863, and would have retained contact with each other (and probably made contact with the emigrants' society) through their mutual links with 'home'.[92]

These case studies reflect the diversity of circumstances in which emigration decisions were made. They illustrate that place of last residence is usually the 'best indicator' of the types of social conditions which encouraged a readiness for emigration. In the preceding discussion we have tended to define place of last residence as the last location where the emigrant had lived or worked prior to his or her emigration. For a large proportion of emigrants in the data-base this location was not very far from the place where the emigrants concerned had been born.

For most emigrants, place of last residence was not merely the most recent reference point against which opportunities at home might be compared with prospects abroad; the place of most recent abode was also

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[90]GRO, Cen. (King Edward, Aberdeen) 1851/188/7/16, 1861/210/8/6, (Alford) 1871/171/5/14; OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *William Davie* (May, 1871), (typescript).

[91]He had a post as blacksmith in the team supporting Livingstone's gunboat expedition to Zambesi.

[92]GRO, Cen. (Campsie) 1861/475/9/20; Information about this family is also derived from family bibles, New Zealand civil registers and British parish registers. I am grateful to Mrs P. Cornwall of Morrinsville (NZ) who kindly shared this material with me.

the locality where information about emigration opportunities was most likely to have been received. Clearly this was not always the case. Sometimes information was channelled through other emigrants living elsewhere; often, especially in the case of unmarried emigrants, the route for this channel was via a place of birth or upbringing which the emigrants had in common. In other (probably rarer) instances, it was the very act of migration, rather than the general social and economic environment of work and residence, that put individuals in touch with emigration opportunities.

From the case studies we observe that there are three major ways in which an individual's 'origins' can influence important life-time decisions such as the decision to emigrate. The first influence arises directly from the social and work conditions which the individual was experiencing and likely to experience in his or her native land, and also from the individual's knowledge and perception of this experience in relation to other opportunities elsewhere. Most emigration decisions were made at the place of last residence. Depending perhaps on the length of time spent at this locality, it was the place of last residence which had the most immediate and striking impact on the individual's perceptions, compared to places of former abode elsewhere.

The second way in which 'origins' can affect decision-making is very indirect, and involves the complex manner in which different experiences influence the intangible realm of an individual's aspirations, preferences and emotions. Arguably, the social environment of birth-place and nurturing is more important here than place of last residence. However, as we have seen, this influence has possibly more relevance for the way that individuals look back and justify major events in their lives, in contrast to the 'immediate' influences that actually led to these events.

All places of residence have equal relevance for the third discerned aspect of the relationship between 'origins' and decision-making. This third aspect concerns the important association between an individual's place of residence and the nature of his or her contacts with other human beings. Throughout the course of a life-time individuals are

continually meeting up with new people and new ideas, and the contacts which they retain are capable of exerting a powerful influence on their decisions. To a large extent, contacts between human beings are created by (and they also partly determine) patterns of residence and migration. We know the people with whom we grow up, when we move away we meet others, and often we go to a particular place because people we know are already there. These statements are truisms, but nonetheless important, because the dissemination of information is often dependent on the nature of contacts between people, and the spread of ideas is vital to the process of emigration.

Contacts between emigrants who were living apart before emigration (but who became travel companions) are suggestive as to internal migration patterns. From the locations of these emigrants we can discern some of the migration chains which linked distinctive areas and job cultures. Shepherding families in the Borders and Caithness; domestic servants in Edinburgh and Dundee and agricultural families in the North-east and Lowland Perthshire; stone-masons in Glasgow and Edinburgh and their sisters in the hamlets of Dumbartonshire and the farms of the Black Isle, are examples of emigrants whose contacts one with another suggest migration chains.

Fig 5.2 Place of birth of Scottish emigrants (the census-traced group) going to New Zealand, c.1840 - 1880.

greater than:	0.0	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0
less than or equal to:	1.0	5.0	20.0	50.0	114.0
number of occurrences:	87	120	68	6	2

units: individuals
resolution of map: 10.00 km
location of map: 00500530 to 04601210

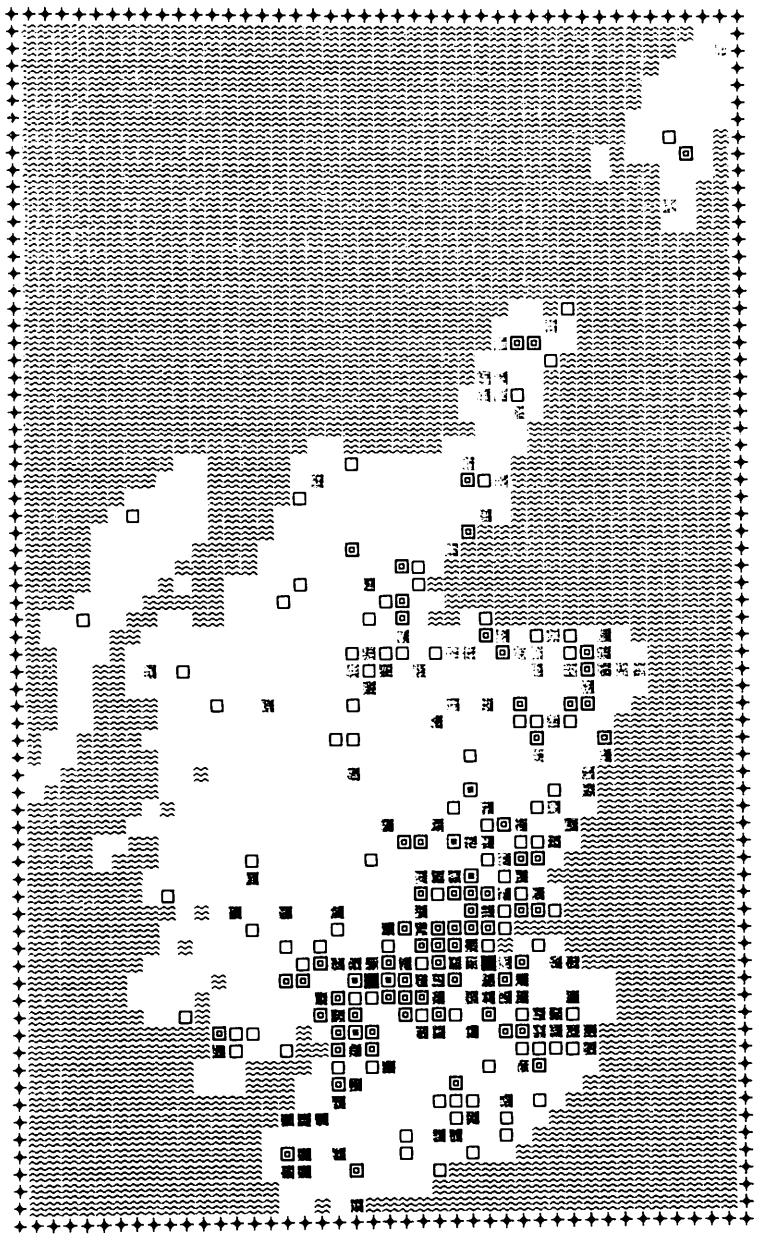


Figure 5.2 is interesting in this context. If we compare the map showing emigrants' birth-places (Figure 5.2) with the very similar map in Chapter Four which depicts emigrants' places of last residence, we see that the aggregate internal migration behaviour of all emigrants in the census-traced group amounted to only a very slight narrowing of the geographical field in which individuals lived, compared to that in which they had been born. This parallels the general convergence of the future emigrant population in the direction of the main centres of Scottish population. However, some individuals, such as Gilbert Grant who was born in Sutherland and who resided last in Glasgow, or Jane Paterson who was born in Edinburgh but who moved north after her marriage to the region of Caithness,[93] would be pin-pointed at very different localities on each of the two maps. Individuals did not always migrate in the direction of the economically 'advanced' regions, as we have seen. Of further interest is the observation that localities where emigrants last resided followed the same broad geographical framework as the localities wherein emigrants had been born, and that this observation remains valid even in those instances when place of last residence was of a considerable distance from place of birth. The migratory routes taken by emigrants prior to their emigration, and the (consequent and causal) networks of communication between individuals, encompassed the same regions of Scotland which tended to produce emigrants for New Zealand and generally excluded those regions which did not. A vital clue for our understanding of the relationship between emigrants' origins and the emigration process may lie in discovering the links between places of birth and places of last residence. The discovery of such links may be even more revealing than evaluations of economic and social conditions in the two types of residence.

An emphasis on the links between birth places and places of last residence reminds us of recent theories put forward by Scandinavian scholars.[94] These are based on the observation that Swedish emigrants with long experience of city life in Stockholm (and/or in other urban

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[93]The internal mobility behaviour of these two individuals is described is more detail in Sections 5.3.1 and 5.3.1.3 above.

[94]See Chapter Three, esp. Section 3.3.4.

areas) had often been born in rural areas characterised by high levels of emigration. A high proportion of emigration from nineteenth-century Stockholm may be attributable to renewed or sustained contacts between urban dwellers and the inhabitants of those rural areas which provided disproportionate numbers of emigrants relative to their total population. This possibility reinforces old ideas which suggest that emigration from urban areas related to earlier internal migration, and ultimately to conditions in rural areas.

Although the comparison is interesting, the same implications cannot be carried through to the Scotland and New Zealand case study: first, because emigrants from Scottish cities were seldom born in rural areas, and secondly, because information available about the flow of ideas between individuals suggests that impulse for emigration from the Scottish countryside to New Zealand often stemmed from contacts with the cities. The following two examples illustrate this latter point. When a settler in New Zealand wrote to his Scottish relatives on the subject of 'these shepherds being provided for New Zealand' his initial contact was with his kinswoman Ann MacColl of Glasgow. She was the communication link between the New Zealand settler and the parish of Glenorchy in Argyllshire, where her brother was parish minister.[95] In another example we can see how a kinship chain of emigrants was initiated after just one member of a Highland family came into contact with ideas current in the cities. Robert Murray was the second son of nine children born to a lotter of seven acres from Dornoch in Sutherland. Murray trained as a carpenter, and as a young journeyman worked in English and Scottish cities before going to New Zealand at the age of 29. Murray emigrated in 1849, a year of ebbing labour buoyancy in the Scottish Lowlands, and also a year in which the revamped Otago Scheme received a high public profile in major British cities. During the next decade: in 1855, 1856 and 1858, four of Robert's siblings followed their brother to Otago. One came with a wife and young children from Aboyne in Aberdeenshire, others came from Dornoch, and another came indirectly, via the alluvial fields of

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[95]Alexander Turnbull Library (Wellington, NZ), MSS 32/404, Donald McLean Correspondence, Letters to Ann MacColl of Renfrew St. Glasgow. (I am grateful to Mr Frank Rogers, archivist, of Wellington for pointing out this source to me.)

Victoria.[96] Most members of the family lived in a rural area prior to emigration but the initial contact with ideas about New Zealand was a result of Robert's experience in Lowland and English cities.

Nineteenth century commentators were often well aware of the close associations between migration, human contacts and friendships, changing attitudes, and the transmission of ideas. In the 1851 census report there is reference to the 'inevitable' and 'painful' 'separation of families by migration', happily mitigated by improvements in the 'facilities of travelling, of meeting, and of intercourse by letters'. The association between migration, residence, and an individual's attachment or sense of identity with a certain place was also recognised:

> Because of migration the whole of the inhabitants will gradually grow acquainted with different parts of their native land, to which, as well as to the town or village of their birth, it is desirable that the people of the United Kingdom should be attached...[97]

In Summary:

Emigrants from Scotland to New Zealand were seldom 'uprooted'. Only a small minority can be described as 'stage migrants' because there were few instances in which an individual or a family's emigration arose directly and immediately from a previous migration undertaken by the individual or family concerned. In particular, emigration cannot be explained as the culminating phase of 'rural-urban stage migration'. However, many emigrants had been migrants at some stage of their lives. Perhaps we should not be too rigid about definitions of 'stage migration'. The experience of changing residence, new contacts, and a fluctuating sense of identity may have resulted in an openness of attitude that predisposed 'migrants' to become

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[96]GRO, Cen. (Dornoch) 1841/47/9/, 1851/37/10/13, 1861/47/4/9; OESM, 'Otago Jubilee' entry for Robert Murray; OESM, Genealogical notes compiled by Eoin Bruce Murray; 'The Murray Family of Achvaich: Our Goodly Heritage', by R. Murray of Tauranga (NZ), and correspondence with Mr Murray of Tauranga, to whom I am very much obliged.

[97]*PP* 1852-3 [c.1691] LXXXVIII Part I, p.cviii.

'emigrants'.[98] Scandinavian scholars find that emigrants were, in general, more migratory than the sending population at large. Is this generalisation also applicable to those emigrants who left nineteenth century Scotland for the 'farthest promised land'?

5.4 Migrants and Emigrants

Many emigrants were highly mobile before they ever set out from their native Britain. Detailed case studies setting forth the experiences of individuals in this 'mobile' group give rise to speculation: did the emigration process tend to select individuals with past experience of migration? Several contemporary historians of emigration assume that it did.[99] However, the answer to this question is not simple, because internal migration was a normal expectation for most residents of nineteenth century Britain. In a recent article, 'Urban Migration in Victorian Britain', Michael Anderson reveals that 52 per cent of British urban dwellers were born outside the town in which they resided on the day of the 1851 census.[100] This percentage would be considerably higher if young children had been excluded from the population under scrutiny.[101]

Anderson's national sample of the original enumerators' books of the 1851 census of Great Britain provides a valuable set of 'control' data against which the profile of emigrants in the Scotland/New Zealand data-base can be measured. Emigrants in the 'census-traced' group were generally less migratory than individuals in Anderson's sample of

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[98]There is evidence in the Scandinavian literature that migrants and emigrants had attained a higher degree of literacy on average than was the case for non-migrants. (K. Hvidt, *Flight to America,* op. cit.) There is no comparable data about British migrants and emigrants although Michael Anderson shows that migrants (of British birth) who resided in British cities were more likely to know their ages (and hence may have been better educated) than non-migrants. (Anderson, 'Urban Migration in Victorian Britain', op. cit. p. 89.) Obviously a wider range of information, including presumably information about emigration, was available to those who possessed skills of literacy than to those who did not.

[99] Eric Richards, 'Voices of British Migrants in Nineteenth Century Australia', Paper Presented to the Social History Society Conference: Migration and Social Change, Oxford, 5 Jan., 1989.

[100]op. cit. p. 81.

[101]Also of course those who moved away and subsequently returned to the registration district of their birth (i.e. before the 1851 census) would be counted as non-migrants.

Victorian urban districts. Applying Anderson's criteria for determining migrant status, we find that fewer than half (43.5 per cent) of the emigrants were former migrants. The proportion is higher, and more in line with Anderson's results, for emigrants whose place of last residence was an urban area. (Of emigrants living in major cities, large towns or small industrial towns, 50.1 per cent, 46.7 per cent and 48.1 per cent, respectively, are classified as 'migrants'.)

In calculating these percentages, 'migrants' are defined as individuals born outside the registration district or else outside the county[102] in which they were resident, as shown by the census. Individuals born in other countries (either within the UK or else overseas) are included in the 'migrant' group. Earlier in this chapter, Table 5.6 presents data concerning emigrants' birthplaces which are also reliant on information from census entries. However, these data include only those emigrants born in Scotland for whom registration district of birth is known. Emigrants who resided last in Scotland, but who were born outside Scotland, for example, in England or in Ireland, are excluded from the table (as are all emigrants found in the 1841 but no other census schedule). Of the remaining group of 'native-born' emigrants just over one third (35.6 per cent) were resident outside the parish of their birth at the time of the census prior to their emigration. The percentage who were former migrants is 49 per cent if adults only amongst the native-born are considered.[103]

A subsample of Michael Anderson's sample of the 1851 census books (which selects individuals from the main sample only if they were resident in one of the regional clusters consisting of a Scottish registration district) was investigated in order to see how the former migration experience of emigrants compared to the Scottish population as a whole.[104] Contrary to expectations, the comparison suggests that

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[102]Information about county of birth is especially relevant for individuals found only in the 1841 census because information about parish of birth was not recorded until the 1851 census.

[103]'Adults' are defined here and elsewhere in analysis as persons over 14 years of age. In this instance age refers to the age of individuals at the time of the census preceding their emigration.

[104]I am very grateful to Professor Anderson for easy access to his data-base, and for his assistance in the use of it.

emigrants were considerably less migratory than the general population. Nearly two of every three native-born Scots in the subsample (including children) were resident outside the parish of their birth at the time of the 1851 census.[105] The ratio of migrants to non-migrants would be even more impressive had Scottish residents born outside Scotland been included in the tally. Nineteenth century commentators recognised that more Scots per capita of population left their native land than was the case for persons born in England and Wales; from Anderson's data we see that Scots who remained in Scotland were also more mobile, generally speaking, than were their southern neighbours.

Nearly twice as many native-born Scots (resident in Scotland in 1851) lived outside the parish of their birth compared to New Zealand-bound emigrants born in Scotland and located in the Scottish censuses. This disproportion is too pronounced to be accounted for entirely by the unavoidable bias in the census-traced group which tends to disfavour emigrants with a recent history of high mobility before leaving Scotland. As a group, the emigrants were probably less, and certainly no more, migratory than ordinary Scots. This discovery is at variance with the results of Scandinavian studies. It suggests that 'migrants' and 'emigrants' were very often drawn from different sections of the Scottish population. By implication, acts of 'migration' and of 'emigration' are unlikely to have been simple 'alternative' responses to given economic and social situations.

Some of the differences between 'migrants' and 'emigrants' can be explored further by considering the patterns of mobility within the UK, the demographic profile, and the occupational structure of the two groups.

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[105]Of the Scots-born living in Scottish registration districts in 1851, 63.7% were migrants according to the evidence of the subsample. The corresponding figure for the Scots-born in the census-traced group is 35.6%.

TABLE 5.7 BIRTHPLACE OF EMIGRANTS (THE CENSUS-TRACED GROUP) AND OF THE SCOTTISH POPULATION IN 1851 BY REGION OF RESIDENCE

RESIDENCE		BIRTHPLACE									total	
		Far North %	Highland & Hebrides %	North-east %	East Lowlands %	West Lowlands %	Borders & South west %	Scotland (county unknown) %	Ireland %	Rest of GB & overseas %	%	n
Far North	Emigts: Sc.	90.4	3.8	1.0	2.9	1.0	1.0	0	0	0	100.1	104
	popn:	95.5	2.1	0.6	0.8	0.2	0.2	0	0.1	0.8	100.0	101,242
Highlands & Hebs	Emigts: Sc.	0.7	86.6	3.5	0.7	3.5	0.7	2.1	0	2.1	99.9	142
	popn:	0.4	91.8	1.6	1.4	2.7	0.4	0	0.9	0.8	100.0	310,906
North-east	Emigts: Sc.	0.6	6.4	86.6	1.7	0.6	0	2.9	0	1.2	100.0	172
	popn:	0.4	3.2	91.1	2.7	0.5	0.1	0	0.7	1.2	99.9	349,716
East Lowlands	Emigts: Sc.	0.7	0.6	1.0	86.0	2.4	0.7	5.8	0.9	1.8	99.9	671
	popn:	0.5	1.3	1.8	83.3	3.3	2.2	0	5.1	2.5	100.0	927,531
West Lowlands	Emigts: Sc.	0	1.3	0.8	4.1	74.0	0.8	9.2	7.1	2.8	100.1	638
	popn:	0.2	4.0	0.4	6.4	69.9	1.8	0	15.3	2.1	100.1	926,231
Borders & South-west	Emigts: Sc.	0	0	0	2.5	0.6	91.4	1.8	1.8	1.8	99.9	163
	popn:	0.1	0.3	0.2	3.4	2.8	84.9	0	5.1	3.3	100.1	273,199

NOTES: For emigrants, region of residence refers to location in the census prior to emigration; for the Scottish population, region of residence refers to places of residence at the time of the 1851 census. (The Scottish population figures are derived from Flinn,et al. *Scottish Population History* (Cambridge, 1977), Table 6.3.1, p. 462.)

Table 5.7 sets out the region (or alternatively the country) of birth of emigrants in the census-traced group according to the region in which the emigrants last resided prior to their emigration. A parallel set of figures based on tabulations in the published census show the birth-place by residence of all inhabitants in Scotland in 1851.[106] The table reveals that New Zealand-bound emigrants who last resided in the Borders, or the East or West Lowlands, were more likely to have been born in the region of their residence than was the case for the bulk of the Scottish population who resided in these districts. In particular, the emigrants were less likely to have been Irish-born than the total residential population. However, emigrants whose place of last residence was in the Highlands and Hebrides, North-east or Far North of Scotland were more likely to have migrated across regions during their life-times than was the case for all Scots resident in the Highlands and the North. Amongst the emigrants as a group there seems to have been considerably more migration between the Highlands (probably eastern parts of the Highlands) and the North-east, and from the East Central Lowlands to the Far North than was generally typical of the Scottish population as a whole. On the other hand, there were higher proportions of Highlanders, Irish, English, foreigners, and migrants from other parts of the Lowlands found living in the West and East Lowlands in 1851, than can be observed amongst the emigrant group

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[106]The birth-place and residence breakdown of the Scottish population in 1851 is derived from Michael Flinn's regional aggregates of data recorded at the county level in the published census, *Scottish Population History,* op. cit. Table 6.3.1, p.462. As Flinn points out (ibid. p. 460) there is a problem with the published data because individuals living in Scotland in the mid-nineteenth century usually gave information about their birth-place in terms of a civil county whereas they were enumerated for residence according to the registration counties. Hence some persons who had lived all there lives in the same parish might appear as migrants in the published tables. This problem does not arise in the case of the census-traced group because the data are taken from the original census returns and all parishes are grouped according to the boundaries for registration counties as these existed in 1871. The extent of 'spurious' migration in the published county figures is discussed in a recent article by Jeanette Brock, 'Spurious Migration in the Scottish Census. Notes and Comments', *Scottish Economic and Social History* 9 (1989), 80-7. This problem affects the regional figures given in Table 5.7 to a lesser extent than the county figures because much of the spurious migration would have occurred within rather than between regions.

who resided in the central belt.[107] These comparisons are crude but suggestive nevertheless. For most New Zealand-bound emigrants (the majority lived in or near the industrial Lowlands prior to emigration) it seems improbable that the emigration experience arose from the general context of internal migration. Hence the emigration decisions of individuals in the 'majority group' are unlikely to have related to former migration decisions. Table 5.7 suggests that these generalisations may not hold true for the smaller group of New Zealand-bound emigrants who came from the Highlands and the North.

The directions in which most internal migrants moved are usually clearer to see if residence is broken down by birth-place rather than vice-versa (as in Table 5.7). Although the extent of mobility between the two groups may have varied, emigrants in the census-traced group had moved in the same general directions within Scotland as migrants in the total Scottish population. The most common patterns included migration into adjacent regions, migration from north to south, and migration from west to east. Both the census-traced group and the published census data show that individuals born in the Highlands were more likely to have been living in a Scottish region outside that in which they had been born compared to Scots born in any other region.[108]

The directions of inter-regional migration become more obvious again when birth place and residence data are organised according to a regional classification system based on economic and geographical differences between areas as opposed to administrative definitions. Using Levitt and Smout's classification of parishes, for example, we see that emigrants born in the 'Central Highland' region (consisting of mainland Inverness-shire, North-west Perthshire and Highland Aberdeenshire) and emigrants born in the 'West Highlands' (Argyllshire, the Hebrides and the North-west coast) were more migratory than emigrants born in other regions. Over one in ten (11.4 per cent) of emigrants born in the Central Highlands had moved to the adjacent region consisting of South and East Perthshire, Angus and

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[107]This observation also holds for the Borders with the one qualification that a higher proportion of emigrants from the Borders were born in the Highlands compared to the bulk of resdents in the Borders.

[108]For evidence from the published census see Flinn, et al. op. cit. Table 6.3.2, p. 463.

East Fife; and a similar proportion (10.5 per cent) of emigrants born in the West Highlands lived in the West Central Lowlands prior to their emigration. Emigrants born in the North-east Highlands (Easter Ross, North-east Inverness and East Sutherland) on the other hand tended to move south and east, especially to the adjacent Aberdeenshire district, or else further afield to the East Central Lowlands. There is no reason to expect that these former migratory routes taken by emigrants were dissimilar to those undertaken by migrants in the Scottish population at large.[109]

The cumulative distance (as 'the crow flies') travelled between birth-place and census-time residence can be calculated for emigrants in the census-traced group and for individuals in the Scottish subsample from Michael Anderson's data-base.[110] The data about migration distances suggest both contrasts and similarities between migrants in the two groups. The majority of native-born emigrants who are defined as former migrants (79.6 per cent), and most native-born migrants in Anderson's subsample (77.7 per cent), lived less than fifty kilometres from their birth-place at census time. Only about one in ten of migrants in both the emigrant group and the population subsample moved a cumulative distance of more than one hundred kilometres over the course of their life-times (as revealed by the census). Most migration, then, was over fairly small distances. However, a slightly higher percentage of migrants in the general population moved long distances than was the case for former migrants amongst the emigrants. Also, a significantly smaller proportion of migrants in the emigrant group moved less than ten kilometres over their life-times compared to migrants in Anderson's sub-sample: over two-fifths (40.9 per cent) of the latter group moved within the very small distance range of less than ten kilometres, while the same is true of 30.0 per cent of migrants amongst the emigrants.

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[109]Reorganisation of Anderson's data into regional units along the lines of those defined by Levitt and Smout was too big a task for the present project. For notes on their geographical classification of regions see Levitt and Smout, op. cit. pp. 4-5; a listing of the regions and component territories delineated by Levitt and Smout is provided in Appendix Two.

[110]All measured distances given in this paragraph are 'as the crow flies'. They are calculated (using the Theorem of Pythagoras) as the closest distance between two points and they take no account of transport realities.

Both the emigrant population and the general population confirm Ravenstein's Laws in that women in the two groups were more migratory than men but tended to move smaller distances.[111] Women, of course, were a smaller proportion of the emigrant compared to the general population.[112] This structural difference between the two groups accounts to some extent for the higher mobility evident amongst Scots in the 1851 population subsample compared to the Scots who became emigrants, and also, for the greater likelihood for individuals in the former group to have moved only a very small distance.

Age-structural differences between the two populations, on the other hand, tend to confound rather than explain the very different extent of life-time migration witnessed in the two groups. Children, like women, are (slightly) under-represented in the 'samples' of the emigrant population compared to the sending population at large.[113] Until the quinquennial age-group of twenty to twenty-four years, young persons show a greater propensity to be 'non-migrants' than is the case for all age-groups. (This observation holds true both for emigrants in the census-traced group and for individuals in the Scottish subsample of the 1851 census.) Hence, the small ratio of young dependents to adults characteristic of emigrant populations reinforces the probability that emigrants had been former migrants. Had the two populations under scrutiny been standardised for age structure, differences in the extent of mobility displayed by the two groups would have been more, rather than less, striking.

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[111]E. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Royal Statistical Society* XLVIII (1885), 167-227, and LII (1889), 241-301. The two populations also 'obey' Ravenstein's laws in that while most migration was across small distances, there was a positive correlation between the size and complexity of the receiving area and the distance moved. For example, over half of the former migrants living in major cities prior to their emigration were born in districts over 50 kilometres from their place of residence; by contrast, only 6% and 10% of emigrants living in 'small industrial towns' and 'urban villages', respectively, had been born at a distance more than 50 kilometres from their dwelling place.

[112]The ratio of males for every hundred females in the census-traced group is 132.0 while in the subsample of the Scottish population there are only 91.7 males for every hundred females.

[113]The extent of under-representation of children (less than 15 years of age) in the census-traced group and the total list is not striking, see Chapter Six (Section 6.3.1).

And yet, the general tendency for emigrants to have been 'less migratory' than the sending population did not hold true for all age groups. Also, migration behaviour across the age groups varied in contrasting ways for the two populations. Emigrants between forty and forty-four years of age, for example, were just as likely to be living outside their parish of birth as was the case for ordinary Scots of the same age cluster in 1851. In the Scottish subsample of the 1851 census a dramatic drop in the ratio of non-migrants to migrants occurs between the quinquennial age groups of fifteen to nineteen and twenty to twenty-four years. A drop of comparable size between the same age groups does not occur for the census-traced group. This is probably because emigrants in their early twenties are under-represented in the census-traced group (compared to the 'real' or hypothetical emigrant population)[114] and the most mobile of the twenty to twenty-four year olds are probably the least likely of all emigrants to be located in the censuses. More intriguing, perhaps, is the substantial drop in the ratio of non-migrants to migrants that occurs in the census-traced group between the age groups twenty to twenty-four, and twenty-five to twenty-nine, and again between the age-groups twenty-five to twenty-nine, and thirty to thirty-four. In the Scottish subsample, by contrast, only a very slight drop in the ratio of non-migrants to migrants is observed for the first of these two sets of age-groups, while a slight rise in the ratio occurs for the second. Early to middle-aged adults seem to have been a mobile sector within the census-traced group. In particular, they seem more migratory compared to other emigrants than was true of native-born Scots of the same age groups relative to younger and older members of the Scottish population.

Another, possibly related, observation is with respect to the migration patterns of children under fifteen years of age. Demographers would normally expect the zero to fifteen year old age group to follow patterns exhibited by adults of ages twenty-five to forty years.[115] This is because most young childen who migrated would usually have done so in the

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[114]Emigrants in their early twenties in the census-traced group are also under-represented compared to the total list (but not markedly so). See Chapter Two, Section 2.5.

[115]Michael Drake, *Historical Demography. Problems and Projects*, Unit 8: Migration (Open University, 1974).

company of their parents. However, the tendency for the children of emigrants to have moved certain distances was quite different from that of the age groups most likely to include their parents.[116] The implication of this (and the above observations) is that a substantial proportion of emigrants of 'parenting age' had migrated at some stage of their lives, but generally before the onset of family formation.

[116]This observation also holds for the Scottish subsample, but less distinctly so. It seems that the 'rule' only applies if parents' migration before marriage was minimal (and we cannot assume this in the case of nineteenth century Scotland).

TABLE 5.8 LIFE-TIME MIGRATION STATUS OF FAMILIES IN THE CENSUS-TRACED GROUP: A COMPARISON BETWEEN FAMILIES WITH EMIGRANT MEMBERS AND FAMILIES WITHOUT EMIGRANT MEMBERS.

	Families with at least one member who became an emigrant %	Families with no emigrant members %
Non-migrant family	25.5	33.5
Mother only migrant	12.1	5.9
Father only migrant	7.1	2.5
Parents both migrants, all children non-migrants	14.4	5.9
Parent(s) migrants some children migrants	8.2	4.0
Parents migrants, most children migrants	7.6	2.0
All family members migrants	25.1	46.3
TOTAL (%)	100.0	100.1
(n)	605	203

Note: A 'migrant' is here so defined if his/her parish of birth differs from his/her parish of residence.

TABLE 5.9 EMIGRANTS AND NON-EMIGRANTS IN THE CENSUS-TRACED GROUP: EXTENT OF INTERNAL MIGRATION BY FAMILY STATUS

	SINGLE ADULTS (without family)		FAMILIES: After family formation	
	Emigrants	Non-emigrants	Emigrant Members	No Emigrant Members
	%	%	%	%
'Stability'	9.3	7.1	51.5	37.6
Local moves (within parish)	25.6	27.0	8.3	8.6
Moves within county	16.3	25.3	18.2	22.8
Migration beyond county	40.7	34.5	14.2	26.9
Migration outside Scotland	8.1	6.1	7.8	4.1
Total (%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
(n)	107	411	599	197

Tables 5.8 and 5.9 present results from an attempt to explore the question of migration further using the 'family' rather than the 'individual' as the basic unit for analysis.[117] In these tables emigrants in the census-traced group are compared to their co-residents at census time who did not become emigrants. The 'non-emigrants' in the census traced group are not claimed to be a representative sample of the Scottish population, but their characteristics as a group are a good deal closer to those of the sending population than the emigrants themselves. In particular, the sex ratio, age structure and ratio of migrants to non-migrants of the 'non-emigrants' in the census-traced group are more akin to the sending than the emigrant population.

The two tables reinforce ideas about variation in the extent of emigrants' former migration experience across the family life-cycle. We see from Table 5.8 that a substantially smaller proportion of families providing emigrants fulfilled the criterion that all family members were 'migrants', compared to families with no emigrant members. Depending on the size of families, this would explain why 'non-emigrants' in the data-base appear more migratory than 'emigrants' when the data are tallied in terms of the experience of individuals. At the family level of aggregation, by contrast, the background of emigrants was more migratory than that of non-emigrants in the sense that a higher proportion of families providing emigrants (about three-quarters compared to approximately two-thirds of families with no emigrant members) included at least one person who is classified as a 'migrant'. In over one-third of instances this person was not a child but one or other or both of the parents of the family whose members became emigrants. The migration of parents without their children, or with some children only, is of course indicative of migration by individuals before, or by families at an early stage of, family formation. Table 5.8 suggests that a pattern of high mobility in youth followed by increasing stability after marriage, and particularly after the birth of children, is

[117]For the purposes of the two tables, families are defined as either married couples or parent(s) with children. Family status depends on circumstances at census time (as opposed to family situation at the time of emigration). For more detail on definitions of 'family' and 'household' used in the study, see Chapter Seven.

stronger for those family units which produced emigrants, compared to families in the data-base without emigrant members.[118]

The nature and extent of migration by families after family formation is shown in Table 5.9. Families with emigrant members were significantly less migratory, and significantly less likely to have moved long distances beyond county boundaries than families which did not produce emigrants. 'Emigrant families' were more migratory than 'non-emigrant families' only in the sense that they show a greater propensity to have lived outside Scotland (after the birth of children but before emigration) than the latter group. Not surprisingly, a former 'emigration experience' did predispose individuals and families to become emigrants to New Zealand, although the influence of a former 'migration experience' seems altogether more puzzling.

The patterns of migration by unmarried adults who did not live in a household headed by either of their parents (or by one of their siblings) are also indicated by Table 5.9. Adult emigrants found to have lived outside a family context at census time are compared to their peers - in most instances employees or co-resident kin living in the same household and of similar relationship to the household head as the future-emigrants themselves. Interestingly, the patterns and extent of migration by single adults who became emigrants appear far more similar to the migration experiences of non-emigrants of comparable family status than is suggested by the comparison between emigrant and non-emigrant families. Young emigrants of independent family status were highly mobile, as were their peers.[119] The main difference between the 'emigrants' and the 'non-emigrants' amongst the young and single is the apparently higher propensity of individuals in the latter group to have made frequent moves within a county boundary. The future emigrants, on the other hand, were more likely to have moved across county boundaries or else outside Scotland than was the case for their peers. The high proportion of adult emigrants who moved

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[118]The implications of this discovery are discussed below.

[119]This observation holds true for young female emigrants as well as males, but the number of female emigrants in the group was too small to be reliable.

across county boundaries (but remained within Scotland) is in direct contrast to the patterns exhibited by 'emigrant families'.

The age structure and the family orientation of a population have a strong effect on the apparent tendency for individuals in a particular population to be 'migrants'. Emigrants, at least those whose experiences are recorded in the census-traced group, were less migratory after marriage and the birth of children than other Scots of similar age; however, the evidence of migration status controlled for age and for family status suggests that before marriage and as young adults, emigrants were just as migratory as their peers. This observation undermines our earlier assumption that 'emigrants' and 'migrants' were generally drawn from different sections of the Scottish population, an assumption which rests on the grounds that emigrants were significantly less mobile within Scotland than the Scottish population at large. Some emigrants, in particular those who were young, unmarried and largely independent of family ties, may have come from the same 'population pool' as that which produced the 'migrants'. For this group, perhaps a significant sector within the Scottish population (and certainly a bigger section of the 'real' emigrant population than is suggested by the census-traced group) migration and emigration could well have appeared as alternative strategies to counter the same set of social and economic conditions.

An observer of agrarian conditions in East Lothian in 1860 recorded that 'some families within the last few years have emigrated from this parish (Whitekirk) to Australia'. The 'more enterprising of the young men', on the other hand, left the parish for 'Edinburgh or for England', while young females sought service positions - 'Edinburgh being generally preferred'.[120] Inadvertently, the commentator describes how migration from Whitekirk parish varied according to life-cycle stage and family status. Once a hind had married and begun to rear children he was unlikely to leave the area - often remaining for many years on the same farm, 'and when changing masters, to an adjoining farm, rather

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[120]*North British Agriculturalist and Edinburgh Evening Journal* XII, No. 16 (18 Apr. 1860), 411.

than to a distant part of the country'.[121] Unmarried men and women, by contrast, made frequent moves within the local area and were more likely to move further afield or to the cities than was the case for family groups.

Other qualitative evidence shows how old age or widowhood created circumstances which encouraged migration at a later stage of the individual life-cycle. Agricultural labourers, for example, often moved into the urban areas or villages to look for light or part-time work after their families had left home and they themselves could no longer sustain the physical rigour of full farm service. [122]

Variations in migration patterns across the life-cycle provide clues as to the relationship between external and internal migration. In several respects the two sets of migrational behaviour are unlikely to have been connected. Many emigrants, particularly those who headed family groups, left Scotland at a 'settled' stage of the family life cycle when the likelihood of family mobility within Scotland was at its lowest point. This usually coincided with the middle or later stages of child rearing, the attainment of reasonably secure employment by one or several members of the family group, and, in some instances, with the period after a family's 'return' to either of the parent's place of origin. Families who had resided at the same address for a number of years were easy to find in the census, and almost certainly over-represented in the census-traced group (relative to the 'real' emigrant population). Nevertheless, a noteworthy proportion of families within the 'real' or hypothetical emigrant population must have emigrated, like the hinds of Whitekirk parish, at a stable stage of the family life-cycle. For the heads of these families emigration offered an alternative - not to internal migration, but to staying at home.

Similarly, emigration and internal migration were unlikely to have been 'alternative' responses to the predicaments and problems of old age. This is clear from the compelling evidence of a number of sources

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[121] ibid.

[122] This was commented on by the Scottish Poor Law Commission. Examples are citied in A. Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850* (Manchester, 1926), pp.108-10.

which show that very few people became emigrants in old age. Of emigrants in the census-traced group (which probably over-represents the older age groups with respect to the 'real' emigrant population) only 2.5 per cent were 55 years or over at the time of their embarkation.[123] By contrast, Scots in the same age category accounted for 9.1 per cent of the total population, and 10.0 per cent of the 'migrants' in the Scottish subsample of the 1851 census.

There must have been many instances in nineteenth century Scotland when choices between staying at home and going abroad, or between staying on in a locality and moving to another part of the country were wholly independent of each other. Emigration decisions were often made by individuals at a stage of the life-cycle when they would not have considered internal migration. Internal migration, on the other hand, was undertaken by individuals during a phase of life when emigration would seldom have been very feasible. If emigration and migration were substitutes for a portion of the Scottish population, then this 'population pool' would have consisted chiefly of young unmarried persons and the members of recently formed families.

Young adults of marriageable age and young families accounted for a significant proportion of the Scots who became either migrants or emigrants in any decade of the nineteenth century.[124] Because this was so, we might still expect to find evidence of an inverse relationship

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[123]Only 1% of emigrants in the total list declared an age of 55 years or over. There were facilities whereby emigrants could be assisted to New Zealand or Australia (such as the 'nominated passage' scheme) which were not prejudicial to the aged. (More details are given in Chapter Seven.) However, persons over 45 years of age were not eligible for most forms of passage assistance.

[124]We can verify very little, in fact, about the ages of people when they moved within Scotland. However, as is the case with most of our 'knowledge' about internal migration, there are a number of sources from which we can make inferences about the age of migrants. For example, the published censuses can be used to compare the number of individuals in any quinquennial age group living in counties with a high level of net out-migration - with the number of individuals in the same counties who were ten years older by the time of the following census. Such comparisons suggest very high levels of mobility for individuals between the ages of 15 and 24. Age at emigration on the other hand (at least with regard to the Scots who went to New Zealand) can be calculated with a reasonable degree of reliability. Of emigrants in the census-traced group and total list, respectively, 47.3% and 54.7% were between the ages of 15 and 34 years at the time of their embarkation. By contrast, 33.5% of Scots in the subsample from Mike Anderson's data-base were between 15 and 34 years of age, and this age category accounted for 35.6% of the 'migrants'.

between the fluctuations in migration and emigration rates, even if the two types of mobility were 'substitute' forms of behaviour for only the youthful and most mobile section of the Scottish population. In his econometric analysis of migration and emigration from English and Welsh counties in the second half of the nineteenth century, Dudley Baines finds no significant negative correlation between migration and emigration.[125] In addition, there is no consistent evidence in Baines's data to show that counties with high long-run emigration rates produced small numbers of migrants (or vice versa), or that the fluctuations in the two sets of rates followed a clear inverse pattern.[126] Research of precision akin to that carried out by Dudley Baines has yet to be completed using the Scottish birth-place and residence data. For the purposes of the present project a series of rough estimates of net emigration and net migration (into other parts of Scotland) was calculated for selected Scottish counties.[127] These estimates suggest no neat inverse relationship between county internal and external migration rates.

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[125]But compare note 134 below.

[126]See Baines, op. cit. esp. Chapter 8 and Appendix 7 (by Mary Morgan). For further discussion of the implications of Baines's results see Chapter Three.

[127]These estimates are derived using a crude version of "Baines's method". *Net out-migration* is calculated by finding the difference between the actual and expected population increase for each county on a decadal basis. *Net migration into other counties of Scotland* is estimated for each county by finding the difference between the number of individuals in one census year and the next who were born in a particular county but living elsewhere on census night. This difference is adjusted for wastage through mortality throughout the decade. *Net emigration from any county* is the difference between net out-migration from the county and net migration from the county into other Scottish counties throughout the decade. (This estimate of course includes emigration into England and Wales.) The estimates derived for the present project may be wildly inaccurate. The main sources of error arise from changes in county boundaries; anomalies in the way birth-place and residence were recorded (see note 106 above); and inaccurate assumptions respecting the death-rates of migrant populations. Migrant death rates depend on the age structure of the migrant population (an 'unknown' factor). In the present project, estimates of wastage through mortality in the migrant population in any one decade were calculated using the average crude death rate for Scotland during that decade. Depending on the extent of difference between 'real' death rates of migrants and those used in the calculations, the estimated level of internal migration out of each county, and consequently, the level of external migration from that county, might vary markedly from the 'real' levels of internal and external migration. For a detailed discussion of the methodological difficulties involved in these estimation procedures see Baines, op. cit. Chap. 4. For scholars intent on pursuing this area of analysis, Michael Anderson's data-base would provide a useful source for testing assumptions about the age structure of migrant populations.

Ayrshire, for example, was an industrial county in the West Lowlands, characterised by a high rate of net out-migration, high levels of mobility into other parts of Scotland, especially neighbouring Lanarkshire, and also by a high rate of emigration.[128] During the 1870s net out-migration (of the Ayr-born) from Ayrshire fell by 16.5 per cent compared with the decade before. As expected, most of this decrease (73.7 per cent) was due to a decline in emigration. The level of emigration from Ayr dropped by 31.6 per cent in the 1870s compared to the 1860s. However, the level of internal migration into other counties also fell (although by only 7 per cent) in the same period. During the 1880s, emigration from Ayrshire rose substantially, while movement into other counties continued to fall.

Compared to this 'Lowland' experience, the fluctuations in external and internal mobility from the Highland region were spectacularly different. Net out-migration from the Highlands also fell in the 1870s and rose again in the 1880s. But in the Highland case, the level of movement abroad (including emigration to England and Wales) declined by only 7.0 per cent between the decades of 1861-70 and 1871-80, and unlike the pattern exhibited by most other regions in Britain, it dropped again (by 2.6 per cent) in the 1880s. Migration from the Highland region into other parts of Scotland, on the other hand, fell by 12.9 per cent in the 1870s (accounting for the largest share of the total decline in net out-migration in that decade) and rose again in the 1880s - by a noteworthy 58.1 per cent - which more than compensated for the fall in emigration. The rise in internal mobility from the Highland counties during the 1880s did not continue into the 1890s.[129]

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[128]Natives of Ayrshire who moved into other Scottish counties (net of returns) during the 1860s and 1870s accounted for as much as 15.1% and 13.2% of the mean Ayr-born population living in Ayr (i.e. the county) during these decades. Net emigration of the natives of Ayr during the same decades accounted for 9.5% and 6.1% of the native-born residential population. (Emigration figures calculated for this paragraph and the next include emigration from Scotland to other parts of the UK.) Both the internal and the external (net) migration rates for Ayr are high compared with those calculated by Dudley Baines for English and Welsh counties. (Compare Baines, op. cit. Table 8.6, pp.232-33.) Ayrshire was also consistently over-represented as a source area for the provision of emigrants to New Zealand. (See Chapter Four.)

[129]These figures are based on Adam Collier, *The Crofting Problem* (Cambridge, 1953), Table 14, p.138.

Irregularities in the expected fluctuations of external and internal migration from Scottish counties tend to confute rather than support the theory that emigration and internal migration were substitutes (even if we are considering only the portion of the Scottish population caught in the confluence of the two 'pools' - of potential migrants and potential emigrants). Rather than suggesting an inverse relationship between the two sets of rates, the rough estimates of internal and external migration from Scottish counties in the second half of the nineteenth century might be interpreted as suggesting a slight positive co-relation between the two rates, which was complicated by a long-term decline in internal migration (caused by factors largely independent of external migration rates) and by decades of exceptionally high emigration.

The fluctuations in the Highland decadal rates of internal and external migration confound evidence in support of a suggestion made by Michael Flinn. Flinn wondered whether Scots born in the Highland region were more inclined to migrate internally but less ready to leave Scotland altogether than their compatriots born in other regions. Regional net out-migration rates for the second half of the nineteenth century, and the proportion of the native-born to each region who were resident outside the region of their birth on census night in 1851, provide the evidence which substantiates Flinn's supposition.[130]

Flinn points out that net out-migration rates were generally lower for the Highlands than for other mainly rural regions of Scotland, while, on the other hand, a higher proportion of Highlanders lived in Scotland but outside the region of their birth compared to Scots born elsewhere. (This latter observation is despite the immense size of the Highland region, a factor which would tend to conceal the internal mobility of Highlanders to a greater extent than the other regional boundaries would conceal the internal mobility of other Scots.)

The proportion of Highlanders living outside the Highland region may have been unusually high in the spring of 1851. This possibility arises because the late 1840s and early 1850s were crisis years when

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[130]Flinn et al, op. cit. Tables 6.3.2 and 6.3.3, pp. 463-5. This issue is raised also in Chapter Four (Section 4.4.3) of the present dissertation.

temporary migration from the Highlands and Hebrides ran at unprecedented levels, and the 'season' for seeking employment in the Lowlands was extended beyond its normal limits.[131] The 1851 figures were compared with subsequent census years and the results of this exercise are surprising. Not only was the proportion of Highlanders living outside the Highland region sustained throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, but it also seems to have increased slightly in the decades following 1851. About two-fifths of adults born in Argyllshire, for example, were resident in Scotland outside the Highland region. More precisely, the figure was 38.7 per cent (for all adults) in 1851, rising to 40.2 per cent for men (and 45.0 per cent for women) in 1861, rising again in 1871 (to 43.3 per cent for men) then levelling (at 42.4 per cent for men) in 1881 and 1891. The pattern for the other Highland counties was similar.[132]

The changes in the proportion of Highlanders living outside the Highland region at census time do not indicate the same level of fluctuation in internal migration from the Highlands as the decadal internal migration rates (calculated using cohort depletion estimates or "Baines's method"). We saw above that migration from the Highlands into other parts of Scotland dropped in the 1870s and then rose decisively in the 1880s, but this fluctuation is not reflected in the changing proportion of Highlanders living outside the region of their birth (except, perhaps, in the case of the county of Inverness).

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[131]This comment is based on the recent extensive research of Tom Devine *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988). During the desperate years of the late 1840s and early 1850s heads of families as well as the usual flocks of young, unmarried persons left island and highland homes for a period of weeks or months in an attempt to supplement the exhausted resources of the peasant economy.

[132]The percentage of adults (males only, except in 1851) who were born in the other Highland counties and resident outside the Highland region (but elsewhere in Scotland) was for each county in each census year (between 1851 and 1891, inclusive) as follows:

Sutherland	1851, 21.7%; 1861, 28.5%; 1871, 28.9%; 1881, 29.0%; 1891, 26.8%
Ross & Cromarty	1851, 10.2%; 1861, 16.4%; 1871, 19.2%; 1881, 20.3%; 1891, 21.8%
Inverness	1851, 21.6%; 1861, 25.9%; 1871, 30.0%; 1881, 29.6%; 1891, 33.0%.

In determining these percentages persons twenty years or over are defined as adults, and the counties of Sutherland, Ross and Cromarty, Inverness, and Argyllshire are defined as the 'Highlands'. (The figures are calculated from tables accompanying the published census reports.)

A clue which might explain this apparent paradox can be found in the New Zealand data. When the birth place of emigrants in the census-traced group is broken down by region of last residence, we see that emigrants born in Highland regions were more likely to be living outside the region of their birth, just prior to emigration, than emigrants born in other parts of Scotland.[133] Here we have a parallel observation to that made by Michael Flinn. Given that net out-migration from the Highlands was not atypically high compared to other regions, it is tempting to use Flinn's observation regarding Highlanders' residence patterns in support of the case that, as far as the Highland-born were concerned, internal migration became a substitute for external migration during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, the same implication cannot be drawn from the parallel observation in the New Zealand data because the 'internal migrants' born in the Highlands are, by definition, also 'emigrants'. If a sizeable proportion of the Highlanders who lived outside the Highland region at census-time went on to become emigrants, but failed to do so to a commensurate extent during the 1880s, this would explain why the seemingly sustained high levels of internal migration by Highlanders, as indicated by the residence data, is not supported by the decadal estimates of internal migration rates. Most emigration took place in the summer months, so it is not inconceivable that many Highlanders counted in Lowland registration districts in the spring-time censuses, later became emigrants.

We saw above that only a small proportion of emigrants who left Scotland for New Zealand during the second half of the nineteenth century can be described as 'stage migrants', and we noted that this observation is in accordance with Dudley Baines's conclusions respecting emigration from England and Wales. However, we also observed that emigrants who resided in northern districts of Scotland before emigrating were more likely to have been former migrants (in the sense that they had crossed county boundaries) than the total residential population of the northern areas. In addition, a high proportion of emigrants born in the Highlands and the north resided in Lowland districts prior to their emigration (although this migratory group

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[133]See Table 5.7 above and the ensuing discussion.

formed only a small minority of all emigrants from Lowland regions). From these observations, it seems likely that had a 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants existed in nineteenth century Scotland, it would have included a disproportionate number of individuals born in the Highlands and the north. Most of these individuals would have been young, unmarried adults at the time of their emigration, as we have seen.

We do not know whether this conjectured 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants accounted for a substantially bigger proportion of the 'real' (or hypothetical) emigrant population than is suggested by data drawn from the census-traced group. Judging by the evidence of the English and Welsh experience, it did not. Presumably, had a large proportion of migrants and emigrants come from the same population pool, Dudley Baines would have found some meaningful correlation between migration and emigration rates. Instead, his econometric analysis yields no significant correlation between the two sets of rates.[134] Internal migration rates correlate positively with variables intended to capture the social and economic circumstances of the sending areas, but economic conditions in the counties do not explain the variation in emigration rates.

Individuals in the 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants may have been too few to effect any significant correlation between migration and emigration rates. But for those individuals who were both 'migrants' and 'emigrants' it was sometimes an internal migration experience that led to the emigration decision in the first place. High levels of internal migration, then, would surely have a positive effect on the emigration rates of those individuals in the 'common pool'. The theories of Brinley Thomas are based on the premise that urban growth affects emigration in a negative way because growing towns provided an alternative to destinations overseas. But, it was the very context of internal migration, contact with ideas, and experience of life in the towns, that often led migrants from the Highlands and the north to

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[134]At least, this is clearly so in the case of males. The female experience is less clear because Baines's results show a small but significant negative correlation between female external and internal migration rates. Baines, op. cit. Appendix 7 (by Mary Morgan), Table 3, p. 322.

become emigrants (at least this seems to be true with respect to emigration from Scotland to New Zealand). Towns were focal areas for the production and dissemination of information and ideas, and the growth of towns prompted improvements in transport and communication, which, in turn, created closer links between urban and peripheral areas. The growth of towns probably boosted emigration rates, and so, for the minority of emigrants in the 'common pool', migration and emigration were more likely to have been 'complementary' as opposed to substitutional forms of behaviour.[135]

There is a possibility that Highlanders were over-represented amongst Scots who worked 'south of the border' prior to their emigration, just as they were over-represented amongst the emigrants who were former 'internal' migrants (compared to the total representation of Highlanders in the census-traced group and the total list). From his national sample of the 1851 census, Michael Anderson finds that Highlanders were very prominent amongst Scots immigrants living in England in 1851: about one third of Scots-born residents in England (whose birth-place in Scotland is identifiable at the level of the county or registration district) had been born in a Highland county.[136]

Highlanders, and indeed, Scots in general, may have been a disproportionate element in the 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants who left the UK from English ports. Of course, as we have seen, this common pool probably formed a very small proportion of all emigrants leaving England, and any propensity for 'former migrants' emigrating from England to have been Scots-born, would not necessarily have affected the general low propensity for English emigrants to have been 'stage migrants'. On the other hand, the Scots who migrated first to England before going elsewhere may have formed a significant proportion of all Scottish emigrants, just as the Highlanders who migrated first to the Lowlands accounted for a sizeable proportion of all the Highland-born amongst emigrants bound for New Zealand. In other

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[135]Baines's results suggest that a 'substitutional' relationship between migration and emigration is more likely to have held for women as opposed to men. (See note 134.)

[136]This figure was cited by Anderson in a paper entitled 'Households and Migrants in Mid-Victorian Scotland', Conference of the Scottish Economic and Social History Society, Dundee, 26 Nov. 1988.

words, high levels of Scottish migration to England, especially to urban areas in the vicinity of major ports, probably tended to increase the overall level of Scottish emigration (to destinations outside the UK). It is interesting to note in this respect that over one-quarter of all Scots who left the UK between 1853 and 1880 embarked at ports outside Scotland.[137] We cannot ascertain what proportion of these were 'passengers in-transit', possibly most, but presumably a fair proportion were 'former migrants'.

Scottish migrants in England at mid-century had rather distinctive characteristics. From the published census reports we see that most (about 60 per cent in 1851) were living in urban areas, particularly London, and in regions with high levels of employment in textiles, mining and ship building. The migrants were very predominantly male, far more so, for example, than the English living in Scotland, or the Irish-born living in Great Britain as a whole.[138] The proportion of migrants less than twenty years old suggests that Scots in England were unlikely to have migrated in family groups. While 34 per cent of the English in Scotland, and 45 per cent of the Irish in England were less than twenty years of age in 1851, the proportion of Scots in England who were under twenty was only 24 per cent.[139] Unmarried, predominantly male and often Highland-born, the Scots in England exhibited characteristics we have noted as typical of individuals in the 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants.[140] A model of two pools - of 'potential migrants' and 'potential emigrants' - which overlapped and formed a 'common pool' for some categories of individuals - makes intuitive

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[137]Calculated from British *Parliamentary Papers*: Appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners and data collected by the Board of Trade.

[138]The sex ratio (of men per 100 women) in 1851 was 96.5 for the English in Scotland, 109.8 for the Irish in Great Britain, and 144.0 for the Scots in England. *PP* 1852-3 [c.1691] LXXXVIII (1) p. cii.

[139]ibid.

[140]Further evidence about Scots who migrated south of the Border in the mid-nineteenth century might be obtained by a systematic analysis of church records. Applications for admission to communion and certificates of good character kept by the Scots Church at London Wall, for example, give origins in Scotland and other details of newcomers to the congregation. The Communicants' Book of this church lists reasons for removals from the Communicants' List during the mid 1850s: in 1854 one member of the congregation is said to have died, one is recorded as having moved within London, several apparently returned to Scotland (destinations are usually stated), and others are recorded as going to America, Calcutta and Australia.

sense. However, we cannot assume the validity of models just because they make intuitive sense, and this one, like most theories of migration, requires hard evidence before it can be substantiated.

The model is useful however because it explains some of the apparent contradictions in the various sets of data we have explored. It is capable of explaining, for example, why Highlanders are not well represented in either the 'census-traced group' or the 'total list', while the consensus of written and unwritten history in New Zealand attests to the strong presence of Highlanders in New Zealand's past.

For many young Highlanders, especially unmarried males, emigration to New Zealand took place in the context of migration to the Lowlands, or elsewhere. The problems of measuring the former migration of emigrants of course affect all emigrants, but if Highlanders were more inclined to be migrants than other Scots who went to New Zealand, then these problems of measurement are accentuated for Highlanders as a group. Highlanders are more likely to be over-represented in the 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants, and therefore, more likely to be under-represented in both the census-traced group and the total list compared with other Scots who went to New Zealand.[141]

Those Scots who went first to England, Australia or some other destination before going on to New Zealand are usually excluded from both the census-traced group and the total list (except when the individuals concerned were 'passengers in-transit' who embarked for New Zealand at southern ports). The only method of investigating the characteristics and patterns of migration of emigrants who did not arrive in New Zealand directly from a Scottish port is by the analysis of individual case studies. The origins in Scotland and eventual arrival in New Zealand of 283 individuals or families was discovered in the course of the present study primarily through inspection of genealogical or

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[141]Young emigrants from the Highlands who migrated to the Lowlands before emigrating are unlikely to be found in the census unless they left Scotland in a census year; hence, they are under-represented in the census-traced group. If included in the total list, on the other hand, these emigrants are unlikely to be recognised as 'Highlanders'.

biographical material (sometimes used in conjunction with information derived from shipping lists). These 283 case studies are not necessarily included in either the census-traced group or the total list. The case studies are a 'self-selected' sample of emigrants, and we have no means of assessing their typicality with respect to other emigrant groups.

However, it is interesting to note that in more than one-fifth of instances represented by the case-studies, the 'focus individual' (usually either a single emigrant who travelled without family connections, or else the head of a family group) lived outside Scotland for a period before going on to settle in New Zealand.[142] A typical example is that of Neil Buchanan who was baptised in Kilmartin parish in Argyllshire in 1831. Neil was the second son of James Buchanan, a local innkeeper, and Sarah McTaggart, who both died in the 1840s when Neil and his six known surviving siblings were comparatively young. All seven children left the local area, five are known to have become 'emigrants' and three of these died in New Zealand. Neil was probably the first of the siblings to arrive in New Zealand. As a young man he had served with the Gordon Highlanders in Ireland; later, he joined the police force in Glasgow, and he was with the police in Liverpool at the time of his marriage to Ann Burke in 1853. In 1855, Neil was recruited for the police force in New South Wales, and he, his wife and son were granted assisted passages to Sydney aboard the *Exodus*. Nine years later, during the New Zealand Wars, Neil Buchanan signed up to join the Waikato Militia. He worked the Thames gold fields for a time in the early 1870s, and eventually settled as a small farmer on the central North Island about 1878.[143]

Neil Buchanan shares many characteristics with other emigrants in the case studies who were 'highly mobile' before (and often after) their arrival in New Zealand. Of the group who are known to have travelled outside Scotland before going on to New Zealand, over three-quarters

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[142]This was observed in 54 out of 257 cases for which information about migration routes etc was available.

[143]Sources include Argyll parish registers, English marriage certificate (1853), family bible, New Zealand cemetery transcriptions (National Archives, Wellington) and family folklore. I am grateful to Mrs L. Marshall of Campbells Bay, Auckland, who shared this information with me.

(77.8 per cent) were unmarried at the time of their initial departure from Scotland. The group was very predominantly male: only one in twenty of the 'focus individuals' who travelled to a variety of destinations outside Scotland were female. One in five (20.4 per cent) of the 'sojourners' were born in the Highlands, and the most common experience of the group was to spend time in Australia, England, or Ireland, or a combination of countries, before going on to New Zealand.[144]

The occupations of the highly mobile group were very diverse. As well as the expected building tradesmen and engineers, there were professionals, administrators, traders, planters, agriculturalists, blacksmiths, seamen, a draper, tailors, shoemakers, artists and literary men amongst those who tried a variety of climes and cultures before voyaging on to New Zealand. About one in ten (11.1 per cent) of the 'sojourners' had some experience of the armed forces, navy or police, and nearly one in three were gold seekers for a time in either New Zealand or Australia.

The 'common pool' of migrants and emigrants can be defined as those individuals for whom emigration to New Zealand was the direct outcome of a former migration experience on either the national or the international scene. These individuals had distinctive characteristics, and as a group they probably represent some of the most mobile elements in the Scottish population. It is interesting that the individuals whom we have associated with the 'common pool' - unattached males, Highlanders and gold-seekers - are the same types of individuals which for one reason or another are under-represented in the census-traced group and the total list.

Emigrants were also drawn from the 'stable' elements in the Scottish population, and the probable lack of any significant correlation between migration and emigration rates suggests that individuals who were not recent migrants formed a sizeable proportion of all Scots leaving

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[144]Over half of the sojourners lived in Australia, about one in five lived in England or Ireland, about one in ten lived in a combination of these three countries (usually including Australia). Others sojourned in Europe, North America, Africa, the Indian subcontinent, China or Fiji before going on to settle in New Zealand.

Scotland. Although it exaggerates the significance of the non-migrants within the emigrant population, the census-traced group still suggests that emigrants as a group had a somewhat different demographic profile from internal migrants as a group. (At least this is true of Scots who went to New Zealand between about 1840 and 1880. It would be less true of Scots who went to the United States during the 1880s. The rate of return migration from the United States was extremely high and it is likely that a greater proportion of the 'temporary emigrants' had characteristics similar to 'internal migrants' compared to those incomers who decided to stay on in the USA.[145])

[145]The same comment might be applicable to those who left New Zealand during the depression years of the 1880s or following the Otago gold rush.

TABLE 5.10 RESOURCES BROUGHT TO THE LABOUR MARKET: A COMPARISON BETWEEN SCOTS-BORN ADULT MALES LIVING IN SCOTLAND, AND SCOTS-BORN EMIGRANTS (ADULT MALES) TO ENGLAND AND TO NEW ZEALAND [a]

SKILL	All Scots living in Scotland 1851 (adult males) %	Long distance migrant Scots [b] %	Scots living in England, 1851 c.1840-1880 %	Scots going to New Zealand %
No marketed skill [c]	3.3	2.9	1.6	6.0
University education	0.7	2.2	4.9	1.0
Literacy	4.1	6.5	13.2	5.7
Training-years	30.5	34.8	36.3	32.4
Training-months	12.3	5.1	4.4	7.0
Agricultural	22.6	18.8	8.2	25.9
Trade/ commercial	7.9	8.7	6.6	9.6
Other [d]	18.7	20.9	24.6	12.5
TOTAL (%) (excluding missing) (n)	100.1 1912	99.9 138	99.8 182	100.1 386

a The New Zealand data are drawn from the 'census-traced' group, and refer to skills suggested by occupation categories given in the Scottish census preceding each individual's emigration. The remaining data are drawn from Professor Michael Anderson's sample of the 1851 census.

b Long distance migrant Scots are defined as Scots-born living in Scotland in 1851, whose place of residence at the census was further than 199 km ('as the crow flies') from their place of birth.

c Most individuals in the category 'no marketed skill' gave no occupation to the census collectors, usually because they were living in their parental homes, or with kin, presumably as family helpers or dependents.

d 'Others' include those whose occupations required strength, mining or minimal skill.

Table 5.10 suggests differences between 'migrants' and 'emigrants' in terms of the occupational profile of the two groups. For the purposes of the table, occupations are grouped according to the types of skills and level of training associated with jobs declared by males who were fifteen years or over at the time of the 1851 census (or, in the case of emigrants, at the census preceding their emigration).[146] In general, the emigrants who went to New Zealand brought skills to the Scottish labour market which were more similar to those brought by all adult males living in Scotland in 1851 than was the case for long-distance migrants or Scots living in England. A smaller proportion of emigrants possessed skills which denoted a high degree of literacy, a university education, or a lengthy training (probably under a formal apprenticeship system) compared to the two 'migrant' groups, but the emigrants were slightly more skilled a group in these respects compared to the Scottish population at large. Emigrants who went to New Zealand were distinct from both the migratory and the total adult male population in the high proportion of their number who had agricultural or trade and commercial skills.

The high proportion of emigrants with 'no marketed skills' is a reflection of the large number of unmarried emigrants who were still dependents living in their parents' homes at the census prior to their emigration. Of the 212 single men in the emigrant group, 9.9 per cent were in this category, whereas only 1.2 per cent of married men were unemployed or unemployable at the time of the census prior to their departure from Scotland. This and other minor differences between the occupational profile of married and unmarried emigrants are more reflective of the age structure as opposed to the real or potential level of skill characteristic of emigrant groups. In general, the types of skills possessed by married and unmarried emigrants were not dissimilar. (For example, 27.8 per cent of unmarried men and 23.7 per cent of the heads of families were agriculturalists, and 8.0 per cent of the single and 11.6 per cent of the married men amongst the emigrants had trade or commercial skills.) The major exception to this general comment

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[146]The classification of resources brought to the labour market is based on one used by Michael Anderson.

relates to the skill of literacy. A significantly higher percentage of the single men (7.5 per cent) had jobs which relied on literacy (for example positions as clerks) compared to the married emigrants of whom only 2.9 per cent were in this category. Also, relatively fewer of the unmarried men, compared to the married, had jobs (for example in textiles) which required a few months training only. In these two respects the unmarried emigrants were more similar to the long-distance migrants and Scots living in England in 1851 than were the married men.

The occupational differences between 'migrants' and 'emigrants' suggested by Table 5.10 cannot be wholly explained by age-structural differences between the groups shown in the table, nor by the tendency for individuals with particular types of skills to have moved certain distances.[147]

5.5 Conclusion

In general, it is not particularly useful to think of 'migrants' and 'emigrants' as belonging to the same 'population pool'. Nor should emigration be dismissed as a simple extension of, or alternative to, internal migration. Some individuals became emigrants because a former migration experience put them in touch with ideas current in the towns, and in this sense the two sets of migrational behaviour were connected. However, many emigrants were not recent migrants, and a surprisingly high proportion were living at or near the place of their birth when they decided to leave Scotland.

The patterns of emigrants' former mobility within Scotland were diverse and cannot be encompassed by any single concept such as 'rural-urban stage migration'. Migration was endemic in nineteenth

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[147]Both the census-traced group and the Scottish subsample suggest an association between types of skill and distance travelled by individuals classed as 'migrants'. This association seems to have been of a similar nature for both groups: for example, males with skills of literacy were over-represented in both the census-traced group and the Scottish subsample amongst those migrants for whom distance travelled between place of birth and place of last residence was in the range of 100 to 200 kilometres; agriculturalists were over-represented in both groups among men who lived between 10 and 50 kilometres from their place of birth.

century Scotland, but much of the movement is difficult to detect especially if it took place within the framework of a distinctive work culture or within a confined geographical area. Emigration was also an endemic feature of life in nineteenth century Scotland. Emigrants left their native land from rural and from urban localities, from central and peripheral zones. Continuing high rates of emigration from Scotland in the second half of the nineteenth century are not fully explained by the social and economic conditions characteristic of emigrants' origins. This is irrespective of the geographical unit used to measure origins, and irrespective of whether the concept of origins is conceived in terms of a place of last residence or a place of birth or other abode.

To further our understanding of the emigration process, perhaps we should focus on recruitment procedures and the occupational and demographic characteristics of the emigrants themselves.

CHAPTER SIX

THE SELECTIVITY OF THE MIGRATION PROCESS

> God sifted a whole nation that he might send choice grain into the wilderness.[1]

> When migration to a new and untried region takes place, people who are physically weak or of timid temperament tend to stay at home. The physique and temperament of women are especially important in this respect.[2]

> We were a company of the rejected: the drunken, the incompetent, the weak the prodigal, all who had been unable to prevail against circumstances in one land, were now fleeing pitifully to another; and though one or two might still succeed, all had already failed. We were a shipful of failures.[3]

6.1. Introduction

During the second half of the nineteenth and early decades of the twentieth centuries a unique combination of economic and social circumstances ensured that large numbers of people were both willing and able to leave their native lands. Who were these people, and why were some groups of individuals more ready to become emigrants than others?

It has been long recognised that migration processes are 'selective', generally favouring those who have sufficient energy and resources to move. In demographic terms this means that the young, the unmarried, and small families often figure prominently amongst migrants, while in terms of occupation and social standing, the poorest, the humblest and least privileged groups in society tend to be under-represented. On the other hand, different groups of migrants often

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[1]William Stoughton, Election Sermon, 1668, quoted in E. Huntington, *Mainsprings of Civilisation* (New York, 1945), p.98.

[2]E. Huntington, op. cit. pp. 75-6.

[3]R. L. Stevenson, *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson*, Vol 2: *The Amateur Emigrant* (London: Cassell and Company, 1906), p.21.

exhibit rather different demographic and occupational characteristics. As we saw in the previous chapter, the profile of migrants in any given population often depends on the nature of the receiving area, the locality of the migrants' origins, and the distances the migrants have moved. Most migrants anticipate some form of economic gain as a result of their mobility, and the nature of their aspirations, their skills, and their knowledge about opportunities elsewhere (as well as their ability to move) determine who they are and where they go.

We saw in the previous chapter that Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand last century had a rather different occupational and demographic profile from Scottish migrants who moved within the UK. We would also expect Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand to differ in some respects from Scottish emigrants who went to other destinations outside Europe because the countries of the New World which were the major receiving areas for emigrants were at different stages of economic development and had different labour demands. In the following two sections of the present chapter some of the characteristics of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand are compared to the known characteristics of other emigrant groups. Were the differences between Scots who went to New Zealand and Scots who went to the USA more or less pronounced than the differences between all Irish and all Scottish emigrants? What are the implications of such comparisons for our understanding of the forces which propelled mass emigration?

Migration studies rely on inference. A careful description of 'who were' the emigrants going to any given destination does not constitute an analysis of 'why' emigration occurred, but provides the necessary background from which we draw inferences about migration processes. For the most part, inferences made in this present chapter depend on data about the occupational status and demographic attributes of emigrants. There are, of course, other individual traits - such as religious faith, a family history of military or mercantile adventure in other lands, or a subjective sense of 'failure' - all of which may have had considerable significance for an individual's 'selection' as an emigrant.

But, we have information about such traits for only a few, not necessarily 'representative', individuals. More readily procurable are data about occupation, age and marital status; careful classification and measurement of these variables can provide a basis for comparison between different emigrant groups.

Unfortunately it is all too easy to draw faulty inferences from summary statistical data. The New Zealand case study provides an obvious example of this problem because the assisted passage system favoured certain categories of emigrant, and so, was 'selective' in an artificial way. Section three investigates the extent to which the characteristics of emigrants who went from Scotland to New Zealand conformed to the demands of the colonial recruiters; this analysis is set against an attempt to assess emigrants in terms of their stated preferences, aspirations and needs.

This chapter aims to expand our knowledge of 'who were' the emigrants leaving Britain last century and to enhance our understanding of 'why' and 'how' different groups of emigrants were enabled to act as they did.

6.2. The Occupations and Demographic Characteristics of British Emigrants in the Nineteenth Century: An Overview

6.2.1. Background

What do we know about the occupational and demographic characteristics of emigrants? With respect to the middle and later decades of the nineteenth century, the focus of recent research is on emigrants who went the USA. The USA was, of course, the most important receiving area for European emigrants during this period, and by the second half of the nineteenth century was itself undergoing a process of rapid urbanisation and industrialisation, and fast becoming a competitor with the countries of the Old World. A central theme which emerges from the literature concerning emigration from West Europe to the USA is the decisive change in the composition of emigrant groups which occurred between the first half and final quarter of the nineteenth century. Emigrants leaving Scandinavia and Germany in the 1830s and 1840s, for example, were typically from a background of small farming; they often travelled in family groups, and usually intended to settle in the frontier regions of the USA.[4] By the 1880s and 1890s this 'folk' or 'settler' migration had been largely replaced by an international labour migration which in many respects bore the expected features of 'internal' mobility: young, unmarried adults, usually bound for urban centres in the USA, now dominated the composition of emigrant groups; the emigration of unaccompanied women had become more common, and 'emigrants' were far more likely to return to the land of their origin than they had been one or two generations before. These changes were due in part to the diversification of labour demand in the United States. In part, they can be attributed to a revolution in shipping and transport technology. The availability of cheaper, swifter and safer passages on the Atlantic route meant temporary and seasonal migration from Europe to the United States became economically viable for several categories of labour by the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

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[4]Characteristically, these emigrants possessed a combination of agricultural skills and craft skills relevant for domestic industries which were undergoing structural decline. Sten Carlsson, 'Chronology and Composition of Swedish Emigration', in H. Runblom and H. Norman, eds. *From Sweden to America. A History of the Migration*

There has been less systematic analysis of the composition of British emigrant groups than is the case for other European nationalities which figure prominently in the nineteenth century exodus.[5] The main exception to this general comment is the on-going research of Charlotte Erickson who has analysed passenger lists of British arrivals entering the United States in different periods - including 1831, 1846-54 and 1885-8.[6]

Erickson's results reveal many parallels between the British and the general 'West European' emigration experience. She finds, for example, that family groups, often headed by farmers or craftsmen, were dominant amongst English and Welsh immigrants entering the United States in 1831. Half a century later, during the mass emigration of the mid-1880s, the picture had dramatically changed: general labourers, building tradesmen and miners, who usually travelled without their families, and who, in many instances, had no intention of settling in the USA,[7] were typical of the 'emigrants' of the British 'new wave'. In 1831 the ratio of men alone to men in family groups was one to

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(Minneapolis, 1976), pp.114-148; Walter D. Kamphoefner, 'At the Crossroads of Economic Development: Background Factors Affecting Emigration from Nineteenth-Century Germany', in I. A. Glazier and L. De Rosa, eds. *Migration Across time and Nations. Population Mobility in Historical Contexts.* (New York and London, 1986), pp.174-201.

[5]For example, of 22 essays on the topic of international migration in the Glazier and De Rosa volume, only Charlotte Erickson's essay is concerned with emigration from Britain. Charlotte Erickson, 'The Uses of Passenger Lists for the Study of British and Irish Emigration', in Glazier and De Rosa op. cit. pp. 318-35.

[6]Charlotte Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles to the USA in 1831', *Population Studies* 35 (July 1981), 175-97 and 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century?', in D. V. Glass and R. Revelle, eds. *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), pp. 347-81. Other studies of British emigration have tended to focus on a particular region or occupational group, or on emigration as a response to crisis, for example: Gill Burke, 'The Cornish Diaspora of the Nineteenth Century', in Shula Marks and Peter Richardson, eds. *International Migration: Historical Perspectives* (London, 1984), pp. 57-75; T. M. Devine, *The Great Highland Famine* (Edinburgh, 1988); Ross Duncan, 'Case Studies in Emigration: Cornwall, Gloucestershire and New South Wales',*Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XVI (Dec 1963) 272-81; William E. Van Vugt, 'Running From Ruin?: The Emigration of British Farmers to the USA in the Wake of the Repeal of the Corn Laws', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XLI (Nov. 1988) 411-28.

[7]Many of the so-called emigrants leaving Britain for the United States during the 1880s are more accurately described as temporary or seasonal migrants as opposed to emigrants. One example is the annual spring migration of Aberdeenshire men to the New England granite quarries.

one; in 1885-8 there were eight men travelling alone for every one who travelled with a family.[8]

One of the striking results of Erickson's analysis (which is pertinent to both the early and the later periods under her scrutiny, and which appears far more pronounced in the British case compared with other European groups) is the very low representation amongst emigrants of the vulnerable and the marginal elements in British society. In the 1880s most English and Scottish emigrants came from high-wage industrial counties, hoping to attain yet higher wages in the expanding cities of the USA. During the more 'frontier' migration of the 1830s, those craft groups and regions which were experiencing the greatest hardship during the years of industrial expansion are under-represented amongst emigrants whose occupations are recorded on ships' lists. Lowly paid tertiary workers, crofters from the 'Celtic fringe', under-employed weavers and nail-makers seldom appear on any of the lists which Erickson has analysed. In the year of Captain Swing there were no farm labourers recorded in the annals of United States immigration.[9]

The absence or very low representation of agricultural labourers amongst emigrants bound for the United States is a feature of all three of Erikson's samples,[10] and an important contrast with what is known about the composition of other European emigrant groups. Erickson suggests that her discovery of the apparent very low tendency for agricultural labourers to become emigrants could well invalidate 'old agrarian myths' associated with English and Scottish emigration, and her findings have already had significant repercussions for the investigation of demographic mechanisms operating within England and Scotland.[11] It is sometimes assumed that because agricultural

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[8]Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles', op. cit. and 'Who were', op. cit.
[9]ibid.
[10]Agricultural labourers accounted for only 1.1% of occupied males in Erickson's sample for the years 1885-8, 0.5% for the years 1846-54, and 0.0% for 1831. Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles', p. 187 and 'Who were', p. 363.
[11]See for example the implications of Erickson's discovery carried through in the arguments of W. A. Armstrong, 'The Influence of Demographic Factors on the Position of the Agricultural Labourer in England and Wales c. 1750-1914', *The Agricultural History Review* 29 (1981), 71-82.

labourers did not emigrate, they therefore must have migrated, to become railway workers, porters, carters, policemen and dockyard workers in Britain's cities and towns.

There is another distinctive feature of British emigration, which in recent years has ended to be overlooked: British (and especially Scottish) emigrants exhibited far more diversity in terms of destination than did their counterparts in Western Europe.[12] There is a strong possibility that different parts of Britain's expanding empire held out different prospects for meeting the aspirations and needs of different categories of emigrant, and, in particular, attracted groups such as agricultural labourers who were under-represented amongst British emigrants going to the USA. Even the Irish, who went in overwhelming proportions to the USA,[13] chose destinations elsewhere at times, seemingly on the basis of their skills and preferences in combination with local patterns and traditions. David Fitzpatrick argues that 'Irish emigrants travelled along disparate paths from home to home'; he has attempted to follow their tracks and in doing so discovers a bias towards Australasia for semi-skilled farm workers, towards Canada for small farmers and artisans, and towards the USA for the poorest of Irish emigrants, who were drawn from the 'surplus' of a rural population formerly subsisting on potatoes.[14]

Studies relating to Irish emigration are numerous and comprehensive compared to work done on the emigration of the English and the Scots. Nevertheless, even the fragmentary information so far at our disposal suggests that the characteristics of Scottish emigrants varied markedly according to the emigrants' destination. In stark contrast to Erickson's results are the findings of Levitt and Smout, whose analysis of published replies to the Scottish Poor Law

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[12]The tide of British emigration research is just beginning to turn towards other destinations besides the United States.

[13]Between the years 1853 and 1880, for example, over 80% of Irish emigrants were bound for the USA wheras only about 46 per cent of emigrants born in Scotland went ot the USA in the same period.

[14]D. Fitzpatrick, Irish Emigration (London, 1984); and 'Irish Emigration in the Late Nineteenth Century', *Irish Historical Studies* XXII (1980), esp. pp. 137-8. Fitzpatrick argues that different destinations attracted different types of Irish emigrant, and that the varieties are indicative of the multiple maladies of the Irish economy.

Commission tends to support supposition that emigration from Scotland, in the early 1840s at least, was primarily a reponse to underemployment and overpopulation in the countryside.[15] Levitt and Smout's findings do not contradict those of Charlotte Erickson because the crofters and agricultural workers reported to have left Scottish parishes on the eve of Poor Law Reform did not necessarily go the United States. Indeed, Levitt and Smout suggest that agriculturalists favoured British North America in this period, with Australia as a clear second choice, while Canada and the United States were the preferred destinations for artisans.[16]

In the period between the American War of Independence and the Great Famine of 1846 and 1847 (and certainly between the latter dates and since emigration statistics were first regularly kept[17]) more Scottish emigrants headed for British North America than the USA. Many took advantage of cheap fares on returning timber ships (which often departed from northern Scottish ports, particularly Aberdeen). Some may have intended crossing an internal frontier to the USA, and this group would not have been captured by the United States' immigration record. It seems likely that the poorest Scottish emigrants, such as agricultural workers and craft workers in declining industries, who are under-represented in Erickson's sample of United States' immigrants in 1831, are absent from the record not because they did not emigrate, but because they did not emigrate to the USA.

After the famines of the late 1840s, British North America (especially Ontario and the Maritimes) continued to be the main destination for emigrants from crofting parishes in the north-west of Scotland.[18]

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[15]Of the parishes reporting information about occupations, 57% declared the emigration of farmers, farm workers and crofters, 46% reported the emigration of artisans and tradesmen, while 7% and 24% of parishes reported the emigration of middle class persons and labourers. Because crofters and agricultural workers came from those areas where emigration was heavily concentrated, the proportion of parishes providing agricultural emigrants for destinations abroad was considerably smaller than the proportion of individual agriculturalists among the emigrants. Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission Report of 1844* (Edinburgh, 1979), esp. Table 10.C, p. 252 and discussion pp. 247-8.

[16]ibid.

[17]Departures from ports in the UK were recorded on an annual basis from 1815.

[18]See Chapter Four.

However, the vast territories known today as 'Canada', did not re-emerge as the most important destination for British emigrants until late in the nineteenth century when the opening of new frontier regions in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, and the building of a great railway to link the Atlantic with the Pacific sea-board, created new potential for labour and settler migration.[19] In the third quarter of the nineteenth century there was a general glut in the several labour markets of British North America, and between 1850 and 1880, less than ten per cent of British-born emigrants (about eighteen per cent of emigrants born in Scotland) left ports in the UK heading for destinations in 'Canada'. Unlike the USA, the provinces of British North America were not industrialising to the extent that a complex range of job opportunities could be exploited by incoming migrants. There was work in shipbuilding in the Maritimes, in the service industries in towns, and sporadic demand for unskilled labour in road, railway and canal construction.[20] In general, however, a boost in the rate of emigration to British North America in this period reflected a time of prosperity in the USA.[21] In years of peak emigration to the USA, including all years from the late 1840s to the mid 1850s, and again in the second half of the 1860s, more emigrants arriving at the key ports of Quebec and Montreal departed immediately for the United States than remained in Lower and Upper Canada.[22] In one of the official Canadian immigration reports there was a complaint that 'Canada had become little more than a highway between Europe and Western America'.[23] 'Labourers' and 'skilled mechanics' (locomotive builders and tool makers were given as examples of the latter) were reported by the immigration authorities as

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[19]Canada remained the most important destination for British emigrants throughout the first half of the twentieth century, sometimes referred to as the period of 'Empire Migration'.

[20]For example, in 1856, New Brunswick officials made a call for emigrants to be employed in railway construction. Seventeenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, *PP* 1857 [c.2249 Session 2] XVI 33 p.40.

[21]Exceptions include the Fraser River gold rush and the efforts by the new Ministry of Agriculture to attract agricultural emigrants to the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia after Canadian Confederation. These local factors did affect levels of emigration to British North America

[22]For example, between 1866 and 1869 inclusive, no less than three-quarters and usually over four-fifths of all arrivals in Canada each year proceeded directly to the United States (calculated from the Thirteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, *PP* 1870 [c. 196] XVII pp. 7-8.)

[23]ibid.

the group most likely to proceed directly to the United States, while 'farmers' were regarded as the most likely of the newcomers to remain.[24] Indeed, the only categories of labour consistently required in the provinces of British North America, throughout 1840 to 1880, were: small farmers (with sufficient capital to buy and stock their own land), agricultural labourers, and domestic servants.[25] A desperate shortage of 'the best English and Scotch ploughmen' was a chronic problem reiterated in the Canadian literature of the period. In 1860, for example, the Emigration Agent for Montreal regretted that a 'large supply of the sturdy agricultural servant, with which in former years the Province [had been] so abundantly blessed', was now checked. As a consequence, women as well as men were urged to emigrate to Upper Canada in order to take up farm service jobs: even with the 'encumbrance' of one or two children they were promised ready employment on the larger dairy farms.[26] Other 'classes' of would-be emigrant were advised not to try Upper Canada, 'clerks and mechanics' being 'particularly undesirable'. It was claimed that the large families of local, wealthy farmers were already overstocking the labour market with aspirants to 'the bar, medicine, engineering and mercantile pursuits'.[27]

In most years during the 1840-80 period, the provinces of New Zealand (especially Otago and Canterbury) and the Australian colonies suffered a shortage of farm labour, as did the regions of British North America. The influence of big run holders on local government policies in Australasia resulted in concerted attempts to induce the emigration

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[24]Eighteenth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, *PP* 1857-8 [c.2395] XXIV 401 p. 44. In the Quebec Report for 1860 it was estimated that about three-quarters of the English and Scottish arrivals remained in British North America whereas the same could be said for only one fifth of the Irish. The latter were described as 'chiefly of the labouring class', and the former as 'farmers and mechanics', (the English newcomers being in 'relatively comfortable circumstances'.) Annual Report of the Canadian Emigration Agents, 1860, enclosed with correspondence of Lieut. Gen. Sir W. R. William Bart., to the Duke of Newcastle, 20 Feb. 1861, *PP* 1861 [c.19] XL 3.32 No. 1, pp. 5,7.

[25]This impression is gleaned from the various reports on emigration to the Canadas (Quebec and Ontario) and to New Brunswick: *PP* 1849 [c.108] XXXVIII 15-17; *PP* 1849 [c.127] XXXXVIII 19; and *PP* 1849 [c.143] XXXVIII 26; also from the General Reports of the Emigration Commissioners for the 1850s and 1860s; and the 'First Report of the Select Committee of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada on Immigration and Colonization, March 1875', *PP* 1875 [c.11] LII pp.105-36.

[26]Annual Report of the Canadian Emigration Agents, op. cit. p.21.

[27]ibid.

of British agricultural workers to the other side of the globe. High wages were advertised in the British press, and, in some years, assistance offered with the cost of transport. In New Zealand and Australia there were more jobs available for some categories of farm worker, such as shepherds and potential managers, than in the cropping regions of Ontario or the prairie lands of the Canadian frontier. If, after mid-century, agricultural labourers were no longer going to British North America in large numbers, and accounted for only a tiny proportion of all immigrants arriving at the USA, it seems highly probable that any sustained exodus by agricultural workers from rural parishes in Britain was directed, to a large extent, towards the colonies in Australasia.[28]

[28]Destinations in South America and Southern Africa were often more expensive to reach than New Zealand and Australia, and generally regarded as less popular because of climatic and cultural conditions.

6.2.2. Further Evidence

There exists an important and surprisingly under-utilised source which provides strong, although not conclusive, evidence in support of this supposition. This is the series of data about emigrants' characteristics which was compiled by the Commissioners for Emigration and (after 1876) by the Board of Trade. Every year from 1854 the Commissioners recorded, and published in appendices to their annual reports, data about the occupations, gender, child or adult status and (from 1856) the marital status of emigrants who sailed from ports in the UK. Not least among the many deficiencies of this series,[29] is the clumping together of all nationalities in the UK as one emigrating group: in many years, and in most tables, the data are largely a reflection of Irish patterns, with a weak diluting effect provided by the English and the Scots.[30] Partly because of this and other limitations, and partly because summaries of the nineteenth century Parliamentary Reports and Appendices published this century render the data in more accessible ways,[31] few researchers make any attempt to analyse the official UK port statistics. As a consequence, potentially important patterns suggested by the original reports have been overlooked. The extent to which emigrants' characteristics varied by destination is one issue which can be tested further using the original data as most of the original tables are disaggregated according to whether emigrants were going the United States, British North America, Australasia, or 'all other destinations'.[32] Those who oversaw the compilation of emigration statistics last century were less concerned with the social and economic conditions prompting people to leave their native lands than with the circumstances they were likely to meet and the types of skills they took with them to their intended destinations. Nevertheless, there are two years (1857 and 1867) for which the Emigration Commissioners make distinctions between emigrants on the basis of their nationality of origin as well as their country of destination. This is a highly suggestive breakdown, which seems to have gone unnoticed by recent commentators.[33]

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[29] One difficulty with the official UK emigration statistics which affects any analysis of the emigrants' occupations is the lack of distinction (before 1912) between 'transients' (seasonal workers, people on business trips, visitors and the armed forces) and 'emigrants' (who intended to settle). In addition, there was no compulsion to

The occupation categories employed in the official series have been grouped for the present study according to principles outlined in Appendix V.III. To a large extent the nature of this grouping reflects distinctions already imposed in the published data, the most important of these being the organisation of occupations according to job category or skill (rather than industry or mode of production) and the use of a number of very imprecise and generalised groupings - such as 'general labourer', 'agricultural labourer' and 'mechanic'. For each of the annual tables giving the number of emigrants in each occupational category going to each destination, three sets of proportions have been calculated by the present author, and these are collated and reproduced for the period 1854 to 1881 in Appendix V.IV. Appendix V.IV consists of a table-set, which sets forth for each defined male[34] occupational grouping:

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include cabin passengers until 1863. Other deficiencies of the series include the high proportion of cases for which data about occupation are missing (see Appendix V.II), and the absence of any record for the years 1873 to 1875.

[30]A separate series showing the marital status, age and sex structure of Irish emigrants is available from 1861, and a separate table giving the breakdown of occupations of Irish-born emigrants available from 1877. However, occupation and age data is not provided for the English (and Welsh) and Scottish emigrants (distinguishing each national groups from UK emigrants in general) until 1912. The statisticians to the Board of Trade provided information about gender, marital status and child/adult status, disaggregating by nationality, from 1877.

[31]The most important of these is N. H. Carrier and J. R. Jeffery, *External Migration. A Study of the Available Statistics* (1953).

[32]Carrier and Jeffery reproduce information about the gender and familial composition of emigrants who left Britain after 1877 but they ignore the destination-only evidence relating to these variables which is available before that date. Although their occupation series runs from 1854, the data are grouped in roughly ten year intervals and arranged to show each occupation by sex as a proportion of all adults going to a particular destination without a parallel table to show how occupation varied by destination.

[33]For example, see comments by Dudley Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy* (Cambridge, 1985), pp. 51-52 and Erickson, 'Who Were', op. cit. p. 351.

[34]The given occupations of female emigrants are not analysed in this way because gainful occupations were distinguished by the Commissioners for Emigration and the Statisticians to the Board of Trade for a small proportion of women only. (See Appendix V.II, Table 2.) The given occupations of female emigrants are discussed further below.

i) the percentage of emigrants of that particular occupation going to each destination (occupation by destination);

ii) the percentage of the total going to each destination constituted by emigrants of that particular occupation (destination by occupation);

iii) the 'actual-to-expected ratio' - of (i) with respect to the breakdown of all 'known' male occupations by destination.

The 'actual-to-expected ratio' is an index which illustrates the degree to which occupational category and destination were independent of each other, and how this relationship varied with time.[35] A value of '100' in any cell, for example, would indicate that the particular occupational group going to the destination concerned followed exactly the same pattern as 'all male occupations' going to that destination in the specified year. A graphical representation of tables showing the percentage of each occupational group going to each destination (occupation by destination, ie type (i) above) is provided below in Figures 6.1 to 6.3 for three occupational categories - 'general labourers', 'agricultural labourers' and 'farmers'.

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[35]Chi-squared tests provide the usual means for determining the independence of two variables. Here, however, we are dealing with a three dimensional situation: occupation, destination, and periodicity being the three variables involved. The actual to expected ratio for any occupation to any destination in any single year is calculated on the same algebraic basis as for a two dimensional chi-squared comparison (comparing occupation and destination). The presentation of these ratios in tabular form showing variation by year seems to be the clearest way to illustrate that occupation and destination were not independent of each other.

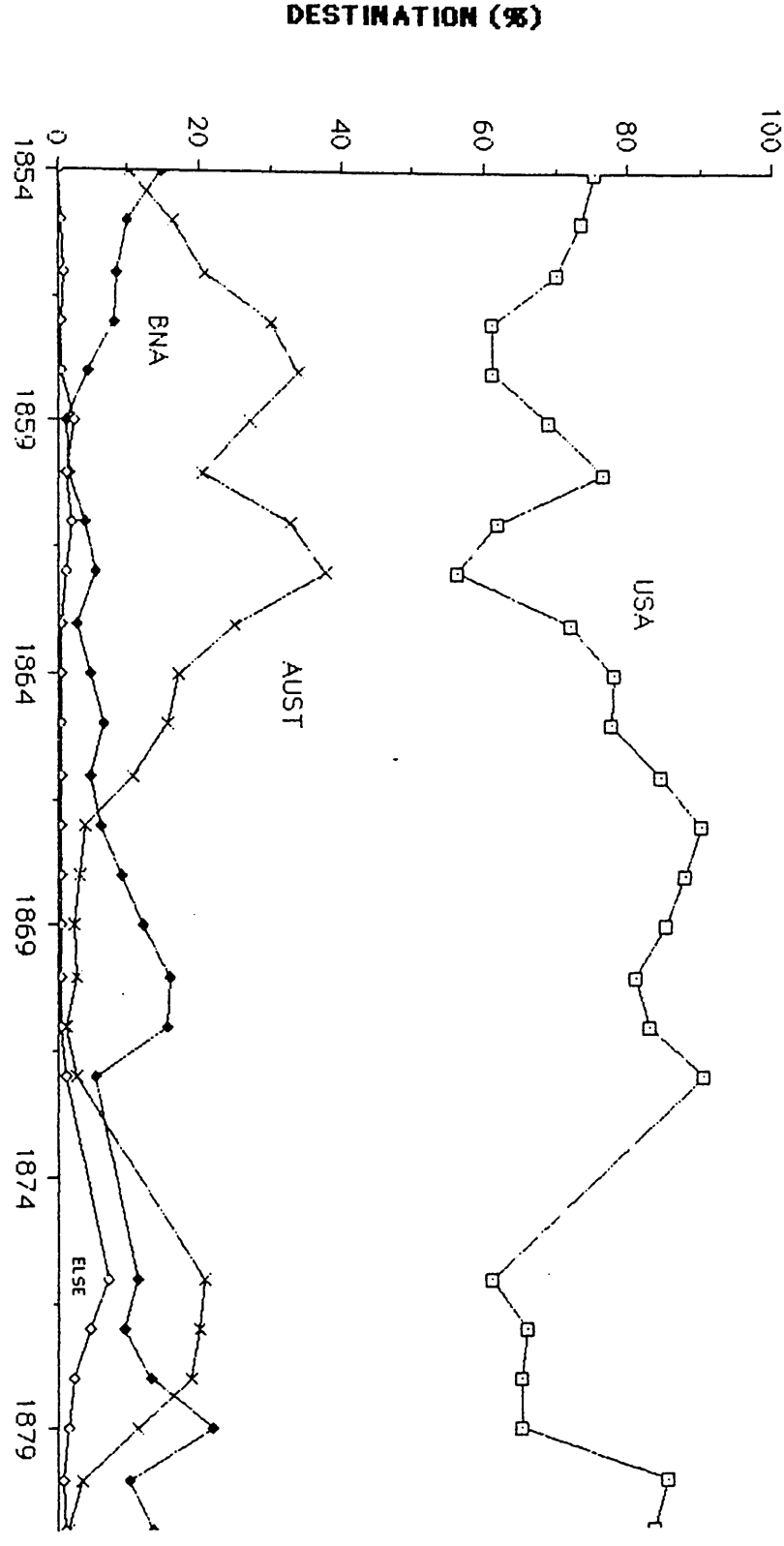


FIG 6.1 DESTINATION OF GENERAL LABOURERS

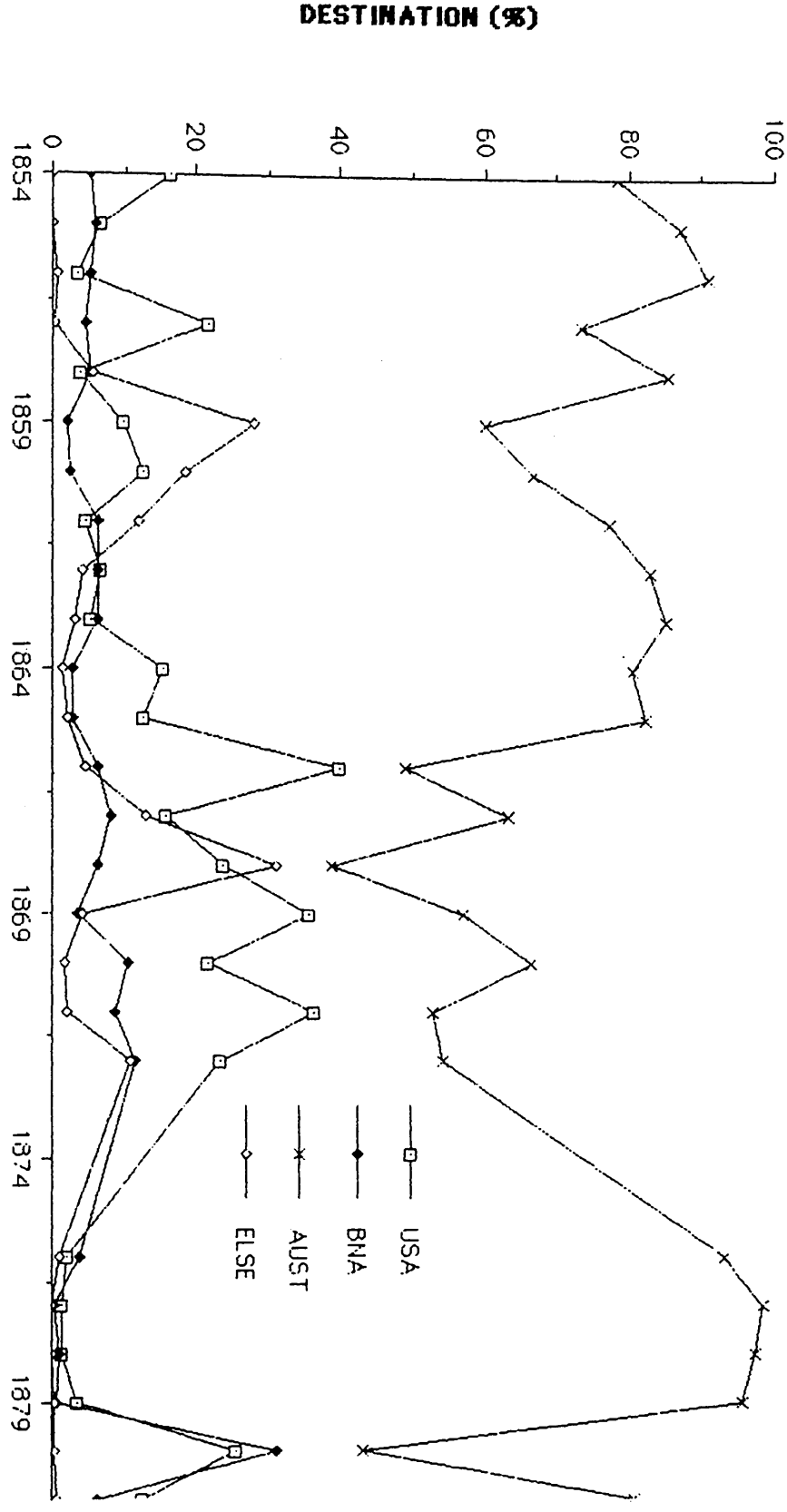


FIG 6.2 DESTINATION OF AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS

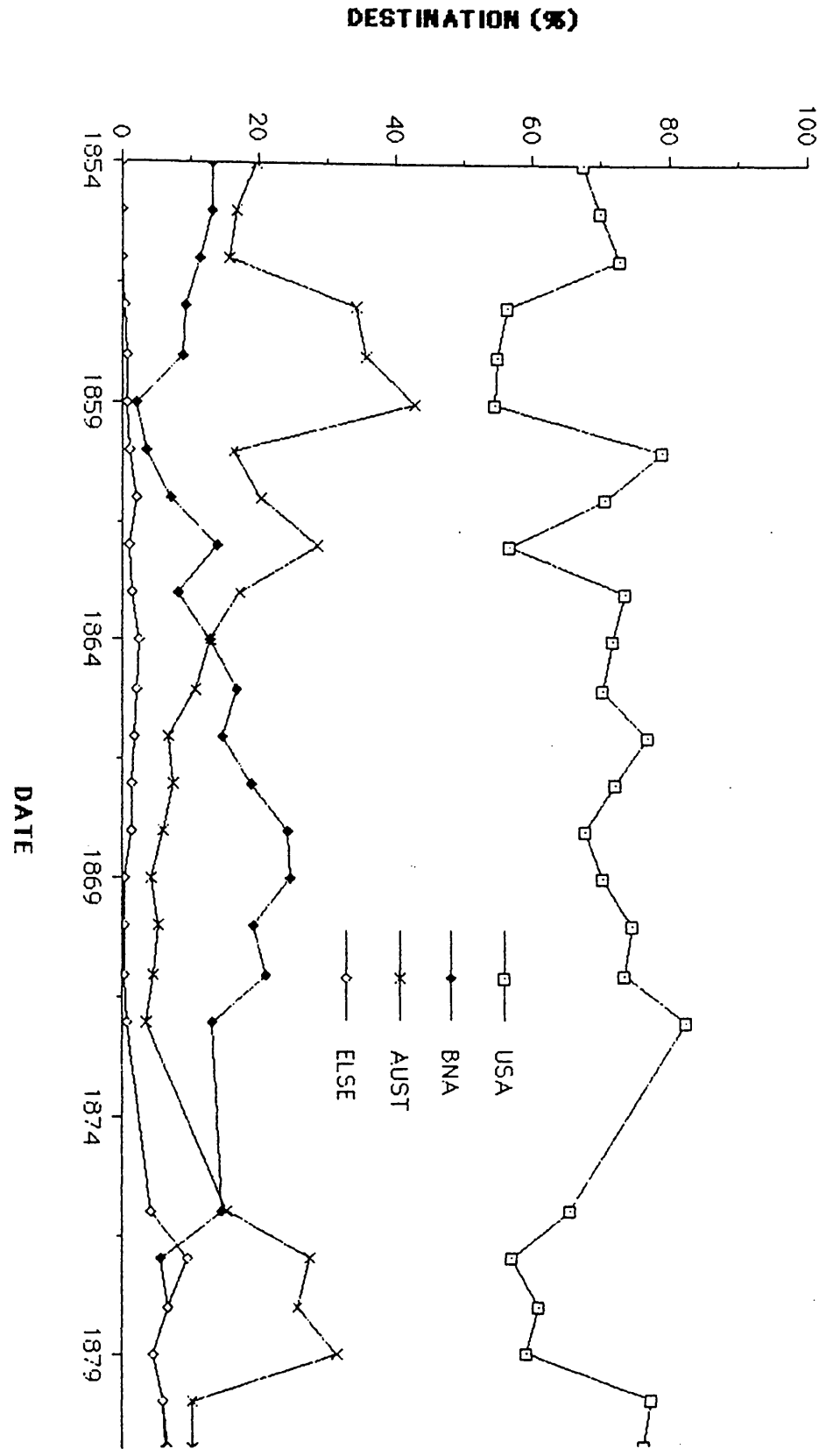


FIG 6.3 DESTINATION OF FARMERS

The three occupational categories shown in the graphs can be used to illustrate the economic rationality of macro patterns of emigration. It can be seen from the actual-to-expected ratios (see Appendix V.IV, Table 10iii) that a higher proportion of general labourers went to the USA each year than would be expected with reference to all male occupations taken together.[36] Of the three major regions of destination, Australasia was the most consistently under-represented in terms of general labourers, an exception to this generalisation being the period of depressed emigration to the Americas during the first half of the 1860s, especially during the United States' Civil War. British North America regained general labourers in the latter part of the period, just as emigration momentum from UK ports to British North America was beginning to increase, overall.

In contrast to general labourers, agricultural labourers formed only a tiny percentage of all emigrants going to the USA.(See Appendix V.IV Table 14ii.) This result is in accordance with Charlotte Erickson's analysis of United States' shipping lists and passenger manifests for years just prior to and after the period depicted on the graphs above and in Appendix V.IV.[37] However, agricultural labourers formed a considerably higher percentage of emigrants going to all destinations than they did to the United States. Indeed, in the 1850s and 1870s they constituted the highest percentage - after general labourers, farmers and gentlemen/professionals - of all adult males whose occupations could be distinguished while in the 1860s miners and building labourers succeeded in jockeying them for fourth and fifth 'place'. Before 1880, during the years for which we have evidence, agricultural labourers were convincingly over-represented amongst emigrants going to Australasia and (between 1858 and 1872) to destinations outside the three main regions of settlement. The actual-to-expected ratios show that in

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[36]The discrepancy is not striking because general labourers accounted for a very large proportion (over 50%) of all UK emigrants whose occupations could be distinguished. Because general labourers were so dominant among male emigrants, the patterns they exhibit very closely reflect the patterns exhibited by all male emigrants taken together as a single group.

[37]Erickson, 'Who Were', op. cit. Table 6, p. 363; Also see William E. Van Vugt, 'Running from Ruin?: The Emigration of British Farmers in the Wake of the Repeal of the Corn Laws', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XLI (Aug. 1988), esp. Table 2, p. 415.

most years agricultural labourers were under-represented amongst emigrants going to British North America; the consistent under-representation of agricultural labourers going to the United States is of course also striking.[38]

There is ambiguity about the two categories 'agricultural labourer' and 'general labourer', and this has caused recent researchers to discount the evidence of the Emigration Commissioners.[39] The published port statistics give no indication of the industries in which general labourers had worked, whether they had come from predominantly urban or rural backgrounds, and whether, in particular, their numbers included former agricultural workers. Undoubtedly, a large proportion of 'general labourers' were Irish.[40] In the Irish occupation series which runs from 1877 no distinction is made between 'agricultural labourers' and 'general labourers', and this oversight has caused commentators to assume that the two categories would have been confused in the UK port statistics also. In addition, a good deal of scepticism has been vented as to whether all those going to New Zealand and Australia, who described themselves as agriculturalists, really did possess agricultural skills.[41]

However, there is a case to be made that the two groups 'agricultural labourer' and 'general labourer' were not so hopelessly confused and devoid of meaning as to render them useless as categories for historical analysis. In the first place, it is misleading to make assumptions about the figures compiled by the Emigration Commissioners on the basis of what the statisticians to the Board of Trade did with their data.[42]

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[38]See Appendix V.IV Table 14iii.

[39]See for example Baines, op. cit. pp. 51-2.

[40]This conclusion is reached obliquely: most Irish emigrants (c. 80%) went to the United States, and most Irish emigrants (again the figure is nearly 80%) to all destinations were general labourers. General labourers account for a large proportion of incomers to the United States from the UK (c. one half to two-thirds of emigrants departing between 1854 and 1880), and a large proportion of the new arrivals in the USA who had come from the UK (57%) were born in Ireland.

[41]The issue of deliberate misrepresentation on the New Zealand shipping lists is addressed in Section 6.3.3.

[42]Although the basis for occupational classification was changing, and the variety of emigrants in terms of occupational classification becoming more diverse, the Board of Trade's register of emigrant's occupations was less precise and less flexible than that used by the Commissioners for Emigration. (See notes on the Commissioners'

Secondly, it can be shown that the two categories had specific and distinct meanings in terms of contemporary usage. From the late 1840s, for example, the USA was advertised as the country where the value of 'common manual labour' was higher than in any other part of the world. In a special emigration supplement to the *Illustrated London News* in July 1850 the United States was presented as the country which offered the highest wage rewards to 'common labourers' and the most food (too much, it was declared, for women and the sedentary classes!).[43] In the same article, New Zealand was said to have a climate 'unsurpassed in the world'. (No other countries were described in superlative terms.) New Zealand had problems due to 'mis-colonisation', but offered good prospects to agricultural labourers.

The Emigration Commissioners (more so than the Board of Trade) were seeking to keep a register of emigrant skills. Hence, agricultural labourers, gardeners, carters, all those with skills in the tending of plants and animals, were grouped together. The category 'general labourers' probably did include workmen from a rural sphere, such as hedgers, ditchers, stone dykers and seasonal agricultural labourers, and possibly some former agricultural workers who had since migrated to the cities and towns. (Many of the Irish 'labourers' may have fallen into the latter category.[44]) Similarly, the category 'agricultural labourers' may well have included emigrants who were not from a rural sphere, or who did not possess agricultural skills. However, even if agricultural labourers and general labourers were muddled to an unknown extent in the official series in terms of what they had been, there is enough evidence to suggest that the two categories provide a fair representation of the types of jobs which emigrants had worked at most

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classification of occupations in Appendix V.III.) Also note that the proportion of 'occupations unknown' increased significantly after the Board of Trade took over the Emigration Commissioners' responsibility for recording the volume and nature of emigration in 1876. (Appendix V.II, Table One.)

[43]The article made a distinction between 'common uneducated labourers' and 'educated or mechanical labourers' (the latter probably denoting a degree of skill acquired through several years of training, under some sort of apprenticeship system). 'The Tide of Emigration to the United States and to the Colonies', *Supplement to the Illustrated London News*, No. 435, 6 July 1850, esp. pp. 18-19.

[44]But, on the other hand, there is little evidence to suggest that stage migration from a rural to an urban sphere was a common practice for British emigrants. (See Chapter Five.)

recently, and/or the types of jobs at which they intended to work in their adopted countries. General labourers and agricultural labourers behaved differently in terms of their destination preferences, as the graphs above reveal. They also show a different pattern of variation with the independent variable, 'time'. For example, agricultural labourers rose as a proportion of all male emigrants leaving Britain in the 1880s, when the proportion of general labourers also rose, but remained high in the 1890s, when the proportion of general labourers fell.[45]

The destination preferences of farmers were apparently different again from either agricultural labourers or general labourers, and once again the pattern of variation is neither surprising nor paradoxical. As a group, 'farmers' were significantly under-represented amongst emigrants going to Australasia, and over-represented in most years amongst emigrants bound for British North America and (to a lesser extent) for the USA. The effect of the homestead legislation is reflected in the increased over-representation of British North America as a destination for 'farmers' from the mid 1860s through the early 1870s. (See Appendix V.IV Table 13iii.)

From literary evidence we know that 'farmers' who went to the frontier regions of North America in this period tended to be under-capitalised; many, like the Scottish crofters, came from 'peripheral', far-flung and isolated parts of the UK. The usual farming strategy of struggling settlers on the Canadian frontier was to practise extensive cash cropping in order to accumulate rapid money returns. This was in defiance of the guides to farming and settlement in areas such as Upper Canada which advocated 'subsistence forms of improved farming'. A system of 'improved' farming which relied on carefully planned root, crop and grain rotations, with intensive use of animal manure on the land, was seldom feasible in a region which offered little scope for mixed farming, where climatic conditions were harsh and simple survival often the first order of the day. Contemporaries lamented that the British farmer arriving in Canada would find agriculture there 'as yet

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[45]Carrier and Jeffery, op. cit. esp. Table 12. (It is interesting to compare this pattern with what we know about the relative rates of emigration from 'rural' and 'urban' counties in the 1880s and 1890s. This is discussed in Chapter Five.)

practised in the rudest manner'. In 1851, in *Notes on North America*, James Johnston despaired that 'little knowledge of improved farming has hitherto been diffused in Upper Canada':

> it is, as yet, among practical men, held in little esteem.[46]

A disdain for 'improvement' and 'scientific farming' on the British model can also be witnessed in the frontier regions of the United States. In 'Prospects for Emigrants' published in the *Glasgow Sentinel* in the 1870s, there is a bald statement that 'Englishmen' do not make 'good farmers' in 'settler society' because their 'standards are too high'. Farmers of capital were advised to purchase an 'improved farm' in the eastern states of the United States rather than head out for the Western Frontier.[47]

Compared to British North America and the United States, there were few prospects for farming on a small scale in Australasia. During the 1850 to 1880 period, the most lucrative agrarian pursuit in Australasia was, of course, the production of wool, and pastoralism demanded substantial outlays of capital. There was some scope in New Zealand and Australia for families of small means in cropping/dairying ventures but by the 1870s good quality land with ready access to local markets was an expensive commodity and often in short supply. Prospects in New Zealand for intending farmers were advertised on the basis of the quality rather than the cost of land. In one emigrants' handbook, for example, 'the extra amount of capital required' for settlement in New Zealand was justified on the grounds that 'no other colony' held out equal opportunities to the 'practical British farmer'. Not only was the climate 'thoroughly suitable', it was argued, but the system of cultivation and stock-grazing 'almost in accordance with home experiences', and the 'roughness' of colonial living a thing of the

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[46]James F. Johnston, *Notes on North America*, Vol. 1 (Boston, 1851), p. 358, quoted in Kenneth Kelly, 'The Transfer of British Ideas on Improved Farming to Ontario During the First Half of the Nineteenth Century', *Ontario History* LVXIII (June, 1971), p. 105. See also John Galt, *The Canadas*, (2nd edn. London, 1836) p. 294.
[47]*Glasgow Sentinel*, No. 1256, 7 Nov. 1874.

past.[48] Farmers whose standards were 'too high' for Winnipeg or Minnesota might be tempted to try the South Island of New Zealand, but, as one wealthy tenant (of more than 500 acres from the rich farming district of Strathmore, in Angus) pointed out, in an irate article written for Blackwoods Magazine, agricultural men of his stature did not necessarily desire to emigrate and forfeit what they had successfully established at home.[49]

The official emigration record provides no indication of the wealth of emigrating farmers: there is no information, for example, about their regional origins or the average acreage of land held under their tillage or in pasture. Nevertheless, it seems altogether logical that, in this period, New Zealand and Australia attracted fewer British 'farmers' compared to the United States or British North America, but larger numbers of agricultural labourers. Before the glut in the international market for wool, which marked the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the development of refrigerated shipping, which brought new prospects for the 'cow cockie', the traditional route for social mobility on the Australiasian rural scene was via shepherding and farm management. Wages were high in all areas of farm service, and one of the incentives offered by employers to good workers was the prospect of rearing flocks and gradually acquiring land of their own. Lucky farm servants became run-holders, or 'squatters', in their own right, while others found modest success as 'free-selectors'.

Perplexing, with regard to the evidence of United States' shipping lists,[50] is the observation that agricultural labourers were increasing as a proportion of all emigrants leaving the UK in the second half of the nineteenth century, not decreasing, as they were relative to the UK population as a whole.[51] At the end of our period (1877 to 1880) agricultural labourers constituted about seven per cent of all adult

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[48]Extracts from *A Handbook of New Zealand* , ed. Dr James Heston, CMG, FRS, Director of Geological Survey, Edinburgh, 1880, encl. in *Notes on New Zealand Properties of the New Zealand and Australian Land Co. Ltd,* (Dunedin, 1889) SRO, GD1 553/611/4.

[49]'British Agriculture and Foreign Competition, No 11', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine* LXVIII No. CCCXII, Feb. 1850, pp. 222-248.

[50]See C. Erickson, 'Who were',op. cit. and discussion above.

[51]Appendix V.IV Table 14ii.

males leaving the UK, and this percentage rose to about 11.5 per cent during the 1880s and was sustained at over ten per cent during the 1890s.[52] After 1877 the Irish figures can be disaggregated from the overall UK statistics, and experiments with this procedure strongly suggest that percentages given in Appendix V.IV underestimate the importance of agricultural labourers amongst British emigrants. In 1878, for example, farm labourers constituted 13.26 per cent of all UK emigrants going to all destinations (but, note, only 0.5 per cent of all UK emigrants going to the USA).[53] For the same year, Charlotte Erickson has estimated (also using the official UK statistics) that farm labourers formed 20.9 per cent of British emigrants going to all destinations.[54] Compared to the trough of the mid 1870s, overall emigration from the UK was rising in 1878, but, in the context of the exceedingly high out-migration of the 1880s, 1878 can be presented as a year of emigration trough.[55] In the peak year of 1882, agricultural labourers constituted only 7 per cent of British emigrants to all destinations. It can be argued from these results that 1878 was an unrepresentative year, reflecting a period when emigration to Australasia was high, because emigration to the United States was relatively low.[56] However, in 1888 (also a peak year for emigration, but a time of depression in New Zealand) agricultural labourers formed 28.1 per cent of British adult males going to all destinations, and 20.1 per cent of UK adult males going to the United States! In 1897, another year of 'trough', the proportion of agricultural labourers relative to the sending population remained high: 10.5% of British males to all destinations and 14.6% of UK males to the United States.[57]

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[52]Carrier and Jeffery, op. cit.

[53]Appendix V.IV Table 14ii

[54]Erickson, 'Who were', op. cit. Table 9, p. 370 and Appendix D, Table 12, p. 379.

[55]This is the perspective presented in Erickson, ibid., Table 9, p. 370, and also in Baines, op. cit. p. 81. Baines has adapted Erickson's Table 9 and titled it incorrectly as 'Occupations of British Adult Male Immigrants into the USA'. The table actually refers to the occupations of British adult male emigrants to all destinations. (In 1878, 97.33% of agricultural labourers leaving the UK were bound for destinations in Australasia, and only 1.57% were going to the USA.)

[56]This seems to be the point of view taken by Erickson and Baines, ibid. Baines's discussion is misleading and confusing here because of the incorrect titling of his table.

[57]Erickson, ibid.

It is not surprising that the tide of agricultural emigration swept away from Australasia after 1880. The severe slide in international wool prices affected all levels of colonial infrastructure and New Zealand suffered a sharp depression in the 1880s, as did Australia in the following decade. What does seem incongruous is the striking discrepancy between the results of Erickson's analysis of United States' shipping lists for the years 1885-8 (in which agricultural labourers are found to constitute only 1.1 per cent of occupied males arriving at ports in the USA) and the evidence of the UK port statistics for the same years. No such alarming discrepancy seems to have occurred for other occupation groups.[58]

The clue to this apparent paradox may lie in the seasonality of emigration - the way that shipping patterns coincided with the working year. The 'season for emigration' typically began in spring, and eased off by autumn to ensure that emigrants bound for British North America and the United States arrived at their destinations before work became scarce. For the peak years of emigration, 1885-8, Erickson's 'good lists' are available only for the relatively slack period during the first three months of the year. Although she estimates that about 5 per cent of English and Scottish males emigrating during these years are on her sampled list[59], it is unlikely that Scottish farm servants would have been represented to this extent as few would have been available to emigrate before the end of the Whitsun hiring term. On the New Zealand lists proportions of lowland farm servants generally picked up in June while Highlanders became more obvious in September and October after the harvest.[60] The 'seasonality of emigration' may well be

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[58]There were higher proportions of clerical and commercial workers, building tradesmen and 'industrial workers' (textile, iron, steel and engineering workers) in Erickson's sample compared to what is suggested about the composition of emigrant groups in the UK port statistics. To a large extent, this can be accounted for by the use of imprecise categories - 'general labourer', 'mechanic' and 'professional' - employed readily by the statisticians to the Board of Trade.

[59]Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants?', pp. 354-5.

[60]In March 1858 the *Annandale Observer* recorded 116 Dumfriesshire persons 'the wale [sic] of our agricultural labourers' departing 'as merry as crickets' as 'free emigrants' to the Cape of Good Hope.

> Many more have registered to sail for the Cape but owing to their engagement as servants they cannot leave until after the term.

Excerpts from the *Annandale Observer*, 18 March, 1 April 1858, compiled by Robert A. Shannon (Edinburgh Public Library). Descriptive sources such as newspapers and the

a significant factor accounting for the apparent preference for Australasia on the part of agricultural labourers who emigrated before 1880. More ships left for the Southern Hemisphere April through October than during the rest of the year, but the winter 'lull' was usually limited to the two months of February and March. Emigrants departing UK ports September through January still arrived in New Zealand and Australia in time for the harvest and late summer shearing. The *Glasgow Sentinel* claimed that 'timing considerations' were less important for emigrants going to New Zealand and Australia because in those countries there was no cessation of employment during the winter season. In the *Kilmarnock Standard* and *Border Advertiser* New Zealand was promoted most vigorously during the northern winter.presumably because it was at that time of the year that advertisements had the most impact.[61] Availability of shipping during the last months of the year may have meant that disproportionate numbers of both casual labourers and hired servants were snapped up by Australasian shipping agents and emigration recruiters after the harvest and at Martinmas, as well as after Whitsuntide. The seasonality of emigration needs to be investigated further, especially with regard to differing occupational patterns. There is enough evidence however to suggest that Erickson's sample, being limited to the first three months of the year, seriously underestimates the extent of emigration to the United States by Scottish agricultural labourers.

Data about the occupations of emigrants provided in the official UK port statistics suggest that the composition of UK emigrant groups varied markedly between destinations. These variations make rational sense in terms of what we know about international labour demand. A close scrutiny of the data provided by the Commissioners for Emigration and the Board of Trade reveals that from mid-century, and until the great Australasian depressions of the 1880s and 1890s, there was a consistent association between Australasia and the emigration of agricultural labourers, female domestic servants, warehousemen and

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reports of emigration agents testify to the importance of the 'seasonality of emigration'.

[61] *Glasgow Sentinel*, No. 967, 17 April 1869; *The Border Advertiser*, Nos. 1109-1161, 1 Jan. to 31 Dec. 1869; *The Kilmarnock Standard. A Weekly Newspaper of Local and General Intelligence*, Nos. 240-342, 2 Jan.-25 Dec. 1869.

shopmen, and to a lesser extent those involved with food preparation and retail, and those who worked in rural support trades. General labourers, textile workers, 'pre-industrial craftsmen' (who were widely dispersed throughout the UK and equally likely to be found in either urban or rural locations), building tradesmen, and miners went in overwhelming proportions to the USA throughout the period. (This was despite the tendency for general labourers, like building tradesmen and those who worked in extractive industries, to be very responsive to boom conditions in receiving countries.) Farmers, 'professionals', and to a lesser extent, clerks, were consistently over-represented amongst emigrants bound for British North America, although the migration of these groups (together with highly specialised craftsmen based in urban centres, producers and retailers of newspapers and books, and those who possessed engineering skills) showed the least variance with respect to destination, and was the least reflective of the overall peaks and troughs of migrant flows.

The 'demographic' characteristics of emigrants who left the UK also show considerable variation according to region of destination. A series of tables giving the ratios of women to men,[62] single to married persons, and children to adults is provided in Appendices V.V and V.VI.

We see from the second table in Appendix V.V that the balance between the sexes was more evenly distributed in the case of emigrants going to the United States and Australasia than was the case for emigrants bound for British North America and destinations outside the three main regions of settlement.[63] Australasia was the destination which received the most adult women in relation to adult men.

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[62]Conventionally the sex ratio is expressed in terms of the number of men to every hundred women. This practice is inverted in the tables shown in Appendices V.V and V.VI because in most years there were far fewer women than men amongst emigrants. The extent to which this was so is more immediately striking if the emphasis is on numbers of women in relation to men rather than vice versa.

[63]The proportion of men amongst adults going to the United States in the 1850s and 1860s was never as high as 65 per cent (the figure Erickson cites for English arrivals at ports in the United States in 1831) and only in one year (1869) higher than 64%, the figure derived from lists of emigrants leaving Scotland, 1774-5. On the other hand, the sex ratio for adults going to British North America was considerably more unbalanced compared to the USA especially in the second half of the 1860s, when the figures suggest no greater propensity for women to emigrate to British North America than was the

The sex ratios of adults can give a misleading impression of the composition of emigrant groups unless some adjustment is made for marital status. Tables 3 and 5 (Appendix V.V) show, respectively, the number of single women for every hundred single men, and the number of single women in relation to married women, going to each region. These two tables indicate that it was the relatively higher proportions of unattached young women going to the USA and Australasia which accounted for the more balanced sex ratio amongst all adults going to those, compared with other, destinations. The higher proportions of single women going to the United States and Australasia (as opposed to British North America and 'elsewhere') can probably be attributed to large numbers of Irish women in the former instance, and specific inducements made to female domestic servants with respect to the latter.[64]

These examples illustrate that evidence of a balanced sex ratio amongst emigrant groups is not necessarily indicative of a high level of 'family' emigration. Indeed, as is shown by Table 5 (in Appendix V.V) there was a strong bias in favour of unmarried as opposed to married emigrants amongst male adults going to all three major regions of destination - with single men out-numbering married men by more than three to one in most years. This ratio was generally smaller for Australasia compared to British North America or the USA. It was noticeably smaller for destinations outside the three main regions of settlement (even though the number of men in relation to women was far higher in the case of destinations 'elsewhere').[65]

Distinctions between emigrant groups according to region of destination were more pronounced for British as opposed to Irish

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case in 1831 or 1774. (Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles', op. cit. p. 185; and Flinn et al. *Scottish Population History* op. cit. p.445.)

[64]In the late 1850s Canadian immigration authorities made a concerted effort to entice single women to jobs in towns and on farms in Ontario. The apparent success of these endeavours is reflected in the ratio of single women to single men bound for British North America in these years.

[65]The unusual dominance of married over unmarried men amongst emigrants bound for 'destinations elsewhere' in the late 1860s and early 1870s coincides with years which saw the implementation of special colonisation schemes.

emigrants. This is clear to see for the period after 1876, when the Board of Trade began to distinguish emigrants' demographic characteristics according to their nationality of origin as well as their region of destination. Data available for Scottish emigration in the period 1877 to 1881 is provided in Appendix V.VI. These data show that the emigration of married couples and single women was a marked feature of emigration from Scotland to Australasia; in particular, a contrast is noticeable in these respects between emigration from Scotland to Australasia, and emigration from Scotland to the United States. The extreme imbalance in the ratio of women to men among married (as well as unmarried) Scots going to the USA is a reflection of the extent to which 'family' migration across the Atlantic had become a highly fragmented process by the final quarter of the nineteenth century.

Emigration from the UK to Australasia in the 1840 to 1880 period can be described as more 'familial' than the contemporary exodus to North America in the sense that proportionally more married as opposed to single adults went to Australasia than was the case for Canada or the Great Republic.[66] The familial relationship does not always hold, however, when ratios of children to adults or children to married women are considered.[67] In general, there were more children in relation to adults going to British North America than to any other destination, an association which became more pronounced during the Homestead Era of the 1860s and early 1870s, and again at the end of the nineteenth century coinciding with the expansion of the Western Frontier. Interestingly, the ratio of male to female children was also unusually high (compared to other periods and other destinations) in the case of emigrants going to British North America during the Homestead Era.[68] (This suggests that the likelihood of emigration to a frontier situation increased if a family was composed of sons rather

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[66]This was of course less true for women than men. During the 1860s domestic servants constituted some forty per cent of all adult women going to Australasia. The strong presence of domestic servants dramatically affected the propensity of Australasian-bound women to have been married.

[67]See Appendix V.V, Tables 7 & 8 and Appendix V.VI, Table 2.

[68]Appendix V.V, Table 9 shows that normally the ratio of female to male children was very similar for emigrant groups as it was for the sending population. For example there were 96.4 girls for every 100 boys in the under 15 year old age group in 1851. *PP* 1852-3[c.1691] LXXXVIII(2) p. 897.

than daughters.) Families bound for British North America were probably larger, and perhaps emigrating at a later stage of the life-cycle than families going to other destinations. However, there were more families, in relation to single adults, among emigrants bound for Australasia compared with either British North America or the United States. Many of the families going to Australasia were probably young couples at an early stage of the family life cycle.

External factors relating to receiving countries had an independent effect on the demographic characteristics of emigrants. For example, in the Australasian case, changing rules governing the availability of assisted passages account for some of the variance between levels of 'family' as opposed to 'unaccompanied' emigration.[69] Similarly, the American Civil War had an influence on the propensity of families with young children to embark on an emigrant ship bound for the United States during the 1860s. On the other hand, a high degree of correlation between emigrants' occupations and their demographic characteristics would also 'explain' some of the variation in patterns between destinations which are observed above. The probable association between British North America and the emigration of large families may be a reflection of the tendency of farmers and crofters to have chosen British North America in preference to other regions of destination: we know from the 1911 'fertility census' that the average completed family size of farmers and crofters at the end of the nineteenth century was very high compared to other occupational groups.[70] But, such perceived associations may be wholly spurious. Special schemes for the emigration of orphaned and abandoned children to British North America, such as those schemes promoted by the 'benevolent' Miss Maria Rye, may be the cause of the higher ratio of children to adults going to British North America compared to other destinations during the final quarter of the nineteenth century.[71]

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[69]See discussion in Section 6.3.2 below.

[70]'Report on the Twelth Decennial Census of Scotland', *PP* 1911[c.7163] XLIV 393. pp. 284-7.

[71]'Report on the Emigration of Pauper Children to Canada' [Andrew Doyle's Report] *PP* 1875 [c.9] LXIII p.1; 'Doyle Report. Emigration of Pauper Children to Canada. Reply to Miss Maria Rye's Report', 14 May 1877 *PP* 1877[c.263] LXXI p.255; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada 1869-1924* (London, 1980).

Obviously the composition of emigrant groups was affected by a range of factors, and the aggregative data, although suggestive, do not allow us to measure the relative weight of these. Nor do they allow us to see how the characteristics of UK emigrants varied according to the regional or even (except for very limited periods) the national origins of emigrants. By implication, we cannot estimate the extent to which conditions in the sending as opposed to the receiving area may have been important. Hvidt, who has studied emigration from Denmark in the second half of the nineteenth century, finds that families were more likely to emigrate at times of prosperity at home, than at times of depression and low prices, while periods of slump in the sending country were usually marked by an increased representation among emigrants of the young and unattached.[72] In terms of 'opportunity costs' this pattern makes economic sense. It was an expensive business to transport a family to the other side of the world or across the Atlantic, and, except in times of 'crisis', the economically rational course would be to 'sell up' at home during periods when profits from assets could be maximised. Letters from emigrants who aspired to go to New Zealand illustrate that Scottish tenant farmers and small shopkeepers thought in these terms.[73] Young, unmarried men and women were altogether more mobile than families, and being at an earlier stage of the life cycle, were less likely to possess assets that had already been converted to land, cattle, merchandise, or bulky tools. They could respond quickly to slumps at home, and with relatively little perceived or actual loss, hasten themselves abroad.[74]

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[72]K. Hvidt, *Flight to America. The Social Background of 300,000 Danish Emigrants* (New York, 1975), pp.76-7.

[73]For example, William Watkins, farmer, cancelled his commitment to emigrate to the young settlement at Otago in a letter to the Otago Association's Edinburgh Secretary in April, 1848.:

> 'If we went out shortly we would have to sell certain stock which is at present of a much less value than it has been of many years, and thus, we should make a sacrifice. I think we shall eventually go out there, but at present it is impracticable and imprudent for us'.

PRO, CO 208 121 pp 303-4.

[74]An exception to this pattern occurred during crisis periods such as the mid-century Irish and Highland famines. For example, in the immediate aftermath of the Irish Famine proportions of children from the western counties of Galway, Kerry and Cork were unusually high. This suggests that cottiers were cutting losses and fleeing with their families from crisis conditions to which adaptation seemed impossible. Fitzpatrick, op. cit. (1984), p.9.

Although the UK port statistics allow us to make only very limited and tentative inferences about the 'selectivity of migration processes', the series is useful because it is available for a continuous period of time. Case studies often rely on data available for very limited time-spans, and there is always a danger when using such data of confusing a cyclical fluctuation with a trend, or of over-emphasising one group of emigrants at the expense of others because that particular group tended to be noticeable at either a 'peak' or a 'trough' period of emigration.[75]

From the official port statistics we can see the main changes in the occupational profile of emigrants during the second half of the nineteenth century. Some occupations, notably farmers, most craft workers, and workers in the textile sector, were less prominent among emigrants leaving the UK during the final years compared to the middle decades of the nineteenth century (although farmers as a group continued to be over-represented in terms of their proportion of the workforce within the UK.) Other occupations, in particular, 'professionals' (a group which included 'gentlemen' and merchants and undoubtedly many 'visitors' as opposed to emigrants), general labourers, miners and engineers were more important, although to some extent the increased representativeness of these groups was due to better transport and higher levels of 'temporary' and return migration. Agricultural labourers and building workers are two groups for which the 'trend' as suggested by the official port statistics seems ambiguous compared with what we know from Charlotte Erickson's analysis of the composition of British emigrants going the USA. Erickson's results show a steep rise between mid-century and the mid-1880s in the proportion of building workers going to the USA; the official port statistics, on the other hand, show that building tradesmen, like other craft workers with 'pre-industrial' or unchanging skills, had been declining relative to other occupational groups between mid-century and the 1880s. The high proportion of building tradesmen going to the USA during the very heavy emigration of the 1880s reflects the strong

[75]For example, general labourers and building tradesmen were more responsive than other occupational groups to boom periods in receiving countries. By contrast, domestic servants, whose labour was in constant demand, were more obvious amongst emigrant groups when levels of emigration dropped.

responsiveness of this occupational group to boom conditions, but may not indicate a long-term change in the composition of emigrant groups. Also in contrast to Erickson's results, the official statistics suggest that agricultural workers increased as a proportion of all emigrants leaving the UK from the late 1870s - possibly reflecting response to a perceived depression in agriculture at home (which occurred at the same time as new opportunities for land and settlement became available in the western states of the USA and in British North America).[76]

There are two years, 1857 and 1867, for which the Emigration Commissioners distinguish occupations by country of origin as well as destination. Table 6.1 sets out selected occupational groups as a proportion of all adult males going to each major region of destination during these two years, disaggregating further by nationality. Obviously the patterns suggested by Table 6.1 are affected to some extent by idiosyncratic emigration schemes or economic conditions unique to either of the two years shown: for example, 1857 was at the end of a period of peak emigration to Australasia (following the discovery of gold in Victoria) while 1867 marked the beginning of a boom period in the USA. Nevertheless, the data are helpful because they suggest some important differences between UK emigrant groups on the basis of nationality.

[76]Appendix V.IV, table-type ii; Erickson, 'Who were', op. cit. Table 6, p. 363; and discussion above with respect to agricultural labourers.

TABLE 6.1 OCCUPATIONAL GROUP AS A PROPORTION OF ALL MALE OCCUPATIONS TO EACH DESTINATION, BY NATIONALITY, 1857 and 1867[a]

		Tot	Gen Labs	Farm-ers	Profs etc	Bldg Trds -men	Min-ers	Ag Labs	Other Occs	Not Bef Spec.	Tot
		n	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
TO USA											
1857	English	12,083	35.16	17.55	0.84	7.34	8.17	1.29	15.46	14.19	100.00
	Scots	1,990	18.34	20.65	12.01	7.79	1.61	5.83	24.02	9.75	100.00
	Irish	20,298	77.16	6.44	0.12	4.59	0.49	4.29	3.71	3.20	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	55,792	38.35	9.21	1.80	4.19	2.22	2.27	7.66	34.30	100.00
1867	English	19,657	47.78	7.19	10.89	4.97	14.53	0.21	8.23	6.20	100.00
	Scots	2,814	37.70	6.43	10.66	6.93	5.69	2.59	21.93	8.07	100.00
	Irish	27,852	85.36	5.59	2.46	1.22	0.91	0.06	3.40	1.00	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	76,648	55.45	6.50	5.39	3.23	5.79	0.20	6.10	17.34	100.00
TO BNA											
1857	English	2,755	50.67	16.41	0.76	7.90	3.85	3.63	13.62	3.16	100.00
	Scots	1,327	24.11	14.39	6.25	8.30	1.05	11.83	28.04	6.03	100.00
	Irish	1,563	83.88	10.94	0.13	1.02	0.19	0.19	2.95	0.70	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	7,468	37.83	11.21	1.22	4.68	1.78	3.49	11.17	28.62	100.00
1867	English	2,833	28.66	16.55	5.06	2.94	9.71	0.32	5.92	10.84	100.00
	Scots	969	13.62	22.81	23.43	5.48	1.86	3.82	22.79	6.19	100.00
	Irish	2,054	66.16	13.92	8.28	2.47	0.10	0.00	5.61	3.46	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	8,253	33.79	15.78	14.48	2.58	12.18	0.91	7.97	12.32	100.00
TO AUSTRALASIA											
1857	English	16,191	25.08	10.22	5.56	8.17	14.12	15.90	15.89	5.06	100.00
	Scots	2,615	28.15	12.31	2.64	6.58	3.71	28.22	14.99	3.40	100.00
	Irish	8,366	3.57	11.70	1.67	1.87	0.76	14.87	3.96	1.60	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	30,950	34.24	10.04	3.86	5.40	7.86	13.81	10.35	14.44	100.00
1867	English	2,931	17.60	9.42	36.44	3.20	6.41	4.54	5.67	6.72	100.00
	Scots	761	4.31	12.48	10.25	3.03	0.79	34.30	13.66	1.18	100.00
	Irish	1,386	58.80	10.25	6.13	2.10	0.22	13.49	8.07	0.94	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	6,407	26.88	8.26	19.87	2.56	3.18	9.38	11.17	18.70	100.00
ELSEWHERE											
1857	English	214	0.93	1.40	9.35	10.75	55.14	0.47	14.05	7.94	100.00
	Scots	71	0.00	7.04	29.58	2.82	0.00	0.00	52.11	8.45	100.00
	Irish	92	85.52	0.00	1.09	0.00	0.00	10.87	2.52	0.00	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	596	17.95	3.19	9.73	4.53	19.80	3.02	15.27	26.51	100.00
1867	English	1,031	8.34	2.81	59.07	0.68	2.42	5.92	13.78	6.98	100.00
	Scots	192	3.65	19.27	31.25	0.52	0.00	11.46	25.00	8.85	100.00
	Irish	182	23.63	9.89	26.92	0.00	0.00	25.27	6.60	7.69	100.00
	Tot UK Ports	3,629	4.08	2.56	27.25	0.14	0.69	3.33	6.26	55.69	100.00

a 'Foreigners' are included in UK port totals; 'Not Before Specified' includes 'Not Distinguished' for UK port total figures.

Source: Appendices to the Eighteenth and Twenty-Eighth Reports of the Emigration Commissioners for the Years1857 and 1867. PP 1857-8 [c.2395]XXIV.401, p.4; 1867-8 [c.4024]XVII.787, p.5

One of the implications of Table 6.1 is that Scots-born emigrants were of more diverse occupational background than the.English and the Irish. This is suggested by the low level of general labourers among the Scots. Compared to other UK nationals, more Scottish emigrants were farmers, professionals,.agricultural labourers or of 'other occupation'. ('Other occupations' not listed explicitly in Table 6.1,[77] include groups such as 'engineers', 'textile workers', and 'rural service tradesmen', all of which account for a higher proportion of the Scots than of emigrants born in England or in Ireland. [78]

By contrast, the group 'general labourers' is the only category of occupation which is over-represented among Irish emigrants, and,in the case of the English, only miners stand out as having a significantly higher representation than that which can be witnessed for the Scots. (The observation that miners account for a high percentage of English emigrants accords with Baines's discovery of high net emigration rates for counties such as Cornwall, Durham and Glamorgan where miners formed a large proportion of the workforce.)

These nationality based occupational patterns are broadly consistent with respect to all the major destinations for UK emigrants during the two years for which data is available although there are one or two important exceptions. Compared to their proportions going to all other destinations (and to the English in Australasia) Scots-born 'gentlemen, professional men, merchants, etc.' were under-represented amongst Australasian-bound emigrants. Such a pattern, if consistent for other years, may have influenced the creation of colonial elites, with the English having an initial 'advantage' over the Scots in Australasia. This seems to be in direct contrast with the situation in North America (particularly in British North America) where the Scots had a high profile, probably out of all proportion to their numbers within the UK,

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[77]See Appendix V.III for a full list of occupations which have not been listed explicitly in Table 6.1.

[78]For example, 'engineers' account for 18.31 per cent of Scots going to destinations outwith the USA, British North America and Australasia in 1857, but only 3.27 per cent and 0.0 per cent of English and Irish emigrants going to these 'other' destinations in the same year.

among UK immigrants with wealth, 'connections' and an atypically high (compared to other immigrants) level of education. The 'all other occupations category' (which includes skilled workers such as mining engineers and locomotive builders) is also consistently lower for Scots emigrating to Australasia compared to Scots going to other destinations. On the other hand, the proportions of Scots-born general labourers and agricultural labourers were usually higher for Australasia than was the case for British North America and the USA. The degree of association between Scots-born agricultural labourers and Australasia is particularly striking: about one third of all the Scottish adult men going to Australasia were agricultural labourers, whereas agricultural labourers never accounted for more than about one sixth of English and Irish adult men going to Australasia in the same period.

Between mid-century and the 1880s, Scottish emigration to Australasia may have been distinctive because Australasia was the destination most favoured by would-be emigrants (from the Lowlands at least) of relatively humble birth. This may be true for women as well as men. Indeed, Australasia may have appeared more attractive to Scottish and English working women, than either British North America or the USA. With regard to English working women, this is an impression one sometimes gains from literature. In Dickens's *David Copperfield* Emily and Martha (both 'fallen women') move to Australia where their past is unknown and they can start again; Arabella, in Hardy's *Jude the Obscure* accompanies her parents to Australia because 'a woman of her sort would have more chance over there'. (Her parents leave because 'the pig jobbing business' was 'a poor one nowadays'.) An association between Australasia and British emigrant women from working class backgrounds is also suggested by data relating to the occupations of female emigrants collected and published by the Commissioners for Emigration.

TABLE 6.2 DESTINATIONS OF FEMALE DOMESTIC SERVANTS, 1857 and 1867 [a]

		Tot n	USA %	BNA %	Aust. %	Else. %	Tot %
ENGLISH	1857	3459	16.74	2.37	80.63	0.26	100.00
	1867	1277	13.86	3.45	73.69	9.01	100.01
SCOTS	1857	1168	2.65	24.14	73.20	0.00	99.99
	1867	521	22.65	12.48	63.92	0.96	100.01
IRISH	1857	5354	39.56	2.39	55.55	2.50	100.00
	1867	6645	78.86	1.25	19.71	0.18	100.00
TOT UK PORTS	1857	11333	36.72	3.22	58.48	1.58	100.00
	1867	8599	64.86	2.17	30.99	1.98	100.00

a This group includes farm servants and nurses.

Source: As for Table 6.1

Table 6.2 shows that in 1857 and 1867 Australasia was the favoured destination for 'female domestic servants, farm servants and nurses' of all UK nationalities (except Irish women in 1867). Unfortunately, these data are suspect because a large proportion of adult female emigrants had no occupational status (apart from their marital status) recorded in the official UK port statistics. This group of 'unknowns' includes all married women, and also a large class of single women who were described simply as 'spinsters'.[79]

[79]Proportions of adult emigrants with no occupations attributed to them by the Commissioners forEmigration are given in Appendix V.I.

TABLE 6.3 TOTAL NUMBERS OF ADULT SINGLE WOMEN DEPARTING UK PORTS, 1857 AND 1867, BY DESTINATION AND NATIONALITY; AND THE PERCENTAGE OF THESE WHO HAD NO OCCUPATIONS SPECIFIED (i.e.'SPINSTERS') OR WHO WERE DOMESTIC SERVANTS

	ENGLISH			SCOTS			IRISH		
	Tot	spin-sters %	dom servs %	Tot	spin-sters %	dom servs %	Tot	spin-sters %	dom servs %
1857									
TO USA	2,299	71.42	25.18	184	81.52	16.85	15,467	84.63	13.69
TO BNA	207	52.66	39.61	425	28.71	66.35	879	83.96	14.56
TO AUST	3,813	22.74	73.14	1,057	16.65	80.89	3,535	14.94	84.13
ELSEWHERE	11	9.09	81.82	2	0.00	0.00	158	15.19	84.81
TOTAL	6,330	41.37	54.65	1,668	26.86	70.02	20,039	71.76	26.72
1867									
TO USA	3,192	85.34	5.55	552	63.95	21.1	6,939	66.28	30.93
TO BNA	340	65.59	12.94	256	49.22	25.39	827	89.24	10.04
TO AUST	1,494	16.73	62.99	441	0.00	75.51	1,539	9.62	85.12
ELSEWHERE	254	13.39	45.28	18	50.00	27.78	40	57.50	30.00
TOTAL	5,280	61.19	24.19	1,267	38.52	41.12	19,345	62.73	34.35

Source as for Table 6.1

We see from Table 6.3 that the two groups 'domestic servants' and 'spinsters' account for nearly all single women whose emigration was recorded in the official statistics. Indeed, if 'gentlewomen' in 1867 are excluded from the reckoning, all other groups identified by the Commissioners in order to classify the occupations of women (milliners, dressmakers, needlewomen and shopwomen) together with women whose 'trades and professions [were] not before specified' seldom account for as much as five per cent of adult women of any nationality going to any destination. Women classified as 'spinsters' may well have been unmarried women travelling with families or kin, or women of independent means who did not intend to work in their new countries. Together with married women they were probably recognised by contemporaries as unlikely candidates for any economic activity outside the home. 'Spinsters' constitute a far higher proportion of single women who went to the USA or British North America than they do for Australasia. Most adult single women leaving for Australasia in 1857 or 1867 were classified as 'domestic servants', and, considering that several of the colonies in Australia and the provinces in New Zealand were offering assisted passages to domestic servants in these two years, and that most women from manual and lower middle class backgrounds possessed some degree of domestic skill, it seems likely that women who would have stated 'no occupation' had they been going to the USA or Canada became 'domestic servants' en route to Australasia.

There is, then, a good case for ignoring the evidence of the Emigration Commissioners with regard to the occupations and expectations of women. On the other hand, the USA and British North America were not immune from the 'domestic affliction', that is, a chronic shortage of female domestic labour, which resulted in high wages, a rapid turnover of servants, and headaches (for the sorely tried mistresses). There were certainly attempts made to entice female domestic and farm servants to go to the various regions of British North America. In the United States, meanwhile, 'servantgalism' was rife. Some English ladies found cause to commiserate with their cross-Atlantic sisters in 1868:

> The mistress of a British household who has only to consult the advertisement sheet of her morning paper to bring as many housemaids or cooks as she chooses to her door, has not the imagination to conceive the tyrannical treatment of American ladies by the Irish cooks and housemaids who condescend to seek employment.[80]

In 1867, the proportion of Irish single women bound for the USA who were 'domestic servants' as opposed to 'spinsters' is higher than is the case for the English or the Scots; in both 1857 and 1867, there is a noticeably higher proportion of Scottish single women (compared to the English or the Irish) who were domestic servants as opposed to spinsters and bound for British North America. These variations in the ratio of the two main 'types' of unmarried emigrant women seem to parallel what we know from descriptive evidence about national preferences for different destinations. There is a possibility that the category 'domestic servant' often did imply a real intention to work, and that, as a group, domestic servants came from humbler backgrounds than was the case for 'spinsters'. Even if we do not assume a real distinction between 'domestic servants' and 'spinsters', there were still more single women relative to 'all working adults' among the emigrants going to Australasia, compared with either British North America or the USA. This is shown in Table 6.4.

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[80]*Glasgow Sentinel,* No.920, 23 May 1868, p.6.

TABLE 6.4 SINGLE WOMEN AS A PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL 'WORKING' ADULTS, BY NATIONALITY AND DESTINATION, 1857 and 1867 [a]

	USA		BNA		AUST		ELSEWHERE	
	Tot n	Single Women %	Tot n	Single Women %	Tot n	Single Women %	Tot n	Single Women %
1857								
English	14,382	15.99	2,962	6.99	20,004	19.06	225	4.89
Scottish	2,174	8.46	1,752	24.26	3,672	28.79	73	2.74
Irish	35,765	43.25	2,442	36.00	11,901	29.70	250	63.20
1867								
English	22,849	13.97	3,173	10.72	4,425	33.76	1,285	19.77
Scottish	3,366	16.40	3,173	20.90	1,202	36.69	210	8.57
Irish	44,791	37.82	2,881	28.71	2,925	52.62	222	18.02

[a] Married women are not included in the totals. (There were no occupations attributed to married women in the original source.)

Source: as for Table 6.1

The association between Australasia and working women of English and Scottish origin holds for all female occupations which were distinguished by the Emigration Commissioners except for 'gentlewomen and governesses' in 1867. (Scots amongst the latter group showed a distinct preference for British North America.[81]) By contrast, the favoured track for Irish single women, irrespective of occupation, led undoubtedly towards the USA. All these observations find parallels with points made regarding the male occupation series. It seems likely that, for at least three decades from about 1850, working men and women from humble backgrounds whose horizons and aspirations stretched beyond the Scottish Lowlands, looked first to the farthest destinations - in Australasia.

6.3 Who Were the Scottish Emigrants Going to New Zealand, c. 1840-1880?

6.3.1 A Comparative Overview

Table 6.5 sets out the occupational distribution of Scottish adult males going to New Zealand in two different periods and compares these data with Charlotte Erickson's results for British immigrants entering the United States. The most striking feature of the table is the dramatically higher proportion of agricultural workers and the smaller proportion of farmers, general labourers and (by the 1870s) commercial and clerical workers going to New Zealand compared to immigrants arriving at key ports in the United States. These points of comparison are not surprising in view of the Australasian and United States' profiles of male emigrants' occupations as suggested by the UK port statistics.

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[81]In 1867, 41.5% of the total 147 Scottish emigrant gentlewomen were bound for British North America (compared with 33.3% for the United States and 22.5% for Australasia). (In 1857 the number of Scottish gentlewomen emigrating was too small to indicate a pattern of destination preference.)

TABLE 6.5 A COMPARISON BETWEEN THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF SCOTTISH EMIGRANTS BOUND FOR NEW ZEALAND AND BRITISH EMIGRANTS ARRIVING AT THE PORT OF NEW YORK (MALES 15 YEARS AND OVER)

	NZ SHIP LISTS		US SHIP LISTS	
	NZ Co Period (c.1839-51) %	Vogel Period (c.1871-80) %	1846-54 %	1885-8 %
Farmers	10.6	2.7	14.2	8.4
Farm Labourers				
Group 1	3.2)	5.3)	0.5	1.1
Group 2	14.3)	34.8)		
Others Rural	2.6	1.8	-	-
General Labourers	5.6	10.9	22.6	29.5
Building Tradesmen	10.4	12.2	10.1	18.1
Miners	0.9	3.7	5.2	8.0
Workers in other 'pre-industrial' trades [a]	21.7	10.7	21.5	8.2
Workers in 'industrial' occupations [b]	11.1	7.7	17.3	7.8
Clerical workers	2.4	2.0	1.2	5.6
Commercial workers	4.8	2.2	3.9	8.0
Professional workers c	9.5	1.1	0.5	1.9
Other tertiary workers d	1.3	2.7	3.1	3.3
Dependents	1.7	2.3	-	-
TOTALS %	100.1	100.1	100.1	99.9
(excluding missing)	463	6482	848	8698

a Workers in industries classified as 'pre-industrial' include blacksmiths, cabinet makers, tailors, shoemakers, bakers - and other workers in metals, wood, clothing and food.

b Workers in industries classified as 'industrial' (because skill requirements in these industries were changing in the nineteenth century) include all textile workers, toolmakers, shipbuilders, printers and papermakers.

c For the 'NZ Company Period' emigrants whose occupations were given as 'gentleman' or 'of independent means' are included with 'professionals'.

d 'Other tertiary workers' includes all service and transport workers and members of the armed forces.

Sources: The US figures are derived from Charlotte Erickson, 'Who were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth Century?' in D.V. Glass and R. Revelle (eds) *Population and Social Change* (1972), Table 6, p. 363. The New Zealand figures are from the Scotland/New Zealand Emigrants' Data-Base: 'Total-list'.
Occupation categories are based on Erickson, ibid.

There are also some interesting parallels between the two sets of data relating to each receiving country, particularly in the way that the occupational distribution of the emigrants appears to have changed with time. Farmers and craftsmen with 'pre-industrial' or (relative to other occupations) unchanging skills accounted for a smaller percentage of emigrants going to both destinations in the later years shown in the table than they had done during the middle years of the nineteenth century. The same trend is discernable for emigrants who had worked in the manufacturing sector, in industries where skill requirements were changing.

In the New Zealand case, the decline in the proportion of emigrants with 'industrial' occupations is largely attributable to a decline in the proportion of textile workers among emigrants:./ During the New Zealand Company period, textile workers, mainly linen and woollen hand-loom weavers and their families, accounted for over two-thirds of emigrants from industries demanding new and changing skills; by the 1870s textile workers accounted for only 14 per cent of this group while most other workers whose occupations are classified as 'industrial' (notably all machinery and tool makers, printers, 'engineers' and other unspecified mechanics) had increased as a proportion of Scottish emigrants going to New Zealand.[82] However the increase in the proportion of these workers relative to other emigrants is not commensurate with their increase in the sending population. Hence, it is fair to conclude that workers from 'industrial' occupations, who were under-represented among emigrants at mid-century (in terms of the distribution of occupations in the sending population), became even less significant as the century wore on.

For most other occupational groups the trend over time is ambiguous. As we have already seen, the data relating to agricultural labourers are highly suspect but there is nevertheless a case to be made for an upward trend in the proportion of agricultural labourers relative

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[82]Emigrants who left Britain at mid-century and are classified in Table 6.5 as having industrial skills can probably be thought of as the victims of industrial and technological change. A generation later, however, most industrial workers who left their native land were probably the possessors of new skills appropriate for new industries.

to other emigrants going to all destinations from the 1870s. (Such a trend is likely to be exaggerated by the New Zealand data and profoundly under-estimated by the United States data shown in Table 6.5.)[83] Male workers in the tertiary sector were probably also increasing as a proportion of the total number of the British-born who left their native shores during the final quarter of the nineteenth century. This trend is reflected clearly in the United States data but is not shown in Table 6.5 with regard to emigration from Scotland to New Zealand. In particular, there were lower proportions of 'higher status' emigrants (professionals and merchants as opposed to small retailers, dealers and clerical workers) amongst workers from the tertiary sector who travelled to New Zealand in the 1870s, compared to the situation in the 1840s.[84]

Emigration to New Zealand during the New Zealand Company period is unusual because of the very high proportion of 'middle' or 'middling' class persons who emigrated in association with the New Zealand Company Scheme. During the years 1843 to 1852 (inclusive) 22.6 per cent of emigrants bound for New Zealand travelled in cabin berths (compared with 3.1 per cent and 4.1 per cent of emigrants bound for British North America and the United States).[85] Cabin passengers were often described on the New Zealand Company's ship lists as 'gentlemen', 'settlers' or of 'independent' status. Many had purchased blocks of rural land from the New Zealand Company but only a few had followed agricultural occupations while living in Britain. The cabin passengers included retired army and navy officers, the sons of professionals, literary men and dreamers, and one or two sons of dispossessed

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[83]See discussion in Section 6.2.2 above.

[84]To some extent the New Zealand figures for clerical,commercial and professional workers (as shown in Table 6.5) are misleading. Clerical and financial workers (generally of 'middling' as opposed to 'middle' class) rose as a proportion of *paying* passengers going to New Zealand (from 6.4% of paying passengers in the New Zealand Company period to 10.4% during the 1870s). In addition, some of the apparent decline between the 1840s and the 1870s in the proportion of commercial and professional workers of 'higher status' (evident for both 'paying passengers only' and the 'total list') is due to the higher tendency for occupation data to be missing for cabin passengers who travelled to New Zealand in the 1870s compared with cabin passengers who set out during the New Zealand Company period.

[85]The Commissioners for Emigration gave the total number of cabin passengers going to each destination between 1843 and 1852 but this information was not disaggregated further in any useful way.

Highland lairds.[86] Most have been grouped with 'professionals' in Table 6.5.[87]

Among the cabin passengers of the 1840s, particularly among the English, there were undoubtedly a number of middle class emigrants who were attracted by Wakefield's vision of 'concentrated' agricultural settlements based on the model of the English corn counties. These men probably hoped to secure a place in the squirearchy of such settlements. A large proportion of the socially pretentious (those who could afford it) returned to Britain in the 1850s,[88] completely disillusioned with what they had found.[89] A land 'Elysian'd with clover', a balmy climate, and mountain views surpassing Switzerland had not materialised; neither had they found easy accrual of capital, or the 'refinements' of British society. Other cabin passengers, like young Alfred Domett (immortalised in R. Browning's poem *Waring*), became politicians, administrators, pastoralists and merchants - a colonial elite. Yet others, like Alexander, eldest son of Aeneas, fifteenth chief of the MacDonells of Glengarry, and Charles Armitage Brown, friend and patron of Keats, died without fame on the colonial stage; some died in poverty and obscurity.[90]

For the most part, 'independent' emigrants who left Scotland for New Zealand in the 1840s were not 'men of substance'. Most were young and inexperienced - over seventy per cent were under 35 years of age, and twenty per cent were in their late teens. Judging by their letters, they thought more in terms of sheep, pasture and adventure than offices of

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[86]For example, Hugh Munro of Achany (an estate near Lairg in Sutherland) emigrated to New Zealand in 1839 soon after the sale of his late father's estate to Sir James Matheson. (The Achany estate had been sequestrated about 23 years previously.) SRO, Reay Papers (bundle 91), cited by William A. Munro, Munros in New Zealand', *Clan Munro*, no. 11 (1969), p. 9.

[87] This is a rather misleading categorisation because it is unlikely that the majority of the 'independents' ever followed professional occupations - although some did.

[88]About one quarter of the total number of incomers who entered New Zealand under the organised settlement schemes of the 1840s are estimated to have left early in the following decade. Gibson, thesis, p. 122.

[89]See for example the views of one returning cabin passenger expressed in 'Emigration Realised. A Poem', by S. C. C. (London, 1855) (NLS, 139 1/5).

[90]'From Keat's London to Taranaki Hut', by Iain MacDonald, New Zealand Herald, 18 May, 1985, Section 2, p. 3; 'Invergarry Castle' (pamphlet publication of the Invergarry Castle Trust, c. 1983).

magistry and legislation in a visionary utopia. Several of their number can be counted in the 'surplus relative' category of emigrants (which is discussed in the following chapter).

Michael Anderson's identification of occupations listed in the 1851 census schedules, his highly detailed grouping of occupations according to various specifications, and his translation of these data into machine-readable format allow us to regroup original occupation entries made by the census enumerators according to the same criteria as used in the construction of Table 6.5.[91] Table 6.6 sets out the frequency distribution which results from this regrouping.

[91]For details see Appendix IV.

TABLE 6.6 THE OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTION OF ADULT MALES (15 YEARS AND OVER) WHO WERE RESIDENT IN SCOTLAND IN 1851

	%
Farmers	6.5
Farm Labourers	
Group 1	1.1
Group 2	11.7
Others Rural	2.7
General Labourers	5.8
Building Tradesmen	7.5
Miners	5.7
Workers in other 'pre-industrial' trades	16.0
Workers in 'industrial' occupations	19.3
Clerical workers	3.4
Commercial workers	7.0
Professional workers	2.7
Other tertiary workers	8.0
Dependents	1.7
Unclassified	0.4
TOTAL (%)	99.5
n	2409

Source: Scottish subsample of Michael Anderson's sample of the 1851 Census.

In comparison with the 'population at risk' at mid century, it appears that workers from the agricultural sector and craftsmen with 'pre-industrial' skills (including building tradesmen but excluding miners) were over-represented amongst emigrants who went to New Zealand between 1839 and 1851. During this period emigrants with craft skills exhibited a tendency to be of mixed occupational background, and sometimes the mix seems incongruous, for example, 'shoemaker and quarryman', 'cooper and sawyer'. This suggests that a low degree of specialisation and a high incidence of occupational mobility were characteristic of the 'emigrant type'. A readiness to move between jobs may have been compelled by the state of labour markets and suggests that emigrants were often those whose life prospects seemed insecure in the home land. On the other hand, attributes of adaptability and a wide range of skills were appropriate for life in a frontier community.

If we discount 'professionals' (of whom over two-thirds were of 'independent' status in this period), it seems that workers in 'industrial' occupations and all tertiary workers were under-represented among the New Zealand-bound emigrants compared to the population at risk. However, New Zealand probably attracted a higher proportion of clerical workers, commercial workers and professionals than most other destinations at mid-century.[92] These workers were often 'middling' types such as small shopkeepers, commercial clerks, teachers, sons of the clergy and public servants of lowly administrative status. They are the 'worried, anxious' classes identified by Edward Gibbon Wakefield - 'small capitalists' who had risen recently in fortune, or who stood to fall.

Using Michael Anderson's subsample of the 1851 census, emigrants can be compared with residents in the sending population in terms of position within the job hierarchy of their stated occupation. In this respect, the profile of the male emigrant population going to New Zealand at mid-century is not dissimilar to the occupational distribution of all adult males resident in Scotland in 1851. For example, the proportions of male emigrants found in the 1841 or 1851 censuses who

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[92]Compare the proportions of these groups going to New Zealand with those going to the United States in Table 6.5.

had been manual workers, employers of labour, or of 'independent status' (self-employed, employing family workers only) are 23.9 per cent, 6.8 per cent and 7.3 per cent while the respective proportions for adult males in Anderson's Scottish subsample are 27.4 per cent, 4.9 per cent and 8.9 per cent.[93] This small level of difference between the two populations can probably be explained by the slight bias in the census-traced group in favour of emigrants with secure jobs and on average relatively higher status compared to the 'norm' of the 'total list'.[94] The only significant variation between the 'emigrating' and the 'sending' population is with respect to the proportions of men in the two groups who had been working in a 'learning' capacity at census time. While 14.3 per cent of adult male emigrants were apprentices, family workers, 'learners' or else described as 'boy' at the census preceding their emigration and a further 6.8 per cent classified as having been 'outside the labour market' (usually because they were still living at home as 'scholars' or dependents) the respective percentages are only 3.2 per cent and 3.1 per cent of males fifteen years or over in the Scottish subsample of the 1851 census.

The latter result is of course a reflection of the age structure of the emigrant population. As we would expect, emigrants going to New Zealand in the nineteenth century were clustered in the young adult age groups, with 57.7 per cent of Scottish males and 50.8 per cent of Scottish women on the 'total list' between the ages of fifteen to thirty-four years (inclusive) at the time of their embarkation.[95] By contrast 36.1 per cent of men and 36.2 per cent of women living in Scotland in 1851 declared themselves to be between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four. The discrepancy between the sending and the emigrating population is especially noticeable for men in the age-group twenty to twenty-four years (inclusive). Well over one-fifth of male emigrants were in this age-group compared with only one-tenth of males in the population at risk.

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[93]Adult males for whom 'manual' status could not be distinguished from 'independent - employs only family workers' account for 20.5% of the census-traced group and 24.4% of the Scottish subsample of the 1851 census.

[94]For further details on the differences between the total list of emigrants and emigrants found in the census see Chapter Two.

[95]Emigrants on the total list whose place of last residence was in Ireland were considerably more clustered in the young adult age groups, with 70.7% of the men and 74.1 % of the women emigrating between the ages of fifteen and thirty-four.

Men in their early twenties at the time of emigration were often apprentices, students, or in some other learning capacity at the time of the census preceding their emigration.[96]

In other respects as well as age-structure, the demographic characteristics of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand differed from the sending population in ways which we would expect. For example, the youthfulness of the emigrants affected their propensity to be married: only 46.5 per cent of emigrants sixteen years and over had ever been married[97] while the respective figure for the Scottish population in 1851 was 66.0 per cent. In the emigrant population males were more numerous than women, accounting for nearly sixty per cent of adults (fifteen years and over) in all periods.[98] In the sending population, of course, the reverse was true. (According to Anderson's Scottish subsample, 52.4 per cent of adults were women.)

The uneven sex ratio, the 'clustering' of emigrants in the young adult age groups and the high proportion of single as opposed to married adults, all features of the 'demographic profile' of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand, are typical features of an emigrant population. Yet, these features are not strongly marked compared with what we know about the demographic characteristics of other emigrant groups. Emigration from Ireland, for example, particularly to the USA, was typified throughout the nineteenth century by the over-flow of older children (increasingly women after the Famine). In all periods for which we have data , from the early nineteenth century to the decades just prior to World War One, Irish emigrant groups included a far higher component of young, unmarried adults than was the case for Scottish emigrants going to New Zealand.[99] Of Irish emigrants

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[96]In contrast to men, female emigrants were most strikingly over-represented with respect to the sending population in the age-group twenty-five to twenty-nine years. Nearly 16% of female emigrants were in this age-group compared with 8.7% of women in Anderson's subsample.

[97]This proportion was 56.3% for males who emigrated during the New Zealand Company period and 35.9% for males who emigrated during the Vogel period.

[98]The figures were 57.8% for the New Zealand Company period and 59.5% for the years of the Vogel scheme.

[99]For summaries and analysis of Irish data pertaining to the age and family structure of emigrants, see Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles', op. cit. esp. p. 183; and C. O'Gráda,'Across the Briny Ocean: Some Thoughts on Irish Emigration to

included in the 'total list',[100] 70.7 per cent of the men and 74.1 per cent of the women were between fifteen and thirty-four years of age at the time of their emigration.[101] Over half of the Irish in this 'young adult ' age group (40.7 per cent of all Irish males and 37.7 per cent of all Irish females on the total list) were between the ages of twenty and twenty-four.[102]

Like the Irish, Scottish emigrants on the 'total list' tended to be young (87.8 per cent were under 35 years of age, compared with 92.6 per cent of the Irish); however, unlike the Irish, the Scottish 'subsample' of the total list includes a fair complement of children. Emigrants under fifteen years of age (33.1 per cent of Scots on the total list as opposed to 20.4 per cent of the Irish) were almost fully represented in terms of the sending population (of which, according to Michael Anderson's subsample of the 1851 census, they accounted for 35.5 per cent). This relatively high proportion of children indicates that Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand between about 1840 and 1880 were clearly more 'familial' a group than the Irish.

America, 1800-1850', in T.M. Devine and D. Dickson, eds *Ireland and Scotland 1600-1850: Parallels and Contrasts in Economic and Social Development* (Edinburgh, 1982), pp. 118-9 (for evidence relating to the first half of the nineteenth century). Data relating to the age of Irish emigrants was collected by the Commissioners for Emigration from 1861 and can be found summarised in Carrier and Jeffery, op. cit. pp. 50-4 and Diagram K. Also see D. Fitzpatrick op. cit. (1984), p.8.

An extreme case of age clustering in the young adult age group can be noted for Irish women going to the United States between 1903 and 1916. In these years 75% of Irish women bound for the great republic were between the ages of 15 and 25. (Carrier and Jeffery, op. cit. p.54.)

[100]The reference here is not to the Irish-born who had been living in Scotland, but to 'in-transit' passengers who travelled to New Zealand via a Scottish port and whose place of last residence was in Ireland.

[101]Corresponding figures for the Scots are 57.7% and 50.8%.

[102]This finding is close to David Fitzpatrick's description of the age structure of Irish emigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century (op. cit. p.8). Between 1855 and 1914 the proportion of all Irish emigrants (going to all destinations) in the age-group 20-24 years rose from about one third to about 44%. In the same period the percentage of emigrants who were children under 15 years of age dropped from about 25% to 12%. According to the evidence of the 'total list', 39.4% of Irish emigrants (men and women) going to New Zealand from Scottish ports were between the ages of 20 and 24 years (inclusive) at the time of their embarkation, and 20.4% were under 15 years of age.

About two thirds (68.6 per cent) of Scottish emigrants on the total list travelled to New Zealand in a family group.[103] This proportion is significantly less than Erickson's figure (77 per cent) for English and Welsh immigrants entering the United States in 1831[104], but it is probably atypically high with respect to emigration from the British Isles, and indeed, from Western Europe in general, by the middle decades and final quarter of the nineteenth century. Hvidt finds that for every five adult males who emigrated alone from Denmark between 1868 and 1914 there was only one who travelled with a family. Erickson finds for British immigrants entering the United States, 1885-8, a corresponding ratio of eight men alone for every one who travelled with a family.[105] By contrast, the evidence of the total list suggests a ratio of men alone to men in families which is closer to one in one: during the Vogel period only about 130 Scottish men travelled without a spouse or children for every 100 accompanied by a family.

Scottish emigration to New Zealand in the second half of the nineteenth century may have been 'more familial' than British and European emigration in general in this period. However, the majority of families going to New Zealand between about 1840 and 1880 were very young, usually travelling to the new land at an early stage of the family life-cycle, often soon after the formation of a new family through marriage. Nearly one-fifth of all families on the total list consisted simply of a married couple travelling without children and about two-thirds of all families left Scotland before the eldest child was ten years old. The most common (or modal) family size (numbers of children per family) was just two children.[106] Over one-quarter of all families on the total list included one or two children only, and about half of all families

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[103] Each member of a 'family' in the sense used here was related to at least one other member through either a conjugal or a parent/child relationship.

[104] English and Welsh immigrants in their forties were fully represented (in terms of their proportions in the sending population) among new arrivals entering the USA during the 'frontier period'. Erickson, 'Emigration from the British Isles', p.183. This is not true of the Scots on the 'total list'. The demographic character of the latter population differed significantly from that of the former in that the Scots who went to New Zealand were considerably younger as a group than the participants of the folk migrations of the early nineteenth century.

[105] Erickson, Who were', op. cit. and Hvidt, op. cit.

[106] This and following figures stated in the paragraph exclude families with no children at the time of emigration.

travelled with no more than three children. The median size of emigrant families can be thought of as being between three and four children per family. However, the presence of some very large families emigrating at a 'mature' stage of the family life-cycle pushed the mean family size considerably higher (to 4.25 children). About half of all families headed by farmers, for example, included at least five children, and over one-fifth of all families on the total list travelled to New Zealand with at least eight children.[107]

There were clear variations in the demographic profile of emigrants who went to New Zealand according to the region of origin of the emigrants and their occupational background. For example, the ratio of men alone to men in family groups was markedly higher for merchants, clerical workers, engineers and professionals than it was for farmers, skilled craftsmen, textile workers and miners.[108] Regional variation in the demographic patterns of emigrants can be attributed largely, but not entirely, to the distribution of occupations between regions. The demographic features of the Highlanders on the 'total list' were closer to the Irish in many respects than the Lowland Scots. For example, only 43.5 per cent of all adult Scots on the 'total list' travelled 'alone', compared with 60.8 per cent of those whose place of last residence was in the Highlands and 70.1 per cent of emigrants from Ireland. Emigration from the Highlands to New Zealand also differs from the Lowland experience in that Highlanders who travelled in family groups were often emigrating at a mature stage of the family life-cycle. Case-studies suggest that in a significant number of instances these mature families were completing a family chain migration begun earlier by an adult child.

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[107]Estimates of the average size of emigrant families do not always account for the fact that the teenage sons and daughters of 'mature families' were often recorded on the ships' lists as though they were emigrating as 'single' men and women in a non-familial situation. (For example, see Morris, thesis, esp. pp. 169-176.) The size of emigrant families and the stage of the life-cycle at which family emigration took place is further discussed in the following chapter.

[108]Differences in the extent of 'family' emigration according to the occupation of the family head at census time is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

6.3.2 The Role of Regulation

Throughout the entire 1840 to 1880 period approximately half of the 50,000 Scots who emigrated directly from the UK to New Zealand received some form of official assistance with passage fares. However, during the years for which we have a good coverage of information about emigrants (including those emigrants who received some form of assistance and those who did not) the ratio of assisted to paying passengers is strongly weighted in favour of the assisted. During the New Zealand Company Period about two-thirds of the Scottish emigrants received passage assistance, and during the Vogel Period the proportion was about four-fifths.

Both the New Zealand Company and the Vogel administration implemented and tried to enforce regulations governing the 'eligibility' of emigrants for a free or assisted passage. These regulations incorporated a range of selective criteria, favouring some occupations above others, and stipulating preferences as to the marital status, age, gender, family size (and sometimes the nationality and religion) of the emigrants. To what extent did regulations governing the issue of free or assisted passages to New Zealand determine the occupational and demographic characteristics of the emigrants who went thither in the 1840s and 1870s?

Rules governing the 'selection' of emigrants for passage assistance were enforced by shipping and emigration agents with varying degrees of lassitude or riguor. Nevertheless, the evidence of the shipping lists suggests a high outward conformity between the demands of the recruiters and the overall profile of the assisted emigrants. During the New Zealand Company Period the only strict criterion for eligibility to apply for a free passage on the grounds of occupation was the intention to work for wages on arrival at the new settlement. This was because the main concern of the Company was to ensure the involvement of monied emigrants who could afford the high price of colonial land. Land prices were set high in accordance with the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield who believed that the creation of stable and ordered societies in the New World was dependent on a ready supply of wage-

earners, unable to afford the cost of land for themselves, and therefore available to service the needs of the investors. Those who tried to put Wakefield's ideas into practice in the middle decades of the nineteenth century usually recognised only two 'classes' of emigrants: 'capitalists', who could afford the cost of land purchase, and 'labourers', who could not. Shepherds, farm servants, craftsmen whose skills would service rural communities ('country blacksmiths who can shoe horses', 'harness makers' &c), domestic servants, sempstresses and female farm and domestic servants were specified as the 'most suitable' candidates for free and assisted passage to New Zealand during the 1840s.[109] Compared to their proportions in the 'population at risk' these groups are over-represented amongst wage-earners who went to New Zealand in this period.[110] However, the types of skills of the emigrants were not the most pressing concern of the promoters, and the degree of over-representation of the preferred groups is not striking.

During the 1870s, by contrast, the Vogel administration placed more emphasis on the occupation of the emigrants than on any other personal attribute. The aim of the colonial Government was to create a population large enough to warrent massive investment in a new system of public transport and communication, to bring in the labour required to service infrastructural development, and to meet the colonial clamour for workers who were endowed with particular types of skills, namely in farm and domestic service. In 1874 and 1875, the peak years of assisted emigration under the Vogel Scheme, restrictions on the family size and age of emigrants were overlooked; neither was the marital status of the would-be emigrants taken into strict account. Both unmarried men and married men with families were eligible for free passage as long as they fulfilled the criterion of being agricultural labourers, shepherds, navvies or mechanics. Single girls who could claim skills as cooks, housemaids, nurses, general servants or dairy maids were also eligible.[111] These rules are reflected in the

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[109]'Regulations to be Observed in the Selection of Labourers for a Free Passage ...to Otago...' (Edinburgh: Lay Association of the Free Church of Scotland for Promotion of the Colony of Otago, Oct. 1847). PRO, CO 208 120 p. 247.

[110]See Tables 6.5 and 6.6 and discussion in the previous section.

[111]Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 8 Feb. 1872, *AJHR(NZ)*, 1872, D.1A, p. 10; Regulations for Free Passages, *AJHR(NZ)*, 1874, D.3, p. 33.

occupational distribution of the free emigrants who left Scotland for New Zealand during the Vogel Period: nearly 44 per cent of adult men claimed to be agricultural workers, and of the adult women who were not classed as 'dependents', 80.5 per cent claimed jobs which can be categorised under the general heading of 'private domestic service'.[112] For both men and women, the occupational distribution of emigrants assisted to New Zealand during the Vogel Scheme years is far more clustered in the the most 'wanted' categories of farm service and domestic service than had been the case during the New Zealand Company Period. Domestic servants, for example, accounted for 46.7 per cent of Scottish women assisted to New Zealand during the 1840s (excluding 'dependents' from the total) compared with four-fifths of women assisted during the 1870s.[113]

Those who sought to promote emigration to New Zealand during the 1840s believed that the most important attribute which women would bring to the new settlements was their gender. Wakefield had argued that the 'lamentable state' of most colonies was due to the 'great disproportion' between the sexes: roving unmarried men were an 'unstable element' in the new societies, and the only way of achieving sound community building in the New World was by promoting the emigration of women. In Wakefield's writings the advantages of the married state were laid before the potential emigrant and men were urged to marry before they sailed.[114]

Dictates of respectibility decreed that it was undesirable for young women to travel unaccompanied, but there are also other reasons why the theorists of colonisation advocated that 'marriage should be the period of emigration'. One idea current at mid-century was the erroneus neo-Malthusian doctrine which held that the birth rate of any given population was dependent upon the number of married pairs in that population; hence, the removal of young, married couples from the

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[112]A further 6.5% of the women were dairy maids or farm servants.

[113]According to Anderson's Scottish subsample of the 1851 census only about 27% of adult women living in Scotland in 1851 (and not classified as dependents) were working in private domestic service.

[114]See for example *England and America: A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations*, 2 vols, (London, 1833), 94-105; and *A View of the Art of Colonization*, (London, 1849), esp. p.157.

UK through systematic colonisation would provide a 'real, effectual and permanent' resource against over-population at home. At the same time population growth and social stability (both achieved through the firm implantation of the institution of the family) would be ensured in the New World. It was argued in *Blackwoods Magazine*, furthermore, that newly married couples being 'all the world to each other' entered a brief phase of their lives when 'vitality, hope, strength and exhilaration' were greater than at any other period. Emigration was a practical course because the couple had to leave home in any case and the 'slender hoard' which was 'so easily drained in this country' would carry them creditably into another.[115]

The marital status, travel companions and gender of emigrants received a more weighty consideration in rules governing the selection of free and assisted passengers during the New Zealand Company period than had the question of the occupations of the emigrants. Regulations drawn up by the Otago Association, for example, decreed that free passages be given to married couples and to single women emigrating under the supervision of either a married couple, or alternatively, a female cabin passenger to whom the recipient of the free-passage was engaged in service. Single men were not permitted as free passage recipients except in a number not exceeding that of the single women on the same ship.[116] These rules are reflected in the demographic profile of Scots assisted to New Zealand during the New Zealand Company Period. Of the adults, 60.1 per cent were married and emigrating in the company of a spouse (compared to 42.5 per cent of all emigrants sixteen years and over on the total list). Of the assisted adults who had never been married, one-third (33.3 per cent) of the men and two-thirds (66.9 per cent) of the women emigrated in the company of their parents compared with 17.6 per cent of all 'young, single' men and about one third of all 'young single' women on the total list.

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[115]'Colonisation - Mr Wakefield's Theory', *Blackwoods Edinburgh Magazine* LXV, No. ccciii, esp pp. 510-11.

[116]'Regulations to be Observed in the Selection of Labourers...' op. cit.

The notion of a 'proper time' to emigrate, coinciding (for men) with the period shortly after marriage, infiltrated the Australasian emigration literature of the 1840-80 period.

'Let every Johnny take his Jenny'

was the cry of an 'Australian Colonist' in 1869.[117] However the concern with family as a positive force in community building was soon superceded by the concept of family as a work unit. The majority of agricultural labourers going to New Zealand and Australia by the 1850s found their first employment either with kin or as live-in farm servants on the big sheep runs. A single man or woman could be readily housed or employed but young families often faced considerable problems in finding situations even at times when labour was scarce. In the 1850s and 1860s advertisements and articles about 'the state of the labouring market' in New Zealand and Australia always stressed the desirability that married couples be 'without encumbrances'.[118] James Adam, emigration agent in Scotland for Otago in the early 1870s, advised parents with large families not to emigrate until the youngest child was six or seven and, by implication, the older children had become wage-earners themselves.

> ...if the eldest child is only ten or twelve years, such families have lost the golden time to emigrate. They should have emigrated before the first child was weaned, or shortly after being married. This is certainly the proper time for a man to emigrate, but in the case of a woman she should emigrate before marriage, as she is wanted elsewhere...[119]

The emphasis of the Vogel Scheme regulations was not on the family status of the emigrants but on the number of wage earners claiming particular skills which each family or emigrating unit could supply.

The evidence of the New Zealand ships lists suggest that those who sought to regulate the occupational and demographic characteristics of Scottish emigrants, by means of imposing restrictive criteria on passage assistance, achieved a good measure of success. Can one then make

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[117]'Emigration! Where Shall I Go?, by an Australian Colonist' (London, 1869).

[118]For example see *Glasgow Sentinel,* op. cit. No. 966, 10 April 1869.

[119]James Adam, *Twenty Five Years of Emigrant Life in the South of New Zealand* (Edinburgh, 2nd edn, 1876), p. 35.

inferences about the motives and aspirations of assisted emigrants from the composition of passenger-loads on emigrant ships?

In a memorial to the Governor-General and Executive Council of New South Wales, written in December 1854, the Secretary of the 'Scottish-Australian Emigration Society' complained bitterly of an 'anomaly' in the then current regulations of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners which resulted in 'married weavers with families' having to pay fifteen times more deposit on passage fares than married shepherds who were 'infinitely abler' to pay than weavers.[120] In 1854 the regulations of the Commissioners imposed passage deposits of £5 on each male adult, female adult and every two children belonging to the families of 'artisans in towns' who wished to emigrate to Australia. Agricultural labourers, shepherds, farm and domestic servants, on the other hand, were required to pay only £1 for each male adult and unmarried female adult, with no extra cost at all for wives and children. The weavers' memorial explained that many married men with wives and children living in the villages and towns of Lanarkshire 'desired earnestly' to emigrate to Australia, where, they believed, employment would be readily available and liberally rewarded, and families sustained with a far greater degree of optimism than seemed possible in contemporary Scotland. The memorial also pointed out that 'industrious widows' who found it 'difficult to support themselves and their children in this country...' and 'who would be most useful in the colony of Australia as servants and housekeepers' had been debarred from becoming emigrants to Australia because of the restrictive conditions placed on eligibility for an assisted passage.[121] The articulate testimony of the weavers suggests that the composition of emigrant ship-loads can tell us very little about either what would-be settlers really wanted, or, the types of economic and social pressures to which they were subjected in contemporary Scotland. On the contrary, the demographic and occupational profile of the assisted emigrants seems to be a mere reflection of a confused amalgam of 'colonisation theory' and current colonial (or destination-specific) labour demand.

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[120]'Memorial of John Crawford, Secretary to the Scottish-Australian Emigration Society, to His Excellency the Governor-General of and the Honourable the Executive Council of New South Wales, December 1854'. *PP* 1857 [c.116] X 629 pp. 20-22.

[121]op. cit.

And yet, it would be simplistic and unfounded to attribute the 'character', let alone the volume and fluctuations of migration from Scotland to New Zealand, to the externally regulating powers of colonial governments and other emigration agencies. The fact that the demographic and occupational character of emigrants varied from region to region, and that the Scots as a group (even if we consider only those emigrants who went to New Zealand) had a very different profile from the Irish, suggest that local forces and traditions of emigration and migration had an important role to play. In addition, those who were in the business of marketing for migrants were often markedly unsuccessful in their attempts to regulate the volume of emigration traffic. In the early 1870s, for example, competition for agricultural emigrants was rife and the promoters of emigration to Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, Natal and the Cape, as well as to 'Canada', New Zealand and Australia, were all in the fray.[122] In 1871 and 1872 New Zealand emigration agents in Scotland bemoaned their lack of success in procuring agricultural emigrants, and attributed their failure in the north, north-east and Border areas to the high cost of down-payment for fares in the face of competitive inducements to Canada.[123] Thomas

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[122]For an account of one of these ventures see P. Horn, 'Gloucester and the Brazilian Emigration Movement, 1872-1873', *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Antiquarian Society* 89 (1970); In 1872 Joseph Arch (Secretary of the agricultural labourers' trade union) made terms with the Colonial Government of Queensland: free passages and 40 acre land grants were to be made to each man; In the early 1870s emigration promotion for the provinces of Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were centralised under a new Ministry of Agriculture and vast sums expended on a publicity campaign to attract agricultural labourers from the UK and Europe. Some 828 500 pamphlets were distributed, mainly in the UK, 40 000 with the title: 'Canada, the Place for Emigrants'. These advertised free homesteads of 100 to 200 acres on government reserves and the availability of Dominion passenger warrants to reduce the cost of passage fares. 'First Report of the Select Committee of the Parliament of the Dominion of Canada on Immigration and Colonization, March 1875', PP 1875 [c. 11] LII pp. 105-36.

[123]In a recent article and book Marjory Harper has argued that most emigrants from the North-east (which she defines as Aberdeenshire and Banff) came from agricultural backgrounds and that the majority went to Canada. It is interesting that most of her cited evidence for the pre-1880 period comes from contemporary reports from this (i.e. the early 1870s) and an earlier period (c. 1830s-1840s). M. Harper, 'Emigration from North-East Scotland in the Nineteenth Century', *Northern Scotland* 6 No.2 (1985), 169-82; and *Emigration from North-East Scotland*, Vol. 1: *Willing Exiles* (Aberdeen, 1988).

In the early 1870s the cost of a passage to the Dominion of Canada was £2 5/- and emigrants choosing Ontario were eligible for a refund bonus which reduced their costs to just over £1 per adult. By contrast, the cost of an assisted passage to New South Wales

Birch, agent in the Borders, maintained that many in that area did wish to emigrate to New Zealand, but were diverted by Canadian free land grants. Rev. P. Barclay, who conducted a vigorous campaign in the Highlands and North-east wrote to the New Zealand Agent-General in June, 1872:

> We can only hope that by and by some may go, and when these write home of the good soil, climate etc., and of the facilities for getting land, of wages for making roads and railways, not a few may follow.[124]

By the late 1870s, in contrast to the early years of the decade, the New Zealand immigration authorities were trying to impose restraints on the volume of immigration because of fears of over-supply of labour in the colonial market. The rate of emigration from the UK was increasing dramatically in these years, and ironically, just as New Zealand agents in Britain were attempting to prune operations, they were met with an unprecedented number of applications for passage assistance. Official records claim that in 1878 and 1879 thousands of would-be emigrants for New Zealand were turned away each day.[125] In consequence, more Scots paid the full cost of a steerage berth on one of Paddy Henderson's clippers going to New Zealand in 1879 than in any other year during the decade.[126]

It is misleading to assume that the countries of destination could determine the 'character' of their immigration traffic simply by legislating upon it. If a demand for newcomers in the settlement area could not be met, competitive inducements to entice 'desirable' immigrants might be introduced, but, alternatively, more lenient clauses could be applied to existing criteria governing the 'selection' of emigrants. In the Australasian case this often meant that restrictions,

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in the same period was £5 10/- for 12 to 40 year olds and £3 15/- for children under 12. Before November 1873, the Vogel administration demanded a down payment of at least £5 for all male adults. Only the Government of Queensland offered free passages to Australasia at this time. 'Dominion of Canada - First Report', op. cit. p.4; Agent-General to Colonial Secretary, 8 Feb 1872, *AJHR(NZ)*, 1872, D-1A p.10.)

[124]Barclay to Featherston, June Report, 1872, *AJHR(NZ)*, 1872, D-1C p. 3; also Barclay to Featherston, Quarterly Report, Sept. 1871, *AJHR(NZ)*, D-1A, p.7; Birch to Featherston, June 1872, *AJHR(NZ)*, D-1C, p.3.

[125]Cited in Morris, thesis, p.51.

[126]Appendix I.II.

for example, on the age of emigrants or the size of families eligible for passage assistance were lifted; similarly such restrictions might be reimposed or applied more stringently once the migrant flow was underway. In many respects it can be argued that constraints of supply and demand determined the extent and nature of the regulatory procedures imposed on migrant traffic by outside agencies.[127] This is a rather different point of view from the argument that regulation determined the character of the migrant flow.

In further support of the proposition that regulations governing the availability of free and assisted passages were not primarily responsible for the selection of emigrants who went to New Zealand is evidence relating to the characteristics of emigrants who were prepared to pay the full cost of passage. This evidence is particularly strong with regard to the occupational profile of emigrants who went to New Zealand during the Vogel Period. Of course, in all periods, there were higher proportions of farmers, professionals, proprietors, merchants and engineers among the paying passengers than there were among the emigrants who received passage assistance.[128] Nevertheless, of the male emigrants who paid a full passage fare to go to New Zealand during the 1870s (these men account for some 920 of all emigrants on the total list) 13.5 per cent professed to be farm servants (ploughmen, hinds, agricultural labourers &c) and a further 6.9 per cent claimed jobs as shepherds or farm factors. If we exclude cabin passengers from the

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[127]This point is also argued by Berit Brattne in 'The Importance of the Transport Sector for Mass Emigration', in Runblom and Norman eds, *From Sweden to America* (Minneapolis, 1976), pp. 176-200. However, the parallel between the Swedish/American and Scottish/New Zealand experience can only be drawn to a limited extent. The Scandinavian scholars of emigration take the point of view that outside agencies served only to *remind* people of opportunities to be had but they did not change the direction or increase the volume of the migration flow in any substantive way. Unlike the Scandinavian experience, emigration from the UK was in a variety of directions (not almost exclusively to the USA) and advertising and interventionist procedures sometimes did play a crucial role in *informing* would-be emigrants about novel emigration opportunities. Outside agencies probably did have a significant effect on both the direction and the volume of emigration from the UK. But they were not a definitive filtering process and they were unable to *regulate* the volume of emigration. (Some of these points are argued in more detail below.)

[128]For example, 'farmers' account for 27.8 per cent of emigrants who paid their fares in full during the New Zealand Company period and 11.7 per cent of the same group in the 1870s, compared with 10.6 per cent and 2.7 per cent of all male adults on the total list for the two respective eras.

group of male emigrants who paid their fares in full, and consider only those who travelled in the steerage, we see that the occupational distribution of non-assisted passengers is broadly similar to that of the assisted. On the Henderson Company's ship lists, for example, about one-quarter of adult males who travelled in the steerage were agricultural labourers of some description, and a further 13.5 per cent were tenant farmers or farmers' sons.[129]

Regulations governing the availability of free and assisted passages may have reinforced, rather than altered profoundly, the tendency for emigrants to have had certain occupational and demographic characteristics. This is most likely to be true with regard to the youthfulness of the emigrants, the small size of most emigrant families, and the likelihood for emigrants to have particular skills. Of course there were years, particularly during the 1840s, when the availability of free and assisted passages gave disadvantaged groups, such as weavers and married men with big families, a chance to become emigrants. Because they sometimes provided opportunities for those who might otherwise have been compelled to remain at home, state and other forms of intervention in the 'emigration business' increased the overall volume of emigration during the middle decades of the nineteenth century.[130] However, the interventionist agencies were unsuccessful in their attempts to control the fluctuations in emigration traffic. And neither were they the sole or even necessarily the main force determining the 'selectivity' of those Scots who became emigrants under their auspices.

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[129]Female domestic servants account for 42 (or 64.4%) of the 65 adult women on the 'total list' who were not 'dependents' and who travelled to New Zealand during the 1870s as fully paying passengers on the Henderson line.

[130]The fiery Chartist minister, the Rev. Patrick Brewster, was among those who believed that those who suffered extremes of poverty, in particular families, were seldom in the position to choose to emigrate:

> The destitute labourer cannot emigrate to another country. He cannot even go to a distance for work lest he should be imprisoned for deserting his family.

From report of libel proceedings against the Rev. P. Brewster. Copy of sermons in Paisley Presbytery Minutes, 15 Feb. 1843. SRO, CH2/294/15, pp.402-45.

6.3.3 The Question of Fraud

Our assessment of the impact of assisted passage schemes depends on how far we can assume that data concerning the assisted passengers are reliable. The accusation that passengers assisted to Australia and New Zealand were not who they said they were dates back to the early years of implementation of the schemes. It is also made by modern commentators and cited as the reason for discounting Australasian evidence respecting the 'character' of British migration.[131]

In his shipboard journal, written en route to Wellington, in 1842, the ship's surgeon of the *Birman* made references to couples who had married for the sole purpose of procuring a free passage to New Zealand. The husbands of these unions, he declared, were 'drunken, idle and disorderly', and their wives prostitutes, just married for the voyage and who would be returning to their former vocation on arrival at Port Nicholson.[132] Thirty years later, the criticisms directed against the Vogel Scheme immigrants by settlers already established in New Zealand were even more vituperative although usually centred on the issue of the occupational background of the newcomers. The *Otago Daily Times* referred to 'certificated scum', and the most outraged reports, from Wellington, told of the London police force clearing its prisons, and 'French danseuses' [sic] coming out under the guise of 'coopers' wives'.[133]

> 'Three carpenters, two school teachers, fifteen farm labourers, two clerks and one artist' look a good deal better than when reassorted and reclassified to become 'one baked-pot man, two umbrella makers, five habitual drunkards, one showman, two thimble riggers, two cork cutters, one feather dresser, two dolls' eye makers, one Chelsea bruiser, three loafers (pure and simple) and two good men and true'.[134]

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[131]Charlotte Erickson, for example, cites New South Wales immigration officials, who, in 1841 claimed that the word 'agricultural' was being inserted before the word 'labourer' in instances when the immigrants concerned were casual labourers with no agricultural experience. 'Emigration from the British Isles', p.186.

[132]PRO, CO 208 298, Ships' Surgeons Journals. *The Birman*, Oct. to Feb. 1842.

[133]Quoted in 'Queer Emigrants', *Glasgow Sentinel* No. 1252, 17 Oct. 1874.

[134]'Assorting Emigrants', *Glasgow Sentinel* No. 1244, 15 Aug. 1874.

The obvious way of getting around the regulations for free and assisted passage was to give fraudulent information about age, or occupation, or even about marital status. How often did would-be emigrants resort to outright fraud in order to procure a free passage, and how justified are the criticisms of their contemporaries?

There is plenty of evidence to suggest that it was a common occurrence for emigrants to give false information about their age. Families appear to have been the most frequent offenders, the common practice involving the lowering of the parents' age in order to comply with passage regulations, and, less commonly, the raising of the age of young children in order to warrant their description as wage-earners. On the other hand, this level of 'fraud' seems unworthy of too much note: in the context of the mid-nineteenth century people did not necessarily know their current age, and the frequent 'rounding' of ages in the census enumerators' books makes the census an untrustworthy guide for comparisons with the ships' lists. In any case, the degree of discrepancy between the age information derived from the ships' lists, and the age information derived from the census or vital registers (seldom more than about five years for adults and one or two years for children) is unlikely to affect the overall age distribution of the emigrants.

The accusation that emigrants married simply in order to procure a free passage is even more difficult to test. For many emigrants, perhaps as many as one-sixth of all those who emigrated in the company of a spouse, the publication of banns and marriage formalities took place a few weeks or days before the embarkation of the emigrant ship. And, not all of those who professed to be married at the time of their emigration left evidence of their nuptials in the Scottish records. Some, like young William Jaffray, a shepherd from Midcalder, and his betrothed, Margaret Hunter, of the same parish, were married in a quick civil ceremony in Edinburgh or Glasgow just days before they sailed. William Jaffray had been courting Margaret well before an offer of a free passage to New Zealand prompted his hasty marriage and departure. When offered the chance to take sheep dogs to New Zealand on behalf of an employer, William was keen to go, but is reported to have

said that he would have to consult with his 'sweetheart'. The young couple had banns proclaimed and recorded in Midcalder parish register less than one week before the sailing of the ship which took them to Otago. They were officially married before a J.P. in Edinburgh just two days before the ship sailed, and subsequently underwent a regular marriage service during the voyage to New Zealand because they wished to be 'churched' before taking their first communion in the new land.[135] Other young emigrants may have been less diligent in ensuring that their marriage credentials were all above board, but this does not mean that they were new to each other and that their decision to marry was merely a convenient ploy in order to gain a free passage.

Nevertheless, it is undoubtedly true that the regulations governing eligibility for passage assistance facilitated marriage, and probably affected the timing of marriage as a life cycle event. There is a letter in the Otago Association correspondence from a group of ploughmen living in Haddington parish, intimating the decision of the young men concerned to postpone marriage until their applications for an assisted passage could be confirmed. Without such confirmation forthcoming, the young men would have to re-engage themselves for six months or a year at the Whitsuntide hirings and forego marriage for the time being, or else rely on 'too precarious an employment'.[136] Formal marriage and betrothal proceedings may have been a hasty business outside the realm of the middle class, but courtship was often a lengthy affair, sometimes enduring over several years and involving long separations. If Wakefield and others had not believed so fervently in the institution of marriage, there might have been fewer families (that is, recently married couples) on the New Zealand ships' lists, and more 'young single men' followed one or two years later by more 'young single women'.

More critical, perhaps, in view of our earlier discussion about the reliability and meaning of such descriptive labels as 'agricultural labourer' and 'general labourer', is the extent to which emigrants may

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[135]Audrey D. Paterson, 'William Jaffray', in G. J. Griffiths, ed. *The Advance Guard* ser. III (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 99-128; FC, Marriage Register (1st entry); HL, F & J 3, Passenger List for the *Philip Laing* ; OESM, Diary of the Rev. T. Burns, 2 Feb, 1848; GRO, Cen. (Midcalder) 41/694/4; and OPR Marr. 18 Nov. 1847.

[136]PRO, CO 208 124,. McGlashan to Harrington, 16 Apr. 1850, pp.162-5.

have lied about their occupation in order to get a free passage. One hundred and ninety of the male emigrants on the total-list whose stated occupation at the time of sailing to New Zealand comes under the general category of 'agricultural labourer' were successfully traced in the Scottish census enumerators' books. Of these, 129 , that is, about two-thirds (67.9 per cent), were either in active farm service at the time of the census preceding their emigration, or else lived at home as dependents of farm workers or farmers.[137] A further 3.7 per cent of the 'agricultural labourers' on the ships' lists worked in the 'other rural' category at the time of the census - as drovers, fishermen, gardeners &c For the remaining thirty per cent, the designation 'agricultural labourer' may have been a misnomer: 5.8 per cent of the the so-called 'agricultural labourers' were found to have been the dependents of non-agricultural workers, 4.2 per cent had occupations which can be classified under the heading of 'general labourer' or building tradesman, 4.8 per cent were miners, 4.8 per cent were workers in the textile industry, 2.6 per cent were 'craftsmen with pre-industrial skills', and the largest group, 6.2 per cent, were workers in the transport or service industries, their number including seamen, railway workers, porters and 'dealers' of various description. At least half of the service workers were in-migrants to the towns from rural areas.

Only thirty male general labourers were traced back to the census, and although this total is small, a different occupational profile from the agricultural workers is nevertheless suggested. About one-quarter of the general labourers (compared with over 70 per cent of the 'agricultural labourers') had worked in either a rural-based industry at the time of the census preceding their emigration, or had been living as a dependent of an agricultural worker. This group were described variously in the census, for example, as 'crofters' sons', agricultural labourers and fishermen, but none were indoor farm servants, hinds or shepherds, and all but one came from the Highlands. The remaining 'general labourers' came from the industrial Lowlands, and their

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[137]Of the total 190, 39 (or about one-fifth) had been hired farm servants (ploughmen, hinds &c) at the time of the census preceding their emigration; 23 (or about 12.1 per cent) were 'outdoor' or casual agricultural labourers; 24 were shepherds or farm factors; 37 were the sons of farmers, farm-workers, or crofters; and six were small tenant farmers or the holders of crofts.

number included iron and coal miners (14.3 per cent), workers in the manufacture of cotton (one was a calico printer), workers in the manufacture of iron goods, one book binder, one 'dealer', and seven who were described by the census enumerators simply as general labourers.[138]

The descriptive category 'domestic servant' also seems to be a useful indicator of the previous status in Scotland of emigrants. Of the 95 female domestic servants on the ships' lists who were sucessfully traced in the census, 44.2 per cent had been in private domestic service before leaving Scotland, 38.9 per cent were dependents (about one-third of these were the dependents of rural workers) 7.4 per cent worked in textiles and 3.2 per cent were farm workers. Included in the remaining 6.3 per cent, were one blacksmith's assistant, one teacher, two milliners and two 'domestic servants out of employ'.

From these breakdowns it seems fair to conclude that deliberate fraud in the stating of occupations was of a limited nature, and that the emigrants (at least those from Scotland) generally possessed the skills to which they made claim. Surprisingly, the highest level of 'fraudulent' statement about occupation was made during the New Zealand Company Period: 15.6 per cent of male emigrants who claimed to be agricultural workers on their applications for assisted passage had in fact been working in the textile industry at the time of of the 1841 census, usually as handloom weavers, and in most instances in big cities and towns like Glasgow, Paisley and Dundee. The heads of families in this group (for the most part the handloom weavers in the emigrant sample were family men, often with mature families) may have been in-migrants to the towns from rural backgrounds. Over half were born in Ireland.

There seems to have been a high level of exaggeration in comtemporary complaints concerning the credentials of assisted emigrants. This is suggested partly by the degree of repetition in some

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[138]In contrast to 'general labourers', the 'agricultural labourers' on the total list came from locations which were widely dispersed throughout Scotland. (This is also true of domestic servants.)

reports: for example, the tale of the glass eye maker who took a job with a farmer in New Zealand during the Vogel Period was recounted in more than one emigrant letter. The persistency of references to the 'scum of London and other large towns', 'the worst lot coming from Cork in Ireland' etc, suggests that the Vogel emigrants probably included a higher proportion of Britain's urban poor than the New Zealand policy makers of the 1870s might have hoped. But, it is equally probable that those who claimed to be agricultural workers were who they said they were. Another possibility is that the criticisms were less applicable to the Scots as a group than they were to the English or the Irish.

Fraudulent statements about past occupational experience and other personal attributes were undoubtedly made by some of the free passengers who travelled to New Zealand under the auspices of the Vogel and New Zealand Company Schemes. But the wild accusations, the extent of fraud claimed by the 'Old Colonials', particularly during the Vogel Period, are not reliable statements about the characteristics of the 'New Chums'. Rather they are a reflection of the mounting paranoia, prevalent in some New Zealand towns from the mid 1870s, of what would happen in the inevitable period after the railway boom.

Most Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand as free or assisted passengers had a legitimate right to do so under the terms of 'eligibility' for passage assistance. The high conformity between the regulations for free and assisted passages and the overall profile of the assisted emigrants did not come about because emigrants and shipping authorities made fraudulent claims. But, to some extent this conformity was an outward show: the emigrants stated occupations they had once had, rather than their most recent mode of employment; they adjusted the timing of life-cycle events. In three verified instances they even shared out children so that the family size of any one family would not appear too large. These strategies suggest that potential emigrants were capable of exploiting the system by conforming to middle class regulations in order to pursue their own ends. Once again, the weight of the argument lies not with those who sought to administer and

regulate, but with wider market forces, and with the emigrants themselves.

6.3.4 Why Emigrate to New Zealand? The Case of Agricultural Labourers.

Why did so many agricultural workers accept the offer of a free passage to go to New Zealand in the mid-1870s even though they were enabled by similarly competitive inducements to go to other countries? And why, when all things were not equal, and New Zealand was difficult and expensive to reach, were agricultural workers still willing to pay £12 to £16 to go to New Zealand when for £3 to £7 they could have procured a steerage berth on a ship bound for the Americas?[139] The probable answer is that agricultural workers were informed as to conditions they were likely to find in the new land, and although emigration was always a speculative and risky venture, reports as to wages, work conditions, prospects for getting land and so on must have sounded advantageous enough to rank New Zealand as high as, or higher than, any other destination and worthy of the risk.

Such letters as those which the Rev. Peter Barclay had hoped for in 1872 were filtering back to Scotland by 1874. Several were published in the *Glasgow Sentinel.* 'The perspective of the ordinary emigrant was that wages were high (£2 10/- to £3 per week), the cost of provisions reasonable, prospects hopeful and 'plenty to eat'!

> We work eight hours a day. There are men working for the same master as myself as have ten head of cattle, and the master keeps them free of charge; and some of them less their money till they can buy two hundred acres of land, and a man has done that lately...poor men at home can hardly buy a little pig, much more land and cows and horses. We have had some good legs of mutton for 3d a pound as you get at home for 4d.[140]

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[139]In 1863 the cost of a berth aboard a steam ship going from Liverpool to the United States was £5 5/- to £6 6/- and the cost aboard a sail ship was £3 5/- to £3 15/-. Twenty-fourth General Report of the Emigration Commissioners, for the Year 1863. *PP* 1864 [c.3341] XVI 477.

[140]*Glasgow Sentinel*, 9 Jan. 1875.

Another letter from Green Island, Otago, stated:

> We have brought all our children over safe and sound. When I was coming along in the ship I wished myself back again, but I do not now, for I get plenty of everything to eat.[141]

In the same edition of the *Glasgow Sentinel* an article entitled 'Agricultural Labourers and Canada' spelt out some of the advantages and disadvantages of the Ontario scheme. Although free land grants, government loans and ready employment on the railways were available to get the emigrant started, anyone leaving the land would forfeit all investments. A free passage to New Zealand did not guarantee land ownership, but it did promise money in the pocket and good wages which could be expended without terms. Aspiring agricultural labourers probably took such factors into account.

In addition, New Zealand's climate must have appeared as an attractive prospect, especially in view of the ferocity of the North American winter and the harshness of the Australian summer. A high rainfall, plentiful sunshine and only slight fluctuation in annual temperatures meant that grass in New Zealand was green all the year around. Visiting scientists in the North Island pronounced upon the geniality of New Zealand's climate and testified to its health-giving and probable 'life-enhancing' qualities.[142] Meanwhile, in the South Island, surveyors and speculators reported vast tracts of rich, loamy soil, bright brisk winters and a climate which although 'less pleasant' than the north with regard to the 'feelings of an idle man' was advantageous in point of view of the 'health and spirits' of people, and 'admirably suited to the constitutions of the Scots'.[143]

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[141]ibid.

[142]For example, Dr A. S. Thomson, a regimental surgeon stationed in Auckland in 1850, speculated that average life expectancies would be higher in New Zealand than in England, simply because the 'genial nature of the climate [gives] to old men an ease and comfort which no wealth and artiface can produce in England'. 'Observations on the Influence of the North Island of New Zealand on the Production and Prevention of Disease among Emigrants from Great Britain and Ireland,...' *PP* 1851 [c.1420] XXXV 567 pp. 50-5.

[143]PRO, CO 208 123 pp. 495-7, Burns to McGlashan, 22 Jan. 1849.
For a detailed account of the weather, extent of rainfall, quality of soil etc in Otago see 'The New Zealand and Australian Land Company Ltd. Report by James Melville Esq.

Other 'advantages' of New Zealand which may have tipped the scales for agricultural labourers could also be cited.[144] But of course the relevance of these factors lies in the assumption that people were informed about different destinations and that they made rational choices on the basis of such information.

By the mid-nineteenth century there were multifarious official and unofficial sources which reported conditions in the various destinations which commonly received British emigrants. Some of these, such as the regular 'Emigration Circulars' compiled by the Commissioners for Emigration, provided prospective emigrants with reasonably reliable and objective information as to wages, prices, average temperature and rainfall, extent of arable yields and the cost and length of voyage to the major settlement areas. It is not difficult to imagine literate and numerate Scots poring over emigration circulars and handbooks and weighing up the advantages of one colony over another. On the other hand, information about emigration and settlement abroad was so extensive in the high Victorian period, that even the dedicated follower of 'emigration intelligence' must have found many published reports confusing and contradictory. Details from government circulars and quarterly statistical returns were republished in local newspapers, often embedded between long columns devoted to shipping advertising, travellers' tales, feature articles on prospects in foreign lands, letters from emigrants, reports on floods, droughts and bumper harvests abroad, descriptions of sea-voyages and tales of horror at sea. Contemporaries were often well aware that those who were in the business of marketing for emigrants sometimes advertised under the subtle guise of a press or journal 'article', which was ostensibly written for the purpose of providing objective information. They also knew that

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Bonnington Ratho upon the Properties of the Company in New Zealand and Australia, 19 June 1867'. (SRO, GD1/553/611/1)

[144]For example, New Zealand was sometimes promoted as the colony 'farthest in distance' but 'closest in time' because, on landing, the agricultural emigrant was placed in reasonable proximity to his 'future operations'. Although early travel conditions in New Zealand could be hazardous, the new comer did not have to face the equivalent of a long wagon trek westward, or a steamboat journey up the St Lawrence River. The 'seasonality of emigration' (see Section 6.2.2 above) is another factor which may have encouraged agricultural workers to go to the Southern Hemisphere.

the published letters of emigrants were carefully selected and doctored, and in this age when emigration was a constant topic for both casual conversation and public debate, most Scots living in the Lowlands could probably tell a tale of some poor fellow national who had been gulled to emigrate by a misleading rumour or report.

For these reasons, prospective emigrants, including the literate and the numerate, looked for sources of information about emigration which they believed they could trust. Often the testimony of a kinsman or neighbour, or the advice of an employer or minister were more highly regarded than the readily available and extensive published information. This does not mean that future emigrants chose a particular destination just because their kin or neighbours had also done so. What it does imply is that channels of information were informal as well as formal, and we may learn more about what emigrants really thought of different destinations, and why they acted as they did, if we can tap some of the informal networks of communication in the past. Unpublished letters are probably the best source for gauging the views, hopes, aspirations and needs of the emigrants. Hence, it is worthwhile to consider briefly some of the statements about New Zealand and emigration which prospective emigrants received from kinsmen and friends in letters sent home.

Two examples of the letter-writers are James Mitchell, third son of a small farmer and lime-kiln manager from Darvel in Ayrshire, and William Fergusson, son of an agricultural labourer from Dunscore in Dumfries. Both had worked as farm servants in Scotland, and both paid full fare to go to New Zealand - James, to Otago in the South Island, in the mid 1860s, and William, to the Wellington area in the North Island, in the mid 1850s.[145]

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[145]Copies of James Mitchell's letters to his parents and brother Sandy were very kindly given to me by Mrs Stewart of Cupar. The following quotations and references are taken from letters written on 12 Jan. 12 Feb. 12 March, 14 May, 15 June, 13 Oct. 1865; 14 Jan. 8 April, 14 July, ? Oct. 28 Dec. 1866; 28 Jan. 1 July 1867; 11 July, 1871. (Punctuation has been added to the quotations from letters in order to enhance their clarity. The original spelling however has not been altered.)

James Mitchell was a regular letter writer, whose monthly letters written to his parents in Scotland or to his older brother Sandy are often tinged with wistfulness and a hint of regret. There were many aspects of life in the new country which James did not like. In particular, he noticed the low standards of material comfort, the 'ruff' manner of living which 'new chums' often had to undergo:

> Work people hear carries there blankets and all there house nots up as a swag, puts the two ends of it together and puts it over their neck, and away they go through the country looking for work. New chums do not like this way of looking for work, as it is far from the way they were used with at home...
>
> People in this country is exposed to a great many dangers and ruff living carrying all their possessions and sleeping on blankets on the damp ground.

Life as a farm servant in the mid 1860s was not easy:

> 'harvest hear is very hard work'

But, remuneration was good, and so were prospects. James's first employer hired him at the rate of £22 for six months, plus all found, and his second employer, a 'large farmer' and a 'fine master', offered £56 per annum plus all found and a chance to learn to drive his new threshing machine and chaff cutter. James's early letters home are full of enthusiastic detail about farming techniques and conditions in the new land. His first New Zealand harvest (February 1865) was the best he had ever seen:

> We have got all cut and nearly all in. It is five weeks since we commenced cutting and we never had a wet day...the corn grows most splendid here, after sowing corn once you can take two years crops...

In June, potato cropping time, they were reaping about '12 tons to the acre without doung [sic]', and potatoes were selling at £12 per ton. Although it was winter the June weather was described as 'splendid', all the frost away by sunrise, and the noon-day sun 'nearly as warm as any day in summer at home'. James soon realised that it would be very

easy to set up a farm of his own accord. With grass green all the year around, there was no need for a byre:

> all you need at the first is a little hut and a pare of bullocks to plough the land...Bullocks is easier to keep than horses. They find there own meat at night.

Within a year of his arrival in New Zealand, James was writing to his brother Sandy of his intention to buy a piece of land as soon as possible.

However, James did not settle easily for life as a small farmer in the south of New Zealand. In one letter, written about eighteen months after his arrival, he writes of a new resolve to 'come home' as the ways in New Zealand were 'too ruff', and he asks his brother Sandy to 'pick out a lass' for his return and to take care of her. In other letters, New Zealand was 'the land of my adoption' in which he had done so well. By the winter of his second year in New Zealand, James was making £4.00 per week (and £4.00 per day for his employer) travelling with a steam mill doing contract work in North Otago. He and two other mates then decided to pool savings and buy their own mill. By New Year time, 1866-7, they had made enough money to feel justified in taking a holiday. The lads visited the town of Oamaru for the Caledonian Games, and for six weeks travelled by horseback up the Dunstan River, exploring the hinterland of Otago. James's later letters evoke the gradual realisation that he is not only surviving and succeeding, but also beginning to enjoy himself. With substantial savings behind him, he eventually settles in New Zealand, takes up land, and finds a 'partner for life' from among the local girls. Yet, he cannot in all good conscience, ever advise his kin to follow him. When a younger brother George writes, sending details of his own job at a sawmill in the west of Scotland, James sends a thoughtful response back to Sandy:

> I can see by his letter that he would like to come out here but I think he would be better where he is...There is no doubt that he would make more money [out here], but what is money if you have not comforts...

William Fergusson kept less regular contact with his Scottish kin than did James Mitchell, and was considerably less ambivalent in his

attitude towards New Zealand despite the on-going land wars in the North Island. A letter to his older brother John Fergusson[146], written about five years after William's arrival in New Zealand, may have been a response to John's request for information.

> I was to let you know whither I liked this place better than old Scotland before you came over. Give my love to Thomas R. and tell him that I like this place so well...In Scotland wages is so very low...

William had arrived in Wellington with a young wife, also from Dumfries, about 1856, and by 1861 was working as a station manager in the Rangitikei area, near Wanganui. His master, 'a very nice man', had given him 'a good chance to get on'.

> The general run of wages here for a good man is fifty pound a year and found. He is given me seventy pounds and found in everything except clothing and I have three horses of my own running on the station and he says I can run as many sheep as I like for three years...There is nothing like sheep farming in this country. I intend putting on a hundred or two of ewes if once the war is settled...

Despite his enthusiasm for his own plans and projects, William was less than encouraging with regard to the proposal of emigration by his older brother John.

> I would not advise any person to come out just now till once the war is settled.

He warned that the enterprise would be 'a grait undertaken with a famley' and gently rebuked his brother for not emigrating at an earlier date:

> Dear brother if you had come out when I came we might have had a farm of our own...

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[146]William Fergusson, Maj. Trafford's Station, Rangatikei, Wellington, New Zealand to his brother [John Fergusson], 5 Sept. 1861. My thanks are due to Mrs S. M. Flower of Feilding, New Zealand for a copy of this letter.

Not surprisingly, the tone of emigrants' letters varied according to personal circumstance, temperament and also according to the period in which the letter had been written. New Zealand appeared altogether wetter, greyer and gloomier during the depression years of the 1880s than it had in the days of boom and speculation ten or twenty years before. An interesting general point about emigrants who wrote letters is that their statements became more cautious and circumspect when they were exhorted by their kin to give a firm opinion on the merits of the new country or a recommendation of emigration for others. It was one thing to justify ones own life-time decisions but quite another to be held accountable for the actions of somebody else. At the time of the 1861 census William Fergusson's older brother John was 33 years old, a married agricultural labourer with four children all under the age of eight.[147] For such a man the full cost of passage to New Zealand must have been almost prohibitive. And yet, John Fergusson, wife and six children in all, emigrated to New Zealand in the mid 1860s. Despite the discouragement of his brother, James Mitchell's younger brother George also became an emigrant.

These two case studies tend to confirm our speculations as to why New Zealand may have been an attractive destination for agricultural labourers. The recipients of emigrants' letters did not go to New Zealand because they were exhorted to do so by their kin although the testimony of those who had gone before was undoubtedly an important source of credible information. The letter writers were by no means always laudatory in evaluating their new country and emigration was not presented as an easy route to prosperity: even modest success demanded hard work. But, on the other hand, the agricultural emigrant could expect the opportunity to save in New Zealand, and 'a better chance to get on' than he might have had in contemporary Scotland. In addition, there are other less tangible aspects of life in New Zealand which are conveyed by the letters and which may have been attractive to those who were still subjected to the time-discipline and predictability of life-chances at home. These include the nature of the relationship between employer and employed, the sense of 'mateship' and camaraderie enjoyed by the settlers - especially between unmarried

[147]GRO, Cen. (Dunscore) 61/822/1/26.

men, and, in particular, the sense of control over one's own destiny. The chance to emigrate appealed to the 'Everest instinct' in people - the desire to venture and to risk. For some, New Zealand may have had an appeal precisely because it was so 'new', so 'ruff' and so far away.

6.4 Conclusion

Decisions regarding emigration were seldom completely 'rational' in the sense of individuals making choices about leaving their native country and settling somewhere else with a sole or even a primary aim of maximising economic return. And yet, emigration decisions were economically rational in several respects. For example, people usually chose to go to destinations where they believed they could exploit certain skills. This is suggested by the 'macro' data analysed in the first major section of this chapter. These data show an association between different regions of destination and groups of emigrants of particular occupational type. There is a possibility that spurious factors account for this observed association. But there is also evidence at the 'micro' level to suggest that would-be emigrants sought information about the suitability of different destinations for their own particular situation, and that they weighed this information carefully when making decisions about whether to emigrate and where to go.

Different destinations held out different prospects for meeting the aspirations and needs of different categories of emigrant. However, the ability and the desire of people to exploit the great variety of opportunities for emigration which were available by the second half of the nineteenth century was by no means uniform. Personal circumstances such as life-cycle stage and income affected the range of choices which people could realistically make. In addition, people's awareness of choice, the nature of their aspirations, and their knowledge of how to exploit different opportunities to maximum economic advantage varied strongly between sending communities. As a national group the Scots may have been particularly willing to take calculated risks and try out new destinations. It is also possible that the Scots were more adept than most other European national groups at making the decisions about

emigration which were most likely to fulfil their economic and other aspirations.

For those who contemplated leaving the UK in the second half of the nineteenth century, the question 'where shall I go?' was often inextricably bound with the question 'shall I go?' Decisions about destination depended upon information, and information was supplied through a variety of sources, both personal and commercial. Advertising and recruitment campaigns were important in the process of diffusing information, especially at the beginning of an enterprise and with regard to destinations which were untried and new. Sometimes the recruiters removed the obstacles to emigration (the cost of passage) or tried to entice particular groups of emigrants (with promises of high wages or free land). These interventionist tactics facilitated emigration for certain groups but they were not a definitive filtering process. Those who aimed to 'select' emigrants through commercial procedures were successful only when the terms they offered were in accordance with the needs and aims of the would-be emigrants themselves. In addition, the promoters could not expect on-going success unless conditions in receiving countries proved propitious to those they sought to entice. This last point can be illustrated by the case of middle class emigrants who went to New Zealand in the 1840s. These emigrants were convinced by the rhetoric of Edw Gibbon Wakefield and the New Zealand Company's emigration promotion campaign that easy prosperity and 'all fear of social degredation' would be theirs in the 'Britain of the South'. It was soon recognised however that New Zealand, like most other frontier societies, was 'not at all suited to impecunious gentlemen', whose 'chances' were 'quite as good at home, and their life much pleasanter.'[148] Emigrants with resources of capital or social connections continued to go to New Zealand after the demise of the New Zealand Company's scheme, sometimes for reasons of their health, or because they were after adventure or gold, or because life on an up-country sheep station was an acceptable alternative (and offered better financial returns) to life in the army.[149] However, the raw, distant

[148]SRO, GD 21/482, George Wrey Correspondence.

[149]Edward C. Maxwell commented in a letter written to his benefactor uncle in July, 1866, that he 'liked the life' at Benmore Station in Otago: 'I am glad I came out here rather than going to the army.' Hull University Archives, DDEV/60/31/viii.

colony did not prove to be the succour of the 'uneasy class', and the ratio of steerage to cabin passengers going to New Zealand in the 1850s, '60s and '70s was never as high as it had been in the 1840s. As a destination for humbler emigrants, on the other hand, conditions in New Zealand did prove to be propitious during these decades, and, in contrast to competing destinations such as Brazil and Southern Africa, the emigration of groups such as Scottish agricultural labourers to New Zealand was sustained.

Macro-patterns suggest that the labour demands of receiving countries account for the broad trends of 'who' went 'where' and 'when'. And, we have seen that technological and commercial developments (especially those which increased the availability and reduced the cost of transport) influenced the ability and desire of different groups to move. But this does not mean that opportunities abroad failed to meet and ease areas of strain in the sending society. The extent to which they did often depended on the ability of individuals in that society to exploit the variety of emigration opportunities open to them. Some of the strategies which the Scots employed in order to emigrate to New Zealand are discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER SEVEN

FAMILY STRATEGIES AND EMIGRATION FROM NINETEENTH CENTURY SCOTLAND.

They're far o'er the sea, the freen's we lo'e sae weel
They're far, far across the stormy main...
The auld hoose at hame is sae lonely and drear,
The auld folk are failin' an' a';
But though oceans divide us we seem ever dear,
To the freen's that are far, far, awa'.[1]

7.1 Introduction

Ballads and ditties often sentimentalized relationships between kin. Those relating to emigration circulating within Scotland during the middle decades and second half of the nineteenth century, took separation, prolonged absence, death and nostalgia for home as their most common leitmotifs.[2] Tearful valedictory scenes, images of a widowed mother or faithful sweetheart waiting, often in vain, for the wanderer's return abound in this literature; pathos is relieved only by the reiterated affirmation that the loved one, although far away, remains ever 'loyal' to his 'ain folk', and to memories of what was often an idealised rural world - 'Scotland's howes and broomy knows' - dearer far

Than gold beneath a burning sun,
In lands beyond the sea.[3]

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[1]"They're far far Awa', Harvey Collection of 'Street Literature', NLS, RB.M. 143.119.

[2]The main sources used in the study for this type of literature are 'Street Literature' and poems from the Dundee, Glasgow and Edinburgh "Poets' Box", Harvey Collection, NLS, Rare Books and Manuscripts.

[3]The quotation is from James Kirkwood's 'Patriotic Song' (n.p. n.d.), NLS, RB.M. 143.195, in which the protagonist decides to remain 'in the land that owns my father's grave'. Similar sentiments were attributed to those who did leave Scotland. These are expressed, for example, in 'The Song of the Emigrant' (Dumbarton, n.d.); 'My ain folk' (n.p. n.d.); 'James Raeburn's Farewell to Scotland' (n.p. n.d.), NLS, R.BM. 143.32,119,121; and also in 'The Emigrant's Complaint; or Why I Left My Hame' (n.p. Oct. 1870), Glasgow, Mitchell Library, Poets' Box. These and other ditties exemplify an ideal of loyalty to Scotland and to friends at home. Some emphasise the moment of valediction; others stress the hope of return, or the sorrow of permanent separation.

These images reflect primarily the perspectives of the aged and of women - those who were least likely to emigrate and most likely to suffer grief or hardship as a result of emigration. By contrast, the contemporary songs and stories of the colonies echo a youthful, rascally and macho world, where adventure, danger, the swag tradition, gold and the easy accrual or dramatic loss of wealth held sway. Love and sadness (when these themes emerge at all) are more likely to be reserved for the loss of a brave comrade, or a faithful animal friend, than for a dear one far away.[4]

The Scottish street literature of the 1870s did not condemn those who chose to leave their native land:

> You are right to seek a far off earth
> You are right to boldly strive,

but it reminded would-be emigrants that there ought to be a 'moral' as well as an 'economic' justification behind their decisions. Frequently this justification was expressed in terms of duty to kin. 'Hopeful bands' were exhorted to remain 'loyal' to the 'white-haired sire', 'sister', 'mother', 'good neighbour hind' and the 'widow-down-the-lane' who would not be accompanying them.[5]

This chapter explores the relationships between emigrants and their kin. We saw in the previous chapter that the demographic characteristics of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand conform with the impressions of official commentators last century who observed a 'high tide of emigration' draining 'the flower' of Scotland's youth and

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[4]See for example the tales repeated in Alexander Bathgate's *Colonial Experiences; or Sketches of People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand* (Glasgow, 1874). On the other hand, there were middle class versifiers in New Zealand last century who did produce some maudlin and nostalgic pieces. These were highly derivative in style and not always 'popular'. One example is John Liddell Kelly, who grew up in the coal and iron mining town of Airdrie, and who became in New Zealand the editor of a widely circulated daily newspaper. He recalls his childhood in the Airdrie of the 1850s (which he idealises) in a book of poems entitled *Heather and Fern: Songs of Scotland and Maori-Land* (Wellington, 1902). Although Airdie was industrial in the 1850s, Kelly writes of 'a land of woods and streams', 'where sweet Monkland Glen enchained me' etc; although raised in the Lowlands of Scotland, Kelly 'sighs' for a land 'rugged and stern'.

[5]'The Emigrant', (n.p. June, 1871), NLS, RB.M. 143.137.

aggravating age and sex ratio disparities already prevalent in the country.[6] The majority (almost four-fifths) of emigrants who went to New Zealand were under 30 years of age at the time of their embarkation; only 46 per cent of adult emigrants had ever been married, and over two-thirds of all individuals listed on the ships' manifests as travelling in family groups left Scotland before the oldest child in the family was ten years old.[7] These figures give an impression that emigrants, compared to the Scottish population at large, were generally young, and in family terms often 'unattached'. Indeed, given nineteenth century life expectancies, there is a fair probability that an adult emigrant in his or her late twenties or thirties had no kin of an older generation still alive at home.[8] From these points it can be hypothesised that emigration decisions were usually made by and for individuals, or small 'young' families of the 'nuclear' type, with little reference to a wider kin community. Using emigrants' testimonies and some household evidence, this chapter explores such a hypothesis.

A central concern is to identify 'who' in a family makes emigration decisions? Who goes? Who is left behind? How often were departures prompted by the absence of kin at home? Emigration provides a context for 'linking' household with other family data, while emigrants' letters and written records provide a means of 'eavesdropping' on family and kinship concerns in the past. The primary aims of the analysis are to 'capture' families in the process of making decisions, and to investigate how family 'strategies' worked over time. There is some tentative discussion of reciprocation between kin who were separated by emigration. Were emigrants 'loyal' to the 'auld folk at home'? What forms did this loyalty take? How far did considerations of kin and family affect emigration behaviour? What might studies of emigration and settlement suggest about the role of kin in nineteenth century Scotland?

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[6]Report on the Eighth Decennial Census of Scotland, 1871, *PP* 1873 [c.841] LXXIII, p. xvi.
[7]See Chapter Six, Section 6.3.1. These figures are calculated from the 'total list'.
[8]M. Anderson, 'The Emergence of the Modern Life Cycle', *Social History* 10 (Jan. 1985), esp. Figs 1-3, and discussion pp. 71-5.

7.2 Emigrants' Testimonies

7.2.1 Family Decisions and Family Strategies[9]

In May 1848 John George Grey, 24 years old and second son of a Berwickshire tenant farmer, wrote to John McGlashan, Secretary of the Edinburgh based Otago Association, requesting an assisted passage to New Zealand:

> Sir,
>
> I take the liberty of again troubling you to ask for a decided answer regarding a Passage in the July ship, as by that time I shall be entirely out of all employment here... so that I shall be at once under the necessity of applying to the Colonial Office for a passage to Port Philip [NSW], which I could have easily obtained... but my parents wish me more particularly to try Otago, as on my favourable account of it, they intend with the whole family to invest their money in Property and come out to join me next year. I only mention this to you in confidence, as they having a large family nearly all engaged in a Farming life, and not having enough capital to establish any position of us here, they have long ago fixed on emigrating, more especially since some of our friends, who went to Port Philip now nearly five years ago, now write home favourable accounts of it and are doing well. Another reason for my wishing to get away as soon as possible is in order to give them as much time as possible to get ready to come early next year, as they must commence to get ready before the term of the 12th of May...Trusting...all our schemes...in strictest confidence...,
>
> Yours most respectfully,
> John G Grey.[10]

Owing to the vicissitudes of the New Zealand Company there were a number of Scottish candidates for a free passage to New Zealand who were disappointed when the *Bernicia* left Gravesend that July, but young John Grey was aboard. He had been 'thrown out of employment' a week or two earlier, packed his bags in good faith, and meanwhile the kindly McGlashan negotiated for two 'paying' passengers (joint land

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[9]In this chapter the term 'family' is generally used to indicate a 'nuclear' group, which had come into being as a result either of marriage or of parenting. The term 'kin' is generally used to denote a group of related persons who were not in the same 'family'.
[10]PRO, CO 208 121, John Grey to John McGlashan, 29 May 1848.

purchasers) to 'nominate' the lad as their employee. Grey senior, wife and seven more children - paying passengers this time - left Scotland less than one year later, just after the expiry of their lease at the Whitsun term of 1849. Had an official tally of emigrants aboard the *Larkins* been taken, at least three (possibly four) of Grey's five sons making the second stage of this family saga would have each been counted as an unattached, unmarried, adult male.[11]

This example illustrates what seems to have been a common pattern for Lowland tenant farming families whose ageing paternal family heads saw in the colonies an opportunity for converting their perishable assets of savings and stock into heritable land while at the same time providing an outlet and new hopes for their impatient and aspiring sons. It was too much of a risk and often too expensive for all the family to emigrate at the same time: the obvious solution was to send a son (and often two sons, and sometimes a son and a daughter) to act as scouts - to assess the situation abroad at first hand, and to establish some sort of household in the new settlement in readiness for the older and very young members of the family who were less likely to cope with the 'ruff' conditions of the first stages of a pioneering enterprise. In these instances a family 'chain migration' was intended from the outset, a deliberate response to the problems of distance and discomfort, cost and colonial restriction.

The practice of sending young adult family members as precursory emigrants was not restricted to farming families. Robert Forsyth, who sent an elder son to 'report back' from New Zealand in 1858, was described variously as a 'master-weaver' and 'manufacturing agent' from Laurencekirk. (He bought linen from Forfarshire cottage weavers and sold it in Edinburgh and London; he was in fact a middle man servicing a decaying linen industry.[12]) The Forsyths, like the Greys, had an insecure and limited capital stake in Scotland, which once

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[11]PRO, CO 208 121, McGlashan to Harrington, 17 May, 1848; Grey to McGlashan, 9 June, 1848; Otago Journal, June 1848; T. M. Hocken, *Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand* (London, 1898), Appendix F (Copies of passenger lists for the *Bleinheim* and the *Larkins*.)

[12]GRO, Cen. (Laurencekirk) 1861/263/3/98; OESM, Unpublished family notes, "The Forsyths of Arnha' [i.e. Arnhall]" by David Forsyth (1958).

alienated could not easily be regained. But neither family was tightly restricted by its means when it came to emigration decision-making. In both cases emigration for all members of the family was a long-considered affair, and in the last year or two before departure the concern was not whether to emigrate or whether passage costs could ultimately be met, but where to go and how best to minimise risks and immediate costs while at the same time maximising the family's opportunities in the longer term. It was not uncommon for the sons of tenant farming families to 'try' South Africa or Australia first before deciding that New Zealand offered the most clement geographical and social conditions to meet their families' needs.[13]

Not all emigrant families could afford the luxury of changing a decision, and in years when assisted passages were unavailable the price required to bring out the remaining members of a family at the 'second stage' of a family migration might have been insurmountable to many. From the 1860s there were facilities available in most New Zealand provinces whereby kin already settled in the province could place a deposit with the local immigration authority, sign a promissory note guaranteeing the repayment of a passage fare, and thereby obtain the right to nominate a relative or friend in Britain for a passage to New Zealand.[14] This facility meant that a deliberate strategy of chain migration was not necessarily limited to families of substantial means. Nor was the strategy rejected by those whose family and household did not operate as a productive unit.

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[13]Emigrants whose families had run a small trade or manufacturing enterprise in Scotland were likely to try the United States or Australia if the 'first choice' of the family had not been New Zealand.

[14]Appendix (No. 44) to the Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners *PP* 1866 [c.3679] XVII p.177; 'Regulations for the Introduction of Immigrants to New Zealand on the Nomination of Persons Resident in the Colony', *Otago Gazette* Jan. 1872, p.128. (It is easy to become confused here about terms and rules because the categorisation 'nominated' passenger during the New Zealand Company period implied a different type of passage than the 'nominated' or 'guaranteed' passage system of later years. During the New Zealand Company period 'nominated' passengers were usually sponsored by a potential employer (often kin) who, as a purchaser of the Company's land, had the right to choose or 'nominate' a labourer for the 'boon' of a free passage. In the New Zealand Company period the nominator and nominee would generally travel on the same ship (unless the land purchaser intended to hold land in absentia) while in later years 'nominated' emigrants often followed their kin abroad.)

At 16, Margery Donald was a 'thread mill worker' living in Paisley with her parents, two older and seven younger siblings, as well as a 'nephew' (probably the illegitimate son of her older sister). This extended family of 13 persons shared the same address with two other households, their own flat consisting of two windowed rooms.[15] Five members of the family - including John Donald calico printer and his four oldest children (whose ages ranged from 14 to 20 years) - were the family breadwinners; of these, only Margery and a younger sister Agnes worked at the thread mill. This family emigrated in several stages (although it is not possible to trace all members in the ships' lists). In November 1872, described as 'domestic servants from Lanark', Margery and a sister Catherine fulfilled the second or third stage of the family's emigration. Just over a year later her father, then widowed, and the youngest brother sailed as 'nominated' emigrants.[16]

Working class families had to synchronize their actions closely with emigration policies and available opportunities, often staggering migration to a greater extent than was necessary for those families who were somewhat better off. One tactic was to make maximum advantage of the free and assisted passages so readily given to young, single women prepared to go to the Australasian colonies during the 1850s, '60s and '70s. Perhaps in working class families (where gender was no deterrent to entry into the work force) it was common for daughters, as well as sons, to make the preliminary moves of a successive family migration.

On the other hand, it does seem somewhat surprising that an urban textile family such as the Donalds employed a similar emigration strategy to that of many tenant farming or small-scale entrepreneurial

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[15]At the time of the 1861 census over 60% of the entire Scottish population lived in dwellings of two rooms or less, so apart from the number of family members living at home at one time, the Donald family's circumstances were not atypical. 'Rooms' in Scottish tenements were generally large. Census of Scotland 1861, Population Tables and Report. *PP* 1862 L, Table 9.

[16]GRO, Cen. (Abbey, Paisley), 1861/559[1]/21/92; Utah microfilms of passenger lists for New Zealand government emigration in the 1870s (originals held in National Archives, Wellington, NZ, Im. 15): the *Forfarshire* (Nov. 1872) and the *Wennington* (Jan. 1874); henceforth this source will be referenced as 'Passenger Lists, Vogel Scheme'. Details of the Donald family are also taken from NZ cemetery records, a marriage certificate and a family bible, courtesy of Mrs E. Wright of Upper Hutt, NZ.

families. In case of the latter families, business or production was typically a joint economic enterprise, with little or no differentiation between household composition and household function as a productive unit. The Donald household in 1861 exemplified what Levine describes as a 'wage-earning co-residence' group,[17] with several members of the family almost undoubtedly contributing their individual earnings to a joint family budget. But this was not the case in 1871, by which time the family had dispersed. Despite dispersal, and although New Zealand offered no chance of long-term commitment to the cotton industry (in the way that it could offer a continuing commitment to a family farm or small business) an emigration strategy involving most members of the family still took place.

Evidence as to the timing of emigration, payment methods, who in a family goes first and who follows and so on may prove that emigration from the Scottish Lowlands was less an 'individual' response to mid and late nineteenth century social conditions than is usually supposed. However, it is not always possible to discern, even from highly detailed family case studies, whether or not emigration was the result of a deliberate family 'plan' and a joint family decision from the outset. The following case study illustrates this ambiguity.

Betsy Stalker, oldest child of a 70 acre tenant (23 acres arable) from the parish of Killean and Kilchenzie in Argyll, was the first of her family to emigrate. She left Scotland for Otago in July 1869, aged about 23, an assisted passenger aboard the *James Nichol Fleming*. On the ship's list she is described as a domestic servant from Glenbarr near Lochgilphan (probably Lochgilphead). Two years later her brother Donald, the second oldest child, about 21 years of age, sailed from Greenock. It is not clear from the ship's list whether he was assisted directly from the coffers of the Otago Provincial Council (as Betsy had been) or whether he was 'nominated' for passage by kin (presumably by his sister) in Dunedin. Donald is described on the list for the *Edward P Bouverie* as a farm servant from Glenbarr, Campbeltown. The remaining family members - six surviving children (ages ranging from

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[17]D. Levine, *Family Formation in an Age of Nascent Capitalism* (Academic Press, 1977), p. 27.

about 4 to 20, three of whom would classify as 'single working adults') and parents - arrived in New Zealand before the end of 1874.[18]

It was simply fortuitous for the Stalkers that the regulations for assisted passage were liberalised and that free passages (for all working adults and children) were introduced between the emigration of the oldest Stalker son and that of the remaining family members. On the other hand, Betsy's emigration at a time when assisted passages were usually available only to women, suggests that a staged migration maximising opportunities may have been a deliberate family strategy from the outset.

The likelihood that this was the case is reinforced by the family household and work situation, and by patterns of previous emigration from Southern Argyll. The Stalker family farm, 'Low Marmonagach', was situated in a region characterised by a labour intensive form of mixed agriculture: cropping, cattle raising, dairying and wool growth were often accompanied by the growth of flax and the household production of yarns, wool and linen cloth (either as a by-employment or for household use). Most if not all of the children could expect to find work on the farm - the girls in dairying, harvesting and spinning. Census entries suggest that (unlike the children of the neighbouring cottar households) none of the Stalker family moved away in their teens, while between two and three additional farm servants (sometimes kin) had balanced the family labour supply when the children had been very young.[19] Such a background suggests that a family migration was not improbable. The parish of Killean and Kilchenzie, furthermore, had long standing links with Australasia: this is evidenced by the Poor Law

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[18]GRO, Cen. (Killean and Kilchenzie) 1841/519/4; 1851/410/4/98; 1861/519/4/; 1871/519/4/; OPRs (records of baptisms and marriages, various); OESM, Extracts from *Otago Provincial Government Gazettes*, list of passengers aboard the *James Nichol Fleming* (July, 1869), and the *Edward P. Bouverie* (Aug. 1871), (typescript). Other details concerning this family were kindly shared with me by Mrs G. Duguid of Rothesay.

[19]A cottar's family on the 'Low Marmonagach' property (also by name of 'Stalker', the head of this family is described variously in the census as an 'agricultural labourer' and a 'tailor', and his sons are listed as 'agricultural labourer' or 'woollen weaver apprentice') would have provided additional labour when required, especially at harvest time. In the cottar's household, young adult members of the family did move away to find jobs.

Commission of 1844.[20] In addition, several of Stalker's and his wife Betsy McMillan's immediate kin had already settled in the deep south of New Zealand. One suspects that the emigration of the Stalker family to New Zealand was not a chance outcome dependent on passage availability and costs, but a considered and carefully devised scheme fashioned by local experience and knowledge, and then modified in accordance with the immediate family situation and external opportunities.

However, records in New Zealand suggest that this interpretation may be premature. Within five months of her departure from Scotland, Betsy Stalker was married in Dunedin to one James Watson, farm hand of Balloch, Killean and Kilchenzie. There is no evidence to suggest that James paid for Betsy's passage, but they may have been betrothed before he left Kintyre in 1867.[21] Hence, Betsy's decision to emigrate was possibly independent of that of her family, although her departure probably influenced their subsequent plans. On the other hand, Betsy's parents are buried in the same grave in Wyndham, Southland (NZ) as Catherine McMillan and Adam McCorkindale, who probably emigrated in the late 1850s, and who almost certainly are Betsy's aunt and uncle on her mother's side.[22] This highly symbolic gesture reflects the significance in South Argyll of kin relationships outside the immediate conjugal family and suggests that 'chain' emigration was an important mechanism by which emigration from this region was effected. Emigration from Kintyre to what became one of the most conservative and socially entrenched areas of rural New Zealand was not necessarily bound up with the fortunes of individuals, or even of families: localised rural migrations of this sort may have been undertaken as a means of

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[20]Cited by Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission of 1844* (Edinburgh, 1979), p. 246.

[21]Watson's character reference given by his employer (probably also his mother's brother), together with a similar document provided for Betsy (by her maternal uncle, John McMillan), and the details of their marriage and origins in Scotland are recorded in a family bible.

[22]Tombstones in Patchan cemetery, Kintyre, and Redan, Wyndham (NZ); GRO, OPRs (various).

preserving traditional values and life-styles for kin and community in a far wider sense.[23]

It is seldom obvious how families interacted to reach emigration decisions. Sometimes the initiative seems to have come from parents; perhaps more often it was the younger members of the family whose ideas ultimately held sway. In the case of the Greys, mentioned at the beginning of this section, a course of emigration seems to have been the outcome of a joint family decision. Young Grey was obviously impatient to be away and might well have emigrated whether or not his family were keen to follow. Yet he tolerated and respected the restraining influence of his parents, who were attracted more by respectable and supposedly God-fearing Otago than by wild and convict-tainted Port Philip. Grey's parents seem to have encouraged the idea of a family emigration in the first place, and Grey's continued use of the plural when referring to them suggests that his mother as well as his father wielded influence in family decision making.

Some emigrant families (characteristically those which were 'self-made' with members who had shared family worship and religious idealism) applied the principles of democracy to family concerns with a deliberate zeal. The Gillies family were each required to spend a day in solitude and prayer before a final decision to emigrate to New Zealand in 1852 was made after a family vote.[24] We are not told how the individual members of the family cast their vote (perhaps they held a secret ballot!) or whether the family head John Gillies retained the power of veto. Gillies was a crofter's son who had risen through education, migration and a prudent marriage to eventually become an eminent and respected lawyer in his local town of Rothesay. It was his recalcitrant sons, resenting their father's insistence on their entry to the writer's office,

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[23]In the 'census-traced' group there are 55 cases for which it is known that emigrants were 'followed' to New Zealand by kin outside the immediate family (as it existed at the time of the initial emigration). (See Appendix VI.VI.) About one quarter of these 55 cases of 'chain' emigration by kin are associated with households which were located in the highland region. In ten instances of chain emigration from the Highlands the kin who followed were of the same and also of an older or younger generation than the initial emigrants.

[24]Autobiography of Thomas Gillies, cited by M. D. Gillies, 'John Gillies', in G. J. Griffiths, ed. *The Advance Guard* ser. III (Dunedin, 1974), pp. 251-2.

who first mooted the idea of emigration. One had already 'run off' to Australia to escape the older Gillies's authoritarianism, and it was reported to have been their mother's grief over this loss, failing health, and finally the local rancour of the Disruption which caused Gillies senior to consider emigration to the Free Church settlement as a solution to his family and community problems.[25]

Obviously some family members had the power to make decisions which would determine the fate of others who had less bargaining power. In examples cited thus far, the families were invariably large and at a mature stage of the life cycle at the time just prior to the emigration of one or several of the family members. For many such families emigration may have provided the means of resolving conflicts between parents and older children at a time when the family as a whole was benefited by the earnings or productive capability of the older children, while the young adults stood to gain (in terms of individual earnings and freedom) by moving away from the parental home.[26] In this situation the older children might become the advocates for emigration (perhaps initially for themselves only). The parents, their range of choices increasingly restricted by advancing age, might consequently feel compelled to embrace the solution also - in order to keep the family together, to give their children a 'start in life' and to ensure some measure of security for their approaching old age. The aged had the most to fear from the rigours of a long and dangerous journey and settlement in a new land. However remote it seemed, a return to Scotland was always a possibility for the young. For the older generation, on the other hand, once that ship had left the Clyde there would be only one further rite de passage.

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[25]ibid.

[26]See M. Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (Cambridge, 1971), esp. pp. 120-35, for a full development of ideas regarding life-cycle, conflicts within families, and the variable bargaining power of individual family members in the case of urban textile workers. With respect to tenant farming families, a parent's 'bargaining power' was usually limited because only one son (or perhaps two sons, as joint-tenants) would stand to 'inherit' the lease. Depending on the labour requirements of the farm (and family size), a farmer might benefit from the labour of all his adult children while in one or two cases only would the children's life chances be substantially enhanced by remaining at home.

In younger families, emigrants' testimonies suggest that wives were the most reluctant recipients of the 'boon' of an assisted passage to the colonies. Margaret Milne, wife of James Adam, an Aberdeen ships' carpenter, and mother of two young children, heard her husband's decision to emigrate with passivity at first. When she realised how resolved he was upon the plan she appealed to relatives and friends to dissuade him, even going so far as inducing the Minister of Free West Church, Aberdeen, to withold a certificate of character from his young precentor. However 'opposition was of no avail; the Rubicon had been passed' - James Adam was undeterred by his wife's opinion on the matter. Despite (or perhaps because of) the general family disapproval Margaret's unmarried sister Janet Milne accompanied the Adam family to New Zealand, and this decision may have partially reconciled Margaret to her husband's plans.[27]

A wife's hesitancy, perhaps because of fear of the voyage for herself or for young children, or because of unwillingness to leave kin and friends, may have prompted the temporary or even permanent separation of families. Margaret Milne (Adam's wife) was so desperately homesick during her first few months in New Zealand that her husband promised to send her back to Scotland provided she earn as much as possible from dressmaking towards the cost of passage. There was no question, however, that James would accompany his wife.[28]

Husbands often emigrated ahead of their young families.[29] This was one of the few strategies enabling families at the beginning of the life cycle to retain flexibility with respect to emigration decisions. A man emigrating alone was obviously far more physically and occupationally

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[27]James Adam, *Twenty Five Years of Emigrant Life in the South of New Zealand* (Edinburgh, 2nd edn, 1876); GRO, Cen. (Aberdeen) 1841/168[a]/37; Hocken, op. cit. Appendix F, transcription of passenger list for the *Philip Laing* ; FC, entries for the Adam family in Communicants' Roll Book and Baptismal Register; OESM, entries for the Adam family in Burns's Visitation Book; entry for James Adam in the 'Otago Jubilee Register of Early Emigrants.'

[28]James Adam, op. cit. p. 35.

[29]The frequency of instances noted for families in the 'census-traced' group is given in Appendix VI.V. There were only two instances observed in which a wife and children emigrated ahead of the paternal family head. In both these instances the family head was a miner who stayed behind to complete a contractual obligation to an employer while the wife and children emigrated as beneficiaries of a free passage.

mobile than a man 'encumbered' by a wife and small children, and perhaps a wife's initial reluctance to emigrate encouraged this pattern of emigrant behaviour. In certain periods, furthermore, there were clear financial advantages to be had through phasing the cost of family passage payment.

Alexander Kelman, described in the 1861 census as a 29 year old master slater employing two men and a boy, emigrated alone to Otago from Fraserburgh in 1864. His family, consisting of wife, Ann, aged 28, and two sons both under four years old at the time of the census, was augmented by two further births prior to emigration. Although Alexander paid his passage to the 'Scottish' settlement of Otago (perhaps with a vague inclination to seek after gold) his wife and four children were 'assisted' to New Zealand one year later as 'Canterbury Immigrants'. They went in a year when the Provincial Council of Canterbury offered liberal passage terms to emigrant families while the Council in adjacent Otago did not.[30]

The ability to exploit emigration opportunities in this manner may well have been limited to reasonably well off families with some savings because the length of voyage to New Zealand and initial loss of earnings during emigration must have put considerable strain on family resources in terms of provision for those who remained in Scotland. Wives and children had to be housed and fed, and few emigrants would have had kin with means sufficient to take on the burden of a whole family; nor would many emigrants have had resources enough of their own to maintain a Scottish household while absent for any length of time. Middle class and some working class emigrants placed their families in respectable lodgings (sometimes with kin, but even in these

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[30]GRO, Cen. (Fraserburgh) 1861/196/3/41; BR 1861/196/75 & 1864/196/30; MR 1857/196/25. The ship's list for the *Celeano* which arrived at Port Chalmers (Otago), Dec. 1864, is not extant. Lists of 'Canterbury Immigrants' are available in National Archives, Wellington, NZ. Information about this family's departure from Scotland was kindly supplied to me by P. and L. Kelman of Khandallah, Wellington. Alexander eventually took up land in Geraldine, South Canterbury, not far from the Otago border.

cases presumably as paying lodgers) before 'paving the way' for the second stage of the family emigration.[31]

The practice of placing families in lodgings is sometimes revealed by birth certificates of emigrant children, used in conjunction with ships' lists, the census and other vital registers. Walter Macdonald, for example, born September 1878, was son of William Macdonald, lately become 'Rector of Dunedin High School'. Walter's mother at the time of this birth was still residing at the Newington address she and her husband had shared three years previously, at the birth of their preceding child. Before emigrating in July 1879, however, Christina Macdonald, her five children, including the infant Walter (all under eight years old) had moved to 'Mrs Blyths'. The latter lady was a widowed annuitant and house proprietor living in Portobello.[32]

The fact that it is usually a birth certificate which indicates that a father emigrated before his family suggests that fear of confinement aboard an emigrant sailing ship was a significant factor prompting a 'phased' family emigration. At least, this could be said to be true for those who could afford the luxury of such safety precautions.

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[31]A cheaper option (with regard to the maintenance of family members who remained behind in Scotland) was for both adults and some children to emigrate while other children remained behind temporarily. Presumably however this strategy was not taken to reduce the cost or risks of emigration but to enable the children to complete schooling or some form of training such as an apprenticeship, or, alternatively to give care and company to ageing kin. When John Henderson, who had been farmer of 'Polnicol' in the parish of Kilmuir Easter, Easter Ross, sailed for Dunedin in July 1874, he travelled with his second wife and children from both his first and second marriages. The oldest and the youngest child of his first marriage, John and Arabella, aged about 16 and 11 years, remained behind with their paternal grandparents in Invergordon. John was apprenticed to a saddler there, and both he and Arabella followed their family to New Zealand in 1882, after the deaths of the Invergordon grandparents. GRO, Cen. 1861/69/1/84; 1871/69/1/77; SRA, TD35/2, P. Henderson Shipping Co, Passenger Lists (*Invercargill,* July 1874); Family information courtesy of J. H. Algie of Mereweather, New South Wales, and Mrs M. G. Connolly of Timaru, NZ.

[32]GRO, Cen. (Newington, Edinburgh) 1871 $685^5/98/37$; (Portobello) 684/3/14; BR (Newington) 1874/685^5/50, 1878/685^5/1191; MR (Kirkcaldy Free Church) 1868/442; *Edinburgh Street Directory*, 1877-8, p.123 (entry for William Macdonald, M.A. classical master, no entries for W. Macdonald in following years); SRA, TD35/2, P. Henderson Shipping Co, Passenger Lists (*Timaru,* July 1879).

For poorer families the whole business of family separation and reunion during emigration was probably a good deal more haphazard as the following birth entry suggests:

> Margaret Rodger, power loom weaver. Wife of Andrew Pollock, operative cotton spinner, who, she declares, is not the father of the child, and further, that she has had no personal communication with him since he left her and went to America twelve years ago.[33]

A letter from a 'mechanic' at Port Cooper (Canterbury) New Zealand to his wife in Dundee is also revealing. The writer requests (rather than expects) his wife, her three children and her brother to join him in New Zealand, and he goes on to advise her about procuring passages and necessary clothes through the sale of family crockery and furniture.

> You will have to pay passage to Leith - but the company will transport you to London - Write to the Company...I will look for you in ten months time...[34]

This letter is brief, to the point, and contains no endearments or personal enquiries, and no information about New Zealand or the writer's situation apart from what is implied by the terse comments:

> Your brother will find this a better place than where he is

and

> I will not come to Scotland again.[35]

To respond to such a little information would be an act of faith indeed! It seems that unwillingness on the wife's part to leave Scotland, or absence of the means to do so (the 'Company' became increasingly stringent about granting free passages at all, let alone footing the considerably extra cost of steamer berths to London), could result in a permanent disruption of the marriage.

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[33]GRO, BR (Carlton, Glasgow) 1877/644/1133.
[34]Letter from a Mechanic at Port Cooper, New Zealand, 19 Nov. 1849, quoted in *Canterbury Papers*, pp. 162-3. (PRO, CO 208 293).
[35]ibid.

There are economic forces of an obvious kind which made it more difficult for the members of working class families to stay in contact than emigrants from families which were somewhat better off. However, it is premature to assume that high rates of emigration in mid nineteenth century Scotland undermined family cohesiveness to any greater extent than the current internal migration practices or the every day unpredictability of an untimely death. The 1871 census of Scotland reveals that 6.3 per cent of husbands were away from home on census night (and 8.5 per cent of wives on census night had husbands away).[36] Many Scottish emigrant women, from varied social and economic backgrounds, had already experienced an 'absent male economy' as a very tangible and central feature of their household and family lives. These women included fishing and crofting wives from Orkney, those who were lodged in villages while their husbands worked as agricultural labourers in the North-east, and those who were 'left behind' temporarily while their spouses followed building booms throughout the UK (and increasingly throughout Europe and the United States).[37] It is true that emigration provided a means of ridding oneself of family commitments and obligations. 'Running away to sea', escaping the wicked step-parent, casting off all associations with a bitter past - these have always been features of the folklore and mythology of the emigration experience. Yet wife desertion and geographical mobility were nothing new, and what is perhaps so surprising about the results of a 'longitudinal' study of families from the point of view of the emigration process are the ways in which families from very different backgrounds attempted to overcome distance and poor communications.

We are dealing with a world in which contacts and coincidences were valued, in which communication was precious and avidly sought

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[36]Report on the Eighth Decennial Census of Scotland, 1871, *PP* 1873 [c.841] LXXIII, p. xxvi. The number of wives without husbands was larger than the number of husbands away in absolute as well as proportional terms. This is because on census night some husbands would be outside Scotland, in the army, navy or merchant navy, or as temporary migrants or 'precursory' emigrants.

[37]One example is the wife of Robert Glasgow who emigrated with her husband and five children to Port Nicholson settlement (Wellington) in 1842. It is reported that in the early years of her marriage, Robert travelled 'all over Europe (including Russia)' using his skills as a mason in contract work, usually building bridges. Family documents, information from tombstones, courtesy of Mrs H. Hickford and Mary Lumsden, both of Wanganui.

precisely because it was so difficult to achieve. When an ageing mother at a Free Assembly meeting in Edinburgh requested prayer on behalf of her son in New Zealand who never wrote to his 'sorrowing parent', the news of this supplication travelled 15 000 miles beyond the evangelical gathering.[38] In one letter to his parents in Ayrshire the agricultural labourer James Mitchell related his chance meeting with a gold digger from Strathaven, near Mitchell's own village of Darvel. Apparently the gold digger was 'quite desperate' because he could not hear from home as neither of his parents was able to write. Mitchell urged his own kin to make enquiries.[39] In the publication written twenty five years after his emigration to New Zealand, the ship's carpenter James Adam relates how his letters, which often referred to others in the Dunedin community 'from the same place as myself', became 'a source of deepest interest' to persons unknown to him.[40] The pens of the ready letter writers such as James Adam and James Mitchell were a means of communication for others who were less literate or less willing to spend leisure time in writing. Messages carried by travellers were another important source of communication between those who were separated by vast distances.

It should not be assumed that an emigrant's inability to articulate feelings in writing - the mechanic from Port Cooper mentioned above is a case in point - implied a lack of foresight or lack of affection and concern for the family left behind.[41] Presumably the "mechanic's" wife in Dundee (who could write) had the option of replying to her husband's letter if she had any doubts as to the wisdom of his suggestions. Following her husband may have been a long-devised plan, the full execution of which was dependent simply on a word of confirmation from the first emigrant.

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[38]Adam, op. cit. p. 34.

[39]James Mitchell Correspondence, Letter to his parents written at Oamaru, 28 Dec. 1866.

[40]Adam op. cit. p. 34.

[41]See David Vincent's caution against the making of such assumptions when analysing the writings of ordinary working people. D. Vincent, *Bread, Knowledge and Freedom: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working Class Autobiography* (London, 1981), esp. pp. 41-3.

Even so, long absences increased the chance of accidents and changing fortunes, and many families who intended to reunite, or emigrants who would otherwise have stayed in contact with their kin at home, had their plans frustrated by events quite out of their control. Untimely death of one or more family members was the usual reason for this misfortune. Jane Proudfoot died from cholera after nursing victims aboard the *Mooltan* en route to join her husband (a 29 year old shoemaker) in Otago, in 1849. She had refused to leave Scotland until her 62 year old mother could be prevailed upon to emigrate also.[42] Thomson, an ex-Rothesay man, was said to have gone 'quite mad with grief' when his brother's family never arrived at the Auckland docks: they had all perished in the *Cospatrick* disaster in 1874.[43] In another example, a 'swell's son', who was said to have left Britain after quarrelling with his father over the issue of entering the church, was swept to his death one night when the Shotover River flooded. The kindly old miner who related this tale to Alexander Bathgate said that he always regretted that he did not know the young man's surname or the wherabouts of his family: the parents would never know the reason why their son failed to write.[44] Some woeful sagas had happier endings. Mary McBain, born in South Uist, was about ten years old when she and an older brother were refused permission to sail on an emigrant ship leaving Ullapool(?) for Australia in the early 1850s; both were suspected of having contracted smallpox. The family determined to go on without Mary and Lachlan, who were expected to follow later. However, Lachlan died. Young Mary, Gaelic speaking, probably had no concept of the distance to or vastness of Australia, and boarding an emigrant ship may have seemed less terrifying a prospect than returning alone to the Outer Hebrides. She went to Victoria, found work there as a dairy maid,

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[42]Hocken, op. cit. Appendix F, transcript of passenger list for the *Cornwall* and the *Mooltan*. PRO, CO 208 123, McGlashan to Harrington, 15 Sept. 1849.

[43]John Thomson (joiner), his wife and four children, were 'nominated' passengers, 'Argyll' is given as their place of origin on the passenger list of the *Cospatrick*, Passenger Lists, Vogel Scheme, (Sept. 1874). A graphic account of the voyage of the fated *Cospatrick* is given in the *Glasgow Sentinel* 9 Jan. 1875, and memories of the disaster still linger in the Isle of Bute. (The tale of the Thomson man was related to me by Mrs G. Duguid of Rothesay, in Dec. 1982.)

[44]A. Bathgate, *Colonial Experiences; or Sketches of the People and Places in the Province of Otago, New Zealand* (Glasgow, 1974), pp. 138-53. Apparently the unfortunate young gold digger had intended to return to Britain: 'he was always building castles in the air, poor chap, about making a good rise and going home and astonishing his mother and sister by walking in with his digger's clothes on.'

and through a network of Gaelic speakers was eventually (and somewhat incredibly) reunited with her family in New South Wales.[45] Examples such as this suggest that the issue of communication in the nineteenth century, and its probable effect on family cohesiveness, requires fresh investigation.

Examples considered thus far locate emigration decisions within nuclear families. Strategies varied[46] - depending on family life cycle, economic situation and sometimes additional kin responsibilities. Although the onus for decision making often fell on only one or several of the family members, in the examples cited most or all members of the family were eventually persuaded to emigrate, and to the same destination.[47] Frequently (perhaps in as many as 30 per cent of cases)[48] the family was accompanied at one stage of the process by a close relative (often an in-law of the household head)[49] who became a member of the new household in New Zealand - until such time as the individual concerned possessed the means or will to form another new household,

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[45]Neil Robinson, *Lion of Scotland* (Auckland, 1952), p.75.

[46]The main varieties of strategy which involved 'phasing' the emigration of family members, and the frequency of each type, are given for the 'census-traced' group and the 'in-depth' group in Appendix VI.V. Note that the observation of a 'phased ' or 'chain' emigration of a nuclear family over time is distinguished from the chain emigration of kin *outside* the immediate family (as it existed at census time). (The frequency of observed instances of the latter is given in Appendix VI.VI.) The main difficulty with trying to assess the frequency of both 'family' and 'kin' chain emigration is that data are missing for a large proportion of the cases in the 'samples' used. In addition, results are inevitably biased because it is easier to confirm that chain emigration had occurred than it had not occurred. Of course, not all instances of chain emigration came about as the result of a deliberated strategy.

[47]Members of families could emigrate to different destinations and this action still be the result of a joint family decision. Splitting up was one way of reducing risks. For example, when James Barron's bakery business fell heavily into debt, one son emigrated to the United States and another to New Zealand. The idea was that both lads would endeavour to pay off their father's debts as soon as they had 'made good'. References for the Barron family case-study are given below (note 70). Alternatively, the dispersal process might occur during emigration. For example, two sons and two daughters of Thomas McWilliam, an Aberdeenshire small farmer and miller, emigrated to South Africa in the late 1840s. The girls married in South Africa and settled there, but the young men found the climate and work conditions unsuitable, so moved on, first to Victoria, and then to Wanganui, near Wellington, where remaining members of the family had in the meantime gone. Originally it had been a matter of family debate whether they should try South Africa or New Zealand. Evidence from diaries, letters and family bible courtesy of Mrs S. Eaton of Otaki, NZ.

[48]Frequencies are given in Appendix VI.II.

[49]This is especially true of families which emigrated at an early stage of the family life cycle. See Appendix VI.IV.

usually corresponding with the formation of a new nuclear family, through marriage.[50]

There are at least three ways by which the sole use of a source such as a nominal listing of emigrants who travelled on a particular ship may exaggerate the apparent extent to which emigration was carried out by isolated individuals as opposed to families and otherwise connected persons. First, a 'longitudinal' perspective shows that 'mature' families are frequently misrepresented on the ships' lists: parents and younger children are usually recorded as a small nuclear group while older sons and daughters count as single men and women.[51] Secondly, 'phased' emigration may have been common. Third, a significant percentage of single adults travelled with kin or other companions.[52] Nevertheless, even accounting for these factors where they can be discerned in the census-traced group, there is still an over-representation of unattached adults (especially males) in the 15 to 29 year old age group compared to the sending population at large.[53]

On the other hand, it does not necessarily follow that the emigration of these 'individuals' was undertaken with sole reference to their

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[50]In a majority of cases (over two-thirds of households in the census-traced group) emigrating kin did not live in the same household at census-time as their related travel companions. However there is evidence of a small positive correlation between propensity to emigrate with kinsfolk and kin co-residence in Scotland. This can be demonstrated in an 'intuitive' manner: for example, in 39% of households consisting of an 'extended' family which included at least one member who became an emigrant to New Zealand, the emigrants from this family were accompanied by kin when they left Scotland, who travelled on the same ship; however, emigrants from 'nuclear' families were accompanied by kin in only 26% of cases. ('Kin' in this paragraph refer of course to related persons who were not of the immediate family which is under focus.)

[51]For example, of the 'young single' adults in Scotland who applied to the New Zealand Company for an assisted passage, 38.6% were not 'unattached' but had simply filled out a separate form from their parents and younger siblings. They were required to do this on account of their age and consequent suitability as wage earners. (Calculated from 'The Register of Emigrant Labourers', PRO, CO 208 272 and 273.)

[52]While about 30% of all emigrant groups (each family, and each unmarried adult who travelled without a parent or parents counts as a 'group') were accompanied by a kinsman or woman, only about 10% of all emigrants travelled with kin but not in a family group. Most emigrants who travelled with kin (but not with a family, i.e. they were not accompanied by a parent, spouse or child) accompanied a sibling. Of all emigrants in the census-traced group, 6.2% travelled in a 'sibling group' or with the family of a married sibling.

[53]The age structure of the emigrants is discussed in Chapter Six.

individual circumstances. At times emigration was implemented by only one or more members of a family but the decision to emigrate still made in the context of the family as a whole. Sometimes initial encouragement was supplied by a parent or older sibling:

> It is true that I have not the most distant thought of becoming [an] emigrant myself but I have a young family of Boys, who in a few years must push their way somewhere, and in the meantime I do not see so good an opening for young men as in the Scotch Colony of New Edinburgh.[54]

> Sir,
> I have had some thought of applying for a property at the Settlement of Otago for a younger Brother of mine. I beg to know if one share of 60 acres for £120 10/- was taken in his own name and another share in mine (I remaining in this country and he going to New Zealand) whether this would entitle him to a free passage. I conclude it would...[55]

Probably in most instances the initiative was taken by the emigrants themselves. But this does not mean that a decision to emigrate was made without reference to others in the family. On the contrary, the existence of close ties with a family remaining in Scotland could be a very real advantage to the emigrant. John Chisholm aspired to own land in Otago but had also acquired the lease on his family's farm. The situation was resolved when he arranged a partnership with his brother and so was able to leave the farm in his brother's hands and emigrate

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[54]PRO, CO 208 120, James Mcilraith of 'Auchenflower', Ayr to William Cargill, 2 Dec. 1844. 'Auchenflower' was located in *Slater's Directory* in the parish of Ballantrae. From census entries for Ballantrae it can be discerned that McIlraith was a landed proprietor and J.P. who farmed 300 acres and employed seven labourers in 1851. GRO, Cen. (Ballantrae) 1841/579/2/11, 1851/478/2/12, 1871/579/3/7. Despite their father's interest, none of McIlraith's sons emigrated to Otago, but his eldest daughter, Jane, did. She married the young man John Deans who is described as an 'independent' member of McIlraith's household in the 1841 census. Deans had left his father's legal office in Kilmarnock to learn the science of farming. He and another brother became 'squatters' in New Zealand in the early 1840s and John returned to Scotland in 1852 to visit his old father and to marry Jane. PRO, CO 208 119-20, Burns to Rennie, 29 Feb. 1844, John Deans to Cargill, 2 Dec. 1844; *Slaters' Directory* (1867), p.423 (for the Deans family); GRO, Cen. (Riccarton) 1841/611/1, 1851/516/23/57.

[55]PRO, CO 208 121, E. Forbes to McGlashan, 13 March 1848.

without completely alienating his interest in Scotland.[56] Small businessmen often made similar arrangements with their kin.

A common enterprise was to start an informal importing relationship with the family at 'Home', usually sometime after settling in New Zealand. A great variety of goods and chattels, from blue worsted bonnets and buttons to baking soda, from salt herring, pocket knives and door locks to glass goods and stoneware, also consignments of prime stock for breeding, the latest agricultural implements, and all manner of personal items for trade and household use, were freighted from Scotland to Otago, the kin of emigrants providing the trade connection with Britain. Recent studies of Scottish entrepreneurial success abroad have stressed contacts maintained in Scotland, and identified complex and extensive trade, shipping and financial empires linking prominent Glasgow individuals and companies with concerns in Calcutta, Montreal, Melbourne, Dunedin and London.[57] Kinship studies reveal that such links could also operate on a far smaller and more personal scale. James Cullen, an agricultural labourer on his arrival in New Zealand, had been in Otago for twenty years before he arranged for his brother in Scotland to send out a consignment of Clydesdale horses;[58] Andrew Mercer, a young joiner, wrote excitedly to his father in Dunfermline:

> A fortune could soon be made with such goods as tartans, wearing apparel and soft goods, crockery ... ironmongery ... paltry things - beads, haberdashery ... Blankets cannot be got for love or money, ... jackets of coarse quality are wanted, will sell here for 15/- each and cost 8/- or 10/- at home. ... [If capital sufficient] ... arrange for [a further consignment of] goods to be sent, we remitting the amount of the first with our second order[59]

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[56]PRO, CO 208 123, McGlashan to Harrington, 3 Aug. 1849.

[57]See for example, R. A. Cage, ed. *The Scots Abroad: Labour, Capital and Enterprise, 1750-1914* (London, 1984), esp. the introduction and chapters on Canada, India, Australia and New Zealand.

[58]P. Watt, 'James Cullen', in Griffiths, ed. op. cit. ser. III, pp. 53-76.

[59]Andrew Mercer in Dunedin to his father a linen goods dealer in Dunfermline, 31 May, 1848, PRO, CO 208 122, pp. 304-11.

The presence of close kin remaining in Scotland reduced the risks of emigration. Even if there was no particular business advantage to be obtained, kin and family implied security, a 'stake' in the Old Land. This may have been as important a psychological as an economic asset. The language of the day supplies a metaphor which describes the phenomenon well: emigrants became 'the other branch' in the colonies, the implication being that roots and trunk were still somewhere firmly in Scotland. Complete 'transplantation' did not occur: contacts were maintained within and between families often through several generations without a chain migration of kin ever necessarily taking place. Such a pattern of behaviour was probably widespread throughout the Lowlands and was not restricted to middle class emigrants.[60] 'Casie', for example, was an Aberdeenshire woman, probably an agricultural labourer, who bore three illegitimate children to three different fathers. Contacts between the heirs of one of these three - William Jaffray, who went to New Zealand in 1859 - and the heirs of the other two (James McKay and Margaret Taylor) were maintained until well into the 1930s.[61] Similar examples of long term contact between working class emigrants could be cited.

In contrast, the habit of shipping off 'surplus relatives' and thereby ridding oneself of the problem of 'troublesome sprigs'[62] seems to have been a middle class (and particularly a middle class professional) phenomenon. The following letter is typical of several Rennie and later Dowling (respectively organiser and secretary of the New Edinburgh Scheme) received in 1842 and 1843.

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[60]Extensive chain emigration was probably a more frequent behaviour pattern for emigrants from the Highlands. (See note 23 above.)

[61]This information is courtesy of A. K. Longair of Ottawa, Canada. Employment opportunities for women and children in agriculture in the north-east of Scotland probably removed economic sanctions against illegitimacy in this area to a large extent. For the incidence of 'repeaters' amongst the bearers of illegitimate children, which was, at least in the eighteenth century, very high in the Scottish north-east, see Leah Leneman and Rosalind Mitchison, 'Scottish Illegitimacy Ratios in the Early Modern Period', *Econ. Hist. Rev.* 2nd ser. XL (Feb. 1987), 56.

[62]This expression is taken from George Elliot's *Middlemarch*. 'It is Aquinas's fault', said Mrs Cadwallader. 'Why didn't he use his interest to get Ladislaw made an attaché or sent to India? That is how families get rid of troublesome sprigs'.

> ... I am anxious that my nephew should be put in the way of getting on in life; and going out to New Zealand appears to offer a chance at least of his advancing his prospects but as I told you he has had hooping[sic] cough... and he has I understand been very delicate all summer... and besides his father is tottering on the brink of the grave and I feel I would at this time get a refusal from the lad ... I have not lost sight of it ...[63]

Another example is that of William, David and Francis Laing who emigrated with the early Otago settlers, leaving Scotland for New Zealand in April 1849. Property had been purchased in the name of the two older boys (aged 19 and 17) by their uncle, a member of the Signet Library in Edinburgh. The youngest, Francis (at 15 years), was given a free passage aboard the *Cornwall,* ostensibly as 'labourer' to his two brothers. Presumably the lads were orphaned and under the guardianship of their uncle and aunts: three unmarried sisters, all annuitants, resided at the Ayrshire address the lads gave to the shipping authorities just before their departure.[64] The Edinburgh legal and clerical men with whom the Otago Association had close links seldom had any intention of risking the discomfort of emigration themselves,[65] but many were willing to invest lip service and sometimes hard cash in the scheme. What better way of contributing to a social (and some would have said 'Godly') enterprise while at the same time fulfilling 'duty' to kin? It is no coincidence that letters from young, single migrants were commonly sent to those aunts and uncles who had endeavoured to give them a 'start in life' by 'assisting' them to the colonies!

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[63]J. Irvine, 'B'. [Bingcaussie, Aberdeen] to Rennie, 26 Sept. 1843, PRO, CO 208 119, p. 180.

[64]GRO, Cen. (East Kilbride) 1851/531/36; Hocken, op. cit. Appendix F, transcript of passengers aboard the *Cornwall*; PRO, CO 208 123, Register of Applicants for Land in the Settlement of Otago, Oct. 1847 - May, 1849.

[65]A comparison between applications made to the New Zealand Company for land orders and lists of landowners drawn up at the time of the demise of the Company in the early 1850s suggests that about one quarter of the Scots who bought land in the Wakefield settlements did not emigrate. PRO, CO 208 254, New Zealand Company: Applications for land orders (various); CO 208 255 'Resident Owners of Original Land Orders ... in the Settlement of Otago', 'Non-resident Owners of Original Land Orders ... (for the various settlements) et al; CO 208 265, 'Register of Applications for Land in the Settlement of Otago, Oct. 1847 - May 1849'.

7.2.2 Emigrants and the 'Auld Folk at Home'

So far, this chapter has described recurring ways in which the presence of family and kin in Scotland tended to facilitate, rather than impede, emigration. The idea of emigration was often conceived as a solution for the entire family even in circumstances which dictated the impracticality of all family members emigrating at the same time; also, emigration decisions which were acted out by only a minority of family members were sometimes inspired by other family members; in addition close kin remaining in Scotland (either temporarily or permanently) could dramatically reduce the risks associated with emigration.

The advantages to the emigrants are obvious, but the question is then raised whether those who remained behind and who stood to lose by emigration (especially the aged) did not exert a restricting influence on emigration when it was in their power to do so. Emigrants' testimonies suggest that women, in particular, were unwilling to leave aged kin for whom they felt responsibility. James Ayson was in New Zealand for ten years before being joined by his betrothed, Margaret Fleming, as she had remained behind in their native Glenshee until the death of her old and infirm mother.[66]

In general the regulations for passage assistance and the length and danger of the voyage ot New Zealand dictated against the emigration of the aged. There were instances when emigrants already settled in New Zealand took advantage of 'nominated passage schemes' (which stipulated no age specification) in order to bring out their aged kin.[67] If the old folk were feeble or infirm a chain migration pattern was obviously not desirable. Sometimes members of families who were eligible for passage assistance clubbed together so that they and their dependent kin would not be separated through emigration. On one occasion the Secretary of the Otago Association noted several families which he deemed as highly 'desirable' as emigrants because only two of

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[66]William Ayson, *Looking Back: Glenshee to Otago 1853-6 to 1953-6* (Clan Ayson of New Zealand Society: reprint edn, Hamilton NZ, 1975), p. 46.

[67]Whereas only 1% of all emigrants on the total list declared ages of 55 years or over, the figure was 7.4% of all 'nominated' passengers.

the twenty five persons involved were children. The others were young couples: shepherds, ploughmen and their wives, 'who [were] to be accompanied in four instances by aged relatives whose passages will be paid for in full'.[68]

Strategies undertaken in order to assist the emigration of the aged were probably exceptional rather than typical behaviour. Kin connections between emigrants from the Lowlands who went to New Zealand were characteristically fragmented as opposed to extended, and were usually based on 'lateral' links (connections between siblings) rather than 'lineal' relationships (those of generational depth).[69] It is probable that young adult emigrants would have already lost one parent, while married couples with children may well have lost representatives of the older generation on both wife and husband's side.

There were ways that an emigrant could make provision for a 'white haired sire' that did not necessitate the latter's embarkment on an emigrant ship. The most obvious of course was the remittance of a monetary gift. James Barron, one-time baker, was supported by his son in New Zealand for a period of about thirty years (between the age of fifty and his death about the age of eighty). The 'quarterly instalments' (which amounted to an annual sum of £25) were accompanied by a note, generally of a very perfunctory nature, suggesting that William in New Zealand would seldom have written had he not felt obliged to send the regular remittance to the old man.[70]

The practice of sending wages 'home' may not have been as common among Scottish emigrants abroad as was the case for the Irish.[71]

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[68]PRO, CO 208 124, McGlashan to Harrington, 3 April 1849.
'The whole of the parties are out of the elite of the Scotch [sic] peasantry, and form a class still much in demand in the settlement.'

[69]See Appendices VI.II and VI.VI.

[70]The Barron letter series was kindly shown to me by Mrs G. Marr of Glasgow. (These letters have been copied and will be deposited in the Otago Early Settlers Museum.) GRO, Cen. (Kirkliston) 1851/683/1/50; 1861/667/1/17.

[71]The Emigration Commissioners were perhaps the first to point out that money sent back to Ireland from the United States was by the 1850s far in excess of the money required to meet the full cost of Irish emigration. For example, the cost of emigration from Ireland for the year 1854 (calculated at the rate of £4 per statutory adult plus £1 for extras) amounted to £616 000 whilst the money sent back to Ireland in remittances

Nevertheless the practice can be observed for Scottish emigrants from a wide range of social backgrounds. Margaret McRitchie, a domestic servant who emigrated with her sister from North Queensferry, wrote proudly in a letter to her father:

> ...if you want any money be sure and let us know and we will remit [sic] it with a bank order.[72]

James Mitchell, the agricultural labourer from Darvel, never mentioned a remittance in his monthly letter home until the time eighteen months after his arrival in New Zealand when he failed to send money back to Scotland. He apologized for this, explaining that no money could be sent that month because he was saving to go shares on a threshing mill.[73]

Twenty five years after his own emigration to New Zealand, James Adam the ship's carpenter from Aberdeen wrote that the 'real cure' for an emigrant's homesickness is 'success', and he described the continuing gratification he received from relating modest successes to kin at home:

> There is a double pleasure in writing good news to your friends ... it encourages the emigrant to increase exertion, that he may write something better next mail, and perhaps to remit a small gift of money to cheer the declining years of a parent; for this is in the power of domestic servants and ploughmen, many of whom discharge this pleasing duty with great fidelity.[74]

That young men and women in their twenties should have sent their earnings 15 000 miles to 'Home' when they themselves had no intention of returning thither,[75] and it was also unlikely that their close kin (and

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during that year was £1 730 000. Fifteenth General Report of the Emigration Commission *PP* 1854-5 [c. 1953] XVIII.1.

[72]NLS, Acc. 7117, Margaret McRitchie to her father in Fife, 1848.

[73]James Mitchell correspondence, Letter to his parents, written at West Taieri, Otago, 14 July 1866.

[74]Adam, op. cit. pp. 34-5.

[75]Some emigrants were able to return to Scotland for a visit, and a minority were able to express their 'loyalty' to the 'auld folk' in this manner on a regular basis. In a letter to his distant kinsman in New Zealand, Lachlan MaClean of Tiree wrote of the comings and goings of migrants and emigrants from that Hebridean isle:

certainly not their parents) would ever follow them to their 'adopted' land, is a factor which should perhaps be taken into account when considering some interpretations of relationships within nineteenth century families.[76]

For many emigrants, both men and women, the death of parents or parent (or in the case of older emigrants, a spouse) occurred just prior to emigration, suggesting that the release of kinship ties or perhaps the provision of a small inheritance (which could be invested in a passage fare or land overseas) facilitated their departure. The Nimmos were a tenant-farming and mine-managing family who had lived in or near Wilsontown, Carnwath in South Lanarkshire for several generations. Shortly after their father's death in 1861, a letter passed between James and William, the two oldest sons, in which the family inheritance arrangements were frankly discussed:

> Our mother is to have Cleugh farm ... Hugh is to have the Haywood farm ... Thomas is to get the colliery and all the stock and plant ... John was to have managed the Cleugh farm ... our sisters get £50 each

John's share of the family inheritance was in cash. Both he and James became emigrants to New Zealand, but John did not go until after his mother's death because the proprietor of 'Cleugh' would not allow Nimmo's widow to carry on the lease single handed.[77]

Often it was the death of a family member which seemed to prompt the final stage of an emigration chain. Peter Grant, for example, born into a Perthshire agricultural labouring family, discovered New South

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'My cussen [sic] Captain Archibald MaClean from Sydney was here for four months and then gone off from Liverpool about two months ago - will com [sic] home to pass the winter with his poor mother and gon [sic] of [sic] in Spring and taken his sister Ann with him...'
Donald McLean Correspondence, Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, MSS, 32/235.

[76]For example compare M. Anderson, op. cit. pp. 128-31.

[77]I am grateful to Mr G. Stewart of Forth, Lanarkshire who gave me transcripts of James Nimmo's diary and also details from a family bible copied by John before he left Scotland. Information about this family was derived also from OESM, 'The History of James and Marion Nimmo and their Family' by Marian M. Nimmo of Ngapara; SRA, TD35/2, P. Henderson Shipping Co, Passenger Lists (*Storsa,* March 1876); and GRO, Cen. (Carnwath) 1851/677/1/134.

Wales and then New Zealand through employment as a seaman in the merchant navy. His eldest brother emigrated to Canada (and two siblings could not be traced) but at least five others followed Peter, separately, to Otago between 1856 and 1868. Contact was maintained with kin in Scotland until Peter's mother's death, at which time his father (and his mother's brother and nephew) also left Scotland for New Zealand.[78]

For those who accepted and respected the prevalent ideology which decreed a moral 'duty' was owed to one's closest kin[79] (and the majority of emigrants probably did accept this ideology, at least at one level of their consciousness) the problem of leaving aged parents, or other potentially dependent kin, was no doubt alleviated (or perhaps never even arose) if a sibling, or some other on whom the responsibility for direct care and company could fall, still remained in Scotland. Neither James Adam (the Aberdeen ships' carpenter) nor Thomas Agnew, a joiner by trade and son of a Galloway tenant,[80] was in any way deterred from his resolve to emigrate by the forceful entreaties of relatives. Yet both men exhibited warm feelings of affection and regard towards their closest kin, and both expressed a solemn sadness when the time came to depart. Adam declared:

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[78]GRO, Cen. (Blairgowrie) 1851/285/4/42. Only the younger of the Grant children were living with their parents at the time of the 1851 census. Two daughters living at home were both described as agricultural labourers, but all sons over twelve years had already left home, presumably to find work. This example is interesting because it shows that work experience outside the family did not preclude ongoing contacts between family members after emigration. (Shipping and genealogical details for this family were taken from 'A Grant Family Saga', by Ellen Keeley, OESM.

[79]The Free Church, for example, recoiled from the New Poor Law, and in particular its provisions for the elderly and the workhouse test. The implementation of these was seen as the result of children failing to 'honour' parents, and parents in their turn failing to honour God. *The Free Church Magazine* VIII (Jan. - Dec. 1850), 143. Secular expressions of the same values are evidenced in the Poor Law Magazine. See for example, 'Causes of Pauperism', *The Poor Law Magazine* 1st ser. 1 (1858-9), May 1859, 539-42.

[80]Diary of Thomas Agnew, Nov. and Dec. 1861. Agnew's diaries were transcribed by John Bowrie of Taieri Beach, Otago and incorporated with other family documents in a handwritten article entitled 'The Agnews of Balwherrie' (1937). A copy of this and other family papers (marriage banns etc) were kindly given to me by Lady Agnew Swanzie.

> I can honestly say that the greatest difficulty I ever experienced was breaking away from the loving hearts of a father's home... My aged father (three score and ten) saw me, and lifted his hat and waved it sorrowfully... At last I saw him wipe the tears from his eyes and turn away... Had it been possible I would have followed him. He never expected to see me again, and considering his years, all hope was taken from me...[81]

Neither Adam nor Agnew allowed affections to interfere with economic concerns. On the other hand, each was in a position to benefit himself by emigration, and neither was encumbered by any onerous or specific demands from kin. Adam had siblings living both near and with his parents, and one of Agnew's younger brothers managed the 'Balwherrie' farm on which his mother still resided. Another brother (also Agnew's junior) was a solicitor in Dundee, while Agnew himself was an unemployed carpenter whose financial stake in 'Balwherrie' was made available for conversion to hard cash by his decision to leave his native land.[82] Adam wrote later that 'the old people' lived to 'bless the day I sailed for New Zealand'.[83] The economic success of their son had justified their sacrifice.

These examples suggest that emigrants may often have come from big families,[84] and that decisions as to 'who goes' and 'when' were partly determined by the needs, demands and power of those who through age or infirmity or will were to remain behind. Affinity between family members and personal preferences (obviously some family members would have less taste for 'uprooting' than others) as well as individual job and inheritance prospects at home all played a part.

In one sense, the willingness 'to let somebody go' is indicative of a very real affection - a care for their life chances and happiness over and above one's own. Middle class women, in particular, often expressed

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[81]Adam, op. cit. p. 7. Agnew's penultimate diary entry before leaving Scotland records a visit to the church to see his father's tomb; his last entry notes the 'settlement' and farewell between himself, his mother and brother.

[82]Agnew realised £247 in a 'settlement' with his brothers in which he signed away his interest in the lease.

[83]op. cit. p. 7.

[84]This is explored further in Section 7.3.2 below.

anxiety about the emigration of their sons, but in almost every documented case were prepared to suppress their emotions to the great mysterious morality of 'masculine advancement'. On one occasion Dowling,the Secretary of the New Edinburgh Association, visited a demurring mother and took some time convincing her that there was a 'far better prospect of her son getting on in the new colony than if he staid [sic] here'. She finally agreed to put no obstacles in the way of his 'advancement in life' On another occasion Dowling recorded the conciliatory gesture of a grieving widow who had been against the emigration of her only son at the outset of his plans, but who at the 'eleventh hour' had secretly upped his passage fare from steerage to forecabin.[85] Margaret McCaig, the wife of a Stranraer tenant farmer, would not be comforted after her second son (one of 13 children surviving to adulthood) left Scotland for New Zealand in July 1863. In reply to her sister's attempts to console, she said she 'cared little for gold', but at no time had she tried to stop her son from leaving and 'making his way in the world'.[86]

In all of some 300 family surveys there were only two clear instances when a parent actively tried to stop an adult child's emigration by either bribery or withholding some promised good. One of these instances occurred when two brothers James and Robert Hamilton began a joint farming enterprise in New Zealand. They found that although 'lack of capital' did not 'clog the wheel', it was necessary to write home and request a £100 loan for the purchase of stock; the brothers offered interest at the rate of 20 per cent.[87] Their old mother in Kilmarnock, who had been writing regularly and exhorting Robert, the younger brother, (James was already married with small children) to return home and take a medical training, was then able to insist on him doing so. Thus she had her dual desires of seeing one son a minister, and one son a doctor, fulfilled.[88]

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[85]'Journal of Mr D. W. Dowling' (Sept. 1843-Jan. 1844), PRO, CO 208 295.

[86]Letter from Jane Wither to her nephew, John Wither, in New Zealand, 24 July 1863. I am indebted to Mrs M. Wither of Portpatrick for access to private family papers.

[87]James Hamilton of 'Awhitu', Manakau, Auckland to Mrs Hamilton, 1866, cited by Lloyd Walker, 'The Hamiltons of Awhitu', *Journal of the Auckland-Waikato Historical Societies* No. 34 (April 1979), 4-5.

[88]ibid. p. 5. After qualifying as a doctor and practising for twenty years in Yorkshire, Robert remigrated to New Zealand and took up land once again. I am much indebted to

Attempts to control adult family members and close kin were unlikely to have always been so open and direct. What emigrants and would-be emigrants recognised on one level of their consciousness as duty or reponsibility to kin probably incorporated a tangle of emotions - including guilt, fear, hope, and affection. The ways in which family members manipulate these emotions in each other vary, are often highly subtle and complex, and seldom recognised consciously. What psychiatrists today term 'family dynamics' probably operated as forcefully in the nineteenth century, although of course within specific socio-economic and cultural contexts - and herein lies the historian's task to elucidate and define.

7.2.3 Summary

Emigrants' testimonies suggest that emigration decisions were usually made with reference to a wider family and kinship environment than is implied by the lists of those who actually left their native land. This kinship 'environment', furthermore, did not correspond directly with the framework of household and work or even the locality which emigrants experienced just prior to their departure. However it was usually only 'close' kin - children, parents, siblings or parents' siblings - who were able to influence emigration decisions in decisive ways. Often emigration posed a more practicable solution to individuals and 'young' families than it did to entire families and extended kin groups. However, strategies such as chain emigration probably enabled more families at a 'mature' stage of the life cycle and perhaps more aged persons to emigrate than has commonly been supposed. The willingness and ability of families to exploit available opportunities in synchrony with their life cycle and economic circumstances suggests that emigration and other family decisions were made on a rational basis which took long-term life chances into account.

The following section attempts to discover just 'who' emigrants were in terms of the households and families they left behind in Scotland.

Angus Hamilton Skene of Gnosall, Staffordshire for information about this family and for the chance to peruse family documents.

7.3 Household Evidence

7.3.1 Household and Family Structure

It is interesting to know whether the senior member of a household (the 'household head') became an emigrant, or whether it was more common for those of 'lesser' household status - grown children, servants, lodgers, kin and so on - to leave their native land. An individual's position within a household supplies indirect evidence of that individual's likely obligation to other members of the household, and is suggestive as to the family and kinship context in which emigration decisions were made. A household head, for example, say with a wife and young children, would be likely to take account of his dependents when making emigration decisions; an unmarried farm servant or lodger, on the other hand, might have fewer commitments, and would be more likely to make an emigration decision solely on his or her own account. There are problems with these assumptions because (as we have seen from case studies) kinship and family obligations often fell outside the domain of household and residence. Some forms of service furthermore (in particular farm service) were integral to the life-cycle and did not necessarily imply a permanent withdrawl from a parental sphere of influence. Despite these (and other) limitations household evidence is probably the most consistent and useful source for a quantitative study of family relationships in nineteenth century Scotland, while 'linkage' of the household data with other sources showing members of families acting and reacting together provides a means of assessing evidence gleaned from the one-dimensional household situation.

Because of the hierarchical structure of the data-base,[89] all individuals included in the data-base were assigned to a 'family', and all families, in turn, to a 'household'. This means that emigrants in the 'total list' who were not found in the census, and so could not be linked with a 'real' Scottish family and household, had to be assigned to a 'dummy' household. The 'census-traced' group on the other hand

[89] See Appendix Two for details.

consists of 693 'real' or 'non-dummy' households. These households actually existed in time and space, and emigrants and their families lived in these households at some time prior to departing Scotland.

In a majority of cases (62.7 per cent) the heads of households in which emigrants were found did not become emigrants themselves. The proportion was considerably higher (80.5 per cent) for households headed by women. This may have been because the immediate family of women who headed households which included future emigrants was, on average, at a later stage of the life cycle than the families headed by men.[90] There is of course a correlation between tendency for household head *not* to have been an emigrant and a late stage of life cycle for the family of the household head.[91]

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[90]All children living at home were over 20 years of age, or, the head of the family was herself over 45 years of age (with no child living at home) in 32 per cent of cases in which the head of the household was a woman. The corresponding figure for male headed households was 14.3%. On the other hand, the age difference between males and females who headed households which produced emigrants for New Zealand was not great: the median and mean ages of male heads were 47 and 48.7, and for women the median and mean ages were 45 and 46.7.

[91]This is because young adults who emigrated without their parents but who, before their emigration, had been living in a household headed by a parent had by definition come from families which included children approaching adulthood.

TABLE 7.1 PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'CENSUS TRACED GROUP' SHOWING WHO IN THE HOUSEHOLD EMIGRATED, BY EMIGRANT STATUS AND SEX OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD.

	n	1 Household Head only	2 Family Member	3 Kin	4 No Relation	5 Combination: 2+3	6 Combination: 2+4	7 Combination: 2+3+4	8 Total
		%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Household Head is emigrant:									
males	220	8.6	88.6	0.0	0.5	0.9	0.9	0.5	100.0
females	14	14.3	71.4	14.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
total	234	9.0	87.6	0.9	0.4	0.9	0.9	0.4	100.1
Household Head is not emigrant:									
males	353		77.9	8.5	12.5	0.3	0.8	0.0	100.0
females	70		80.0	10.0	8.6	1.4	0.0	0.0	100.0
total	427[a]		77.8	8.7	12.4	0.5	0.7	0.0	100.1
Unreliable:									
males	13	0.0	92.3	7.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
females	2	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
total	15	0.0	93.3	6.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	100.0
All Households (excluding missing)[b]	676	3.1	81.5	5.9	8.0	0.6	0.7	0.1	99.9

a Includes 4 for whom sex of the household head is unknown.

b In 17 cases out of 693 in the total group either emigrant status (and gender) of the household head and/or who else became emigrants from the household is unknown.

Note: Relationship to the household head is not always clear, and in some instances overlap occurs between 'kin' and the 'no relation' category comprising servants, visitors and lodgers (cf. Table 7.7). A further breakdown of the 'no relation' category shows that lodgers were more frequently emigrants from female headed households than servants or visitors while servants formed the biggest proportion of 'no relation' emigrants from male headed households.

Table 7.1 shows that most emigrants in the census-traced group were members of the immediate family of a household head: only about 15 per cent of all households in the census-traced group included emigrants whose relationship to the household head was that of a servant, lodger, visitor or relative. However, there are several methodological points which exaggerate the patterns suggested by Table 7.1, but arguably these do not affect the validity of the conclusions drawn.

First, about 9 per cent of emigrants living away from their families at census time (usually as servants or with kin elsewhere) are classified with their 'real' families and parental households in the data-base. This occurred when the individuals concerned were not found in the census at the address they gave to the shipping authorities but the members of their immediate families were living at the address given. A further 4.5 per cent of individual emigrants are known to have left their parental homes some time between the census preceding their emigration and the date of their departure for New Zealand. These two factors affect columns three and four in Table 7.1 and give a misleadingly low impression of the extent to which emigrants had actually lived in an 'intermediate' household situation prior to embarkation.[92] However, the validity of Table 7.1 as indicative of the family context for decision making is not undermined to an equivalent extent. If a young domestic servant, for example, gave her parents' address to an agent or shipping officer, the implication of this action is that she retained a degree of affiliation with her parents' household; perhaps she had lived in it fairly recently, and had she not emigrated, she might have returned to live in it again for a period in the future. In this scenario the opinions of parents and other family members would probably influence (if not wholly determine) the servant girl's emigration behaviour, even though she was not living at home just prior to her departure.

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[92]The term 'intermediate residential status' is from Michael Anderson's work, and is used to describe the household position between child and headship status which can be ascribed to apprentices, journeymen, lodgers, servants, kin and so on, who were neither a household head, nor a child or spouse of a household head. Anderson, 'Modern Life Cycle', op. cit. p. 83.

A second 'methodological qualification' is given a fuller treatment in Chapter Two. It is impossible to know to what extent the 'familial' bias of Table 7.1 occurs because 'families' were easier to find in the census than single adults who had been living in a 'non-familial' situation prior to emigration. In Chapter Two it was found that success in census searches depended more on length of time between an emigrant's departure and the preceding census than on the emigrant's occupation or marital and family characteristics. It was concluded that methodological biases do not undermine the general validity of the census-traced group although the data are skewed to a minor extent by those emigrants who were found in the census but who left Scotland late in any decade.

These methodological problems are not so pertinent when using the 'family' as opposed to the 'household' as the focal unit for analysis. This is because data aggregated at the level of the family involve a necessary distinction between *real* families and persons living in a 'non-familial' situation. In this study 'real' families, in a 'conceptual' sense, are defined as those groups formed by either a marriage or the birth of a child. However, all individuals in the data-base must belong to a 'family', which in turn belongs to a 'household' (both of which may be dummies); hence, the term 'family' is used also in a 'hierarchical' sense, to denote a unit of aggregation which is distinct from both the household and the individual.[93] All individuals who are shown by the census listings to have been living in a non-familial situation (usually of 'intermediate' residential status) just prior to their emigration are assigned to 'families' in the data-base which consist (usually) of just one person, namely themselves.

The 693 (real) households in the census-traced group consist of 1478 'families' of which about 38 per cent were single persons living in a non-familial context. Perhaps a clearer way of explaining family structure within households is with reference to family heads: 46.8 per cent of family heads were also household heads; 15.2 per cent were heads of subsidiary families (these were real families in the conceptual sense)

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[93]For clarity's sake, the term 'family' will usually be enclosed in inverted commas if the usage is to denote a hierarchical stage of the data base.

within the household, and the remaining 38 per cent were individuals representing only themselves.

TABLE 7.2. FAMILY STRUCTURE OF THE 'CENSUS TRACED' GROUP AT CENSUS TIME: A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT FAMILY TYPES, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MARITAL STATUS OF, AND CHILDREN BORN TO, EACH FAMILY HEAD[a]

	I. All Families in the data-base		II. Families whose members included emigrants		III. Families whose members did not include emigrants	
	n	%	n	%	n	%
Single without child	558	37.8	107	13.7	420	66.6
Single with child(ren)	7	0.5	1	0.1	6	1.0
Widowed without child	16	1.0	6	0.8	9	1.4
Widowed with child	138	9.4	96	12.3	38	6.0
Married without child	39	2.6	24	3.1	12	1.9
Married with child(ren)	499	33.8	447	57.1	42	6.7
Married without child, spouse absent	11	0.7	4	0.5	7	1.1
Married, with child, spouse absent	38	2.6	30	3.8	7	1.1
No-parent family[b]	154	10.4	53	6.8	87	13.8
Missing	18	1.2	15	1.9	3	0.5
TOTAL	1,478	100.0	783	100.1	631	100.1

a Totals refer to 'hierarchical' families, although each hierachical family is given a descriptive value according to the 'conceptual' usage of the term 'family'. (The aggregate of totals in columns II and III do not equal the total given in column I because in about 4% of cases it is not known whether members of families became emigrants.)

b A 'no-parent family' consisted of either several young siblings (under 13 years) living in the same household without parents, or a group of adult siblings (also possibly including children) living in the same household without parents - on condition that none of the siblings in residence had ever married. Strictly speaking, such groups are not 'families' in terms of the conceptual definition of a family because relationships between the individual members had not come about through either marriage or parenthood. However, as the individual members were likely to have belonged recently to the same family, and no new family had yet been formed, 'no-parent' families are given a special recognition.

Table 7.2 gives the frequency of different types of family included in the census-traced group. Each family is classified according to the marital status of and the children born to the family head. Column II isolates those families whose members included at least one emigrant. We see from Table 7.2 that 783 (or 53 per cent) of families in the census-traced group contained at least one emigrant member. Of the 783 designated family heads to these 'emigrant families' the majority (75.4 per cent) were also a household head. (A further 8.9 per cent were a head of a subsidiary family, 13.7 per cent were living in a 'non-familial' situation, and in 2 per cent of cases this information was unknown.)

The striking feature of Table 7.2 is that the majority of families containing emigrants consisted of wife, husband and children at census time (or alternatively the emigrants had given the address of such a family to the shipping authorities).[94] Only 13.7% of the 783 emigrant 'families' were in the 'single without child' (or 'non-familial') category. This gives a misleadingly low indication of the number of emigrants actually living in a no-family situation (as has been explained) but provides a useful upper limit on the proportion of adult individual emigrants who were likely to have lost all contact with their families or kin.

Table 7.2 suggests that among 'families' producing emigrants there is a slight over-representation of families headed by a widowed person compared to all families in the census-traced group.[95] The percentage of married couples without children is also slightly higher for emigrants' families, reflecting the tendency for emigration of complete

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[94]The 'married with children' category is boosted by about 20% by individuals assigned to their real families in the data base, but who were in fact living away from their families at census time or who were known to have left their family households after the census and prior to emigration.

[95]All members of households in which emigrants were located were included in the census-traced group. 'Families' in the census-traced group which were not the families of emigrants include related families living in the same household as the emigrant's familiy, lodgers, servants, the family of employers of emigrants, etc. Obviously this group of 'non-emigrant' families is not an ideal control against which to set the experience and characteristics of 'emigrant' families. But for reasons which were pointed out in Chapter Five this control is still a basis for useful comparisons.

families to occur at the beginning of the family life cycle.[96] Emigrant families accounted for 30 of 38 in the 'spouse absent, with children' category. Most of these families were headed by a woman while her husband was away. In over half of the emigrant families the husband was known to have already gone to New Zealand - paving the way for a complete family emigration.

Although Table 7.2 shows the structure of families in the census-traced group, it does not reveal 'who were' the emigrants from each of the 783 families producing emigrants. Attempts to provide this information in tabular form are given in Tables 7.3 and 7.4. In Table 7.3 emigrants from each of the 783 'emigrant families' are classified according to their family travel companions and family structural characteristics at departure time, with some reference made back in the individual categories (especially in sections A and D) to their family situation at the time of the census. There is not a direct correspondence between the categories in Table 7.2 and similar categories in Table 7.3 (although a good deal of overlap occurs)[97] because, for example, persons who are defined as living in a non-familial situation at census time were not necessarily 'lone travellers' on emigrant ships; they may have married and had children in the interim period, or they may have travelled to New Zealand with another sibling.

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[96]The percentage given in Table 7.2 understates the extent of emigration by young married couples without children because many emigrants married just prior to emigration and this usually would have occurred after the most recent census.

[97]The areas of overlap are shown below in Table 7.4.

TABLE 7.3. CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRANT FAMILIES (THE 'CENSUS TRACED' GROUP) AT DEPARTURE TIME: A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES - CHARACTERISED IN TERMS OF (FAMILY) TRAVEL COMPANIONS AND MARITAL STATUS OF A FAMILY 'FOCUS INDIVIDUAL' (BY DEFINITION AN EMIGRANT) AND WITH REFERENCE TO FAMILY SITUATION AT CENSUS TIME (EXPRESSED IN TERMS OF THE FOCUS INDIVIDUAL'S RELATIONSHIP TO A DESIGNATED FAMILY HEAD)[a]

	I. All Emigrant 'Families'		II. 'Families' headed by women (at census time)[b]
	n	%	n = 132 %
A. Lone Travellers[c]			
1. Single - non-familial at census	97	12.4	26.5
2. Single - adult son at census	219	28.0	33.3
3. Single - adult daughter at census	33	4.2	2.3
4. Married	18	2.3	1.5
5. Widowed	4	0.5	1.5
Subtotal	371	47.4	65.1
B. Travellers with some or all family members			
6. Single, with child(ren)	0	0.0	0.0
7. Widowed, with child(ren)	25	3.2	9.1
8. Married, with spouse and child(ren)	210	26.8	-
9. Married, with spouse only	26	3.3	-
10. Married - spouse absent - with child(ren) only	17	2.2	6.8
Subtotal	278	35.5	15.9
C. Travellers with siblings only			
11. Adult sons/male sibling groups	25	3.2	3.0
12. Adult daughters/female sibling groups	10	1.3	2.3
13. Combination - sons and daughters (includes 'no-parent' families)	27	3.4	4.5
Subtotal	62	7.9	9.8
D. Children of census family heads travelling with 'supplementary' household members[d]			
14. Adult son with 'supplementary' family	48	6.1	4.5
15. Adult daughter with 'supplementary' family	16	2.0	3.0
16. Son/daughter with 'supplementary family'; also with other son(s)/daughter(s)	8	1.0	1.6
Subtotal	72	9.1	9.1
TOTAL	783	99.9	99.9

(a) The 'focus individual' is the same person as the 'family head' if the family head was an emigrant.
In Table 7.3 each category of traveller is described in terms of a family in the conceptual sense, although each individual unit refers to a hierarchical family (i.e. in the sense of the data-base).

(b) Column II isolates families headed by women at census time, and from which at least one person emigrated.

(c) 'Lone' is in terms of other family members and does not exclude emigrants travelling in peer groups, or with an employer/employee, or with kin outside the conjugal family group.

(d) This group includes real families formed after the census and prior to emigration. 'Supplementary' household members are defined as such if they did not exist in terms of the case household at the time of the census on which household structure is based (for example a child born after the census).
Categories in 'D' are all young families who emigrated at the beginning of the life-cycle. Many would have been without children at the time of emigration. (They compensate for the unexpectedly low percentage in category 9.)

Table 7.3 suggests that a majority of 'lone travellers' (all, except those in category '1') are likely to have left close family members behind them in Scotland, members whose fortunes and opinions they probably took account of when making emigration decisions. Only about one quarter of the 'lone travellers' had been living in a non-familial situation at the time of the census and had also given their real household (as opposed to their real family) address to the shipping authorities. Lone travellers defined as 'married' or 'widowed' (only about 6 per cent of all those travelling alone) had been 'family heads' at census time. These unaccompanied, married emigrants were very likely to have acted as the precursors or else fulfilled the later stages of a phased family migration. This comment is also applicable to category '10', a group consisting mainly of women and children following the family 'breadwinner' abroad.

It is impossible to tell from the other categories in 'B' whether families had broken up temporarily on account of emigration. The occurrence of 'phased' family emigration is verified only in those cases which draw on a variety of sources (usually at least three) which show family experience at different points in time.[98] For the majority of cases in the census-traced group (about 57 per cent) it is impossible to confirm whether or not a phased (or chain) emigration of the family took place. Often this would depend on family life cycle. The parents and younger children of families in categories '7' and '8' of Table 7.3 might have followed an adult son or daughter to New Zealand. Alternatively middle or older children in these families might have stayed behind to finish schooling or an apprenticeship while their parents and siblings migrated first. Presumably families with only very young children would have had less need to split up and fewer strategies at their disposal for doing so. A narrow majority of families (53 per cent of those in category '8', and 50 per cent of all in 'B') were at the early life cycle stages, with all children under 10 or no children yet born at the time of the census.[99] These families would be unlikely to carry out the type of

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[98]The frequency of 'phased' emigration is shown in Appendix VI.V.

[99]These percentages are not based solely on information taken from the census. The main criterion for grouping families according to their stage of life cycle is the age of children known to have been *alive* at the time of the census (rather than the age of

phased family emigration in which a child or children became separated from their parents and siblings. Hence it is appropriate to claim that in a narrow majority of cases in 'B' the family head or spouse would be the figure most likely to make emigration decisions. (From these data it is of course impossible to make inferences about whether such decisions took any account of a wider circle of kin outside the immediate family.)

Emigrant families in 'D' are equally unpredictable with regard to strategies for the emigration of family and kin. By definition families in 'D' were all young married couples at the time of emigration (who travelled with or without children and/or siblings) and who had married since the census. At the time of the census either the husband or the wife was found unmarried in his or her parents' household. All families in 'D' emigrated at an early stage of the family life cycle when children were young and few. In only 11 per cent of cases in 'D' (corresponding with category '16') is it highly likely that other members of the household (as it existed at census-time) would have followed or preceded the known emigrants to New Zealand.

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children found living at home at census-time.) Families which were not yet formed at census-time are not included in the reckoning of the above percentages.

TABLE 7.4. FAMILY STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRANTS AT DEPARTURE, BY FAMILY STRUCTURE OF EMIGRANTS' FAMILIES AT CENSUS TIME[a] (THE 'CENSUS TRACED' GROUP)

	A. Lone Travellers (n) (%)			B. With Family (n) (%)				C. With Siblings (n) (%)			D. With Supplement. Family Members (n) (%)			Total (n) (%)
	1 - 3[b] Never Married	4 Married	5 Widowed	6 Single + child	7 Widowed + child	8 Married + spouse + child	9 Married + spouse	10 Married + child	11 Male siblings	12 Female siblings	13 Comb'n	14 Son + Supp.	15 Daughter + Supp.	16 Comb'n + Supp.	
Census family structure:															
Single without child	79 23.0	1 5.6				15 7.3	6 24.0		2 8.3	1 11.1	1 3.8			2[d] 25.0	107 13.9
Single with child	1 0.3														1 0.1
Widowed without child			3 75.0		1 4.0							1 2.1	1 6.3		6 0.8
Widowed with child	54 15.7				16 64.0	2[c] 1.0		1[c] 5.9	4 16.7	2 22.2	3 11.5	8 17.0	4 25.0	2 25.0	96 12.5
Married + spouse (without child)	4 1.2	3 16.7				4 1.9	10 40.0		1 4.2		1 3.8			1 12.5	24 3.1
Married + spouse + child	163 47.5	9 50.0	1 25.0		8 32.0	183 88.8	8 32.0	5 29.4	9 37.5	3 33.3	10 38.5	35 74.5	11 68.8	2 25.0	447 58.2
Married, without child, spouse absent		3 16.7					1 4.0								4 0.5
Married with child, spouse absent	10 2.9	2 11.1				2 1.0		11 64.7	1 4.2		2 7.7	2 4.3			30 3.9
No-parent family	32 9.3								7 29.2	3 33.3	9 34.6	1 2.1		1 12.5	53 6.9
Total (n) (%)	343 99.9	18 100.1	4 100.1	0	25 100.0	206 100.0	25 100.0	17 100.0	24 100.1	9 99.9	26 99.9	47 100.0	16 100.1	8 100.0	768 99.9

Notes to Table 7.4

a The table may be read horizontally or vertically although percentages (given as the second figure in every cell) are with respect to columns only (i.e. each family structure category at departure time is expressed in percentage terms according to family structure in Scotland).

b Column numbers are given for ease of comparison with Table 7.3. Note that the first three row categories given in Table 7.3. have been combined as one column category in Table 7.4.

c These persons, widowed at the time of the census, remarried before they left Scotland for New Zealand.

d In the two instances marked by 'd', the emigrant group included: a son or daughter found in the census away from the parental household (but living/working nearby), the spouse/children (defined as 'supplementary' household members) of that son or daughter, as well as siblings from the original parental household.

Table 7.4 is a cross-tabulation of the entries in Tables 7.2 and 7.3. This table enables a direct comparison between family structure at the time of emigration and family structure at the time of the census. It can be read horizontally - to see 'who' of the various family types at census time became the emigrants[100] - or vertically - to compare emigrants with the family situation they had left behind. (Percentages are given for the vertical totals.)

Table 7.4 shows a high correspondence between the row and similar column categories: for example, 88.8 per cent of emigrant families who travelled in 'husband, wife and child' groups lived in the same family type at census time; emigrants who travelled with siblings (but without parents) were more likely to have lived in 'no-parent' families than any other type of emigrant group. The table also gives an indication of the extent of change affecting family structure between the taking of the census and emigration: 32 per cent of widow(er)s travelling with children had lost their spouse fairly recently; several widowed persons had remarried since the census (reading horizontally); and a large proportion of the group 'married with spouse only' at census time travelled without children at emigration, suggesting that either no children had been born and survived in the interim period, or that these were older couples going out to join kin already settled in New Zealand.

Much of the variation as to 'who emigrates' with respect to family structure at census time (reading the table horizontally) is probably 'explained' by family life cycle stage at the time of the census. While 80.2 per cent of families classified as 'widow(er) and child(ren)' provided son(s) and daughter(s) only as emigrants (this includes the 'supplementary' categories), the corresponding figure for families consisting of both parents and child(ren) at census time was 52.1 per cent.

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[100]In instances when a phased family migration is known to have occurred, family structural characteristics at departure usually refer to those family members who emigrated soonest after the census.

Table 7.5 sets out life cycle categories based on Michael Anderson's delineation in *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire,*[101] and shows how these varied between all families in the census traced group, all families providing emigrants, and amongst the latter according to selected family categories as defined above for Table 7.3.

[101] op. cit.

TABLE 7.5 FAMILY LIFE CYCLE STAGE[a] (AT CENSUS PRECEDING DEPARTURE): OF ALL FAMILIES[b] IN THE 'CENSUS TRACED' GROUP, OF ALL FAMILIES PROVIDING EMIGRANTS, AND OF FAMILIES SELECTED ACCORDING TO CHARACTERISTICS AT DEPARTURE TIME.

	1. All families %	2. All families providing emigrants %	3. Family Head or spouse, with spouse /children[c] %	4. Adult son/ daughter[d] %	5. Adult sons/ daughters/ combn[e] %	6. Adult sons/ daughters + supplementary family members[f] %
Life cycle stage:						
1. Wife less than 45, childless	2.9	2.5	5.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
2. One child, less than 1.	2.3	2.1	4.8	0.0	0.0	0.0
3. All children less than 10	19.5	18.3	39.7	2.5	6.7	0.0
4. Some children less than 10, some // 10.	35.8	40.0	37.3	46.5	37.8	36.4
5. All children 10 or or over, some less than 20	19.6	21.6	8.7	30.7	28.9	36.4
6. All children 20 or over, or wife older than 45, no child at home	20.0	15.5	4.0	20.3	26.7	27.3
Total (n)	786	630	252	241	45	66
Total (%)	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.1	100.1

a These are based on M Anderson's categories (see *Family Structure in Nineteenth-Century Lancashire, op. cit.*). However, the life cycle classification used in Table 7.5 is determined according to children alive, rather than children at home at census time.

b Families in Table 7.5 exclude the 'non-familial' categories. (These take an invalid specification for the life-cycle variable.)

c This group is an amalgamation of family categories 6-10 (i.e. Section B) as specified for Tables 7.3 and 7.4.

d This group is an amalgamation of categories 2 and 3 as specified for Table 7.3.

e This group is an amalgamation of categories 11-13 (i.e. Section C) as specified for Tables 7.3 and 7.4.

f This group is an amalgamation of Section D as specified for Tables 7.3 and 7.4.

We see from Table 7.5 that families providing emigrants were biased towards life cycle 'stage 4', a period when families consisted of both young children under 10 years old and older children, some of whom would be capable of making a substantial contribution to a family budget by means of their labour or the contribution of a money wage. Arguably, either life cycle stage 4 or life cycle stage 3 was the period during which a family experienced greatest hardship. This would often depend on the number of children old enough to work, schooling and job expectations for children, and the ratio of 'breadwinners' to 'dependents' in a family.[102]

Families with few breadwinners in relation to dependents would have the most difficulty (all other things being equal) in meeting emigration costs for the entire family because assistance regulations were usually biased against families with large numbers of children too young to be counted as wage earning adults. Families who met this predicament by sending older children first to New Zealand may have boosted the 'life cycle stage 4' element in column 4 of Table 7.5. Nearly half of families whose sole representative at departure time was a single son or daughter (column 4),[103] and about 45 per cent of families providing several unmarried siblings as emigrants, had been at a 'middle' stage of life cycle at the preceding census (that is, at either life cycle stage '3' or '4' and with no child yet 20 years of age). By comparison, families in column 6 in Table 7.5 were somewhat older, suggesting a greater remove from general family concerns in the making of emigration decisions on the part of the young adult emigrants who left Scotland.

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[102]Michael Anderson identifies life cycle stage 3 as the period of greatest hardship for the typical family in nineteenth century Preston. (ibid.) In textile communities at mid century children were likely to earn high wages relative to their life-time earning potential at a young age. In addition their help at home from an early age might have freed a mother to go to work. So the time of greatest hardship would usually occur when both mother and young children were at home. Grace Belfiore, on the other hand, who studied Essex mill towns in the period after compulsory schooling was introduced, argues that life cycle stage 4 was the most difficult. 'Family Strategies and Compulsory Schooling in Essex Mill Towns', Paper given to the Economic and Social History Dept, University of Edinburgh, 4 Nov. 1983. It can also be argued that life cycle stage 6 held particular horrors.

[103]These families account for about one third of all families providing emigrants. See Table 7.3.

The effect of life cycle differences on 'who emigrates' in a family are generally predictable. One would expect that very young families often emigrated as a single entity while members of mature families were more likely to act separately. It is the exceptions to these patterns which are interesting.

Families in column 3 of Table 7.5 are noteworthy because they do not show a very high degree of life cycle predictability. These families share a common characteristic in that the family head (or spouse, or both spouse and head) at census time can without a doubt be numbered among the family members who became emigrants. In 50 per cent of cases the families in column 3 included children over 10 years old at the time of the census.[104] Many of these children would have had work experience in Scotland by the time their families came to emigrate, and by implication had reached an age when it would be feasible for them to make separate decisions from their parents and siblings. Of course, not all of these older children necessarily emigrated with their parents: some would have remained behind permanently, perhaps because they were already married or settled in secure jobs; others followed or preceded the family stage of emigration. On the other hand, it is highly unlikely that heads of families approaching a mature stage of life would have contemplated 15 000 miles of ocean travel and settlement in a foreign land had no older children intended to play a part in the process. Would they have gone whilst their prime investments for old age remained in Scotland?

Tables 7.3 to 7.5 indicate that family structure and family life cycle stage at census had a generally predictable but not wholly deterministic effect on 'who' in a family became the emigrants. To see if family structural characteristics at emigration can be 'explained' by factors other than family structure and family life cycle stage at the time of the

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[104]However a considerably smaller proportion of all nuclear families travelling on an emigrant ship to New Zealand included children over ten years of age. If families in column 3 (of Table 7.5) are grouped together with those in column 6 (which by definition consists of families which left Scotland at an early stage of life cycle), then 60.4% of all the families concerned were at life-cycle stage 1, 2 or 3 at the time of departure. (The corresponding figure for the 'total list' is about 67%.)

census the column categories of Table 7.4 were compared to a variety of other 'independent' variables such as gender and occupation of family head and regional location of the household

The gender figures (set out in Table 7.3) are of limited use because female headship was largely determined by family life cycle stage and family structural characteristics. Most female heads were either widows or in the non-familial category (ie living-in servants or kin to the household head). Families headed by women accounted for only about one sixth of all families providing at least one emigrant.

The most striking 'regional' effect was the apparent tendency for emigrants from the North-west and North-east Highlands to have been of subsidiary household status at the time of the census. The tendency for emigrant groups to include a member who had been a family head or a spouse of the family head was strongest for groups from the East Borders and East Lowlands,[105] and to a lesser extent from the central Highlands. Recently formed families on emigrant ships (these families include 'supplementary' members) were prominent among emigrants from Lowland Perth and the district around Aberdeenshire.[106] Regional variation in the family orientation of emigrants was strongly affected by regional variation in occupation distribution (although at the 'family' level of aggregation the numbers involved are often too small to sensibly permit a three-way crosstabulation of the data).

The distribution of family structural characteristics at emigration according to occupation of family head at census-time is given in Table 7.6.

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[105]This is according to Levitt and Smout's classification of regions, see Appendix Three.

[106]Other regional variations from the 'all-Scotland norm' (apart from these mentioned) are probably due to random fluctuation.

TABLE 7.6. FAMILY STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS OF EMIGRANTS IN THE 'CENSUS TRACED' GROUP AT DEPARTURE TIME, BY OCCUPATION[a] OF FAMILY HEAD AT CENSUS TIME, ALSO SHOWING PERCENTAGE OF FAMILIES PROVIDING NO EMIGRANT MEMBERS, BY OCCUPATION OF FAMILY HEAD[b].

		A. Lone Travellers (%)					B. With Family (%)					C. With Siblings (%)			D With Supplementary Family Members (%)					
	n1	1. Single	2. Son	3. Daughter	4. Married	5. Widowed	6. Single + children	7. Widowed + Chldn	8. Married + spouse + chldn	9. Married + spouse	10. Married + chldn	11 Sons	12 Daughters	13 Combn	14 Son + Supp	15 Daughter + Supp	16 Combn + Supp	Total %	n2	% of n2 with no emigrants
Farmers	72	1.4	43.1	5.6	1.4	0.0	0.0	5.6	16.7	1.4	1.4	2.8	0.0	1.4	11.1	6.9	1.4	100.2	86	17.4
Crofters	20	0.0	45.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	0.0	0.0	5.0	15.0	5.0	100.0	23	13.0
Farm workers	78	25.6	19.2	5.1	0.0	1.3	0.0	3.8	28.2	2.6	1.3	2.6	0.0	2.6	7.7	0.0	0.0	100.0	66	12.1
Miners & Quarriers	33	0.0	27.3	6.1	9.1	3.0	0.0	3.0	24.2	9.1	3.0	3.0	0.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	3.0	99.8	35	5.7
Building workers	47	6.4	14.9	4.3	2.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	42.6	2.1	0.0	4.3	0.0	6.4	12.8	4.3	0.0	100.2	48	8.3
Labourers	16	6.3	56.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	12.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.3	6.3	0.0	0.0	100.2	16	6.3
Manuf. Group P	84	9.5	17.9	6.0	3.6	0.0	0.0	3.6	44.0	3.6	0.0	1.2	0.0	2.4	7.1	1.2	0.0	100.1	88	13.6
Manuf. Group I	83	7.2	21.7	6.0	2.4	0.0	0.0	2.4	48.2	4.8	1.2	0.0	1.2	1.2	2.4	0.0	1.2	99.9	92	16.3
Transport Workers	32	6.3	37.5	6.3	3.1	0.0	0.0	3.1	25.0	0.0	6.3	3.1	3.1	3.1	3.1	0.0	0.0	100.0	35	14.3
Merchants	24	8.3	41.7	0.0	4.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.0	8.3	4.2	0.0	4.2	0.0	4.2	0.0	100.1	28	21.4
Retailers	39	10.3	35.9	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.1	25.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.6	12.8	0.0	2.6	100.0	47	25.5
Profess'ls et al	44	4.5	56.9	2.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.9	4.5	2.3	4.5	0.0	4.5	4.5	0.0	0.0	99.9	55	23.6
Clerical workers	28	3.6	21.4	3.6	10.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.6	7.1	7.1	0.0	7.1	3.6	3.6	0.0	3.6	100.0	29	6.9
Widows & dependents	39	17.9	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.1	5.1	2.6	5.1	5.1	2.6	5.1	12.8	2.6	2.6	99.9	44	27.3
Others[c]	45	42.2	20.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.2	17.7	0.0	0.0	2.2	6.7	4.4	4.4	0.0	0.0	99.8	32	12.5
Total	684	11.1	29.5	4.2	2.2	0.3	0.0	2.8	28.4	3.1	1.9	2.3	1.2	3.1	6.9	2.0	1.0	100.1	724	15.7

Notes to Table 7.6

n1 = Number of families providing at least one emigrant (including single persons in a non-familial situation at census time).

n2 = Number of families in the census-traced group - excluding single person families in a non-familial situation - and including families providing no emigrants.

a For details of occupational classification, see Appendix Four. But, note that in the above table:-

- 'farm workers' include status groups 1 and 2;
- building management jobs (architecture, surveying, etc.) are grouped with professionals;
- tradesmen in manufacturing group 'P' had 'pre-industrial' or unchanging skills, while tradesmen in manufacturing group 'I' worked in industries (such as textiles and shipbuilding) where skill requirements were changing;
- 'retailers' were mainly proprietors in retail, but this group includes assistants to retailers (under 10%) and lodging-house keepers, innkeepers etc.;
- public service officials (group 1), army and navy officers and managers in building and manufacturing are included with 'professionals' - essentially a 'middle-class' group;
- 'clerical workers' include public service officials (group 2), professionals (group 2 - e.g. teachers), assistants to professionals (e.g. legal clerks), and all clerical workers whether in commerce, industry or transport.
- 'others' include other rural workers, domestic and other servants (including outdoor servants), army and navy men, paupers.

b As in Tables 7.2 to 7.4 each 'family' refers to a data-base family in a hierarchical sense (except in n2). However, families are described as closely as possible with respect to real family structural characteristics at departure time, with implicit reference to family structure at census time. Each family has one and not more than one family head.

c Of the 19 'others' in column '1' (representing 42.2% of all 'others'), 17 were living-in domestic servants.

Despite the small size of many of the cells, Table 7.6 suggests some striking differences between families, with respect to which members became the emigrants, depending on the occupation of the family head.

We have seen that families in section 'B' include both young and mature families. These families account for 36.2 per cent of all emigrant families shown in Table 7.6. However, several occupation groups include a proportion of families in category 'B' which deviates markedly from the average 36.2 per cent figure. If the family head at census time was a farmer, professional/independent or a widow it was relatively unlikely that the family as a whole would undertake emigration.[107] The opposite is true in cases where the family head was categorised as a building worker, a craftsman (with either 'pre-industrial' or 'changing' skills) or a clerical worker. Other groups hover about the expected percentage: farm workers and miners for example are fully represented amongst the 'family' groups while merchants, retailers and transport workers are slightly under-represented.

To some extent these effects are due to the propensity for certain occupations to be biased towards a later or earlier life cycle stage. The status of farmer or merchant, for example, was frequently acquired by individuals fairly late in life, perhaps after years working in other occupations or following the receipt of a family inheritance. Widows, similarly, were usually the heads of older families, and as we have seen, there is a clear correlation between older families and tendency for the family head not to have been an emigrant. A further disaggregation of

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[107]The same might also be said of families headed by labourers or crofters but the number of family heads with these occupations are too few for results to be reliable. Table 7.6 illustrates the emigration process at only two points in time, i.e. the day of the census and the time of departure of family members for destinations abroad. The practice of 'phased' family emigration (especially the type whereby the an adult son preceded other family members abroad) was more common among families headed by farmers than most other families. Because Table 7.6 does not show 'phased' emigration, the observations given may be misleading with regard to farming families. In contrast to families headed by farmers, families headed by professionals were less likely than any other occupation category to follow adult sons abroad. However, families headed by professionals were more likely than most to practice the type of phased family emigration whereby a husband paved the way.

the data given in Table 7.6 according to the stage of life cycle of each family, suggested that the performance of the different occupation categories was largely independent of life cycle. However, in the case of two groups, namely professionals and widows, life cycle effects probably did account for most of the variation shown in Table 7.6.[108]

If emigration decisions were not made for the family in its entirety, for whom were they made? A large proportion of Scottish families (nearly 30 per cent) provided only one emigrant - an adult son. Whether he left Scotland for New Zealand on his own account, or whether he was fulfilling the first or later stage of a more complete family emigration, cannot be ascertained from Table 7.6. The emigration of a sole adult son was particularly prevalent for some occupation groups: namely professionals, farmers and merchants, and to a lesser extent retailers and transport workers. Did these sons of (in general) a more middle class type of family providing emigrants go out to New Zealand to establish 'the other branch' in the colonies? Were they encouraged to go by fathers and uncles eager to make provision for 'surplus' sons and relatives reaching adulthood in an increasingly 'anxious' middle class world? These impressions, gleaned from emigrants' testimonies, are supported by the data provided in Table 7.6.

A single daughter was a far less common phenomenon amongst the family categories than a single son. Although total numbers in the 'census-traced' group are too small to be reliable, Table 7.6 suggests that daughters, whether in ones or twos, were particularly unlikely to leave the fold of those same professional and merchanting families whose aspiring or 'ne'er do well' sons had gone abroad.[109] Wakefield would

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[108]The numbers involved in this three-way breakdown of the data are often too small too be meaningful, and the points made in this paragraph are based on 'intuitive' reckoning.

[109]The label 'ne'er do well' was often used in the literature promoting emigration to describe a class of 'idle' young men, often from middle class backgrounds (the 'troublesome sprigs'), who were likely to become 'hotel loungers', and who were 'not wanted' in the colonies. The implication is that settler societies always received a good proportion of these 'surplus relatives'.

> 'Broken-down merchants, family scapegraces, younger sons who have failed to get into either the army or the church - these have too generally constituted the bulk of our human freightage to the colonies.'

Arthur Clayden, *The England of the Pacific or New Zealand as an English Middle Class Emigration Field* (London, 1879), p. 6.

have been disappointed. His theories of systematic colonisation and planned emigration for the 'better sort' were devised precisely to meet the needs of a struggling element among the middle classes, particularly those for whom large families were an embarrassment. The portionless daughters of this group, Wakefield argued, were forced to accept an 'unnatural chastity' due to the desperate shortage of suitable marriage candidates and these girls were among the most unfortunate of society's victims.[110]

Girls who travelled outwith the bounds of immediate family seem likely to have come from a background where they would be expected to contribute more in terms of labour or earnings than the typical household and domestic management duties of middle class daughters. The numbers in Table 7.6 are too few to be conclusive, but suggest nevertheless, that in families headed by tradesmen (groups both 'P' and 'I'), miners and farm workers, a daughter or daughters were between one fifth and one third as likely to have become the family's representatives as emigrants as a son or sons. Farmers, transport workers and retailers were also among those family heads who were over-represented (compared to the total Scottish percentage) in the provision of emigrant daughters. Girls from all these families are likely to have played an active part in a family business (serving in the shop, taking butter to market) or alternatively to have contributed earnings from employment outside the family to a joint family budget. Girls were also reasonably represented amongst lone travellers who had lived away from their families at census time. About one fifth of emigrants in category '1' had been in private domestic service at the time of the census and a further 5 per cent were young women living with kin.

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'There is not in the world a more deplorable sight than a fine brood of English girls turning into old maids one after the other; first reaching the bloom of beauty and full of health...; next striving anxiously aided by their mothers to become honoured and happy wives; then fretting, growing thin, pale, lifeless and cross, and last, if they do not go mad or die of consumption, seeking consolation in the belief of an approaching millennium...'

E. G. Wakefield, *England and America: A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations* 2 vols (London, 1833), 103-4. Wakefield's remedy for these girls was marriage in the colonies where the sex ratio was the reverse of the English situation.

Work experience in Scotland was a characteristic which young, single women travelling without their parents had in common.

Entire families (that is, those which include the family head) or a single son or daughter leaving the family fold account for 69.9 per cent of all emigrant groups in Table 7.6. Sibling groups accounted for a further 6.6 per cent, and young families which were formed just prior to emigration, another 9.9 per cent.

Numbers are too few for reliable statements about the occupation distribution of sibling groups, although it should be noted that the background of emigrants who travelled with a brother or sister do not correspond directly with the background of adult children who travelled alone. For example, daughters from 'middle class' backgrounds do not show the above noted lack of propensity to become an emigrant if they could travel in the company of their brothers. Four of the eight families which provided several daughters for New Zealand were headed by women: one was widowed and three worked in the domestic service sector (two were 'laundry women').

An emigration decision was often a life cycle decision corresponding with the end of an apprenticeship or other formal training, leaving home, or marriage. Categories in 'D' show the parents' occupation of emigrants whose decision to marry occurred just before, or in conjunction with, a decision to emigrate. Table 7.6 shows that the sons (and sometimes the daughters) of farmers, building tradesmen, other tradesmen with 'pre-industrial' skills (blacksmiths, cabinet makers and so on) were over-represented amongst those who 'married and emigrated'.

The remaining 13.6 per cent of emigrant types were lone travellers. Of those who had been living outwith a real family unit at census time over one quarter were in farm service situations, and a further 20 per cent were in private domestic service.[111] The numbers are again too few to allow precision about the occupations of widowers or married persons

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[111]These percentages are calculated by working the figures vertically instead of horizontally.

who left families behind in Scotland. However, it should perhaps be pointed out with respect to the latter (and to discussion in Section 7.2.1) that the practice of leaving a spouse (and children) in Scotland can hardly be confirmed as a 'middle class' phenomenon, although (compare category '10') there is some evidence that middle class wives actually followed their husbands.

7.3.2 Households and Family Members

Altogether there are 4111 individuals[112] who can be associated with the 693 households in the 'census-traced' group. Approximately half of these individuals are known to have become emigrants.

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[112]This excludes the 'supplementary' persons whose association with a household began after the census.

TABLE 7.7 RELATIONSHIP TO HOUSEHOLD HEAD: A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP ACCORDING TO GENDER AND EMIGRANT STATUS.

	Non-emigrants				Emigrants			
	Male		Female		Male		Female	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Head [a]	303	1.1	63	5.1	232	20.8	18	2.3
Spouse	2	0.2	251	20.3	2	0.2	197	25.1
Child	394	40.5	453	36.7	614	55.0	419	53.4
Parent(-in-law)	9	0.9	19	1.5	2	0.2	6	0.8
Sibling(-in-law)	15	1.5	35	2.8	18	1.6	20	2.5
Child(-in-Law)	3	0.3	5	0.4	2	0.2	3	0.4
Niece/Nephew	7	0.7	13	1.1	16	1.4	7	0.9
Grandchild	20	2.1	26	2.1	20	1.8	7	0.9
Other kin [b]	3	0.3	19	1.5	2	0.2	3	0.4
Visiting kin [c]	0	0.0	2	0.2	1	0.1	4	0.5
Paying/working kin [d]	7	0.7	10	0.8	5	0.4	1	0.1
Visitor	10	1.0	12	1.0	2	0.2	1	0.1
Lodger or Boarder	43	4.4	14	1.1	20	1.8	3	0.4
Gen or domestic servant	6	0.6	203	16.4	0	0.0	18	2.3
Farm servant	56	5.7	15	1.2	20	1.8	0	0.0
Other servant [e]	18	1.8	33	2.7	6	0.5	3	0.4
Equal status [f]	4	0.4	0	0.0	3	0.3	0	0.0
Absent-head/spouse [g]	3	0.3	2	0.2	8	0.7	1	0.1
Absent-child	60	6.2	50	4.0	121	10.8	49	6.2
Absent-other kin	11	1.1	10	0.8	23	2.1	25	3.2
Totals - excluding missing and 'supplementary' [h]	974	99.8	1235	99.9	1117	100.1	785	100.0

a The number of emigrant household heads slightly exceeds the number given in Table 7.1 because about 2% of all individuals recorded in Table 7.7 took the 'less reliable' range of values for the variable 'relationship to household head'. (Because these individuals belong to dummy households, real information about them is not available at 'household level', from which Table 7.1 derives.)

b 'Other kin' include all residents in a household who were more distantly related to the household head than a parent, grandchild, sibling or sibling's child (and the equivalent 'in-laws').

c Whenever kin are known to have been visiting rather than resident in the household, they are isolated (irrespective of degree of closeness to the household head).

d Servants, apprentices, lodgers, etc. known to have been kin of the household head are also isolated. (There is an inevitable overlap of categories because kin living in a household were likely to do their share of household duties; similarly, kin relationships between the household head and servants, visitors, etc, are not always discernable.)

e The 'other servant' category includes apprentices, assistants, butlers, nursery maids etc and also children of servants.

f Some households (for example, bothies) had no discernable household head, so inmates are each attributed with 'equal status'.

g 'Absent' persons are those assigned to the household even though they were away temporarily at census time.

h 'Supplementary' persons, for example those who joined the household after the census or who are associated with households formed since the census, are excluded from the table.

Table 7.7 shows that the majority of the emigrants had been living in their family homes at census time. In particular, children of the household head were over-represented amongst emigrants compared with other family and household members who remained behind. About 5 per cent of emigrants whose relationship to the household head was that of 'a child' were in fact either a step-child of the household head or a child from a former marriage. This is considerably more marked for girls than for boys, suggesting that girls who became emigrants were more often 'insecure' compared to their male counterparts.[113]

About 6 per cent of male and 6.5 per cent of female emigrants had been living in a household headed by a member of their kin at census time (compared with 6.5 per cent of men and 10.4 per cent of women amongst non-emigrants in the census-traced group).[114] Altogether nearly one quarter of male and between one fifth and one sixth of female emigrants were of kin, visitor, lodger, or servant status at the time of the census preceding their emigration. (These proportions include young adults who were absent from home at census time and for whom the precise relationship to their residential household head is not known.) Emigrants in these various categories can be described, using Michael Anderson's phrase, as having 'intermediate residential status' just prior to their emigration. Anderson identifies this status as largely specific to a particular stage of life-cycle, and he shows that the 'in-between' stage of life was statistically protracted in mid-nineteenth

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[113]The figure for girls was 8%, and for boys, not quite 3%.

[114]Michael Anderson's sample of the 1851 census suggests that about 5.9% of the population of Britain at mid-century lived as relatives in a somebody else's household. Anderson's data are more likely to underestimate kin relationships between household members than the 'census-traced' group because reliance on just one source means that 'distant' kin relationships are less obvious than when a variety of sources are 'linked'. This is especially so with regard to kin who had a declared functional relationship with the household head, say as a servant or paying lodger. On the other hand, the mean size of households in the census-traced group (5.8 persons) was considerably larger than that for the sample of the 1851 census (4.8 persons), so it is not surprising that there were more kin living in the households in which emigrants were found compared to the household experience of the population at large. Appendix VI.I compares the extent of kin co-residence in the households of the census-traced group with similar data collected by the Cambridge Group for the Study of Population and Social Structure. This appendix also shows that the presence of kin in emigrant's household varied markedly according to the occupation of the household head.

century Britain (and earlier), compared with modern life cycle patterns and expectations by the 1970s.[115]

The proportions given in Table 7.8 above are an underestimate of emigrants at an 'in-between' stage of the life cycle, and by implication an underestimate of those for whom emigration decisions went hand-in-hand with individual decisions about jobs, leaving home, migration and marriage. Some 60 male and 25 female emigrants who lived in their parents' homes at census time are known to have left home prior to emigration, either to find work or to marry. (Undoubtedly other adult children left home after the census and before emigration for whom this behaviour was not identified; also many young emigrants who left Scotland direct from their parents' households would have left home in any case had they not decided to emigrate.) A further 37 emigrant men and 68 emigrant women in the 'supplementary' category were adults who entered (for example as servants) or married into the case household sometime after the census. All these groups, taken together with those actually identified at census time as having 'intermediate residential status', represent 27.5 per cent of male and 26.9 per cent of female emigrants, and about two fifths of all emigrants if children under 13 and adults over 40 years are excluded from the calculations.

From Table 7.7 then we see that about three quarters of all emigrants were living with their families at census time, and that a further 12 per cent 'away' at census time retained affiliation with their families (by implication, because they gave their families' addresses to the shipping authorities). Of the emigrants classified as having a kin, lodger, visitor or servant relationship to the household head, 27 per cent were co-residing with either a parent (who was not the household head), a spouse or a child. Hence, nine out of ten of all emigrants can be said to have maintained family connections before their emigration.

On the other hand, even in the census-traced group (which tends to under-represent this element), over one quarter of all emigrants had been at a life cycle stage between child status and family or household headship at the time of the Scottish census preceding their emigration.

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[115]Anderson, 'Modern Life Cycle', op. cit. esp. pp. 82-4.

This was a stage in life during which they were not necessarily dependent on, nor responsible for, any other human being. It is this group whose responsibility to a wider family (or kin) network, in particular to the 'auld folk' at home, is in question.

It was suggested in Section 7.2.2 above that young, unmarried emigrants, and the heads of young families, may have felt few qualms about leaving aged or potentially dependent kin in Scotland if siblings or other close kin on whom responsibility could also fall, remained behind. We cannot know from quantitative surveys whether or not family members actually discussed and devised together some mutually agreed or compromise plan of provision for each other in the long term future. Perhaps, more often than not, those who became the bestowers of direct care and company for kin assumed these positions by default, because the older or male members of the family had already left to make their 'way in the world'. Evidence as to the size of families to which emigrants belonged, and the parity of birth of the emigrants themselves, bears indirectly on these issues and provides a background for their assessment.

The mean, median and modal family sizes of emigrants' families[116] (including parents) living at home on census night were 5.2, 5 and 6 persons repectively, slightly bigger averages than the corresponding measures of central tendency measured for families in the census-traced group which did not include emigrants: these are 4.8, 5 and 3.[117] The total number of children born to each family by census time (this includes family members living away from home) shows a similar discrepancy between families which did and families which did not contain emigrants. For example, the mean number of children born is 5.1 for families providing emigrants and 4.7 for families in the census-traced group which did not include emigrants.[118] The pattern of slightly bigger families living in one household and slightly more children ever

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[116]The term family is used here in the 'conceptual' as opposed to the 'hierarchical' sense, i.e. persons living in a non-familial situation or a 'no-parent' family at census time are excluded from the calculations.

[117]Family size is a different measure from household size given in note 114 above. (According to the definitions adopted for this study, 'households' include servants. lodgers etc; 'families' do not.)

[118]Calculations exclude families with no children born at census-time.

born with respect to families providing emigrants, and as opposed to families from which no person emigrated, hold true irrespective of family life cycle stage at census time.[119]

In instances when the family head or spouse did not appear to emigrate, and hence, an adult child or children were the only family members to leave Scotland, the bias towards larger numbers of children (and bigger families at census time) amongst emigrant compared to non-emigrant families in the census-traced group becomes more pronounced. The mean total of children born to families providing a single son or daughter, several sons or daughters, or son(s) and/or daughters some of whom married just before emigration (who travelled with 'supplementary' persons) was 6.5, 6.7 and 6.8 children, respectively.[120] In these three categories only 7.1 per cent, 11.6 per cent and 3.7 per cent of emigrants had fewer than three siblings alive at the census preceding their departure. This suggests that even young adults who left Scotland solely on their own or their own young family's account could depart with easy consciences: the 'auld folk' at home were seldom left wholly alone.

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[119]At life-cycle stages 3 to 6 (see Table 7.5 above for definitions) the median number of persons in a family at home at census-time, and of children born to a family at census time were respectively for families providing emigrants: 4 and 2 (life cycle stage 3), 7 and 6 (life cycle stage 4), 4 and 5 (life cycle stage 5), and 3 and 5 (life cycle stage 6). For families which did not include emigrants the median pairs are: 3 and 2 (life cycle stage 3), 6 and 5 (life cycle stage 4), 3 and 2 (life cycle stage 5), and 2 and 4 (life cycle stage 6). (The number of 'non-emigrant' families at life cycle stage 5 and 6 are too few to discount the possibility that results are due to randon error.)

[120]The corresponding median and modal figures are 6 and 7, 6 and 6, and 6 and 6.

Rosalind Mitchison has used information about parity of birth (a demographic term which refers to the position of a child baptised/born with respect to siblings) as indicative of changes in family size in the Scottish Lowlands in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Her data for the industrial parishes of Kilmarnock and Barony are derived from birth registers filled out during the first year of compulsory registration in Scotland (1855). These data are included in Table 7.8.[121]

[121]Rosalind Mitchison explains inconsistencies in the parish data in her chapter in Flinn et al., *Scottish Population History from the Seventeenth Century to the 1930s* (Cambridge, 1977), p. 286. The position of the child in the family usually but not always relates to the children of the father rather than the mother, dead children are usually included in the tally, and there is often no differentiation between children in the same family born to different marriages. For consistencies sake, the data relating to the parity of birth of emigrants and the members of their families and households also incorporate a patrilineal and Wordworthian view of the family. Hence, position in a family is deemed in relation to the father rather than the mother, and if their existence is known, children who had died by census time are included in the calculations.

TABLE 7.8 PARITY OF BIRTH OF NON-EMIGRANTS, ALL EMIGRANTS, AND EMIGRANTS WHO TRAVELLED WITHOUT THEIR CENSUS-TIME FAMILY HEADS ('CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP), COMPARED WITH PARITY OF BIRTH OF INDIVIDUALS BORN IN KILMARNOCK AND BARONY, 1855.

	n	1st or 2nd child %	3rd or 4th child %	5th or 6th child %	7th or later child %	Total
Non-emigrants	958	39.8	29.0	18.3	13.0	100.0
All emigrants	1371	46.7	27.4	15.3	10.7	99.9
Adult son	186	52.2	29.0	10.2	8.6	100.0
Adult daughter	25	44.0	20.0	36.0	0.0	100.0
Son(s)/Daughter(s)	81	29.6	40.7	18.5	11.1	99.9
Son(s)/Daughter(s) + 'supplementary family members'	110	58.2	17.3	10.9	13.6	100.0
Kilmarnock[a] - births, 1855		33.8	27.3	19.3	19.6	100.0
Barony[a] - births, 1855		35.6	26.0	19.9	18.5	100.0

a Rosalind Mitchison includes missing values in her percentage distribution and no longer has the totals from which the percentages are calculated. To ensure greater comparability between her figures and those derived from the emigration data-base, a new series of percentages for Barony and Kilmarnock are estimated for the above table with missing values excluded. (My thanks are due to Rosalind Mitchison for allowing me to manipulate her percentages in this way.)

One interpretation of Table 7.8 is that both emigrants and non-emigrants in the census-traced group came from somewhat smaller families than were typical in mid nineteenth century Barony and Kilmarnock. This is because relatively more individuals in the census-traced group were a first or second born child and relatively fewer were a fifth or later child compared to children born in the two industrial parishes in 1855. On the other hand, the clustering of emigrants towards the first or second child may be due in part to life cycle effects: many families left Scotland when their children were young, before a fifth or later child had had a chance to be born! However, the differences between emigrants and non-emigrants shown in Table 7.8 cannot be entirely explained by life cycle. Adult children who travelled without their parents came from families at a 'middle' or 'mature' stage of the life cycle, and these families had on average one to two more children than the average calculated for all families providing emigrants. Yet unmarried adult sons, and sons and/or daughters who married just prior to emigration, were even more inclined to be a first or second child than the distribution for all emigrants.

There are two possible explanations for this unexpected result. First, it could be due to the effect of an older son paving the way for a more complete family emigration. Table 7.9 shows that those who are known to have initiated a family emigration were more likely to have been older than younger children: compare rows one and three.

TABLE 7.9 BIRTH PARITY BY EMIGRANT STATUS (THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP

	n	1st or 2nd child %	3rd or 4th child %	5th or 6th child %	7th or later child %	Total %
Emigrant:[a] 1st in family	973	50.4	26.5	14.2	8.9	100.0
Emigrant: probably 1st	139	45.3	32.4	16.5	5.8	100.0
Emigrant: follows family	155	36.1	24.5	19.4	20.0	100.0
Emigrant: probably 2nd or later	84	29.8	34.5	17.9	17.9	100.0
Emigrant: family status unknown	20	25.0	25.0	20.0	30.0	100.0
Likely to emigrate	246	23.6	35.8	26.8	13.8	100.0
Unlikely to emigrate	337	40.1	29.7	17.8	12.5	100.1
Never an emigrant	621	39.6	28.7	18.5	13.2	100.0

a Includes individuals whose entire family emigrated together

Secondly, the results shown in Table 7.9 could reflect a situation in mid to late nineteenth century Scotland where opportunity structures rendered the prospect of emigration to New Zealand a highly desirable rather than a second or last resort alternative.

Much of the mythology concerning emigration assumes that emigrants were younger sons. This may be true of middle class emigrants for whom 'the colonies', like the civil service, the church or the army provided an option for those who stood not to inherit. Perhaps the mythology has more relevance for England than Scotland. A breakdown of emigrants classified as 'adult sons' according to the occupations of their fathers sheds no further light on this puzzle. The numbers in each occupation group are too few to be decisive, and for most occupations still shows a clear correlation between emigrants and older children. A regional distribution of birth parity is similarly unhelpful.

The pattern of older children becoming emigrants does not hold for daughters, although once again the 'sample' is too small to be reliable in this respect. Emigration may have been a less desirable, more a last resort alternative for young women compared to young men. This idea was mooted in an Chapter Six, and still requires investigation.

A systematic study of probate records and tenancy agreements in conjunction with family and emigration records might be revealing as to why some members of middle class families became emigrants while others did not. Often detailed case studies yield information about inheritance, and some which relate to farming families on Lord Breadalbane's estates in highland Perthshire support an oral informant's fascinating claim that by tradition in that area youngest sons usually inherited the lease on their fathers' land.[122]

Robert King, the fourth surviving son of the tenant of 'Longside', Muthill, near Braco inherited the lease on a 1300 acre sheeprun of

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[122]Interview with Mrs A. Wylie, wife of a former minister of Tibbermore parish (Sept. 1982).

which at least part had been in the King family for several generations.[123] His older brothers took up various skilled or proprietorial jobs (one became a master baker at Braco), married and moved away. In 1841 Robert and an older brother were living in a small cottage adjacent to the 'Longside' farm steading. They are described by the census enumerator as 'agricultural labourers'. By 1851, aged 32 and still unmarried, Robert was back in the main household and the only son at home. Also resident at 'Longside' in 1851 were his father (described as the household head and a 'farmer of 60 acres arable, 800 moor') and his father's sister-in-law, aged 72, and described as 'housekeeper'. (In 1841 when relationship to household head was not recorded this woman is listed simply as a female servant, and her kinship status within the King household is not discernable.) Several grandchildren 'at school' (perhaps in nearby Braco), a housemaid and her visiting mother, and a family of lodgers headed by a 'beggar formerly calico printer' made up the household's complement. Within ten years Robert had taken over the headship and the leasehold of 'Longside'. He had married and fathered several children, and his own father, still living on the farm, is listed in the 1861 census as a 'boarder'. The tradition of nieces and nephews abiding at 'Longside' continued under Robert's headship: some were 'scholars' and others farm servants, but they were not the same group as had been on the farm in 1851.[124]

This example illustrates how nuances of authority and reciprocation between kin and family members can be partially reflected in household structure. But what sort of assistance did Robert's older brothers have from their father, and were filial obligations expected of Robert towards their children because he had been the one to take over the family farm ?

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[123]'Longside' was in the registration district of Muthill before 1871, and in Ardoch thereafter. In the 1871 census Ardoch is described as a farm of 1300 acres in moorland and 30 acres in arable.

[124]GRO, Cen. ('Longside', Muthill) 1841/386^{a}/10, 1851/279/2/24, 1861/386^{a}/9/1, (Ardoch) 1871/328^{b}/1/60; (Braco Village, Muthill) 1851/279/10/6. Data relating to this family from the old parish registers, ships' lists, newspapers and wills, courtesy of P. Brent Gow of Dunedin. Information also derives from K. C. McDonald, *Cairn of Remembrance. The Story of the Southland McKerchars* (Oamaru, 1970), in OESM collection.

Post-improvement tenancy agreements institutionalised family inheritance strategies (such as the designation of a single 'favoured' heir) which had traditionally maintained the viability of family run farms. A lease of 1815, for example, granted by Hunter-Blair of Dunskey to a tenant in Stranraer decreed the lease as granted to:

> Peter Wither and his heirs, whether by line or by appointment, but always without division ... and sub-tenants of every description.[125]

Appointment of a younger son as the chosen heir may have occurred simply by default, because older brothers had to make life cycle decisions (which might include emigration) while their fathers were still alive and still fit enough to maintain the tenancy. Outside highland Perthshire forms of primogeniture in the passing on of leases seemed prevalent, although in some half dozen instances the oldest and the youngest of the male siblings remained longer than other brothers on the family farm. Possibly this was because the eldest son had been marked for inheritance, while the younger stayed on by 'default' since middle siblings had already established themselves elsewhere.

Tenancies could also be shared. At the end of the nineteenth century an agreement on the farm that had become 'Awhirk-Barmore' in the parish of Stoneykirk, Stranraer, was between the oldest and the youngest Wither sons and the representatives of the laird. Stipulated in the lease was a provision that the heirs of the survivor of the two brothers would inherit the tack. This obviously favoured the younger brother, especially as there was a 22 year age difference between the two. Thirteen children of that particular Wither 'cohort' (born to the same parents between 1839 and 1863) survived to adulthood. Eight were male and it was the second son, John Wither who emigrated to New Zealand.[126]

Emigration from the rural Lowlands to New Zealand often took place in the context of tenancy agreements, but more work could be done to

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[125]Wither Family Papers, private collection.
[126]GRO, Cen. (Stoneykirk) 1861/898/11/4, 1871/898/11/18; Family bible, tenancy and other legal documents, letters from New Zealand, Wither Collection

establish why and how families reached the decisions they did about inheritance, which members wielded bargaining power in the decision making, and what this process reveals about family and kin relationships and obligations in the nineteenth century. There is not yet enough evidence to conclude that the frequency of first born sons to become emigrants related to inheritance practices and expectations, although this idea warrants further investigation.

Of the eight Wither sons, two stayed on the family farm, one married into the tenancy of a neighbour, one became a cheese merchant in London, one a banker in Stranraer, another an ironmonger, one emigrated to New Zealand, while the last, a tubercular patient, was cared for by kin both in Scotland and on the other side of the world. John Wither went to New Zealand to 'get gold', and he spent the rest of his life raising sheep in the hill country above Lake Wakitipu in central Otago. There is no question that his decision to leave Scotland was prompted by any member of his family besides himself, but that did not stop him sending his first years wages back to his father in Stranraer.[127]

7.3.3 Conclusion

Household data provide partial evidence as to the family and kinship context in which emigration decisions were made. Most emigrants travelled with or left close kin behind them in Scotland; less than 10 per cent of all emigrants located in Scottish records left no trace of any family or kinship connection. Emigration decisions were seldom prompted in situations typified by the complete absence of kin at home.

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> 'We had the Blessing of very kind parents, Papa was always about our spiritual and temporal welfare... I never regretted sending him my first years earnings'

Written on reflection about 50 years after his emigration, John Wither to Tom, Ada and Jim Wither, 23 July, 1919. 'Awhirk' farm in 1871 consisted of 370 acres of which 300 were in arable. In addition, Wither senior acquired the neighbouring farm of 'Barmore' in his lifetime, and he also moved his large family into a bigger farm house. The monetary contribution from New Zealand is unlikely to have made very much difference to the welfare of the family back in Scotland and yet John Wither had felt compelled to do his part.

About three quarters of emigrants were actually living with their families at the census preceding their emigration. Hence, it is fair to conclude that emigration decisions, whether or not they were made to escape, or to accommodate, the needs and demands of family members who remained in Scotland, were rarely made without some reference to a family situation beyond that implied by the nominal listings of emigrants in ships' records.

Life cycle, family structure and occupation of family head were important determinants of 'who' became the emigrants from each family. Property holding, high status and female heads of 'mature' families were unlikely to become emigrants. This does not mean they held no influence over those members of their families (usually sons) who did contemplate leaving Scotland: emigrants' testimonies suggest the contrary.

About half of the cases of 'complete' family emigration (defined as such if the family head at census time could be numbered among the emigrants) occurred when the family was at a 'middle' or 'mature' stage of the life cycle. This implies that emigration decisions were not always the prerogative of the family head. Also, about one third of all emigrants (whether or not they travelled with their families) left Scotland at a stage in life when they would be expected to make 'independent' as well as 'family' life cycle decisions. It is probable that in some instances these young people were the innovators of 'complete' family emigration.

Young, unmarried emigrants (such as John Wither) who left families behind them in Scotland were often older children, whose younger siblings remained behind. This pattern cannot yet be explained in terms of chain emigration or inheritance expectations, but it is supportive of a new working hypothesis: emigration need not be thought of as the guilty abandonment of the 'auld folk at home', but as a positive and optimistic life decision sometimes taken for the benefit of those left behind.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSIONS

As outlined in the introduction, the thesis has two broad concerns. First it is a case-study of European emigration in the nineteenth century. Second, it is an examination of an important aspect of Scottish (and New Zealand) history.

Perhaps the most striking conclusion to arise from the case-study is that the Scots as emigrants had a number of characteristics which mark them as distinct from other national groups leaving Europe in the mid to late nineteenth century. First, the number of Scots who left Scotland in our period was not only high in relation to the size of the home population, but also sustained, compared to rates of emigration elsewhere. Secondly, Scottish emigrants in the nineteenth century seem to exhibit a willingness, almost an eagerness, to try out new destinations and to take risks. This is suggested by the observation that Scots went to a greater diversity of destinations than probably any other European (and certainly any other UK) national group. Also supporting this idea is the apparent speed with which new emigration streams between Scotland and other countries were established: the Scotland/New Zealand connection which developed in the 1840s is a case in point.

The third distinctive characteristic of the Scots as emigrants might almost be described as 'canniness'. The Scots seem to have been particularly adept at making decisions about emigration execution which were most likely to lead to the fulfilment of their aspirations. For example, there is evidence that Scottish emigrants frequently sought information about different destinations, and 'chose' destinations which offered opportunities most suited to their skills. The association between agricultural labourers and New Zealand, between textile workers and the United States, and between small farmers and the prairie lands of Canada, was more pronounced for Scottish emigrants than for emigrants from England or from Ireland. The ability to tune choice of destination with nature of economic discontent at home may have been an accomplishment acquired from a long-standing cultural tradition of

seeking solutions to economic and social problems through migration and emigration.

In addition, emigration was not despised by the reasonably 'well-shod' groups in Scottish society. By the mid-nineteenth century, in all parts of Great Britain, emigration was an acceptable alternative to people from very diverse walks of life. However, Scottish emigrants were less likely than the English (or the Irish) to have been common labourers; they were more likely to have been skilled workers, professionals and substantial tenant farmers. In the Scottish case there is no overwhelming evidence in support of the thesis of Scandinavian scholars who conclude that emigrants were, in general, those who were most 'insecure', who had 'failed to adapt' at home. By the second half of the nineteenth century the majority of Scottish emigrants, including those from rural areas, came from counties which were predominantly industrial, where wages were comparatively high (and improving in some sectors, for example in agriculture), and where, compared with other regions, a wide variety of job opportunities were available. This suggests (and the same comment can be made of emigration from England and Wales) that even regions which benefitted from advancing industrialisation were failing to meet the aspirations and needs of ordinary people. In many sectors of the Scottish economy there were too few opportunities for social mobility, relative to people's perceptions of opportunities outside Scotland. The likelihood that emigration was not a despised second choice or a 'last resort' is supported by the demographic characteristics of the emigrants. For example, a surprisingly high proportion of male emigrants going to New Zealand were first-born sons, presumably the favoured ones in terms of inheritance and other prospects at home.

In contrast to the experience of males, emigration (especially to New Zealand and Australia, possibly less so to Canada) may have appeared an unattractive option to those unmarried women living in Scotland whose fortune in life had blessed them with alternatives (such as support at home from kin, or by an annuity). The New Zealand case-study suggests that young women who emigrated alone were on average of a lower socio-economic status and perhaps more desperate than young men. On the other hand, an unknown proportion of young

women who travelled unaccompanied on an emigrant ship were the precursors of a family migration. In addition, many young women from Scotland went to New Zealand in order to join 'sweethearts'. More research on female emigration patterns is required.

The fifth noted characteristic of the Scots as emigrants (which overlaps to some extent with the second above) is their general aptitude and ability to exploit emigration opportunities. In order to emigrate to the destination of their choice, Scottish emigrants employed a variety of cost-saving strategies. These included: the 'phasing' of a family emigration; accepting a free passage for those members of a family who were eligible for assistance and then clubbing together to meet the full cost of fare for those who were not; organising themselves in such a way (perhaps in contrivance with another family) so as not to appear too large a group for any stipulated regulations regarding family size.

Because middle class schemes had to be exploited on middle class terms, the Scots on New Zealand ships' lists show a high conformity to the regulations introduced to service the schemes. This was not the result of outright fraud. Nor does it imply that the schemes were irrelevant to the aspirations and needs of the emigrants themselves. The ability of many Scots to exploit the schemes in order to serve their own ends meant that even 'controlled' emigration was able to ease areas of strain in the sending society.

Sixthly and finally, emigration was very widespread in Scotland, geographically as well as socially. Compared with other nations sending large numbers of emigrants last century, the geographic distribution of emigrants' place of last residence in Scotland was relatively 'even' in its spread. In addition, the emigrants came from a wide range of communities in economic and social terms: industrial and agricultural areas, cities and isolated insular districts, areas of intensive arable farming close to towns as well as hilly, sparsely populated districts all produced Scottish emigrants. The tendency for scholars to stress a particular region or type of community in Scotland as having a greater disposition for emigration than other areas sometimes arises from the choice of years studied or the nature of the sources used. Emigration was endemic in nineteenth century Scotland,

and as a people the Scots probably had the lowest threshold of resistance to emigration opportunities of any national group in Europe.

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Emigration from Scotland to New Zealand was different from Scottish emigration to other destinations in several respects. To some extent, however, the seemingly specific features of the case-study are not unique to this particular emigration stream but, rather, are illustrative of particular 'types' of Scottish emigration which are underplayed in the literature.

With the exception of the gold rush years, Scots who left their native land for New Zealand (or Australia) seem to include a higher proportion of ordinary working people - in particular general labourers, agricultural labourers and domestic servants - than Scots who went to other destinations. At least, this is true for regions outside the crofting zone. This association between Australasia as a region of destination and emigrants from relatively humble backgrounds (compared to other emigrants from the same locality) does not hold for the English or the Irish. (On the other hand, a noteworthy proportion of agricultural workers who left England or Ireland went to destinations in Australasia.) The sustained emigration of agricultural labourers to New Zealand and Australia throughout the 1850s, '60s and '70s is particularly interesting because it casts doubt on recent interpretations of British emigration which deny the existence of a significant 'rural exodus' directed towards overseas destinations in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most agricultural labourers leaving Scotland for New Zealand in the middle decades of the nineteenth century came, like the bulk of the emigrant population, from 'industrial' counties where wages were high for workers in agriculture. An 'urban sphere of influence' apparently did not counteract the appeal of emigration. Indeed, the proximity of the cities prabably had a positive influence on the emigration of agricultural labourers, because contact with an urban area often meant contact with new ideas.

Emigration from Scotland to New Zealand was unlike emigration from Scotland to Canada or to Australia in that comparatively few

emigrants came from the poorest crofting zones in the Hebrides and north-west Highlands. The extent that this was so may well be exaggerated in the 'samples' used as evidence in the case-study because the pattern of emigration from the west Highlands to New Zealand often meant that Highland-born emigrants are not easily identified on ships' lists. Emigrants born in the highland and northern regions of Scotland are an exception to the general observation that Scots who went to New Zealand directly from a Scottish port (or from an English port as a passenger-in-transit) were no more likely to have migrated between regions in Scotland than the 'typical' Scottish resident. Indeed, it was often through migration to the Lowlands that Highland emigrants came into contact with ideas about New Zealand. Many emigrants born in the Highlands had served in the armed forces or worked as itinerant carpenters, road builders or seamen before going on to become settlers in New Zealand. Sometimes the oldest and the youngest members of families resident in the north-west Highlands followed their kin to New Zealand, the latter having left Scotland from a place of last residence in the Lowlands (or in England or elsewhere). There were more families at a mature stage of life-cycle and more extended networks of families going to New Zealand from the Highland counties compared with other Scottish regions. However, Highland emigration to New Zealand was also more 'individualistic' than the all-Scotland 'norm'. This was because families leaving the Highlands for New Zealand were fewer in relation to unattached adults (although Highland families tended to be large) compared with emigrant families from the other Scottish regions.

The demographic characteristics of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand show a strong association with the declared occupation of the family 'breadwinner'. For example, skilled artisans, 'mechanics', and other tradesfolk tended to travel with young, small families; emigrant families headed by tenant farmers were usually at a 'middle' or mature stage of life-cycle; the life-cycle characteristics of agricultural labourers, on the other hand, were not as predictable as for other occupation groups. In general, emigration from Scotland to New Zealand can be thought of as more 'familial' than other emigration streams (for example, from Scotland to the United States, or from Ireland to New Zealand), in the sense that more people on average

travelled in a family group. However (with the exception of emigrants from the Highland region), most families left Scotland for New Zealand at an early stage of the life-cycle when children were young and few.

* * * * * *

What then are the wider implications of the case-study for our understanding of emigration causation, and for the on-going debates about the nature of nineteenth century emigration? What areas of enquiry does it suggest should be pursued? Of course, as has been noted several times in the thesis, the concept of European emigration as a discrete phenomenon is often unhelpful. We have seen, for example, that there are a number of generalisations about emigration from Nordic countries which do not apply to the British situation. Similarly, the following points may not always have a relevance beyond Britain, and their generality for other sending countries is an issue requiring further investigation.

The results of the case-study accord with Dudley Baines's discovery (in opposition to the theories associated with earlier writers, especially Brinley Thomas) that emigration and internal migration in nineteenth century Britain were not, in general, alternative responses to the same set of economic and social conditions. However, there was in Scotland a confluence between the 'pool' of persons very likely to become internal migrants and the 'pool' of potential emigrants. It is probable that individuals born in the Highlands and Far North of Scotland, especially young, unmarried males, were a disproportionate element of this 'common pool'.

The thesis argues that internal and external migration were not 'substitute' so much as 'complementary' responses to economic and social strains in the sending society. Lack of a clear inverse relationship between internal and external migration rates supports this stance, and indeed, the empirical data so far available suggest that a slight positive relationship between the two sets of rates may have existed. Internal migration promoted the dispersal of ideas, and caused people to make contact with commercial centres such as large cities and major ports, which were centres for the dissemination of information about

opportunities overseas. Hence, internal migration acted as an 'independent variable' influencing external migration in a positive way. Other factors which influenced external migration rates include the perceived differential between conditions at home and abroad, the cost and ease of transport, and cultural traditions. These factors were as important in the first as in the second half of the nineteenth century, and this is why it is usually unhelpful to interpret data about the changing characteristics of emigrants in terms of a 'transition' in emigration behaviour.

An implication of the results of this study is that emigration and internal migration should be treated as separate although related phenomena. Emigration was not simply an extension of long-standing practices of internal migration (although in some instances, particularly with respect to the 'new' emigration from south and east Europe in the late nineteenth century, it was precisely this). Although the pool of potential migrants in nineteenth century Britain was not the same as the pool of potential emigrants, it is interesting to note that the processes by which the two types of migration were effected were often very similar. Both internal and external migration streams could be initiated by deliberate recruitment (for example, Clydeside ship builders enticed to the Barrow ship-yards by the provision of 'Gorbals-style' housing). Both types of migration were influenced and sustained by 'traditions', for example the use of traditional routes for trade and transport (such as those which connected Caithness with Edinburgh, or the Scottish 'North-east' with the Canadian maritimes). Third, it was not uncommon for either migration or emigration streams to deviate from a traditional course in response to new or intensified market activity. For internal migration this is illustrated in the 1911 census report for Scotland which shows that in most Scottish counties men and women tended to migrate in the same direction (perhaps following a 'traditional' path); however, in some counties the 'pull' was in different directions for the two sexes suggesting that the pattern was also dependent on the current state of the job market and the variable opportunities available to men and women.[1]

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[1]Report on the Twelth Decennial Census of Scotland, 1911 *PP* [c.6896] LXXX (2) 45, p. xciii.

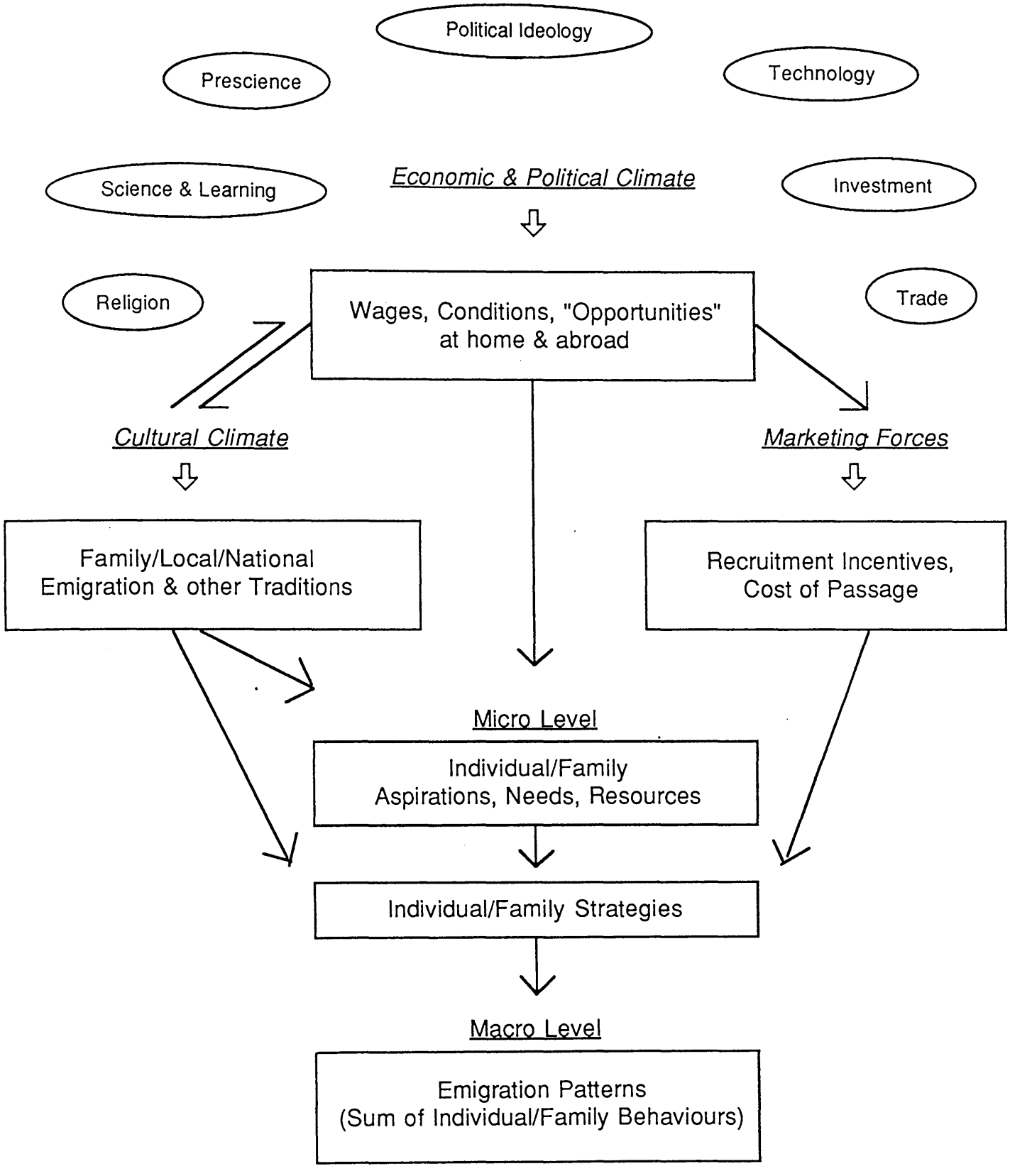
Emigration cannot be fully 'explained' by economic and social conditions in sending regions. Neither do emigration 'chains' tell the whole story. Sometimes a migration stream was initiated by an apparently trivial circumstance, and if conditions at the receiving end proved to be propitious the stream might have been maintained through the 'self-generating' effect of community links and kinship ties. But such chains can be broken, and in Scotland, at least, there are many examples where migration traditions were flouted. The relatively 'even' distribution of emigrants' origins in Scotland (compared to other sending regions) suggests that it would be misleading to limit Scottish emigration studies to those areas which maintained an on-going connection with a particular area overseas.

Personal and community contacts were important for the spread of information about emigration. But emigration was a business and commercial forces such as advertising and recruiting agencies were significant too, especially for the propagation of ideas about new destinations. The role of the church in emigration from nineteenth century Britain is interesting because at times the church fostered emigration in an official capacity (for example, the Free Church activity in the Highlands and Islands during the lean years of the Potato Famine), whilst, in addition, particular churches were responsible for dispersing information about emigration in informal ways. If information about emigration was channelled (whether formally or informally) through sources which for some reason were *trusted* by the emigrant (perhaps a newspaper known to reflect an anti-landlord stance, or a church meeting, or a lecture at a working man's club) then this information would have more impact than if it had spread by means of an institution or a person with an inimical or even an impartial position in relation to the potential emigrant. Perhaps evidence about these sorts of factors will help explain why some groups in Europe were willing or eager to become emigrants while others were not.

We need local studies which relate emigration, first, to social and economic conditions in the sending areas, secondly, to local traditions of migration and emigration (which often colour people's perceptions of opportunities), and third, to information networks, marketing

mechanisms and systems of communication and control which form or redirect people's perceptions. More information about the forces which come between 'structural preconditions' and 'individual choice' is required. However, the emphasis of study should be on the interaction of the factors involved. For example, the selective criteria sometimes applied by agencies recruiting migrants can be described as an external force coming between economic and social preconditions for emigration on the one hand, and individual choice on the other. We have seen that this force had no definitive effect on the geographic distribution or the occupational background of emigrants in this case study. This was because emigrants were capable of interpreting the 'rules' of the recruiters to suit their own advantage. So, while the 'outside force' provided a means for emigration, the ways this opportunity was exploited depended on the needs and will of individuals whose circumstance and ability to exploit opportunities depended, in turn, on the social, economic and cultural environment in which the individuals had lived and been reared. This interactive process is demonstrated figuratively in the following diagram.

FACTORS AFFECTING MACRO PATTERNS OF EMIGRATION



It is suggested in Chapter Three of the thesis that data aggregated at the national level are simply the sum of regional and local patterns. Similarly 'macro' data, or data aggregated for any predefined unit (such as a region or a nation) are the sum of behaviour patterns which take place on a 'micro' scale, as a result of the needs and aspirations of individuals and families. Trends in emigration measured at a 'macro' level, for example, the tendency for any national group to emigrate to a particular destination, can often be satisfactorily 'explained' by 'rational' factors such as wage differentials or a period of recession at home contrasting with a time of prosperity abroad. However, the *process* by which emigration occurred is best understood if viewed from a 'micro' perspective, from the point of view of individuals and small groups. At the 'micro' level there are three central interlocking factors which influence emigration behaviour. These are:

(1) the needs, resources and aspirations of individual emigrants;

(2) the factors which facilitate or constrain emigration decisions such as the availability of passage assistance for particular groups, and also, the extent to which facilitating factors are effectively marketed;

(3) family and local practices of emigration which influence people's readiness and their ability to exploit different types of opportunity - local traditions of education and internal migration are also important here.

Depending then on their ability and their desire (factors which are conditioned by point '3' above), emigrants employ strategies to exploit opportunities which facilitate emigration (or alternatively they employ strategies to overcome factors constraining of their choice). Of course the entire process is affected if some 'macro' factor, such as a downward economic spiral abroad, reduces opportunities for emigration because of less buoyant trade and a consequent increase in the cost of transport. Local 'cultural' traditions too, are profoundly affected by the interaction between a local and a wider market economy. The nature of such

interaction underwent many and diverse changes in various parts of Scotland in the nineteenth century.

At the 'macro' level, the characteristics of emigrants suggest that the process of emigration usually 'selected' in favour of those countries which were net receivers of emigrants last century. However a 'micro' perspective which incorporates a 'longitudinal' view on people's lives shows that emigration could also relieve areas of strain in the sending society. For example, many emigrants appear on a ship's list as an unattached adult. In the Scotland/New Zealand case-study, young men who travelled alone are found to have come from bigger families on average than the Scottish 'norm'. This suggests that large numbers of children put a strain on families in terms of career opportunities for growing sons. On the other hand, the emigration of one or several sons may have had advantages for the folk at home as well as for those who went abroad. Wages may have been sent back to Scotland for a time, sons who remained at home stood a better chance to benefit from any family business that may have existed, and for those who wished to become emigrants, the presence of one or several siblings remaining in or near the household of the parents removed kinship obligations of a practical sort. (A further implication is that the practical tasks of daily care for ageing kin often fell by default to younger children, especially girls.)

We need more evidence about the relationship between emigration and family strategies for inheritance and the care of kin (and about the ways family practices varied or held relevance for different social groups). The examples and evidence given in Chapter Seven suggest that the 'family' as opposed to the 'individual' is the best unit for analysing nineteenth century emigration.

There are several other 'methodological' points arising from the case-study which are pertinent to the study of nineteenth century emigration. First, it is very easy to draw faulty inferences from migration statistics. In Chapter Five a table was studied which categorised emigrants' birth place according to their region of residence and it was seen that this table failed to reflect most types of 'cyclical' migration. Secondly, we should be wary of inferring motives for

migration on the basis of the outcome of migration behaviour: often the final outcome is the result of a series of ad hoc responses to particular situations rather than the result of a well-planned strategy. Third, intuitive interpretations of migration statistics can be tested against different types of data, and frequently 'actor interpretations' and longitudinal evidence are helpful. In this sense the 'methodological approach' outlined in Chapter Two is justified.

There are many aspects of ninteenth century emigration which require further research. We need more in-depth case-studies especially of emigration from urban areas. The association between tendency to dissent in religion and tendency to emigrate could be usefully explored. International cooperation in research, for example the establishment of joint projects which draw on skills from different disciplines, and on expertise concerning both sending and receiving areas, might be fruitful endeavours. Further research on the 'Australasian' dimension of British emigration is required. This can be argued on theoretical grounds because the labour needs of receiving countries had a powerful selective effect on the characteristics of the emigrants. In addition, the Australasian sources are particularly rich. Not only is there a large body of evidence reflecting the first-hand experience of emigrants (letters, agents' reports etc), but also waiting to be tapped are the records of individuals on sources such as ships' lists which (contrary to the expectations of Michael Flinn) can be successfully linked with other types of nominal data such as the individual entries in the unpublished census enumerators' books.

Sometimes an 'Australasian' perspective adds a little clarity to the murky corners of our knowledge of nineteenth century emigration. For example, Dudley Baines discovers that the proportion of female emigrants from 'urban' counties in England and Wales (relative to those from 'rural' counties) failed to rise in the 1880s to the same extent as the proportion of male emigrants from urban counties. The 'female experience' seems to parallel the changes in the London emigration rate which was relatively stable (compared to that of other 'urban' counties) until the 1890s when it declined (as did the proportion of female emigrants from urban areas in the same decade). Might not these parallels relate to Australasian shipping? A big proportion of emigrant

ships bound for New Zealand and Australia left from London ports while it was comparatively rare for ships on the Atlantic route to do so. New Zealand suffered a depression in the 1880s as did Australia in the 1890s and in these decades emigration to Australasia was severely curtailed. Governments in both New Zealand and Australia offered inducements to single women emigrants in the 1860s and 1870s, and a disproportionate number of those who took up offers came from London. Baines's data show that female emigration from London was exceptionally high in the1860s and 70s.[2]

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New interpretations of 'old' evidence are sometimes the fruitful result of approaching a subject from a different angle. The study of emigration in the nineteenth century is capable of providing a novel perspective on the ninteenth century world. This is because we focus on the emigrants - those who left a given society - a very different viewpoint from the usual angle of vision which concentrates our attention on those who remained or were yet to go. The study of emigration may illuminate the experience of specific groups: agricultural labourers are considered briefly in this work, and the Scotland/New Zealand case-study could be used also to look more closely at a variety of other occupations. The study of emigration casts light on people's attitudes, for example their attitudes to death. Often the farewell at the dock was a final valediction and people knew this. What about the risk to the emigrant's own safety or the safety of a young child on the long voyage? In the nineteenth century the timing of life-cycle events was far less predictable than today, and yet, the evidence of emigration strategies suggests that people from diverse social backgrounds still made plans for a long-term future.

Frequently, the 'other branch' in the colonies stayed in touch with their kin at home. This suggests that emigration was often an extension rather than a rejection of the old world. In emigrants' letters we find evidence of the ways in which people endeavoured to overcome problems of vast distance and tenuous communication. A systematic study of

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[2]D. Baines, *Migration in a Mature Economy: Emigration and Internal Migration in England and Wales, 1861-1900* (Cambridge, 1985), Table 7.8, p. 194, & pp. 245, 200.

emigrants' letters might provide important clues with regard to the transference of ideas in the nineteenth century. For example, such a study might help us to understand why, from the 1880s, marital fertility declined throughout the western world (including the areas where Europeans had settled) despite wide variations in economic and social development. Emigration is certainly an important focus for the study of nineteenth century society in a country such as Scotland because of the centrality of the idea of emigration to the world-view of ordinary Scots. The study of emigration may be a way for New Zealand history to avoid isolation.

Why, in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, did the 'idea of New Zealand' have a greater impact on the consciousness of Scottish people than was warranted by the numbers involved? This question was posed in Chapter One, and from the ensuing discussion a number of reasons emerge. Probably all of the following are relevant. First, there were short periods when the number of Scots going to New Zealand formed a sizeable percentage (over 25 per cent) of all Scots leaving the UK, and secondly, because of port practices (in particular the association between New Zealand and the Clyde) these departing Scots were often more visible than emigrants bound for certain other destinations. Third, the nature of the founding of New Zealand and the associated propaganda put New Zealand on the agenda. Although the new country did not live up to the promoters' claim that this was a 'veritable Britain' of the southern seas, something of the respectability of the Wakefield image remained. New Zealand, declared Miss Emily Faithfull, in the mid 1870s, offers prospects to young women which are not only 'comfortable' but 'honourable' too![3] Because of the Free Church association of the early settlement in Otago, this 'respectable' image had particular connotations for Scotland.

Emigrants who went from Scotland to New Zealand often hoped to find a country with institutions, social mores and a physical setting with which they would feel 'at home'. In these hopes some were disappointed by the rough manner of living and the lack of deference to familiar institutions which they came to experience in the young colony.

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[3]*Glasgow Sentinel* 12 Dec. 1874.

James Mitchell noticed with dismay that even established farmers were among those who failed to make a regular appearance at the local church.[4] Others enjoyed the lack of deference, and many came to cherish a belief that in New Zealand they could achieve greater control over their destiny than back in Scotland.

The fourth reason why New Zealand made an impact in Scotland in the period 1840-1880 is because the new colony met the expectations of certain groups of emigrants. In addition, this small country 15 000 miles away touched the fortunes and interests of a large and diverse portion of Scottish society - including Paisley weavers and Shetland lairds, substantial Galloway tenants and East Lothian hinds, ship owners and Glasgow financiers and also the widows and unmarried women whose solicitors invested their clients' small annuities in New Zealand land companies and stock and station agencies. In many parts of Scotland and in many venues the colony was considered and discussed: it was a topic of conversation in middle class drawing rooms and clubs, beside the family hearth, at fairs and at market days, at evangelical meetings, in workshops, at public debates, and of course in the kailyard and the byre.

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APPENDIX ONE

TABLES RELATING TO THE VOLUME OF UNITED KINGDOM EMIGRATION, ESPECIALLY FROM SCOTLAND TO NEW ZEALAND, 1840-1880.

The following tables provide background evidence for much of the discussion in the thesis, especially in Chapter One. The data used to construct the tables are derived from national aggregates of port statistics. The New Zealand Census and Abstracts of New Zealand Statistics (Colonial Blue Books) and the Appendices to the Reports of the Emigration Commissioners (UK) are the main sources used.

Unfortunately neither the Emigration Commissioners nor the New Zealand immigration authorities published a serial tally of the number of Scottish emigrants who went to New Zealand between 1840 and 1880. An exception occurs for the years 1860-2 and the first six months of 1863. In 1863 the Emigration Commission presented a special return to the House of Commons which shows the number of emigrants leaving ports in the UK by country of birth going to each country of destination during this three and a half year period. Data from this return pertaining to Scotland and New Zealand are given in Appendices I.III and I.XI.

In the appendices to their reports, the Emigration Commissioners provided a tally each year of the number of emigrants leaving each port in the UK for a destination in New Zealand. These data are not disaggregated according to the emigrants' country of birth, so although we know the number of emigrants leaving the UK each year for New Zealand, we do not know (except for 1860-3) how many were Scots. Similarly, we know from the Commissioners' reports how many Scots in total went to Australasia each year, but we do not know what proportion were bound for New Zealand compared to Australia.

In the 1870s the New Zealand immigration authorities published data about the country of origin of emigrants assisted under the 'Vogel Scheme'. These data distinguish the Scots from others born in the UK

and they are summarised and compiled in Appendix I.X. Information about country of birth given in the New Zealand censuses (summarised in Appendices I.XII and I.XIII), and analysis of unpublished records (such as ships' lists) give an indication of the fluctuation in the proportion of Scots who went to New Zealand relative to others born in the UK.

Drawing on all these records, Appendices I.V - I.VII provide a series of estimates of the gross total of Scots each year who departed a port in the UK bound for a destination in New Zealand. For the years 1863-1872 (Appendix I.V) and 1853-1859 (Appendix I.VI) the number of Scots who left for New Zealand from an *English* port is estimated by multiplying the total number of United Kingdom emigrants leaving English ports for New Zealand each year by an index which indicates the proportion of these emigrants who were Scots.

Appendix I.IV shows how the index is derived for the years 1860-1862. These three years are unique because we know the number of Scots going to New Zealand from the UK each year and we do not have to estimate it. This number is given for each year in column 'a' of Appendix I.IV. In columns 'f', 'g' and 'h' of Appendix I.IV three different estimates: a maximum, a minimum and a 'best guess' of the number of Scots leaving *Scottish* ports for New Zealand are given. If we assume that all Scots who left a Scottish port for a destination in Australasia went to New Zealand, we derive the figure in column 'f'. If we assume that all the emigrants departing Scottish ports for *Australia* were Scottish-born, we derive the minimum number of Scots-born bound for New Zealand (given in column 'g'). Column 'h' gives a figure between the maximum and minimum estimates which is derived by multiplying the total number of Scots going to Australasia from a Scottish port by an index which is the number of emigrants from a Scottish port bound for New Zealand as a proportion of all emigrants from that port bound for Australasia. If we subtract the maximum, minimum and 'best guess' estimates of the number of Scots leaving a Scottish port for New Zealand from the known total of Scots leaving all ports in the UK for New Zealand we derive three possible estimates of the number of Scots bound for New Zealand who left from

an English port. Expressing these three totals as a proportion of all emigrants leaving for New Zealand from an English port we derive, for each year, three possible indices showing the proportion of New Zealand-bound emigrants leaving English ports who were Scots.

In Appendices I.V - I.VII the index is adjusted on the basis of data from ships' lists (or their equivalent) and also from information published in the New Zealand census about the birth place of immigrants. In Appendices I.V and I.VI the number of Scots leaving Scottish ports for New Zealand each year is estimated using the 'best guess' method described above. Data from Appendices I.IV to I.VII are summarised in Appendix I.II which gives an estimate of the number of Scots going to New Zealand from UK ports each year between 1840 and 1880.

I.I Emigration from the United Kingdom to New Zealand as a Proportion of Total Emigration from the United Kingdom to Australasia, 1840 -1880

	(1) Immigration (N.Z. from U.K.)[a]	(2) Emigration (U.K. to N.Z.)[b]	(3) Emigration U.K. to Australasia	(4) % Australasian emigrants bound for N.Z.
1839	(904) *			
1840	(1 173) *		15 850	
1841	(3 486) *	3 901	32 625	12.0%
1842	(1 801) *	3 064	8 534	35.9
	(830) +			
1843	(31) *	343	3 478	9.9
1844	(135) *	68	2 229	3.1
1845		14	830	1.7
1846		6	2 347	0.3
1847	(346) *	316	4 949	6.4
1848	(534) *	751	23 904	3.2
1849	(1 013) *	1 725	32 191	5.4
1850	(c.1 900) *	2 005	16 037	12.5
1851		2 677	21 532	12.4
1852		1 718	87 881	2.0
1853	1 000	1 384	61 401	2.3
1854	1 130	1 050	83 237	1.3
1855	2 015	2 301	52 309	4.4
1856	2 009	3 986	44 584	8.9
1857	2 660	3 807	61 248	6.2
1858	5 912	5 872	39 295	14.9
1859	7 791	8 558	31 013	27.6
1860	6 929	5 242	24 302	21.6
1861	3 947	4 555	23 738	19.2
1862	8 747	11 440	41 843	27.3
1863	14 378	13 919	53 053	26.2
1864	10 642	11 967	40 942	29.2
1865	9 841	7 377	37 283	19.8
1866	4 282	4 298	24 097	17.8
1867	4 460	3 984	14 466	27.5
1868	3 022	3 703	12 809	28.9
1869	2 777	2 636	14 901	17.7
1870	4 015	3 932	17 065	23.0
1871	3 136	2 948	12 227	24.1
1872	6 616	6 616	15 876	41.7
1873	8 922		26 428	(33.8)
1874	36 400		53 958	(67.5)
1875	21 768		35 525	(61.5)
1876	11 132		33 191	(33.5)
1877	7 635		31 071	(24.6)
1878	9 209		37 214	(24.7)
1879	16 735		42 178	(39.7)
1880	8 514		25 438	(33.5)

NOTES TO APPENDIX I.I

Figures relate to all persons leaving ports in the United Kingdom. (Emigration returns for neither New Zealand nor the United Kingdom disaggregate New Zealand-bound emigrants by nationality.)

The percentages in column (4) for the years 1873-80 compare New Zealand immigration with British emigration statistics, and are somewhat dubious ratios as the discrepancies between columns (1) and (2) suggest.

* New Zealand Company Emigrants.

/ Emigrants selected by the Commissioners for Emigration.

Sources: (a) Derived from New Zealand port statistics in Blue Books and Abstracts of New Zealand Statistics for the years 1853-1880. PRO CO 213/39-63.

(b) Derived from the General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (available for the years 1841-72).

I.II Estimated Totals of Scots Leaving United Kingdom Ports for Destinations in New Zealand, 1840 - 1880, and Consequent Estimations (from 1853) of the Proportion these made of Scots Emigrating to All Overseas Destinations.

	(1) Scots-born emigrating to New Zealand	(2) Total Scots emigrating to all destinations overseas (from U.K.ports)[c]	(3) % of Scottish emigrants who were bound for New Zealand
1840[a]	411		
1841[b]	282		
1842	1 196		
1843	55		
1844	11		
1845	2		
1846	1		
1847	210		
1848	398		
1849	413		
1850	180		
1851	187		
1852	137		
1853	230	22 005	1.0%
1854	158	25 872	0.6
1855	253	14 037	1.8
1856	558	12 003	4.6
1857	770	16 253	4.7
1858	1 710	11 815	14.5
1859	2 866	10 182	28.0
1860	2 668	8 733	30.6
1861	1 828	6 730	30.1
1862	4 697	12 596	37.3
1863	4 328	15 230	28.4
1864	3 425	15 035	22.8
1865	1 675	12 870	13.0
1866	1 156	12 307	9.4
1867	1 343	12 866	10.4
1868	1 377	14 954	9.2
1869	859	22 559	3.8
1870	1 351	22 935	5.9
1871	983	19 232	5.1
1872	1 006	19 541	5.1
1873[d]	1 728	21 310	8.1
1874	5 534	20 286	27.3
1875	4 014	14 686	27.3
1876	2 087	10 097	20.7
1877	899	8 653	10.4
1878	1 191	11 087	10.7
1879	3 520	18 703	18.8
1880	913	22 056	4.1

Notes and Sources: (Appendix I.II)

The intention of deriving estimates of the numbers of Scots-born who went to New Zealand is not so much to achieve strict accuracy of measurement as to compare the volume of this migration stream with Scottish emigration in total.

a) The figure for 1840 is taken from the New Zealand Company Records. (see Appendix I.VII)

b) The number of Scots leaving UK ports for destinations in New Zealand between 1841 and 1872 (inclusive) are estimated or taken from the Appendices to the Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, as shown in Appendices I.III to I.VII.

c) The total number of Scots-born who left UK ports is also taken from the Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission; this information is not available before 1853.

d) Between 1873 and 1880 the figures given in column (1) are the sum of the number of assisted immigrants born in Scotland who entered New Zealand ports each year (see Appendix I.X) and the paying passengers who travelled to New Zealand from Scottish ports with the Henderson shipping line. The latter includes non-Scots but this source of over estimation is more than balanced by the numbers of Scots who left for NZ from English ports. Note that James Nicol's tallies of emigrants (of all nationalities) who left the Clyde for New Zealand during the 1870s are well in excess of the figures estimated in Appendix I.II for the latter part of the decade. This is because large numbers of assisted emigrants from Ireland left for New Zealand from Scottish ports, particularly in 1877. (John Nicol, *Vital, Social and Economic Statistics of the City of Glasgow* (Glasgow,1881).

I.III Destination of Scottish Emigrants, 1860-1862 and January-June 1863

	United States	British North America	New South Wales	Queensland	Victoria	South Australia	Western Australia	Tasmania	Total Australia	New Zealand	South Africa	All other Places	Total
1860													
Nos.	2,220	991	265	119	1,365	365	24	184	2,322	2,668	247	285	8,733
% of Total	25.4	11.3	3.0	1.4	15.6	4.2	0.3	2.1	26.6	30.6	2.8	3.3	(100)
1861													
Nos.	1,210	1,229	51	510	1,460	6	-	-	2,027	1,828	303	133	6,730
% of Total	18.0	18.3	.08	7.6	21.7	0.09	0.0	0.0	30.1	27.2	4.5	2.0	(99.5)
1862													
Nos.	1,025	2,645	192	1,600	1,419	312	41	338	3,902	4,697	147	180	12,596
% of	8.2	21.0	1.5	12.7	11.3	2.5	0.3	2.7	31.0	37.3	1.2	1.4	(100.1)
1863[a]													
Nos.	1,482	1,323	201	850	995	29	-	-	2,075	2,091	69	108	7,148
% of Total	20.7	18.5	2.8	12.0	13.9	0.4	0.0	0.0	29.0	29.3	1.0	1.5	(100.1)

a First six Months only

Source: 'Return to an Address of the Honourable, The House of Commons,' dated 7 July 1863 for showing the Number of emigrants who left the United Kingdom...' pp 1863 [430] XXXVIII p.2.

I.IV Estimate of the Proportion of Scots Leaving English Ports for New Zealand, Relative to all United Kingdom Emigrants Leaving English Ports for New Zealand 1860-2.

	a	b	c	d (b/c)	e	f	g	h (e.d)	i	j	k (a-f)	l (a-g)	m (a-k)	n (k/j)	o (l/j)	p (m/j)
	Total Scots to N Z from U K ports	Nos. from Scottish ports to N Z	Nos. from Scottish ports to Australasia	Ratio b/c	Nos Scots from Scottish ports to Australasia	Estimate of Nos. Scots from Scottish ports to NZ			Nos. from Irish ports to NZ	Nos. from English ports to N Z	Estimate of Nos. Scots from English ports to N Z			Ratio Scots from English ports to NZ/all from English ports to N Z		
						Max	Min	'Best Guess' exd			Min	Max	'best guess'	Min	Max	'best guess'
1860	2668	2289	2374	.96	2279	2279	2194	2197	14 (all Irish)	2939	389	474	471	.13	.16	.16
1861	1828	1291	1438	.90	1377	1291	1230	1236	0	3264	537	598	592	.16	.18	.18
1862	4697	3451	4308	.80	4174	3451	3317	3339	0	7989	1246	1380	1358	.16	.17	.17

Source: Calculated from appendices to the General Reports of the Emigration Commissioners for the years 1860-1862. PP 1861 [c.2842] XXII.1; 1862 [c.3010] XXII.1; 1863 [c.3199] XV 247; and 'Return to an Address of the Honourable The House of Commons, 7 July 1863 ...' op.cit PP 1863 [430] XXXVIII, p.2.

I.V. Estimate of Scots leaving United Kingdom for New Zealand, 1863-1872

	b	c	d	e	h	j	p	m	a
	Nos. from Scottish ports to N.Z.	Nos. from Scottish ports to Australasia	Ratio b/c	Nos. Scots from Scottish ports to Australasia	Estimate of Nos. Scots from Scottish ports to N.Z.(e.d)	Nos. from English ports to N.Z.	Estimate Ratio Scots from English ports to N.Z./All from Eng. ports to N.Z.	Estimate of No. Scots from English ports to N.Z.	Estimate Total Scots to N.Z. from from U.K. ports
1863	2706	3275	.83	2918	2422	11,213	.17	1906	4328
1864	2261	2792	.81	2478	2007	8,864	.16	1418	3425
1865	947	2468	.38	1845	701	6,090	.16	974	1675
1866	697	1135	.61	951	580	3,601	.16	576	1156
1867	909	927	.98	868	851	3,075	.16	492	1343
1868	1055	1104	.96	1021	980	2,648	.15	397	1377
1869	811	1252	.65	900	585	1,825	.15	274	859
1870	1001	1193	.84	1085	911	2,931	.15	440	1351
1871	769	1035	.74	887	656	2,179	.15	327	983
1872	350	819	.43	590	254	6,266	.12	752	1006

It is assumed that no Scots left as assisted emigrants from southern Irish ports in 1864 or 1865.

Source: Calculated from Appendices to the General Reports of the Emigration Commissioners for the years 1860-1862, op.cit. Ratios given in column 'p' are based on calculations shown in Appendix I.III altered according to the proportion of Scots entering New Zealand (relative to other immigrants) as indicated by New Zealand port statistics and birthplace statistics.

I.VI Estimate of Scots leaving United Kingdom for New Zealand, 1853-1859

	b	c	d	e	h	j	p	m	a
	Nos. from Scottish ports to N.Z.	Nos. from Scottish ports to Australasia	Ratio b/c	Nos. Scots from Scottish ports to Australasia	Estimate of Nos. Scots from Scottish ports to N.Z.(e.d)	Nos. from English ports to N.Z.	Estimate Ratio Scots from Eng. ports to N.Z./All from Eng. ports to N.Z.	Estimate of Nos. Scots from English ports to N.Z.	Estimate Total Scots to N.Z. from U.K. ports
1853	15	4166	.003	3585	11	1369	.16	219	230
1854	0	2699	-	2458	0	1050	.15	158	158
1855	0	1286	-	925	0	2301	.11	253	253
1856	0	444	-	400	0	3986	.14	558	558
1857	573	1142	.50	569	285	3234	.15	485	770
1858	952	1179	.81	1140	923	4920	.16	787	1710
1859	1128	1794	.63	1683	1060	7392	.16	1183	2866

Source: Calculated from Appendices to the General Reports of the Emigration Commissioners for the years, 1853-1859. PP 1854 [1833] XXVIII 1; 1854-5 [1953] XVII 1; 1856 [2089] XXIV 325; 1857 [2249 Sess.2] XVI 33; 1857-8 [2395] XXIV 401; 1859 [2555 Sess.2] XIV 159; 1860 [2696] XXIX 1.

I.VII Estimate of Scots Leaving United Kingdom for New Zealand, 1840-1852

	Nos. from Scottish ports for N.Z.	Estimate Proportion Scots	Estimate Nos. Scots from Scottish ports to N.Z.	Nos. from English ports for N.Z.	Estimate Proportion Scots	Estimate Nos. Scots from English ports to N.Z.	Total Scots to N.Z.
1840	-	-	-	(1173)	(.35)	(411)	(411)
1841	13	.80	10	3888	.07	272	282
1842	719	.75	539	2345	.28	657	1196
1843	0	-	0	343	.16	55	55
1844	0	-	0	68	.11	7	7
1845	0	-	0	14	.11	2	2
1846	0	-	0	6	.11	1	1
1847	248	.80	198	68	.17	12	210
1848	0	-	0	751	.53	398	398
1849	158	.93	147	1567	.17	266	413
1850	0	-	0	2005	.09	180	180
1851	0	-	0	2677	.07	187	187
1852	0	-	0	1718	.08	137	137

Sources: General Reports of the Emigration Commissioners for the years 1841-1852; Estimates of proportions Scots based on analysis of New Zealand Company Records PRO CO 208: 120-122, 124, 269, 272, 273; Shipping Lists, 1847-1850, in Hocken, T.M. Contributions to the Early History of New Zealand, London, 1898, Appendix F; Otago Jubilee Industrial Exhibition: Early Settlers Prior to 1861. MSS. Early Settlers Museum, Dunedin, New Zealand.

I.VIII. National Origins of Persons Leaving United Kingdom Ports 1853-80, by Destination.

	Origins:						
	English & Welsh	Scottish	Irish	Total British	Others	Not Distinguished	Total
Destinations:							
United States	1110554	199799	1715241	3025594	743703	170645	3939942
% of British-born	36.71	6.60	56.69	(100.00)			
% of total	28.19	5.07	43.53	76.79	18.88	4.3	(99.97)
British N. America	222600	78552	130542	431694	102716	52860	587270
% of British-born	51.56	18.20	30.24	(100.00)			
% of total	37.90	13.38	22.29	73.51	17.49	9.00	(100.06)
Australasia	560945	138036	237051	936032	23762	30899	990693
% of British-born	59.93	14.75	25.33	(100.01)			
% of total	56.62	13.93	23.93	94.48	2.40	3.12	(100.00)
To all other places	136053	18876	15182	170111	32182	58243	260536
% of British-born	79.98	11.10	8.92	(100.00)			
% of total	52.22	7.25	5.83	65.29	12.35	22.36	(100.01)
Total to all Destns.	2030152	435263	2098016	4563431	902363	312647	5778441
% of British-born	44.49	9.54	45.97	(100.00)			
% of total	35.13	7.5	36.31	78.97	15.62	5.41	(99.97)

Source: General Reports of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1853-1972; Statistical Tables Relating to Emigration and Immigration, Reports to the Board of Trade, 1876-1880.

I.IX. Nationality of Emigrants Assisted by the Emigration Commissioners to Destinations in Australia, 1847-1872

	English		Scots		Irish		Others		Total
	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos	%	Nos
New S Wales	50783	47.2	10649	9.9	46072	42.8	19	0.02	107523
Queensland	2715	29.8	1730	19.0	4667	51.2	-	0.0	9112
Victoria	54140	45.6	27109	22.8	37438	31.5	79	0.07	118757
S Australia	50754	64.4	8905	11.3	19209	24.4	-	0.0	78868
W Australia	2681	49.0	204	3.7	2592	47.3	-	0.0	5477
Tasmania	1656	33.2	575	11.5	2750	55.2	-	0.0	4981
Total	162729		49163		112728		98		324718
%	50.1		15.1		34.7		0.03		(99.9)

Source: Appendix to the Thirty-Third General Report of the Emigration Commissioners PP 1873 [c.768] XVIII 295 pp. 62-3.

I.X. Numbers and Proportions of Scots-born among Government-Assisted Emigrants to New Zealand during the 1870s (Vogel era).

Date	Total Immigrants NZ from UK	New Zealand Govt Assisted Emigrants		New Zealand Govt Assisted Emigrants with UK origins		New Zealand Govt Assisted Emigrants with Scot. origins	
		Numbers	% of total from UK	Numbers	% of total assisted	Numbers	% of total assisted with UK origins
1872	6616	6279	95.0	5008	79.8	565	11.3
1873	8922	8754	98.1	7900	90.2	1531	19.4
1874	36400	32118	88.2	30510	95.0	5228	17.1
1875	21768	20370	93.2	18324	90.0	3761	20.5
1876	11132	9677	86.9	8152	84.2	1483	18.2
1877	7635	5344	70.0	4298	99.1	604	11.4
1878	9209	6618	71.9	6580	99.4	847	12.9
1879	16735	10311	61.6	10176	98.7	2366	23.3
1880	8514	2689	26.4	2650	98.5	568	21.4

Source: Blue Books and Abstracts of New Zealand Statistics, 1873-1880, PRO CO 213/56-63

I.XI Origins of Emigrants to New Zealand, 1860-1862, and January-June 1863

	English (& Welsh)	Scottish	Irish	Foreigners	Not Distinguished	Total
1860						
Nos.	1661	668	342	4	547	5242
%of tot.	31.7	50.9	6.5	0.5	10.4	(100.0)
1861						
Nos	1440	828	649	3	605	4555
%of tot.	31.6	40.1	14.2	0.7	13.3	(99.9)
1862						
Nos	4320	697	1600	5	728	11440
%of tot.	37.8	41.4	14.0	0.8	6.4	(100.1)
1863 [a]						
Nos	3400	2091	803	178	315	6787
%of tot.	50.1	30.8	11.	2.6	4.6	(99.9)

a First six months only

Source: As for Appendix I.III.

I.XII

Table One Percentage of Australian Population (1861) Born in Australasia or the UK.

Place of Birth:	New South Wales n=350,860	Queensland n=30,059	Victoria n=540,322	S. Australia n=126,830	W. Australia n=15,593
Australia	46.8	32.6	29.2	39.3	31.7
New Zealand	1.9	1.0		-	-
England & Wales	24.4	28.8	32.5	35.4	41.0
Ireland	15.6	18.4	16.0	10.0	21.3
Scotland	5.2	8.3	11.2	6.0	3.6

Notes: The Tasmanian returns did not indicate birth-place.
(Population of Tasmania in 1861: 89,977)
Persons born in other places are excluded.

Source: Appendix to the 1861 Census Report for England and Wales PP 1863 [c.3221] LIII (Part I) pp.202-10.

Table Two Percentage of New Zealand Population (1858-81) Born in Australasia or the UK.

Place of Birth:	1858 n=59413	1861 n=99021	1864 n=172158	1867 n=218668	1871 n=256393	1874 n=299514	1878 n=414412	1881 n=489933
Australia	2.4	2.6	5.5	5.2	4.8	4.5	3.9	3.5
New Zealand	31.5	27.9	24.0	29.3	36.5	40.9	42.0	46.0
Eng/Wales	40.2	36.5	34.5	30.6	26.7	25.4	26.1	24.7
Ireland	7.7	8.9	11.8	12.8	11.6	10.1	10.6	10.0
Scotland	13.4	15.7	18.0	15.9	14.4	12.8	11.6	10.8
Other	4.7	5.0	5.5	5.9	5.8	6.0	5.6	5.1
Unspecified	.4	2.9	.7	.4	.2	.2	.2	.2
Total	100.3	99.5	100.0	100.1	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.3

Source: New Zealand Census Returns, Birthplaces of the People 1858-1881.

I.XIII Scots-born as Percentage of Inhabitants Living in Otago,[bc] and in New Zealand, and Scots-born in Otago as a Percentage of all Scots-born in New Zealand, 1858-1881

Date	Nos. of Scots-born in Otago	Total Pop. of Otago	% of Otago inhabitants Scots-born	Nos. of Scots-born in New Zealand	Total Population of New Zealand	% of New Zealand inhabitants Scots-born	% of New Zealand Scots-born living in Otago
1858[d]	3505	6944	50.5 Eng-born 19.3 Irish-born 3.0 N Z-born 22.0 Aust-born 2.2	7973	59277	13.5	44.0
1861[b]	8849	27163	32.6 Eng-born 27.6 Irish-born 11.6 N Z-born 10.0 Aust-born 2.9	15534	99021	15.7	57.0
1864[b]	16065	49019	32.8 Eng-born 23.8 Irish-born 13.4 N Z-born 13.2 Aust-born 9.3	30940	172158	18.0	52.0
1867[b]	15416	48577	31.7 Eng-born 19.4 Irish-born 9.8 N Z-born 24.9 Aust-born 8.0	34826	218668	15.9	44.3
1871	17032	73846	28.1	36871	256393	14.4	46.2
1881	28992	134098	21.7	52753	489933	10.8	55.0

a Does not include second or later generation settlers, i.e. figures underestimate persons with Scottish, or other ethnic, derivations
b Otago figures exclude Southland during the 1860s (see Table Two), Southland being disjoined from Otago 1861-71
c All figures exclude Maori population
d Excluding 51 persons living on Stewart Island

Source: Blue Books and Abstracts of New Zealand Statistics, 1853-1881. PRO CO 213/39-63

Table Two Number and Percentage of Scots-born Living in Southland Province, 1861, 1864, 1867

Date	Nos. of Scots-born living in Southland	Scots-born as a % of Southland Population
1861	608	33.4
1864	3076	38.0
1867	2735	34.4

Apart from the period 1861-71, Southland did not have separate provincial status from Otago.

Source: Colonial Blue Books and Abstracts of New Zealand Statistics for 1861, 1864, 1867. PRO 213/44, 47, 50.

I.XIV. Emigration Conducted by Emigration Commissioners, 1847-1872, Showing Destination of Emigrants and Familial Composition.

	ADULTS				CHILDREN		INFANTS		TOTAL	
	Married		Single		1-12 yrs or[a] 1-14yrs					
AUSTRALASIA:	male	female	male	female	male	female	male	female		%
New S Wales	14551	14694	25527	28955	10505	10498	1395	1398	107523	31.6
Queensland	962	1000	2999	2681	648	608	117	97	9112	2.7
Victoria	17958	17958	13201	41420	11749	13257	1545	1669	118757	34.9
S Australia	13243	13300	15313	16693	8860	8936	1249	1274	78868	23.2
W Australia	739	767	728	2092	500	509	67	75	5477	1.6
Tasmania	605	615	392	2041	591	650	47	40	4981	1.5
New Zealand	163	163	114	164	96	112	13	14	839	0.3
Total Australasia	48221	48497	58274	94046	32949	34570	4433	4567	325557	95.7
Cape of Good Hope	1841	1841	3405	2194	1318	1228	231	193	12251	3.6
Natal	308	333	559	374	308	302	51	45	2280	0.7
Falkland Is.	35	34	78	13	19	17	8	7	211	0.1
Total	50405	50705	62316	96627	34594	36117	4723	4812	340299	100.1
% of all emigrants:	14.8	14.9	18.3	28.4	10.2	10.6	1.4	1.4	100.0	

a Prior to 1856 adults were deigned to be persons 14 years and over; during 1856 the age was lowered to 12.

Source: Appendix to the Thirty-third General Report of the Emigration Commissioners.
PP 1873 [c.768] XVIII.295, pp.62-3.

I.XV In and Out Migration: United Kingdom, 1873-78[a]
(from and to the United States, British North America and Australasia)

	Date	Emigration U.K.	Immigration U.K.	Ratio In migration to Out Migration
USA	1873	233,073	68,536	29.4
BNA		37,208	5,862	15.8
Aust.		26,428	2,574	9.7
USA	1874	148,161	100,527	67.8
BNA		25,450	7,791	30.6
Aust.		53,958	1,892	3.5
USA	1875	105,046	80,045	76.2
BNA		17,378	6,577	37.9
Aust.		35,525	2,108	5.9
USA	1876	54,554	54,697	100.3
BNA		9,335	6,629	71.0
Aust.		32,196	2,579	8.0
USA	1877	45,481	44,878	98.7
BNA		7,720	5,687	73.7
Aust.		30,138	4,637	15.4
USA	1878	54,694	34,040	62.2
BNA		10,652	6,204	58.2
Aust.		36,479	4,207	11.5

a. Persons of British origins only are included in the figures for the years 1876-1878.

Source: Calculated from Statistical Tables relating to Emigration and Immigration, from and into the United Kindom, Reports to the Board of Trade.
PP 1877 [5] LXXV-621 p.5; 1878-9 [32] LXXV 681 p.15.

APPENDIX TWO

THE STRUCTURE OF THE DATA BASE

The data-base incorporates information about emigrants: their families and backgrounds in Scotland, the emigration experience itself, and life in the new colony. The data-base is organised hierarchically. Each individual is assigned to a 'family', and each 'family' respectively to a 'household'. There are 15 record types.

Record Type One contains information about the households in which emigrants were found, for example, size and location of the household, name and occupation of the household head. Individuals are assigned to households depending on their whereabouts in each or either of the Scottish censuses, 1841-1881. Persons not found in any of these censuses are assigned to 'dummy' households. By 'dummy' an arbitrary grouping of individuals and families is implied. Some, but not all dummy households are 'real', that is there is evidence to show that the household did exist at some point in time, but the household could not be located in any of the relevant Scottish censuses. Most emigrants in the 'total list' who are not a part of the 'census-traced' group are assigned to dummy households which are also 'non-real'.[1]

Record Type Two contains 'family' information. Households are subdivided into 'families' and each individual in the data base is assigned to a family. Again, some families are dummy (usually consisting of an arbitrary grouping of individuals who emigrated alone and about whom no 'real' family information was ascertained); other families are 'real' (that is these families did exist) but they are assigned to dummy households. The term 'family' in the sense of the data base is a hierarchical concept and does not necessarily refer to a group of related persons. Servants, lodgers, visitors and so on, that is all persons living in a 'non-familial' context are grouped as 'families', or sub-units within the household in which they were found. Information about the

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[1]See Chapter Two, Section 2.2.4, for a definition of the 'census-traced group' and the 'total list'.

real families of those emigrants who lived in a non-familial situation at the census preceding their emigration is found in Record Type Seven.

Apart from Record Types One and Two, all other record types contain variables relating to uniquely identified individuals. **Record Type Three** contains information about every individual in the data-base. For example: name, sex, emigrants status (whether or not an emigrant), relationship to household head are incorporated in Record Type Three.

Record Type Four contains information about individuals who were found in census enumerators' books. Variables include age, marital status, occupation, place of birth and parity of birth (with respect to siblings). This information is recorded for emigrants and the other members of their respective households and families. The same information for 'supplementary' and 'absent' individuals (defined below) is stored in **Record Types Five** and **Six.**

a) 'Supplementary' individuals are persons who are assigned to a certain household but who had not formed a relationship with that household at the time of the census on which the household structure is based. Examples are: a child born after the census, a new spouse, or a new servant entering the household.

b) 'Absent' individuals are persons who at the time of the census were living away from the household to which they are assigned. 'Absent' persons retained an affiliation with their assigned households, had lived within them some time prior to the census, and were not unlikely to live within them again after the census.

Record Type Seven contains 'flattened' data (that is the data do not necessarily relate to a specific point in time but may summarise experience over a period of years). These data usually relate to the 'real' families of individuals who lived away from their families at census time and who are assigned to a household which did not include their real family. **Record Type Eight** contains data about the experiences in Scotland of individuals for whom a great deal of personal information is known. For example: data about former occupations, migration within

Scotland, marriage and family size, literacy and religious affiliation are included in Record Type Eight.

Variables pertaining to the emigration experience itself, such as date of departure, the emigrant's age at departure, his or her stated occupation on a ship's list, port of departure and travel companions, are stored in **Record Type Nine**. **Record Type Ten** stores variables which attempt to classify the stated or implicit 'reasons' which prompted an individual to leave his or her native land. Some 60 'reasons' are identified, and these are grouped under broad headings such as 'economic', 'health', 'family' &c. Another variable indicates whether the reason was stated explicitly, for example in a letter or agent's report, or whether it was inferred from circumstantial evidence. A maximum of three possible reasons for any one emigrant are stored.

Record Types Eleven, Twelve and **Fifteen** all relate to experience in New Zealand and have not been interrogated for the purposes of the thesis. These record types incorporate variables which relate to three broad areas of interest: occupation and migration in the settler society; marriage and the family; an individual's involvement with a particular community in New Zealand and the nature and extent of any contacts he or she maintained with the sending society.

Detailed information about the place of last residence of individuals and families which, for a variety of reasons, could not be located in a Scottish census is stored in **Record Type Fourteen**. Finally, **Record Type Thirteen** stores variables which record for each individual emigrant, or for a 'focus' individual (in the case of persons who emigrated in family groups), information about the combination of sources used for data linkage.

Variables in Record Type Thirteen give an indication of the reliability of the data interrogated for each single emigrant or emigrant group. Every person in the data-base is identified by a household number, a family number and a person number. The household number indicates whether the individual concerned belongs to 'total list', or the 'census-traced' group or the 'in-depth group'. The reliability of the data is also

indicated by the values taken for particular variables. For some variables there are two possible ranges of values, one of which is more reliable than the other. For example, some individuals were not located in the census but other evidence indicates the probable household arrangement in which these individuals had lived prior to the census. The range of possible values for the variable RELAHH (relationship to household head) is 01-48 for verified data while a parallel range 51-90 is used for unverified data,these values equating exactly with the values 01-40.

APPENDIX THREE

NOTES ON EMIGRANTS' PLACES OF ORIGIN

A string of variables is used to store information about geographical location in the data-base. These variables include: administrative county; registration district; a variable to denote subdivisions within a registration district (for example the registration district of Glasgow was divided for purposes of registration in the mid-ninteenth century into ten subdivisions); an 'urban identifier' code which uniquely identifies each built-up district containing 300 persons or more at the time of the 1871 census; a grid reference; and a district classification which is based on the boundaries delineated by Levitt and Smout for their analysis of replies to the inquiries of the Scottish Poor Law Commission of 1844.[1] The 43 districts identified by Levitt and Smout and a grouping of these into 10 'groups of districts' which are frequently used for analysis in the thesis are shown in Appendix III.I

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[1]Ian Levitt and Christopher Smout, *The State of the Scottish Working Class in 1843: A Statistical and Spatial Enquiry Based on the Data from the Poor Law Commission of 1844.* (Edinburgh, 1979), Table 1.A and Fig 1.1 pp.12-13.

III.I Districts and 'Groups of Districts' as Identified by Levitt and Smout

1) **The Far North** Shetland, Orkney, Caithness

2) **The North-east Highlands** East Sutherland, East Ross and North-east Inverness

3) **West Highlands** North-west coast, Skye and Outer Hebrides, West Argyll, North Argyll, South Argyll

4) **Central Highlands** Highland Inverness, Banff and Moray, Highland Perth, Aberdeenshire, and North-west Perth

5) **Aberdeen and District** Nairn, Lowland Moray, Lowland Banff, Buchan , South-east Aberdeenshire, Inner Aberdeenshire, Kincardine

6) **Lowland Perth and Angus Region** Inner Angus, Coastal Angus, East Perthshire, South Perthshire, and East Fife

7) **East Central Lowlands** West Fife, North Stirling-Clackmannan, West Lothian, East Stirling, Edinburgh area

8) **West Central Lowlands** Dunbartonshire, Renfrewshire, North Ayrshire, South Ayrshire, North Lanarkshire and South Lanarkshire

9) **East Borders and East Lothian** Peebleshire, Dunbar area, South Berwick, Kelso area, Hawick area

10) **West Borders** Inner Dumfriesshire, Kirkcudbright, South Dumfries, South Kirkcudbright, Wigtown and South tip of Ayr.

III.II Details on the Classification of Registration Districts According to Economic Type.

In the initial coding schema registration districts are grouped into one of thirty-four 'economic types' as shown in Table 5.2 (pp. 191-2). Eight of these come under the heading of 'Principal Towns', so defined by the 1871 census. These towns keep their own names as value labels in the coding schema. Glasgow for example, is complex and distinct enough to be kept separate from other towns and is more meaningfully described as 'Glasgow' than by any other descriptive label such as 'major port', 'urban-industrial' or 'urban-commercial'. The principal towns could have been categorised according to occupation distribution because occupation data for all towns with a population size of 10 000 people or more are provided in the 1871 census. Over two-thirds of 'industrious' persons in Glasgow worked in manufacturing in 1871, and 3.3 per cent are described in the published census as having professional occupations; in contrast less than half of the Edinburgh work-force worked in manufacturing and about nine per cent were professionals.

Data from the published census are used to group the seventeen 'large towns' (with a population in 1871 of between 10 000 and 25 000 people) according to the percentage of the work-force in manufacturing and the nature of any distinctive local industry. The Lanarkshire towns of Coatbridge and Airdrie for example are classified as industrial towns with a dominant extractive industry. At the time of the 1871 census about seventy per cent of the work-force in these two towns were employed in industrial jobs and manufacturing, and at least forty per cent of those in the manufacturing and/or industrial sectors worked in mining. Similarly, a number of other large towns including Kilmarnock, Ayr, Forfar and Dunfermline are grouped together as large industrial towns with a dominant textile industry.

Precise figures about employment in towns and villages of population size under 10 000 people is not readily available for 1871 as is the case for the larger urban units. A designation such as 'industrial town' or 'mining village' as shown in Table 5.2 is made on the basis of impressions gleaned from the unpublished census enumerators' books,

local gazeteers and the Poor Law Commissioners' Report of 1844. Precision is not claimed for these economic categories.

Five of the 'economic types' of registration district identified for the initial coding schema come under the heading of a small town or towns of population size between two and ten thousand people. (This is shown as group 'C' in Table 5.2.) This group is further subdivided into categories such as 'industrial one: registration districts incorporating two or more towns', 'industrial two: one town only', and 'non-industrial: other lowland towns'. The registration district of Cambusnethan (in Lanarkshire) which contained part of the town of Newmains (including the ironworks) and part of the town of Wishaw is classed in the first of these categories. Small towns, such as Haddington, Kirkcudbright and Turiff, with a primary function of service to the surrounding countryside, are classed with the last.

Registration districts incorporating built-up areas of between 300 and 2000 people are organised into two main groups (groups 'D' and 'E' as shown in Table 5.2). This organisation is based on the proportion of the local population who lived in the built-up areas. If one half or more of the local population lived in a built-up area, the registration district was classed as 'urban', otherwise it was classed as 'non-urban'. Built-up areas of less than 2000 people are generally described as 'villages'. However, small Royal Burghs, for example Lochmaben in Dumfries and Crail in Fife (which had populations of 1627 and 1112 respectively in 1871 and were considerably smaller than the big industrial villages) are included in the two groups 'D' and 'E'. This is consistent with the stipulation (given in Chapter Five, Section 5.2) that population size be the first grouping principle guiding the classification of registration districts. However, because a 'burgh' designation refers to function as well as size, registration districts containing small Royal Burghs received a separate sub-group classification from registration districts containing 'villages'.

The final group of registration districts contained no concentrations of 300 people or more in 1871. Most residents of local populations in this category worked in agricultural jobs, although one of the 'rural' sub-

groups contained significant numbers of workers in rural industrial employment, such as textile manufacturing, quarrying and brick-making.

III.III Case Studies and Other Evidence Relating to the Prevalence of Circular Migration

The pattern of a departure from the place of origin in youth, in order to learn skills or to find work and accumulate savings, which was then followed by a return to the place of origin, can be observed for workers from a variety of sectors. John Gillies was a solicitor, born on a croft just outside the town of Rothesay on the Isle of Bute. He met his wife after several years as a student and his first work experience in Glasgow and Greenock. However, the nine Gillies children were all born back in Rothesay, and Gillies (senior) was a public figure in the parish of his birth for some twenty years prior to his and his family's emigration.

The case of James Doul, a calico and cylinder printer, was similar. Doul was born in 1815 in Bonhill parish, in Dunbartonshire. He was married in Lennoxtown in adjacent Stirlingshire, and then with a young family worked for several years in or near the industrial villages of Redgorton parish in lowland Perthshire. By the mid 1840s Doul and his family were back in Bonhill parish living in the town of Alexandria and there they remained until Doul's departure for New Zealand in 1862.

Donald McConachie, an agricultural labourer, left the island of Gigha for New Zealand, with his adult family in 1861. McConachie, his second wife, and all his children at home are listed in the census of 1861 as born in Gigha. However, as a young man, McConachie had worked as an agriculturalist and gardener in a variety of places, including Mull, where he met and married his first wife Anna McIntyre, and Renfrewshire, where their first child was born. Anna McIntyre and her second baby died of smallpox in Renfrewshire in 1837, and it may have been this crisis which pushed McConachie to return with his two year old daughter to the familiarity and probable kin contacts and succour of his native Gigha. It is highly likely that other members of McConachie's family - perhaps his second wife, and almost certainly his first-born daughter Isabella, son Malcolm, and fourth child

Margaret - had been 'temporary' or 'seasonal' migrants at some stage of their lives. (The children listed were not present in the family household in the spring of 1861, and yet they emigrated with the family in November of that year.)

In the case of the Lorimer family, who emigrated at a much earlier stage in the family life cycle than is indicated by the case studies cited above, we can see the kin and household context of the 'return' to the parish of birth a little more clearly. James Lorimer, his wife Jessie McLennan, and their three young children left Auchterless, Aberdeen as fully paying 'Vogel emigrants' in July of 1871. Their place of origin is given on the ship's list simply as 'Aberdeen' but from the children's birth certificates, their parents' marriage certificate and the censuses, we can infer a good deal about migration patterns and the family's circumstances just prior to their emigration.

James left the small farm of his mother's family (where his father had worked as a ploughman for many years) some time during the 1850s when he was in his teens. He probably had a number of jobs, working as a farm servant or ploughman on different farms in north-east Aberdeenshire, Moray, Nairn and eastern Inverness. In 1864, at the age of twenty-five, James met and married Jessie McLennan, a twenty-one year old domestic servant and daughter of a sawyer from the parish of Inverness. Jessie had been living and working at the same address as James, in Cawdor parish on the border between Inverness-shire and Nairnshire; presumably it was the general context of work and household and life-cycle migration that brought the couple together.

How they managed to live and find work during the next few years is unknown. Jessie may have returned to her parents' home for a time while James continued to take jobs in service. No (surviving) children were born until the fourth year of the marriage, and then the first and second child were born in rapid succession. The older of the first two children was born in her mother's native parish of Inverness, while the second child was born as far away as Kilmore in Argyll.

By 1871 the family was back in Auchterless where James had been born. At the time of the 1871 census they shared a small cottage with a woman named Jessie Lorimer, a washerwoman with three illegitimate children born to two different fathers. Presumably, Jessie was James's unmarried sister. The cottage was attached to a small farm of twenty-eight acres farmed by James's uncle, who had no adult children of his own living at home. An old widowed woman with the same name as James's mother (presumably she was James's mother) lived in the farmer's household. So did her daughter, a married woman with young children, whose husband was working elsewhere as an agricultural labourer.

James was described as a farm servant in the census of 1871, and he may have returned to Auchterless to take over the job of his recently deceased father. The position may have been reasonably secure for James's life-time, although his children, in their turn, would have had to go to away. James was only thirty-three when he returned to Auchterless, with little prospect of ever inheriting the farm on which he and his mother had been born; in all likelihood the property would be farmed by his cousins or second cousins in the next generation. James invested what must have been his and his wife's entire life-time savings, some £45, on the cost of a steerage passage to New Zealand. Somewhat ironically, completely free passages to New Zealand were introduced by the Vogel Government about three months later.

For female emigrants, the pattern of migration away and subsequent return to a place of birth or place of earlier residence is less easy to see from the unpublished census schedules and vital registers than in the case for men. This may be because marriage broke the cycle for women in many instances, while in others, the 'return' took place before marriage and so receives little or no record in the vital registers. Sometimes a newly formed family would 'return' to the wife's rather than the husband's former place of residence, usually because some form of inheritance such as a tenancy or small farm was at stake. In four instances (of about 200 cases studies in the 'in-depth' group) an emigrant family occupied the wife's childhood home in the census prior to the family's emigration.

There are other sources which suggest that a pattern of 'return' to a place of birth or family home may have relevance for women as well as for men. For example, migration away from the cities by young women in their late twenties and early thirties is indicated by the published census figures on age structure. If the quinquennial age group twenty to twenty-four years is compared across censuses for the three counties containing the three major cities of Glasgow, Edinburgh and Dundee, we see that for each county the number of women in this age group was markedly greater than the number of women who were ten to fourteen years old ten years previously. The same pattern usually occurs if we compare the number of fifteen to nineteen year olds with the number of five to nine year olds a decade before. However, the numbers of women who were twenty-five to twenty-nine years of age show only a slight increase or else an actual drop compared with the numbers of fifteen to nineteen year olds in the previous decade, and for thirty to thirty-four year olds the drop is a consistent feature for all three counties and quite marked.

The figures in the published census suggest a pattern of migration by young women in their late teens and early twenties into the cities, presumably in search of work, and a less pronounced but also important migration by a slightly older group of women (who may or may not have been former immigrants themselves) away from the urban centres. Of course, some of the drop in numbers in the older age groups can be acounted for by mortality, or by emigration rather than out-migration, or (especially in the case of women over thirty years old) by deliberate falsification of age. Despite these qualifications the net figures suggest a 'counter-flow' of female migrants moving away from the cities. These moves may have coincided with marriage, as in the case of Isabella Paterson who left Edinburgh and went north after she married a stone mason from Caithness, or with the early stages of family formation. There is also a possibiliity that single women who were former in-migrants to the cities later 'returned' to a place of origin after working and saving in the cities for a number of years. Such a return may have been facilitated by the inheritance of a small annuity, or prompted by some family crisis, for example, the needs of an ageing parent or sibling

with small children; alternatively, the return may have been prompted by the simple desire to look for work closer to 'home'.

Nineteenth century church records sometimes indicate the extent and nature of mobility by young unmarried women. The general fluidity of population in the cities is also reflected in this source. The session of Free Lady Glenorchy's in Edinburgh, for example, regularly checked the Communicants' Roll Book against notified changes in residence, deaths and 'removals', and generally updated the list of communicants on an annual basis. During the early 1850s there were about 150 new communicants added to the list each year, and yet, between 1851 and 1855 the total membership grew from 812 to 837, a net increase of only twenty-five members in five years.

Free Lady Glenorchy's may have had a bigger turnover of members than most city congregations. The fluidity of its membership is at least partly attributable to the high proportion of domestic servants on the Communicants' List. In October 1856 the sesssion clerk recorded the names of forty-three communicants who were leaving the congregation and who had applied for leaving certificates. Of the forty-three, only six were men, three of whom were married. Of the women, five were married: three applied with their husbands (mentioned above), and only one of the five appears to have been leaving the congregation because she had been recently married. The remaining thirty-two departing communicants were all single women. Twelve of these single women applied for certificates with a sister and by implication were unlikely to have been leaving for reasons associated with courtship and marriage. (These were two groups of three, and three groups of two, siblings.) Presumably most of the young women were going 'home' - or perhaps to other jobs. They left for places within easy reach of Edinburgh - Liberton, Dalkeith, Inverkeithing and St Andrews. Perth was the most distant destination listed.

APPENDIX FOUR

NOTES ON THE CLASSIFICATION OF EMIGRANTS' OCCUPATIONS

The system used for classifying information about emigrants' occupations was guided by Michael Anderson's 'classification of occupational titles' used in relation to his national sample of the 1851 census of Great Britain. An important principle which underlies Anderson's classification system is the desirability of isolating different aspects of each occupational description. This is achieved by coding data 'multi-dimensionally' using a number of discrete variables, each of which relates, as far as practicably possible, to particular underlying concept.

In the present study, data about occupation are derived from a number of sources including census enumerators' books, Scottish vital registers, New Zealand ships' lists and other local Scottish and New Zealand sources. A string of variables is used to store information in the data-base about the occupations of emigrants. The 'string' consists of variables which relate to: the industry in which an emigrant had worked; the probable resources or skills he or she had brought to the labour market; the nature of the individual's economic activity at the time to which the data about occupation relates (for example whether the individual was economically active, retired, unemployed etc); and the individual's position within a hierachy of labour (for example whether the individual was an apprentice, a journeymen, an employer etc). Information about a second job or former work experience, number of employees, and farm acreage is also stored in the data-base when relevant.

Each occupation identified is given a 'unique identifier' code. This enables reclassification and regrouping of the titles according to new criteria when necessary. The codes are based on Michael Anderson's listing of occupations identified in the 1851 census schedules, which he arranges along the lines of Charles Booth's industrial classification of

1886, and which is informed also by the 'Instructions to the Clerks Employed in Classifying the Occupations and Ages of the the People for the Census of 1881'. For the present study a number of extra codes are added to Anderson's list in order to record detail about occupations which were common among emigrants. For example, extra codes are used to distinguish between the different categories of farm servant in Scotland ('hinds' or ploughmen, bondagers etc), and also between ministers according to their denomination. In addition, codes are added so that the same schema may be used to classify occupations followed in New Zealand society. For example 'shearers' (of sheep), and 'swagmen' are added to the list of occupations in agriculture.

For most analytical purposes in this thesis the 'unique identifier codes' are grouped according to sector and industry, as shown in Appendix IV.I. Within each industrial division there is further breakdown according to occupation followed, distinguishing occupations where possible according to job status. The 'Manufacturing Sector' is divided into two types of industries: those which required 'new and changing skills'; and those which were scarcely affected by technological change in the course of the nineteenth century (and for which skill requirements can be described as 'preindustrial' or 'unchanging'). This delineation is based on the work of Charlotte Erickson.[1] Workers in the 'preindustrial' industries were likely to suffer cyclical rather than technological unemployment, while workers in the 'new' industrial occupations were likely to possess either new skills appropriate to new industries, or old skills which the new technology had replaced.

The main principle behind the grouping of occupations shown in Appendix IV.I is to isolate occupations which were common among emigrants, and to simplify analysis by combining occupations which were uncommon in a meaningful way. Another aim is to create a classification which renders the data comparable with other studies.

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[1]Charlotte Erickson, 'Who Were the English and Scots Emigrants to the United States in the Late Nineteenth-Century?', in D. V. Glass and R. Revelle, eds *Population and Social Change* (London, 1972), esp. pp. 357-8.

IV - I

INDUSTRIAL CLASSIFICATION OF OCCUPATIONS IDENTIFIED FROM SCOTTISH CENSUS ENUMERATORS' BOOKS, SCOTTISH VITAL RECORDS AND NEW ZEALAND SHIPS' LISTS.

1. Agricultural Sector

- Farmers	Includes tenants, bonnet lairds and working relatives.
- Farm Workers 1	Higher status - e.g. shepherds, grieves, factors
- Farm Workers 2	Lower status, includes indoor and outdoor servants, men and women, including working relatives - e.g. hinds, bondagers.
- Others Rural	(or engaged about plants or animals) e.g. gardeners, woodsmen, agricultural machinery attendants, fishermen, rabbit inspectors.

Note: Colonial 'settlers' and 'planters' etc are placed with 'independents' as most were middle class men of some means.

2. Mining Sector

- Mining Managerial	
- Miners	All kinds of miners & quarrymen, also brickmakers, sand, flint & gravel workers, also workers with water & salt e.g. well sinkers & salt makers (who share similar hazards as miners)

3. Building Sector

- Building Management	Includes architects, engineers, surveyors, builders & contractors. (in analysis these are usually grouped with 'professionals'.)

- Operative 1	Skilled building workers (i.e. formal apprenticeships over several years) e.g. all masons, bricklayers, plasterers, slaters, thatchers, plumbers etc
- Operative 2	Unskilled or semiskilled (no formal apprenticeship) e.g. navvies, road labourers, builders' labourers. Note: Many 'general labourers' are likely to have worked in these occupations.

4.Labouring

- Labourers	General labourers - all labourers except when industry explicitly classified (e.g. farm, railway, foundry). Most were probably in the building sector, or in dock work, transport (e.g. assistants to carters & carriers), or in road and railway construction. Likely features of workers in this classification are: insecurity, underemployment, high locational mobility, frequent job changes and the lack of skills relevant to new and changing industries.

5 Manufacturing

- Manufacturing management and ownership

(A) Preindustrial and Unchanging Skills

- Metal Trades ('trade' in the sense of craft)	Ironfounders, blacksmiths, whitesmiths, tinsmiths; lead, copper, brass, zinc manufacturers; gold and silver smiths. Note: Most metal tradesmen in this category were blacksmiths, and any overlap between workers grouped here who might have been better classified with workers in the iron and steel industries (see under 'Toolmakers etc' below) was insignificant.
- Woodworking Trades	Sawyers, coopers, box and wooden fence makers, cabinet makers, upholsterers, undertakers, wheelwrights, cartwrights.

- Food Preparation and Manufacture (unless also retail)	Corn millers, malsters, brewers, tobacco manufacturers. Note 1: Most bakers & confectioners combined retailing with manufacture and so are not included here *unless* they are apprentices or assistants etc Note 2: Included will be some unskilled workers in food manufacturing factories
- Clothing Trades (unless also retail)	Tailors, dressmakers, milliners, hatters, glovers, shoemakers etc Note: Hosiery manufacturers are included with textile workers.
- Miscellaneous Crafts and Unspecified	Most are craft workers with animal products, e.g. furriers, skinners, tanners, curriers; workers with glue and tallow; brush, comb & quill makers; sailmakers; unspecified 'apprentices'

(B) Industrial and Changing Skills

- Toolmakers etc	All machinery and tool makers (most making iron & steel products) - includes fitters, turners, engine makers, boilermakers; cutlers, pinmakers, gunsmiths, pencilmakers; steel manufacturers and makers of iron & steel products, nail & bolt manufacturers; coach & carriage makers; fine instrument makers - e.g. watchmakers, surgical instrument makers, toy makers, nautical instrument makers; marine engineers.
- Shipbuilders	Shipwrights, ship's carpenters, caulkers, riggers.

Note: Often it is impossible to tell whether shipbuilders were working on metal or wooden ships. Many going to New Zealand in the early years were 'ship's carpenters'. By the 1870s metal clippers made on the Clyde took the bulk of passengers to New Zealand. Ship building was a changing industry, thus, and, in a manner similar to the situation in the textile industry, many emigrants may have possessed skills relevant only to older styles of ship building.

- Textiles	Woollen, silk. cotton. linen. hemp & jute clothmakers and finishers; ropemakers; hosiery manufacturers.
Subgroups: i:	Status undefined
ii:	Factory hand 1 (higher status e.g. power loom weaver)
iii:	Factory hand 2 (lower status e.g. piecer)
iv:	Hand loom weavers
v:	Dyers
- Miscellaneous Manufacture: Industrial, New and Changing Skills	Cement, earthenware & glass manufacture; paper manufacture; floorcloth & varnish makers; printers, publishers & book binders.
- Unspecified Mechanics	Engine drivers in manufacture; machinists and machine workers; artisans, mechanics, undefined wrights, factory labourers.

6. Transport and Commercial Sector

- Inland Transport	Dockworkers, including labourers & messengers (but excluding warehousemen); inland navigation - e.g. canal transport: bargemen, watermen etc; most railway workers - drivers, stokers, guards, pointsmen, ticket collectors (but not inspectors & supervisors); toll collectors, carters, hauliers, cabmen, flymen and coachmen.
- Ocean Transport 1	Captains or officers in the Merchant Service, pilots, ship's master (owns and sails vessel)
- Ocean Transport 2	Seamen, 'steam navigation service', ships stewards & cooks, 'working passage out'

7. Dealing Sector

- Merchants 1	Australasian or East Indian merchants, general merchants
- Merchants 2 (Dealers and suppliers of specific goods)	e.g. dealers in raw materials or food products such as coal, timber, corn, wool; in cloth e.g. worsted, silk; in wine & spirits; furniture, paintings.

- Retail Proprietors	Generally small - one outlet only. Includes food retailers who also produce their goods - e.g. bakers & confectioners; hotel & inn keepers and beer sellers; lodging house keepers; pawnbrokers; ironmongers, other shopkeepers, storekeepers and retailers.
- Miscellaneous Retail	Cellarmen, ticketwriters, billstickers, hawkers, rag dealers, commercial travellers.
- Clerical and Financial	Clerical workers in transport, commerce, industry, law and finance - including. warehousemen, railway officials, brokers, agents, commercial clerks, bank & insurance workers (excluding bank managers), officers of commercial companies.

8. Public Service, Professional and 'Independent' Sector

- Public Service 1	Senior government officials, those in the Colonial or East Indian Services, senior local or county officials (e.g. magistrates), Poor Law guardians.
- Public Service 2	Civil servants - officers & clerks, post office & telegraph workers, municipal officers & clerks (e.g. registrars of births, deaths & marriages, local sanitary administrators)
- Armed Forces 1	Army and navy officers
- Armed Forces 2	Soldiers, NCOs, army & navy pensioners, seamen, Royal Marines, coastguards, police & prison officers.
- Professional 1	Bank managers, vets, lawyers and medical practitioners and their students, authors, editors, those engaged in scientific pursuits (i.e. 'learned professions'), all clergy and theological students.

- Professional 2	- accountants, apothecaries, chemists & dentists - artists, painters, sculptors, engravers, photographers, performing artists such as musicians & actors - all teachers, lecturers, schoolmasters, tutors, governesses etc; nuns - university students not otherwise defined, pupil teachers, teachers in training.
- Assistants to Professionals	Nurses (not child care), midwives and other medical assistants such as orderlies; workers in the art, music, theatre, sport and other leisure industries other than the performers themselves as classified under 'Professional 2'; workers in schools, churches and chapels, cemetery officers. Note: This group does not include students likely to achieve full professional status.
- Independent Means	'Settlers'. 'Planters'. property owning independents such as land owners, houseowners, mineowners, annuitants, MPs; all persons described as simply 'independent', 'gentleman' or 'gentlewoman'

9. Domestic Service Sector

- Domestic Service, Private (indoor)	All domestic servants, general servants, ladies' maids, valets, kitchen hands, cooks, housekeepers, butlers, nurserymaids.
- Domestic Service, Private (outdoor)	Coachmen, grooms, gardeners, gamekeepers.
- Other Service	Domestic servants in institutions, e.g. colleges, hotels, clubs; matrons and nurses on ships and in institutions for long term care (e.g. of children); cooks, charwomen, laundresses, hairdressers, chimney sweeps.

10. Others

- Dependents	All described as wife, son, daughter, mother-in-law, scholar etc - i.e. dependent on kin.
- Miscellaneous	Vagrants, paupers, lunatics. prisoners, convicts.

APPENDIX FIVE

DATA RELATING TO THE OCCUPATIONS AND THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROFILE OF EMIGRANTS LEAVING THE UNITED KINGDOM, CIRCA 1850 -1880.

Much of the discussion about the occupations and demographic characteristics of UK emigrants presented by way of background to the New Zealand case-study in Chapter Six, Section 6.2.2, relies on the annual tallies of emigrants conducted by the Commission for Emigration and (from 1876) by the Board of Trade. Official records kept and published by these two bodies include a tally of the occupations of adult emigrants going to each major region of destination each year, and also a tally of the total number of emigrants by destination distinguished according to gender, child or adult status, and marital status. In the following appendices this information is compiled and manipulated in order to expose patterns over time, and in particular to see how the occupations and the demographic profile of emigrants varied between destinations.

There are many problems associated with the data compiled by the Emigration Commissioners and the statisticians to the Board of Trade. Some of these are discussed in Chapter Six. One important limitation on the reliability of the official data about emigrants' occupations is the large proportion of cases for which information about occupation is missing. Appendix V.I gives an indication of the extent of this problem. Between the years 1854 and 1881 the proportion of male adults who were 'not distinguished' in term of occupation ranged between 28.6 per cent (in 1854) and 7.0 per cent (in 1872). The proportions unknown tend to decrease over the period (at least while the Emigration Commission conducted operations) but this decrease is less marked for Australasia than for the United States or British North America.

The proportion of female emigrants who were 'undistinguished' in terms of occupation is more striking than for males (see Appendix V.I, Table Two), and shows less reduction over the period 1854-1872. This is

because 'spinsters, so described on the passenger lists' were included in the 'undistinguished' category for every year except 1872 (explaining the dramatic drop in the proportions unknown that year). After the Board of Trade took over the compilation of emigration statistics, 'married women' as well as 'spinsters' were classified as having unknown occupations, and from then on the 'unknown' category represented about three quarters of all female emigrants! Muddling of marital status with occupation renders the female series less useful than the male, and for this reason the ratios derived from the official data on occupations, presented in Appendix V.IV, refer to males emigrants (adults) only. The marital status of female emigrants and the numbers of women in relation to men are shown by the demographic indices given in Appendices V.V - V.VI.

V.I ADULT EMIGRANTS LEAVING UK PORTS AND THE PROPORTION OF TOTALS TO EACH DESTINATION CONSTITUTED BY EMIGRANTS WHOSE OCCUPATIONS WERE 'NOT DISTINGUISHED', 1854-1881

TABLE ONE: MALES

YEAR	TOTAL ADULT MALES	PROPORTIONS 'NOT DISTINGUISHED' WITH RESPECT TO EACH DESTINATION				
		USA	BNA	AUST	OTHER	ALL DESTS
1854	134,789	30.51	23.75	25.66	66.98	8.54
1855	65,363	15.91	16.73	15.94	17.45	16.00
1856	72,670	27.29	19.24	10.83	28.78	21.94
1857	94,806	30.35	26.37	10.88	24.33	23.64
1858	47,345	14.92	15.59	12.73	14.32	4.14
1859	46,236	7.42	20.69	11.88	15.98	9.55
1860	48,529	6.61	17.43	16.17	25.48	9.80
1861	33,973	8.26	20.95	14.81	19.41	11.60
1862	50.288	10.34	12.38	21.73	21.78	15.37
1863	96,461	5.02	10.97	11.18	53.52	7.88
1864	98,158	4.48	7.63	8.48	59.17	8.01
1865	103,519	6.29	4.30	12.08	60.57	9.41
1866	102,225	16.46	4.61	13.87	52.59	6.55
1867	94,937	14.11	3.94	14.16	52.27	14.69
1868	94,766	6.43	4.66	16.12	47.75	8.41
1869	128,499	6.88	3.94	14.22	53.07	8.06
1870	21,760	9.76	7.30	16.40	55.92	11.51
1871	122,401	7.97	10.99	20.91	55.71	10.57
1872	145,445	3.89	6.82	17.37	48.68	7.02
1876	70,663	27.88	9.92	16.87	24.63	3.40
1877	49,090	23.31	4.07	16.25	26.01	9.90
1878	58,852	19.54	8.76	40.30	6.68	3.96
1879	87,801	14.96	1.99	17.99	27.10	15.21
1880	112,513	12.30	6.15	30.17	19.20	14.04
1881	122,668	11.23	15.55	37.83	37.69	16.71

Notes

1 Before 1856 'adults' were defined by the Emigration Commissioners as persons 15 years and over; from 1856 all persons 13 years and over were classed as 'adults'.

2 From 1877 the unknown category was given as 'not stated' rather than 'not distinguished'.

3 In this, and all the tables relating to Appendix Five, data from 1877 excludes 'foreigners', i.e. all those leaving UK ports who were not born in the UK.

4 All data are derived from The Reports and Appendices to the Commissioners for Emigration (1854-1872) and ditto to the Board of Trade (from 1876).

TABLE TWO: FEMALES

YEAR	TOTAL ADULT FEMALES	PROPORTIONS 'NOT DISTINGUISHED WITH RESPECT TO EACH DESTINATION				
		USA	BNA	AUST	OTHER	ALL DESTS
1854	100,918	72.65	55.82	32.73	100.00	59.91
1855	58,950	54.98	45.19	21.23	67.89	42.79
1856	56,395	54.66	42.03	15.79	51.52	44.29
1857	66,879	57.55	44.45	20.14	22.94	46.05
1858	35,921	55.48	52.07	18.43	21.43	40.84
1859	40,073	61.01	56.65	19.81	7.17	44.96
1860	39,945	56.30	48.31	22.52	15.61	47.60
1861	26,612	54.78	54.41	31.92	28.66	47.23
1862	37,094	47.26	37.63	28.78	26.40	39.47
1863	69,202	35.19	39.02	32.56	42.79	34.77
1864	67,087	43.42	42.84	24.51	23.72	38.74
1865	62,664	49.08	44.35	23.18	33.32	43.12
1866	59,962	51.87	40.45	20.85	28.24	46.14
1867	58,845	49.87	40.75	18.69	26.07	45.64
1868	57,014	44.04	37.57	22.13	27.69	41.25
1869	70,881	41.30	34.94	18.68	27.59	38.63
1870	74,949	42.11	35.18	21.83	31.00	39.43
1871	74,040	44.01	37.70	19.43	29.94	41.11
1872	87,123	4.39	8.35	12.28	25.09	5.97
1876	42,119	15.65	8.51	14.35	8.26	14.04
1877	31,157	80.34	87.85	59.66	87.99	75.52
1878	36,601	79.57	90.60	57.51	92.23	74.76
1879	48,432	79.14	91.07	64.75	92.95	77.62
1880	76,437	74.83	74.83	62.83	91.90	74.54
1881	76,160	73.21	78.52	67.94	94.33	74.61

Note: The proportions include 'spinsters' (except in 1872 and 1876) and 'married women' (from 1876).

V.II Total Adult Male Emigrants Leaving U K Ports Whose Occupations were 'Distinguished', by the Commissioners for Emigration and the Statisticians to the Board of Trade, and the Proportion Going to Each Major Region of Destination, 1854-1881.

YEAR	n	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE	TOTAL
1854	92924	60.08	12.06	27.75	0.11	100.00
1855	52357	60.07	9.22	30.26	0.44	99.99
1856	54199	57.52	8.39	33.14	0.96	100.01
1857	68908	53.20	7.74	38.43	0.64	100.01
1858	38918	51.73	5.52	39.94	2.82	100.01
1859	39271	61.34	1.90	31.31	5.45	100.00
1860	42031	71.84	2.56	22.75	2.85	100.00
1861	29506	59.05	4.78	32.36	3.82	100.01
1862	41510	51.09	8.91	37.83	2.17	100.00
1863	86544	69.26	4.23	25.45	1.06	100.00
1864	87907	72.19	6.15	19.61	2.05	100.00
1865	89472	71.90	9.78	16.46	1.86	100.00
1866	82327	79.07	7.77	11.29	1.88	100.01
1867	77411	81.85	9.35	6.73	2.08	100.01
1868	83788	79.91	12.22	5.81	2.06	100.00
1869	113810	79.66	13.97	5.11	1.25	99.99
1870	99071	77.31	14.84	6.16	1.68	99.99
1871	94095	80.26	13.76	4.20	1.78	100.00
1872	110307	84.03	7.63	5.33	3.00	99.99
1876	47130	50.77	10.03	26.48	12.72	100.00
1877	37640	45.47	10.47	31.41	12.65	100.00
1878	45988	44.94	12.53	32.65	9.87	99.99
1879	71389	55.65	14.37	22.15	7.82	99.99
1880	93062	73.41	11.18	8.15	7.26	100.00
1881	98531	75.42	10.61	6.63	7.34	100.00

NOTE The totals given in this table are equal to the difference between the totals given in Appendix V.I, Table One, less emigrants whose occupations were not distinguished together with those classified as 'mechanics not before specified' (or 'trades and professions not before specified' from 1865). The totals are 'out' between 1877 and 1881 for each year by 26, 25, 27, 8 and 32 respectively. This is because 'sawyers' were accidentally omitted for these years in the original fortran program. The classification 'mechanics' are not included in the totals for 1872 and 1876, but are so thereafter.

V. III Notes on the Classification of Occupation Titles Identified by the Commissioners for Emigration and the Statisticians to the Board of Trade.

For purposes of analysis in the present study the occupation titles identified by the Commissioners for Emigration and the Statisticians to the Board of Trade are categorised into a number of groups as shown below. The nature of the grouping is to a large extent enforced by the categories of occupation which the nineteenth century officials used for their published reports.

The Emigration Commissioners based their occupational classification on occupational activity and skill. Their categories give no indication of sphere or mode of production; nor do they indicate the former position of emigrants with respect to job hierarchies. For example, likely employers and their employees are often mixed, as in the category 'shopkeepers, shopmen and warehousemen'. For some jobs there is no indication of the extent to which retail and productive activity would have been combined. (This problem is by no means unique to the classification of occupations employed by the Emigration Commissioners.) The problem is illustrated in the case of industries involving the production and retail of food ('butchers, bakers, confectioners, poulterers, etc') and industries involving the production and retail of books ('book binders and stationers').

However, the Emigration Commissioners did seem to make an implicit distinction between working men and women, who usually travelled in the steerage, and those of relative wealth, who could afford the cost of a cabin passage, and were likely to include emigrants described as 'gentlemen, professional men, merchants, etc', 'farmers and graziers', and (after 1877) 'army and navy officers'. Before the compulsory recording of cabin passengers (1863) a missing category 'mechanics not before specified' referred to all occupations of steerage passengers which could not be identified more precisely. After 1864 the missing category became 'trades and professions not before specified' to include unclassified cabin as well as steerage passengers. In 1872 a

new category 'mechanics' appears. This is not an 'unknown', but a 'known, imprecise' classification.

Amalgamations of the occupation categories used by the Emigration Commissioners have to be flexible enough to accommodate linguistic changes in the use of descriptive labels and any other instances whereby the official categories may have changed. In the tabulations of occupation produced by the emigration authorities, changes in the categorisation of occupations occurred between the following groups of years: 1854-6; 1857-64; 1865-71; 1872-76; 1877 and thereafter. Usually the changes involved the inclusion or exclusion of occupations rather than the introduction of a new grouping principle. 'Schoolmasters, students and teachers' were distinguished from other occupations only in one year (1872). Most other changes involved the exclusion of various occupations by the Board of Trade. (From 1877 coalminers, ropemakers, sailmakers, sugar bakers and boilers, carvers and gilders, tallow chandlers, cutlers, jewellers, dyers, wool combers and sorters, book binders, engravers, surveyors and pensioners are no longer on the lists.)

The following grouping of the Emigration Commissioners' occupational categories is used in the present study for graphs and tables. The categories are grouped, where possible, according to social status. Job status varied regionally and according to hierarchies within particular jobs. A shepherd from Dumfries, for example, would have more status in his home parish than a seasonal hop picker from Kent, yet both might be classed as 'agricultural labourer' according to the Commissioners' job specification. Lack of information about regional origins or job hierarchies means that any grouping of the Commissioners' categories on the grounds of status will be very rough. Wealth accrued from the ownership or control of land, assets such as the tools for a trade, or capital, and professional skills are the characteristics which are deemed to distinguish occupations of 'higher' status from others in the published lists.

The second criterion for grouping jobs is on the basis of skill. Agricultural, building, engineering and literacy are some of the skills identified. In cases where it is impossible to distinguish between skill

and industry, or when industry probably took precedence over skill as a factor influencing decisions to emigrate, the nature of industry rather than skill is used as the key grouping concept. Food, books, textiles and 'jobs connected with the sea' are all in this category.

Finally, some attempt is made to distinguish jobs according to probable location, for example 'more likely rural', and 'more likely urban'. In particular, highly specialised craft workers who would probably have been found only in areas which were urban and complex economically (characterised by a high degree of labour division) are isolated from other tradesmen. Coachmakers, cutlers and silversmiths are examples of such craft workers. Although the occupation categories are not organised explicitly according to sectoral divisions, an attempt is made to avoid confusion of sectoral divisions.

Some experiments were made with regrouping and further grouping of occupations, but amalgamated groups were retained for analysis only if the broad patterns of occupation distribution by destination were maintained for the amalgamated group as for its composite parts. For example, a proposed amalgamation of 'jobs associated with the sea' with the armed forces (excluding officers) into a new group 'travel abroad jobs' was not retained because the two preliminary groups behaved differently. The same justification dictated against the amalgamation of 'engineers' and 'textile workers' into an 'industrial worker' category, and also against the amalgamation of 'clerks' and 'shopkeepers' into a 'lower middle class non-manual group'.

Grouping of Male Occupations

The categories listed below, beneath each group heading, were identified by the Commissioners for Emigration and the Statisticians to the Board of Trade. (In the published records of these two bodies, the occupation categories were simply listed in alphabetical order.)

Group One Professionals etc

gentlemen, professionals and merchants
surveyors (from 1857)
teachers (1872 only)
army and navy officers (1877-1881)

Group Two Literate 'Lower Middling' Group

a) shopkeepers (and shopmen, warehousemen from 1865)
b) clerks (and agents from 1877)

Group Three Others in Service Sector

domestic servants (grooms, etc from 1877)

Group Four

a) 'Crafts 1: Rural Tradesmen'

millers and malsters, sawyers,
blacksmiths and farriers,
smiths general, tanners and curriers

b) 'Crafts 2: Crafts Urban or Rural'

boot and shoemakers, tailors
coopers, wheelwrights, ropemakers (excluded after 1871)
saddlers and harness makers
brick and tile makers, potters

c) 'Crafts 3: More Highly Specialised or Urban - Oriented Crafts'

cabinet makers and upholsterers
carvers and gilders (excluded after 1871)
coachmakers and trimmers
locksmiths and gunsmiths
tallow chandlers and soap makers (excluded after 1876)
clock and watch makers
jewellers and silversmiths (excluded after 1876)
braziers, tinsmiths, whitesmiths
cutlers (excluded after 1876)

Group Five 'Food Preparation and Retail'

bakers and confectioners (confectioners from 1865)
butchers and poulterers etc
sugar bakers and boilers etc (excluded from 1877)

Group Six 'Book and Newspaper Production and Retail'

book binders and stationers (excluded from 1872)
engravers (excluded from 1877)

Group Seven 'Travel Abroad Jobs'

a) 'Jobs Associated with the Sea'
seamen, shipwrights,
sailmakers (excluded from 1872)

b) 'Armed Forces' (excluding officers)
pensioners (excluded from 1872)
army and navy 'men' (from 1877 only)

Group Eight 'Building Tradesmen'

builders, carpenters, joiners,
bricklayers, masons, plasterers, slaters, etc
painters, paper hangers, plumbers, glaziers

Group Nine 'Miners'

miners and quarrymen
coalminers (excluded from 1877)

Group Ten 'General Labourers'

Group Eleven 'Engineering Trades'

a) engineers, turners, millwrights
engine drivers, stokers (from 1865)
b) mechanics (from 1872)

Group Twelve 'Textile Workers'

spinners and weavers, dyers (excluded after 1871)
woolcombers and sorters (excluded after 1871)

Group Thirteen 'Farmers'

Group Fourteen 'Agricultural labourers' (skills with plants or animals)

agricultural labourers, gardeners, carters
(and shepherds, 1872)

Female Occupations

Adult women emigrants were classified by the Commisioners for Emigration and the statisticians to the Board of Trade according to the following descriptions:

domestic and farm servants , nurse, etc
gentlewomen and governesses
milliners, dressmakers, needlewomen
married women (until 1877)
shopwomen
spinsters (1872 and 1876)
mechanics (or trades and professions) not before specified
not distinguished

V.IV

Destination Specific Data for Each Male Occupation Group: Emigrants Leaving UK Ports 1854-1881

The following table-set shows for each male occupational grouping:

i) how the total numbers of emigrants of a particular occupation were divided between destinations (occupation by destination);

ii) what proportion of total known numbers to each destination were constituted by emigrants of a particular occupation (destination by occupation);

iii) the 'actual/expected ratio' (i.e. of i) with respect to the breakdown of all 'known' male occupations by destination).

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Professionals, Merchants & Gentlemen

1i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	17.54	8.15	73.82	0.50	100.00
1855	24.40	6.77	66.33	2.49	100.00
1856	29.33	4.63	61.58	4.46	100.00
1857	42.50	3.88	51.18	2.45	100.00
1858	34.92	5.50	57.88	1.70	100.00
1859	44.06	6.22	45.90	3.83	100.00
1860	31.18	9.13	52.78	6.90	100.00
1861	33.37	7.10	52.22	7.32	100.00
1862	28.55	25.65	41.55	4.26	100.00
1863	35.15	6.87	45.30	12.68	100.00
1864	43.69	11.37	28.76	16.18	100.00
1865	47.73	18.65	20.39	13.22	100.00
1866	53.98	11.42	18.99	15.60	100.00
1867	54.42	15.71	16.83	13.03	100.00
1868	56.16	14.21	19.06	10.57	100.00
1869	61.11	11.71	16.45	10.73	100.00
1870	66.31	12.57	10.85	10.27	100.00
1871	68.50	12.79	9.46	9.24	100.00
1872	65.32	14.97	7.32	12.38	100.00
1876	43.35	16.42	10.71	29.52	100.00
1877	40.56	19.66	14.52	25.26	100.00
1878	40.60	20.79	15.03	23.59	100.00
1879	38.14	19.46	17.53	24.88	100.00
1880	42.20	19.87	10.26	27.68	100.00
1881	52.78	11.03	9.39	26.80	100.00

1ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.38	0.87	3.44	5.77	1.29
1855	0.78	1.41	4.20	10.82	1.92
1856	1.60	1.74	5.85	14.67	3.15
1857	2.75	1.73	4.58	13.24	3.44
1858	3.06	4.52	6.57	2.74	4.53
1859	2.68	12.18	5.46	2.62	3.73
1860	0.93	7.62	4.96	5.18	2.14
1861	1.73	4.54	4.93	5.86	3.06
1862	2.28	11.74	4.48	7.99	4.08
1863	1.48	4.76	5.21	35.04	2.93
1864	4.03	12.32	9.77	52.58	6.66
1865	4.61	13.23	8.59	49.34	6.94
1866	4.78	10.29	11.77	58.19	7.00
1867	6.53	16.51	24.57	61.63	9.82
1868	6.02	9.96	28.12	43.87	8.57
1869	5.07	5.54	21.25	56.67	6.61
1870	8.63	8.52	17.71	61.35	10.06
1871	9.37	10.20	24.70	57.02	10.97
1872	8.49	21.44	15.01	45.11	10.93
1876	18.96	36.34	8.98	51.53	22.20
1877	21.82	45.94	11.31	48.83	24.46
1878	22.03	40.45	11.22	58.25	24.38
1879	10.84	21.42	12.52	50.32	15.82
1880	7.65	23.64	16.75	50.72	13.31
1881	8.67	12.88	17.54	45.23	12.38

1iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	29.19	67.55	266.04	445.64	100.00
1855	40.62	73.45	219.20	564.39	100.00
1856	50.98	55.25	185.85	466.39	100.00
1857	79.88	50.13	133.19	384.69	100.00
1858	67.50	99.68	144.93	60.39	100.00
1859	71.83	326.78	146.59	70.19	100.00
1860	43.40	356.69	232.02	242.64	100.00
1861	56.52	148.58	161.37	191.57	100.00
1862	55.87	287.92	109.84	196.05	100.00
1863	50.75	162.58	177.97	1197.80	100.00
1864	60.53	184.88	146.63	788.88	100.00
1865	66.39	190.69	123.87	711.09	100.00
1866	68.27	147.06	168.27	831.53	100.00
1867	66.50	168.10	250.13	627.32	100.00
1868	70.28	116.27	328.19	512.05	100.00
1869	76.71	83.84	321.63	857.57	100.00
1870	85.77	84.70	176.00	609.85	100.00
1871	85.35	92.98	225.07	519.67	100.00
1872	77.73	196.16	137.39	412.73	100.00
1876	85.40	163.68	40.45	232.05	100.00
1877	89.20	187.83	46.23	199.67	100.00
1878	90.33	165.89	46.02	238.89	100.00
1879	68.53	135.36	79.13	318.03	100.00
1880	57.49	177.66	125.90	381.16	100.00
1881	69.98	103.98	141.67	365.22	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Shopmen

2ai Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	26.59	11.32	61.10	0.99	100.00
1855	64.04	1.58	34.38	0.00	100.00
1856	67.45	2.88	29.28	0.39	100.00
1857	68.58	5.00	26.23	0.19	100.00
1858	49.49	3.43	45.97	1.11	100.00
1859	57.51	2.68	38.56	1.24	100.00
1860	57.50	3.37	38.33	0.80	100.00
1861	43.98	3.05	50.87	2.09	100.00
1862	26.26	11.44	59.94	2.37	100.00
1863	39.96	4.75	53.41	1.88	100.00
1864	50.19	5.65	38.27	5.90	100.00
1865	57.14	13.53	21.43	7.89	100.00
1866	70.02	9.45	16.63	3.90	100.00
1867	65.11	7.97	22.80	4.12	100.00
1868	63.01	8.35	21.24	7.40	100.00
1869	67.97	12.20	15.77	4.07	100.00
1870	50.80	10.57	28.28	10.34	100.00
1871	63.54	11.15	20.35	4.96	100.00
1872	54.72	14.09	20.09	11.09	100.00
1876	26.47	1.96	55.88	15.69	100.00
1877	30.95	0.46	55.20	13.39	100.00
1878	25.66	1.56	63.76	9.02	100.00
1879	26.50	0.08	47.15	26.27	100.00
1880	26.75	0.88	29.32	43.05	100.00
1881	27.44	1.30	21.27	50.00	100.00

2aii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.34	0.71	1.68	6.73	0.76
1855	1.29	0.21	1.38	0.00	1.21
1856	1.66	0.48	1.25	0.58	1.41
1857	2.02	1.01	1.07	0.46	1.57
1858	2.87	1.86	3.45	1.19	3.00
1859	2.50	3.75	3.28	0.61	2.66
1860	2.60	4.28	5.48	0.92	3.25
1861	2.89	2.48	6.11	2.13	3.88
1862	1.57	3.92	4.84	3.33	3.05
1863	0.74	1.45	2.71	2.29	1.29
1864	0.63	0.83	1.77	2.61	0.91
1865	0.47	0.82	0.77	2.52	0.59
1866	0.52	0.72	0.87	1.23	0.59
1867	0.37	0.40	1.59	0.93	0.47
1868	0.39	0.34	1.83	1.79	0.50
1869	0.46	0.47	1.67	1.76	0.54
1870	0.29	0.31	2.01	2.70	0.44
1871	0.48	0.49	2.91	1.67	0.60
1872	0.39	1.12	2.28	2.24	0.60
1876	0.11	0.04	0.46	0.27	0.22
1877	0.78	0.05	2.02	1.22	1.15
1878	0.80	0.17	2.73	1.28	1.40
1879	0.87	0.01	3.87	6.11	1.82
1880	0.49	0.11	4.81	7.93	1.34
1881	0.48	0.16	4.27	9.07	1.33

2aiii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	44.26	93.82	220.22	884.65	100.00
1855	106.60	17.11	113.62	0.00	100.00
1856	117.26	34.29	88.37	41.03	100.00
1857	128.91	64.69	68.25	29.16	100.00
1858	95.66	62.18	115.11	39.59	100.00
1859	93.77	140.86	123.16	22.83	100.00
1860	80.03	131.45	168.49	28.28	100.00
1861	74.48	63.96	157.21	54.83	100.00
1862	51.40	128.36	158.45	109.00	100.00
1863	57.70	112.36	209.81	177.79	100.00
1864	69.52	91.83	195.12	287.52	100.00
1865	79.48	138.36	130.16	424.49	100.00
1866	88.55	121.62	147.38	207.89	100.00
1867	79.55	85.23	338.86	198.38	100.00
1868	78.85	68.36	365.83	358.33	100.00
1869	85.32	87.28	308.43	324.89	100.00
1870	65.71	71.25	458.86	614.06	100.00
1871	79.17	81.04	484.13	278.73	100.00
1872	65.12	184.63	376.82	369.73	100.00
1876	52.14	19.55	211.02	123.32	100.00
1877	68.06	4.41	175.71	105.90	100.00
1878	57.10	12.41	195.27	91.35	100.00
1879	47.62	0.54	212.85	335.87	100.00
1880	36.43	7.90	359.89	592.94	100.00
1881	36.38	12.21	320.77	681.40	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Clerks

2bi Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	38.21	6.60	55.19	0.00	100.00
1855	40.39	12.57	43.09	3.95	100.00
1856	51.18	7.75	34.16	6.92	100.00
1857	50.21	9.66	37.16	2.97	100.00
1858	40.82	17.15	35.51	6.52	100.00
1859	59.68	4.69	28.45	7.18	100.00
1860	65.35	9.01	17.89	7.75	100.00
1861	58.52	5.46	22.05	13.97	100.00
1862	36.80	27.33	26.53	9.33	100.00
1863	47.47	11.62	31.19	9.72	100.00
1864	42.22	10.08	24.11	23.60	100.00
1865	51.76	26.07	12.11	10.07	100.00
1866	63.58	19.23	9.66	7.53	100.00
1867	54.85	16.77	20.30	8.07	100.00
1868	57.72	12.41	19.24	10.63	100.00
1869	58.77	9.75	22.03	9.45	100.00
1870	50.23	13.04	24.42	12.30	100.00
1871	51.35	9.08	18.53	21.04	100.00
1872	48.05	8.99	21.48	21.48	100.00
1876	35.29	1.81	34.50	28.39	100.00
1877	23.86	0.88	32.25	43.00	100.00
1878	26.69	2.68	38.06	32.58	100.00
1879	34.72	1.24	37.25	26.79	100.00
1880	40.94	3.98	21.55	33.54	100.00
1881	57.62	3.40	23.27	15.71	100.00

2bii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.58	0.50	1.82	0.00	0.91
1855	0.72	1.45	1.51	9.52	1.06
1856	1.19	1.23	1.38	9.65	1.33
1857	1.66	2.19	1.70	8.22	1.76
1858	1.52	6.01	1.72	4.47	1.93
1859	1.69	4.28	1.58	2.29	1.74
1860	1.54	5.95	1.33	4.60	1.69
1861	1.54	1.77	1.06	5.68	1.55
1862	1.30	5.54	1.27	7.77	1.81
1863	0.63	2.52	1.12	8.41	0.92
1864	0.52	1.46	1.10	10.26	0.89
1865	1.30	4.82	1.33	9.80	1.81
1866	1.19	3.68	1.27	5.95	1.48
1867	0.69	1.84	3.09	3.98	1.02
1868	0.68	0.96	3.12	4.86	0.94
1869	0.67	0.63	3.88	6.81	0.90
1870	0.71	0.96	4.32	7.97	1.09
1871	0.76	0.78	5.21	13.99	1.18
1872	0.52	1.07	3.66	6.50	0.91
1876	1.30	0.34	2.44	4.19	1.88
1877	1.89	0.30	3.70	12.27	3.61
1878	1.93	0.69	3.79	10.72	3.25
1879	1.70	0.23	4.57	9.31	2.72
1880	1.08	0.69	5.14	8.98	1.94
1881	1.14	0.48	5.24	3.20	1.49

2biii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	63.59	54.76	198.90	0.00	100.00
1855	67.24	136.29	142.38	895.24	100.00
1856	88.97	92.36	103.10	723.59	100.00
1857	94.37	124.88	96.70	467.69	100.00
1858	78.92	310.95	88.91	231.38	100.00
1859	97.30	246.67	90.84	131.85	100.00
1860	90.96	352.11	78.63	272.23	100.00
1861	99.10	114.31	68.15	365.85	100.00
1862	72.02	306.82	70.14	430.00	100.00
1863	68.54	274.82	122.52	918.56	100.00
1864	58.49	163.88	122.92	1150.49	100.00
1865	71.99	266.47	73.53	541.35	100.00
1866	80.41	247.61	85.56	401.17	100.00
1867	67.02	179.42	301.72	388.53	100.00
1868	72.23	101.51	331.37	514.98	100.00
1869	73.78	69.76	430.74	755.61	100.00
1870	64.97	87.88	396.31	730.33	100.00
1871	63.98	66.01	440.63	1183.54	100.00
1872	57.18	117.79	402.86	715.78	100.00
1876	69.52	18.05	130.29	223.22	100.00
1877	52.47	8.44	102.67	339.99	100.00
1878	59.39	21.35	116.56	329.90	100.00
1879	62.40	8.60	168.15	342.50	100.00
1880	55.77	35.57	264.50	461.88	100.00
1881	76.39	32.06	350.94	214.16	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Others in Service Sector

3i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	38.64	25.90	35.31	0.14	100.00
1855	46.13	7.74	46.13	0.00	100.00
1856	57.71	6.45	33.33	2.51	100.00
1857	30.86	13.75	53.53	1.86	100.00
1858	44.30	7.59	45.57	2.53	100.00
1859	28.97	5.52	53.10	12.41	100.00
1860	55.47	8.76	28.47	7.30	100.00
1861	35.19	1.85	40.74	22.22	100.00
1862	23.33	15.83	52.50	8.33	100.00
1863	64.23	6.10	28.86	0.81	100.00
1864	64.91	5.01	21.55	8.52	100.00
1865	47.84	10.34	27.16	14.66	100.00
1866	53.04	5.07	18.24	23.65	100.00
1867	51.78	7.11	20.16	20.95	100.00
1868	74.03	4.85	12.14	8.98	100.00
1869	84.85	4.67	6.94	3.54	100.00
1870	72.61	11.25	13.59	2.55	100.00
1871	74.08	9.86	11.70	4.36	100.00
1872	77.84	8.38	7.98	5.79	100.00
1876	20.00	4.84	46.77	28.39	100.00
1877	45.03	4.09	33.33	17.54	100.00
1878	38.82	19.74	21.05	20.39	100.00
1879	61.62	7.03	16.76	14.59	100.00
1880	39.50	10.50	14.50	35.50	100.00
1881	57.77	9.22	11.17	21.84	100.00

3ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.48	1.60	0.95	0.96	0.74
1855	0.51	0.56	1.02	0.00	0.67
1856	0.52	0.40	0.52	1.35	0.51
1857	0.23	0.69	0.54	1.14	0.39
1858	0.35	0.56	0.46	0.36	0.41
1859	0.17	1.07	0.63	0.84	0.37
1860	0.25	1.12	0.41	0.84	0.33
1861	0.11	0.07	0.23	1.06	0.18
1862	0.13	0.51	0.40	1.11	0.29
1863	0.26	0.41	0.32	0.22	0.28
1864	0.41	0.37	0.50	1.89	0.45
1865	0.17	0.27	0.43	2.04	0.26
1866	0.24	0.23	0.58	4.53	0.36
1867	0.21	0.25	0.98	3.30	0.33
1868	0.46	0.20	1.03	2.14	0.49
1869	0.74	0.23	0.95	1.97	0.70
1870	0.45	0.36	1.05	0.72	0.48
1871	0.43	0.33	1.29	1.14	0.46
1872	0.42	0.50	0.68	0.88	0.45
1876	0.26	0.32	1.16	1.47	0.66
1877	0.45	0.18	0.48	0.63	0.45
1878	0.29	0.52	0.21	0.68	0.33
1879	0.29	0.13	0.20	0.48	0.26
1880	0.12	0.20	0.38	1.05	0.21
1881	0.16	0.18	0.35	0.62	0.21

3iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	64.31	214.79	127.26	129.31	100.00
1855	76.79	83.90	152.44	0.00	100.00
1856	100.32	76.94	100.60	262.52	100.00
1857	58.00	177.79	139.31	292.42	100.00
1858	85.64	137.67	114.11	89.90	100.00
1859	47.22	290.05	169.59	227.80	100.00
1860	77.21	342.15	125.13	256.52	100.00
1861	59.59	38.78	125.90	581.80	100.00
1862	45.67	177.73	138.79	383.93	100.00
1863	92.73	144.26	113.39	76.81	100.00
1864	89.92	81.52	109.90	415.46	100.00
1865	66.55	105.76	164.94	788.00	100.00
1866	67.08	65.25	161.65	1260.14	100.00
1867	63.26	76.11	299.57	1008.49	100.00
1868	92.64	39.72	209.01	434.95	100.00
1869	106.51	33.44	135.80	282.56	100.00
1870	93.92	75.82	220.51	151.23	100.00
1871	92.31	71.68	278.22	245.10	100.00
1872	92.63	109.83	149.75	192.90	100.00
1876	39.39	48.24	176.63	223.17	100.00
1877	99.03	39.11	106.11	138.70	100.00
1878	86.37	157.50	64.47	206.54	100.00
1879	110.73	48.88	75.64	186.59	100.00
1880	53.81	93.90	178.00	488.93	100.00
1881	76.59	86.94	168.42	297.70	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Rural Tradesmen

4ai Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	46.75	12.03	41.22	0.00	100.00
1855	37.94	15.04	46.62	0.40	100.00
1856	33.67	13.10	52.68	0.55	100.00
1857	36.18	14.76	47.87	1.19	100.00
1858	38.11	11.02	39.84	11.02	100.00
1859	43.77	3.65	30.09	22.49	100.00
1860	50.50	6.00	33.50	10.00	100.00
1861	33.08	13.16	33.46	20.30	100.00
1862	31.69	14.37	45.47	8.46	100.00
1863	75.75	3.08	20.31	0.86	100.00
1864	69.98	3.40	25.24	1.38	100.00
1865	70.95	4.17	24.33	0.55	100.00
1866	83.65	3.41	12.53	0.41	100.00
1867	88.17	5.12	6.01	0.70	100.00
1868	88.73	4.26	5.58	1.42	100.00
1869	81.07	9.30	8.64	0.98	100.00
1870	78.86	12.09	8.09	0.96	100.00
1871	88.37	4.93	6.42	0.28	100.00
1872	82.96	9.24	6.16	1.64	100.00
1876	42.71	0.17	48.91	8.21	100.00
1877	43.60	0.58	48.26	7.56	100.00
1878	44.44	0.85	52.42	2.28	100.00
1879	46.27	0.83	48.13	4.77	100.00
1880	78.34	0.85	19.11	1.70	100.00
1881	66.74	1.57	18.65	13.03	100.00

4aii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	2.01	2.58	3.84	0.00	2.58
1855	1.20	3.09	2.92	1.73	1.89
1856	1.17	3.12	3.18	1.16	2.00
1857	1.16	3.25	2.12	3.20	1.70
1858	1.20	3.26	1.63	6.39	1.63
1859	1.20	3.21	1.61	6.92	1.68
1860	0.67	2.23	1.40	3.34	0.95
1861	0.51	2.48	0.93	4.79	0.90
1862	0.76	1.97	1.47	4.77	1.22
1863	1.77	1.18	1.29	1.31	1.62
1864	1.36	0.78	1.81	0.94	1.41
1865	1.61	0.70	2.42	0.48	1.64
1866	1.89	0.78	1.98	0.39	1.78
1867	2.18	1.11	1.80	0.68	2.02
1868	1.31	0.41	1.13	0.81	1.18
1869	1.37	0.89	2.27	1.05	1.34
1870	1.39	1.11	1.79	0.78	1.36
1871	1.26	0.41	1.74	0.18	1.14
1872	0.93	1.14	1.09	0.51	0.94
1876	1.07	0.02	2.34	0.82	1.27
1877	0.88	0.05	1.40	0.55	0.91
1878	0.75	0.05	1.23	0.18	0.76
1879	0.56	0.04	1.47	0.41	0.68
1880	0.54	0.04	1.19	0.12	0.51
1881	0.40	0.07	1.27	0.80	0.45

4aiii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	77.82	99.76	148.54	0.00	100.00
1855	63.16	163.05	154.05	91.49	100.00
1856	58.54	156.21	158.97	57.91	100.00
1857	68.00	190.80	124.57	187.93	100.00
1858	73.67	199.82	99.77	391.44	100.00
1859	71.36	191.75	96.10	412.76	100.00
1860	70.29	234.37	147.25	351.43	100.00
1861	56.03	275.54	103.40	531.49	100.00
1862	62.03	161.30	120.21	389.97	100.00
1863	109.37	72.77	79.81	81.10	100.00
1864	96.95	55.27	128.71	67.06	100.00
1865	98.69	42.63	147.81	29.40	100.00
1866	105.79	43.85	111.06	21.78	100.00
1867	107.73	54.72	89.32	33.86	100.00
1868	111.04	34.89	96.17	68.84	100.00
1869	101.77	66.55	169.04	78.51	100.00
1870	102.00	81.47	131.22	57.25	100.00
1871	110.11	35.83	152.67	15.70	100.00
1872	98.73	121.04	115.54	54.53	100.00
1876	84.13	1.67	184.70	64.53	100.00
1877	95.90	5.55	153.62	59.75	100.00
1878	98.90	6.82	160.54	23.08	100.00
1879	83.13	5.77	217.29	61.01	100.00
1880	106.72	7.59	234.57	23.39	100.00
1881	88.49	14.83	281.35	177.62	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Craftsmen, Urban or Rural

4bi Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	64.86	15.06	20.08	0.00	100.00
1855	67.17	12.94	19.89	0.00	100.00
1856	61.00	14.76	23.71	0.53	100.00
1857	59.15	12.27	28.41	0.17	100.00
1858	56.01	9.92	25.47	8.60	100.00
1859	64.02	3.11	19.01	13.86	100.00
1860	72.31	6.45	12.64	8.60	100.00
1861	63.99	8.44	18.31	9.26	100.00
1862	59.57	9.68	26.54	4.21	100.00
1863	78.30	3.91	16.95	0.83	100.00
1864	85.43	2.20	11.83	0.54	100.00
1865	72.80	19.35	7.71	0.14	100.00
1866	80.72	11.54	7.44	0.30	100.00
1867	79.08	12.29	8.12	0.51	100.00
1868	81.23	9.90	8.28	0.58	100.00
1869	87.05	6.59	6.20	0.17	100.00
1870	83.72	8.28	7.22	0.78	100.00
1871	89.44	4.00	5.69	0.87	100.00
1872	81.01	8.71	9.08	1.19	100.00
1876	43.51	0.84	52.78	2.87	100.00
1877	38.43	1.27	57.96	2.34	100.00
1878	30.97	0.61	66.60	1.82	100.00
1879	49.93	0.14	46.47	3.45	100.00
1880	73.26	1.00	22.26	3.49	100.00
1881	61.15	1.31	26.23	11.31	100.00

4bii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	4.52	5.23	3.03	0.00	4.19
1855	3.99	5.01	2.35	0.00	3.57
1856	3.33	5.52	2.24	1.74	3.14
1857	2.84	4.05	1.89	0.68	2.55
1858	2.52	4.19	1.49	7.12	2.33
1859	2.47	3.88	1.44	6.03	2.37
1860	1.89	4.74	1.05	5.69	1.88
1861	1.79	2.91	0.93	3.99	1.65
1862	2.47	2.30	1.48	4.11	2.12
1863	2.20	1.80	1.30	1.53	1.95
1864	2.99	0.91	1.53	0.67	2.53
1865	4.18	8.17	1.93	0.30	4.13
1866	2.45	3.57	1.58	0.39	2.40
1867	1.71	2.32	2.13	0.44	1.77
1868	1.87	1.49	2.63	0.52	1.84
1869	1.73	0.75	1.92	0.21	1.59
1870	2.26	1.16	2.44	0.96	2.08
1871	1.89	0.49	2.30	0.84	1.70
1872	1.17	1.39	2.07	0.48	1.22
1876	1.08	0.11	2.51	0.28	1.26
1877	1.06	0.15	2.31	0.23	1.25
1878	0.74	0.05	2.19	0.20	1.07
1879	0.87	0.01	2.04	0.43	0.97
1880	0.65	0.06	1.77	0.31	0.65
1881	0.50	0.08	2.45	0.95	0.62

4biii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	107.95	124.91	72.36	0.00	100.00
1855	111.80	140.34	65.73	0.00	100.00
1856	106.04	176.07	71.54	55.39	100.00
1857	111.18	158.64	73.93	26.82	100.00
1858	108.27	179.87	63.77	305.37	100.00
1859	104.37	163.76	60.72	254.27	100.00
1860	100.65	251.86	55.57	302.11	100.00
1861	108.38	176.66	56.59	242.42	100.00
1862	116.58	108.67	70.16	194.15	100.00
1863	113.06	92.56	66.60	78.41	100.00
1864	118.35	35.83	60.30	26.31	100.00
1865	101.26	197.82	46.85	7.28	100.00
1866	102.08	148.57	65.92	16.18	100.00
1867	96.62	131.48	120.67	24.65	100.00
1868	101.65	81.04	142.69	28.21	100.00
1869	109.27	47.13	121.20	13.27	100.00
1870	108.29	55.82	117.15	46.02	100.00
1871	111.44	29.07	135.28	49.21	100.00
1872	96.40	114.13	170.39	39.70	100.00
1876	85.70	8.41	199.31	22.54	100.00
1877	84.51	12.17	184.51	18.46	100.00
1878	68.92	4.85	203.95	18.45	100.00
1879	89.72	1.00	209.80	44.15	100.00
1880	99.79	8.91	273.25	48.04	100.00
1881	81.07	12.36	395.66	154.15	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Specialised Urban Craftsmen

4ci Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	52.70	10.54	36.76	0.00	100.00
1855	67.70	8.03	23.72	0.55	100.00
1856	50.57	11.71	36.57	1.14	100.00
1857	54.85	9.26	35.67	0.23	100.00
1858	36.29	6.33	38.40	18.99	100.00
1859	44.68	3.83	31.91	19.57	100.00
1860	62.37	5.38	23.66	8.60	100.00
1861	37.43	36.90	13.90	11.76	100.00
1862	44.81	17.43	34.44	3.32	100.00
1863	79.25	2.94	17.16	0.65	100.00
1864	76.86	3.62	15.69	3.82	100.00
1865	80.27	8.58	10.66	0.49	100.00
1866	81.24	4.36	12.40	2.01	100.00
1867	78.74	7.49	13.47	0.30	100.00
1868	85.33	2.48	11.29	0.90	100.00
1869	53.02	40.79	5.06	1.13	100.00
1870	67.68	14.14	15.35	2.83	100.00
1871	78.57	5.16	13.49	2.78	100.00
1872	70.62	14.06	9.69	5.62	100.00
1876	23.56	4.19	60.21	12.04	100.00
1877	22.81	0.58	73.10	3.51	100.00
1878	21.13	0.70	70.42	7.75	100.00
1879	33.04	0.00	64.76	2.20	100.00
1880	50.74	0.74	36.76	11.76	100.00
1881	58.97	2.05	30.26	8.72	100.00

4cii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.73	0.73	1.11	0.00	0.84
1855	1.18	0.91	0.82	1.30	1.05
1856	0.57	0.90	0.71	0.77	0.65
1857	0.66	0.77	0.60	0.23	0.64
1858	0.43	0.70	0.59	4.11	0.61
1859	0.44	1.20	0.61	2.15	0.60
1860	0.38	0.93	0.46	1.34	0.44
1861	0.40	4.90	0.27	1.95	0.63
1862	0.51	1.14	0.53	0.89	0.58
1863	0.81	0.49	0.48	0.44	0.71
1864	0.60	0.33	0.45	1.05	0.57
1865	1.02	0.80	0.59	0.24	0.91
1866	0.75	0.41	0.80	0.78	0.73
1867	0.42	0.35	0.86	0.06	0.43
1868	0.56	0.11	1.03	0.23	0.53
1869	0.42	1.82	0.62	0.56	0.62
1870	0.44	0.48	1.24	0.84	0.50
1871	0.26	0.10	0.86	0.42	0.27
1872	0.24	0.53	0.53	0.54	0.29
1876	0.19	0.17	0.92	0.38	0.41
1877	0.23	0.03	1.06	0.13	0.45
1878	0.15	0.02	0.67	0.24	0.31
1879	0.19	0.00	0.93	0.09	0.32
1880	0.10	0.01	0.66	0.24	0.15
1881	0.15	0.04	0.90	0.24	0.20

4ciii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	87.71	87.39	132.49	0.00	100.00
1855	112.69	87.07	78.39	124.08	100.00
1856	87.91	139.69	110.37	119.58	100.00
1857	103.10	119.63	92.82	35.51	100.00
1858	70.14	114.73	96.15	674.22	100.00
1859	72.85	201.34	101.92	359.21	100.00
1860	86.81	210.01	103.98	302.30	100.00
1861	63.40	772.69	42.97	308.01	100.00
1862	87.71	195.62	91.05	152.93	100.00
1863	114.42	69.58	67.40	61.75	100.00
1864	106.47	58.90	80.02	186.39	100.00
1865	111.65	87.70	64.76	26.36	100.00
1866	102.74	56.07	109.83	107.11	100.00
1867	96.21	80.08	200.22	14.41	100.00
1868	106.78	20.32	194.39	43.73	100.00
1869	66.56	291.92	99.01	89.93	100.00
1870	87.54	95.28	249.15	167.89	100.00
1871	97.90	37.49	320.91	156.23	100.00
1872	84.04	184.23	181.70	187.46	100.00
1876	46.41	41.76	227.36	94.67	100.00
1877	50.16	5.59	232.70	27.74	100.00
1878	47.01	5.62	215.66	78.45	100.00
1879	59.37	0.00	292.33	28.16	100.00
1880	69.11	6.58	451.31	162.03	100.00
1881	78.19	19.34	456.40	118.81	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Food Production & Retail

5i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	59.30	8.70	31.45	0.54	100.00
1855	70.62	4.62	24.59	0.17	100.00
1856	64.42	9.00	26.58	0.00	100.00
1857	47.42	5.68	46.63	0.26	100.00
1858	50.19	4.48	39.93	5.41	100.00
1859	56.17	2.16	35.19	6.48	100.00
1860	74.48	2.76	18.62	4.14	100.00
1861	59.28	3.17	32.58	4.98	100.00
1862	37.07	11.21	49.71	2.01	100.00
1863	73.51	3.12	22.24	1.13	100.00
1864	69.08	4.26	25.59	1.07	100.00
1865	72.15	5.79	20.56	1.50	100.00
1866	79.51	5.43	14.07	0.99	100.00
1867	73.21	6.79	18.93	1.07	100.00
1868	76.42	7.25	14.77	1.55	100.00
1869	73.08	9.19	16.45	1.28	100.00
1870	69.37	13.35	14.88	2.41	100.00
1871	87.10	4.71	7.94	0.25	100.00
1872	69.68	11.54	14.25	4.52	100.00
1876	40.45	1.12	55.06	3.37	100.00
1877	48.35	0.00	50.18	1.47	100.00
1878	30.34	4.02	64.09	1.55	100.00
1879	54.34	0.00	43.64	2.02	100.00
1880	70.42	1.55	26.49	1.55	100.00
1881	67.69	0.68	24.83	6.80	100.00

5ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	1.77	1.29	2.03	8.65	1.79
1855	2.58	1.10	1.78	0.87	2.19
1856	1.93	1.85	1.38	0.00	1.72
1857	0.98	0.81	1.33	0.46	1.10
1858	1.34	1.12	1.38	2.65	1.38
1859	0.76	0.94	0.93	0.98	0.83
1860	0.72	0.74	0.56	1.00	0.69
1861	0.75	0.50	0.75	0.98	0.75
1862	0.61	1.05	1.10	0.78	0.84
1863	0.87	0.60	0.71	0.87	0.82
1864	0.51	0.37	0.70	0.28	0.53
1865	0.60	0.35	0.75	0.48	0.60
1866	0.49	0.34	0.61	0.26	0.49
1867	0.32	0.26	1.02	0.19	0.36
1868	0.44	0.27	1.17	0.35	0.46
1869	0.38	0.27	1.32	0.42	0.41
1870	0.41	0.41	1.11	0.66	0.46
1871	0.46	0.15	0.81	0.06	0.43
1872	0.33	0.61	1.07	0.60	0.40
1876	0.45	0.06	1.18	0.15	0.57
1877	0.77	0.00	1.16	0.08	0.73
1878	0.47	0.23	1.38	0.11	0.70
1879	0.68	0.00	1.37	0.18	0.69
1880	0.47	0.07	1.58	0.10	0.49
1881	0.27	0.02	1.12	0.28	0.30

5iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	98.71	72.17	113.36	482.68	100.00
1855	117.55	50.11	81.24	39.52	100.00
1856	111.98	107.36	80.22	0.00	100.00
1857	89.14	73.42	121.35	41.57	100.00
1858	97.01	81.16	99.98	192.12	100.00
1859	91.58	113.58	112.37	118.94	100.00
1860	103.67	107.76	81.85	145.42	100.00
1861	100.39	66.33	100.68	130.31	100.00
1862	72.55	125.80	131.42	92.67	100.00
1863	106.14	73.72	87.36	107.06	100.00
1864	95.70	69.36	130.46	51.98	100.00
1865	100.35	59.24	124.89	80.40	100.00
1866	100.55	69.94	124.71	52.63	100.00
1867	89.45	72.59	281.30	51.58	100.00
1868	95.64	59.36	254.32	75.28	100.00
1869	91.73	65.76	321.74	102.47	100.00
1870	89.72	89.93	241.46	142.88	100.00
1871	108.52	34.26	188.87	13.96	100.00
1872	82.92	151.16	267.34	150.79	100.00
1876	79.67	11.20	207.90	26.50	100.00
1877	106.34	0.00	159.75	11.58	100.00
1878	67.51	32.12	196.26	15.68	100.00
1879	97.65	0.00	196.99	25.83	100.00
1880	95.92	13.82	325.18	21.28	100.00
1881	89.74	6.41	374.54	92.71	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Book Production & Retail

6i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	48.71	8.31	42.69	0.29	100.00
1855	50.79	11.11	38.10	0.00	100.00
1856	52.43	4.86	41.08	1.62	100.00
1857	39.51	7.00	53.09	0.41	100.00
1858	34.45	5.04	42.86	17.65	100.00
1859	59.81	6.54	23.36	10.28	100.00
1860	63.64	2.48	27.27	6.61	100.00
1861	46.38	14.49	28.99	10.14	100.00
1862	45.10	15.03	30.07	9.80	100.00
1863	68.13	5.58	24.30	1.99	100.00
1864	66.33	9.05	22.11	2.51	100.00
1865	72.48	9.63	16.51	1.38	100.00
1866	78.52	5.37	14.77	1.34	100.00
1867	78.57	5.95	13.10	2.38	100.00
1868	85.00	3.75	10.00	1.25	100.00
1869	84.95	9.22	5.83	0.00	100.00
1870	64.52	21.29	13.55	0.65	100.00
1871	83.12	10.39	5.84	0.65	100.00
1872	74.66	13.70	7.53	4.11	100.00
1876	61.11	0.00	37.04	1.85	100.00
1877	38.33	0.00	58.33	3.33	100.00
1878	40.91	0.00	51.52	7.58	100.00
1879	50.54	0.00	44.09	5.38	100.00
1880	69.09	0.91	29.09	0.91	100.00
1881	59.55	0.00	30.34	10.11	100.00

6ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.30	0.26	0.58	0.96	0.38
1855	0.31	0.43	0.45	0.00	0.36
1856	0.31	0.20	0.42	0.58	0.34
1857	0.26	0.32	0.49	0.23	0.35
1858	0.20	0.28	0.33	1.92	0.31
1859	0.27	0.94	0.20	0.51	0.27
1860	0.25	0.28	0.35	0.67	0.29
1861	0.18	0.71	0.21	0.62	0.23
1862	0.33	0.62	0.29	1.66	0.37
1863	0.29	0.38	0.28	0.55	0.29
1864	0.21	0.33	0.26	0.28	0.23
1865	0.25	0.24	0.24	0.18	0.24
1866	0.18	0.13	0.24	0.13	0.18
1867	0.10	0.07	0.21	0.12	0.11
1868	0.20	0.06	0.33	0.12	0.19
1869	0.19	0.12	0.21	0.00	0.18
1870	0.13	0.22	0.34	0.06	0.16
1871	0.17	0.12	0.23	0.06	0.16
1872	0.12	0.24	0.19	0.18	0.13
1876	0.28	0.00	0.32	0.03	0.23
1877	0.13	0.00	0.30	0.04	0.16
1878	0.13	0.00	0.23	0.11	0.14
1879	0.12	0.00	0.26	0.09	0.13
1880	0.11	0.01	0.42	0.01	0.12
1881	0.07	0.00	0.41	0.12	0.09

6iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	81.07	68.90	153.87	256.02	100.00
1855	84.55	120.50	125.88	0.00	100.00
1856	91.15	58.01	123.98	169.67	100.00
1857	74.26	90.43	138.15	64.74	100.00
1858	66.60	91.40	107.32	626.63	100.00
1859	97.52	343.93	74.62	188.65	100.00
1860	88.57	96.85	119.88	232.35	100.00
1861	78.54	303.49	89.57	265.60	100.00
1862	88.27	168.74	79.48	451.68	100.00
1863	98.36	131.96	95.48	188.21	100.00
1864	91.89	147.11	112.74	122.50	100.00
1865	100.81	98.48	100.31	73.99	100.00
1866	99.31	69.13	130.83	71.52	100.00
1867	96.00	63.68	194.61	114.62	100.00
1868	106.37	30.69	172.23	60.54	100.00
1869	106.64	66.01	113.91	0.00	100.00
1870	83.45	143.45	219.86	38.30	100.00
1871	103.56	75.51	139.01	36.52	100.00
1872	88.84	179.46	141.32	136.95	100.00
1876	120.37	0.00	139.86	14.56	100.00
1877	84.30	0.00	185.70	26.35	100.00
1878	91.03	0.00	157.76	76.72	100.00
1879	90.81	0.00	199.02	68.73	100.00
1880	94.11	8.13	357.11	12.52	100.00
1881	78.95	0.00	457.61	137.81	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Jobs Connected with 'the Sea'

7ai Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	28.40	6.51	65.09	0.00	100.00
1855	37.16	7.43	54.73	0.68	100.00
1856	40.53	8.58	50.89	0.00	100.00
1857	37.05	9.60	52.68	0.67	100.00
1858	43.43	9.48	43.12	3.98	100.00
1859	43.43	3.03	43.77	9.76	100.00
1860	63.16	11.96	22.97	1.91	100.00
1861	74.42	8.14	15.12	2.33	100.00
1862	78.19	9.16	9.28	3.36	100.00
1863	65.53	12.93	20.41	1.13	100.00
1864	60.24	12.29	22.41	5.06	100.00
1865	56.78	24.37	16.08	2.76	100.00
1866	69.59	18.81	10.57	1.03	100.00
1867	58.36	26.26	11.67	3.71	100.00
1868	61.36	28.57	7.79	2.27	100.00
1869	52.07	32.12	12.44	3.37	100.00
1870	55.24	18.98	21.25	4.53	100.00
1871	63.22	16.09	15.33	5.36	100.00
1872	60.93	12.25	7.28	19.54	100.00
1876	68.18	0.38	14.77	16.67	100.00
1877	61.02	3.39	25.42	10.17	100.00
1878	58.95	5.79	26.32	8.95	100.00
1879	46.24	6.39	36.09	11.28	100.00
1880	50.21	13.73	21.89	14.16	100.00
1881	69.14	13.65	11.57	5.64	100.00

7aii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.09	0.10	0.43	0.00	0.18
1855	0.35	0.46	1.02	0.87	0.57
1856	0.44	0.64	0.96	0.00	0.62
1857	0.45	0.81	0.89	0.68	0.65
1858	0.71	1.44	0.91	1.19	0.84
1859	0.54	1.20	1.06	1.36	0.76
1860	0.44	2.32	0.50	0.33	0.50
1861	1.10	1.49	0.41	0.53	0.87
1862	3.18	2.14	0.51	3.22	2.08
1863	0.48	1.56	0.41	0.55	0.51
1864	0.39	0.94	0.54	1.16	0.47
1865	0.35	1.11	0.43	0.66	0.44
1866	0.41	1.14	0.44	0.26	0.47
1867	0.35	1.37	0.84	0.87	0.49
1868	0.28	0.86	0.49	0.40	0.37
1869	0.22	0.78	0.82	0.91	0.34
1870	0.25	0.46	1.23	0.96	0.36
1871	0.22	0.32	1.01	0.84	0.28
1872	0.20	0.44	0.37	1.78	0.27
1876	0.75	0.02	0.31	0.73	0.56
1877	0.63	0.15	0.38	0.38	0.47
1878	0.54	0.19	0.33	0.37	0.41
1879	0.31	0.17	0.61	0.54	0.37
1880	0.17	0.31	0.67	0.49	0.25
1881	0.31	0.44	0.60	0.26	0.34

7aiii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	47.27	53.97	234.58	0.00	100.00
1855	61.86	80.60	180.85	153.15	100.00
1856	70.46	102.31	153.58	0.00	100.00
1857	69.65	124.07	137.09	105.35	100.00
1858	83.94	171.84	107.97	141.17	100.00
1859	70.81	159.31	139.78	179.18	100.00
1860	87.91	467.25	100.95	67.26	100.00
1861	126.04	170.45	46.71	60.89	100.00
1862	153.03	102.87	24.53	155.00	100.00
1863	94.62	305.79	80.18	107.12	100.00
1864	83.45	199.87	114.26	246.72	100.00
1865	78.98	249.15	97.67	148.61	100.00
1866	88.01	242.25	93.63	54.93	100.00
1867	71.30	280.93	173.44	178.77	100.00
1868	76.79	233.81	134.20	110.07	100.00
1869	65.37	229.91	243.17	269.17	100.00
1870	71.45	127.88	344.78	269.05	100.00
1871	78.77	116.95	364.53	301.69	100.00
1872	72.50	160.50	136.64	651.06	100.00
1876	134.30	3.78	55.78	131.03	100.00
1877	134.19	32.38	80.93	80.40	100.00
1878	131.17	46.20	80.59	90.61	100.00
1879	83.09	44.46	162.92	144.19	100.00
1880	68.40	122.82	268.70	195.06	100.00
1881	91.67	128.66	174.57	76.83	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Non-commissioned Armed Forces

7bi Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1855	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
1856	26.57	72.86	0.57	0.00	100.00
1857	0.00	50.00	40.00	10.00	100.00
1858	17.39	21.74	60.87	0.00	100.00
1859	7.21	0.90	91.89	0.00	100.00
1860	28.57	14.29	57.14	0.00	100.00
1861	10.00	10.00	70.00	10.00	100.00
1862	25.00	28.57	42.86	3.57	100.00
1863	50.00	25.00	22.50	2.50	100.00
1864	17.78	35.56	31.11	15.56	100.00
1865	45.45	9.09	45.45	0.00	100.00
1866	27.27	18.18	9.09	45.45	100.00
1867	0.00	33.33	33.33	33.33	100.00
1868	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	100.00
1869	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
1870	15.00	70.00	10.00	5.00	100.00
1871	16.67	33.33	33.33	16.67	100.00
1872	71.44	27.83	0.43	0.30	100.00
1876	74.43	11.70	6.78	7.09	100.00
1877	1.60	2.24	46.79	49.36	100.00
1878	0.00	19.54	1.15	79.31	100.00
1879	7.59	26.58	3.80	62.03	100.00
1880	3.90	40.26	1.30	54.55	100.00
1881	1.33	38.67	1.33	58.67	100.00

7bii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1855	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.00	0.00
1856	0.30	5.61	0.01	0.00	0.65
1857	0.00	0.09	0.02	0.23	0.01
1858	0.02	0.23	0.09	0.00	0.06
1859	0.03	0.13	0.83	0.00	0.28
1860	0.01	0.09	0.04	0.00	0.02
1861	0.01	0.07	0.07	0.09	0.03
1862	0.03	0.22	0.08	0.11	0.07
1863	0.03	0.27	0.04	0.11	0.05
1864	0.01	0.30	0.08	0.39	0.05
1865	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.00	0.01
1866	0.00	0.03	0.01	0.32	0.01
1867	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.00
1868	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.00	0.00
1869	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1870	0.00	0.10	0.03	0.06	0.02
1871	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.06	0.01
1872	17.88	76.65	1.68	2.11	21.03
1876	15.10	12.02	2.64	5.74	10.30
1877	0.03	0.18	1.23	3.23	0.83
1878	0.00	0.29	0.01	1.52	0.19
1879	0.02	0.20	0.02	0.88	0.11
1880	0.00	0.30	0.01	0.62	0.08
1881	0.00	0.28	0.02	0.61	0.08

7biii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
1855	83.23	0.00	165.22	0.00	100.00
1856	46.19	868.82	1.72	0.00	100.00
1857	0.00	646.30	104.09	1573.24	100.00
1858	33.62	394.06	152.42	0.00	100.00
1859	11.75	47.36	293.46	0.00	100.00
1860	39.77	558.03	251.18	0.00	100.00
1861	16.94	209.41	216.32	261.81	100.00
1862	48.93	320.71	113.30	164.54	100.00
1863	72.19	591.47	88.39	236.20	100.00
1864	24.63	578.28	158.63	758.43	100.00
1865	63.22	92.94	276.10	0.00	100.00
1866	34.49	234.10	80.55	2422.09	100.00
1867	0.00	356.60	495.37	1604.71	100.00
1868	62.57	0.00	861.13	0.00	100.00
1869	125.53	0.00	0.00	0.00	100.00
1870	19.40	471.64	162.28	296.80	100.00
1871	20.77	242.26	792.85	937.39	100.00
1872	85.02	364.55	8.01	10.06	100.00
1876	146.60	116.69	25.60	55.73	100.00
1877	3.52	21.43	148.96	390.23	100.00
1878	0.00	155.93	3.52	803.20	100.00
1879	13.65	184.92	17.14	792.97	100.00
1880	5.31	360.05	15.94	751.24	100.00
1881	1.77	364.48	20.11	799.51	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Building Tradesmen

8i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	41.83	6.93	51.23	0.01	100.00
1855	58.98	5.39	35.54	0.10	100.00
1856	55.04	6.56	38.25	0.15	100.00
1857	53.34	7.96	38.09	0.62	100.00
1858	55.47	4.87	27.85	11.82	100.00
1859	61.92	1.49	19.68	16.91	100.00
1860	77.54	1.70	15.54	5.22	100.00
1861	64.65	5.14	18.69	11.51	100.00
1862	53.58	9.50	30.24	6.68	100.00
1863	76.08	3.20	20.02	0.70	100.00
1864	66.36	4.69	28.02	0.93	100.00
1865	67.62	14.21	17.64	0.53	100.00
1866	80.35	7.91	11.58	0.16	100.00
1867	86.65	7.43	5.74	0.18	100.00
1868	91.64	4.30	3.48	0.58	100.00
1869	83.49	10.44	5.64	0.43	100.00
1870	70.65	20.86	7.85	0.65	100.00
1871	87.15	7.40	4.97	0.48	100.00
1872	83.74	11.44	4.26	0.56	100.00
1876	58.22	0.10	30.51	11.17	100.00
1877	45.67	0.13	48.85	5.34	100.00
1878	41.32	0.17	53.74	4.77	100.00
1879	53.53	0.53	40.60	5.34	100.00
1880	81.45	0.69	13.72	4.14	100.00
1881	73.02	1.61	15.27	10.11	100.00

8ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	7.44	6.14	19.74	0.96	10.69
1855	9.47	5.63	11.33	2.16	9.65
1856	7.13	5.83	8.60	1.16	7.45
1857	6.38	6.55	6.31	6.16	6.37
1858	7.13	5.87	4.64	27.92	6.65
1859	5.87	4.55	3.65	18.04	5.81
1860	5.75	3.53	3.64	9.78	5.33
1861	4.55	4.47	2.40	12.51	4.15
1862	4.65	4.73	3.55	13.65	4.44
1863	4.72	3.25	3.38	2.84	4.29
1864	2.92	2.42	4.54	1.44	3.17
1865	4.39	6.78	5.00	1.32	4.66
1866	4.50	4.50	4.54	0.39	4.43
1867	3.90	2.93	3.15	0.31	3.69
1868	4.99	1.53	2.61	1.21	4.35
1869	4.28	3.05	4.50	1.40	4.08
1870	3.86	5.93	5.37	1.62	4.22
1871	5.29	2.62	5.76	1.32	4.87
1872	4.55	6.85	3.66	0.85	4.57
1876	7.23	0.06	7.27	5.54	6.31
1877	6.04	0.08	9.35	2.54	6.01
1878	4.57	0.07	8.18	2.40	4.97
1879	4.87	0.19	9.28	3.46	5.06
1880	4.12	0.23	6.25	2.12	3.71
1881	3.18	0.50	7.56	4.52	3.28

8iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	69.63	57.42	184.65	8.99	100.00
1855	98.17	58.40	117.43	22.44	100.00
1856	95.68	78.24	115.44	15.54	100.00
1857	100.26	102.83	99.12	96.83	100.00
1858	107.22	88.22	69.73	419.69	100.00
1859	100.95	78.33	62.84	310.41	100.00
1860	107.93	66.27	68.29	183.56	100.00
1861	109.50	107.70	57.77	301.35	100.00
1862	104.87	106.64	79.94	307.64	100.00
1863	109.84	75.76	78.66	66.11	100.00
1864	91.92	76.34	142.86	45.42	100.00
1865	94.05	145.31	107.16	28.35	100.00
1866	101.61	101.79	102.64	8.78	100.00
1867	105.88	79.44	85.37	8.43	100.00
1868	114.68	35.23	59.97	27.89	100.00
1869	104.80	74.73	110.30	34.41	100.00
1870	91.39	140.52	127.31	38.33	100.00
1871	108.59	53.75	118.30	26.99	100.00
1872	99.65	149.92	79.98	18.51	100.00
1876	114.69	1.01	115.20	87.79	100.00
1877	100.44	1.27	155.51	42.25	100.00
1878	91.95	1.40	164.57	48.27	100.00
1879	96.19	3.66	183.30	68.29	100.00
1880	110.95	6.21	168.36	56.99	100.00
1881	96.82	15.15	230.27	137.71	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Miners

9i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	33.97	7.37	57.38	1.28	100.00
1855	48.47	5.30	42.42	3.80	100.00
1856	30.53	1.64	65.08	2.76	100.00
1857	31.57	3.39	62.03	3.01	100.00
1858	35.38	2.96	53.83	7.83	100.00
1859	69.46	1.52	18.50	10.52	100.00
1860	75.94	2.26	17.16	4.65	100.00
1861	75.86	2.62	15.04	6.47	100.00
1862	64.37	15.20	20.11	0.32	100.00
1863	75.99	7.90	15.31	0.80	100.00
1864	77.45	6.25	14.19	2.11	100.00
1865	72.09	13.01	13.45	1.45	100.00
1866	74.30	20.89	3.52	1.29	100.00
1867	78.24	17.72	3.60	0.44	100.00
1868	71.09	25.95	2.82	0.14	100.00
1869	71.18	24.20	3.96	0.66	100.00
1870	87.85	2.76	8.34	1.05	100.00
1871	92.98	0.83	5.54	0.65	100.00
1872	89.76	1.18	7.74	1.33	100.00
1876	52.83	0.00	36.77	10.40	100.00
1877	51.47	0.14	37.18	11.20	100.00
1878	65.22	1.19	24.06	9.52	100.00
1879	81.97	0.13	12.61	5.29	100.00
1880	87.22	0.43	5.14	7.21	100.00
1881	90.60	0.83	2.58	5.99	100.00

9ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	2.61	2.82	9.55	52.88	4.62
1855	2.67	1.91	4.64	28.57	3.31
1856	3.41	1.25	12.62	18.53	6.42
1857	3.38	2.49	9.19	26.94	5.69
1858	3.03	2.38	5.97	12.32	4.43
1859	2.28	1.61	1.19	3.88	2.01
1860	3.90	3.25	2.78	6.02	3.69
1861	6.80	2.91	2.46	8.96	5.29
1862	5.63	7.63	2.38	0.67	4.47
1863	4.14	7.05	2.27	2.84	3.77
1864	4.04	3.83	2.73	3.88	3.77
1865	6.87	9.11	5.59	5.35	6.85
1866	7.34	21.00	2.43	5.37	7.81
1867	7.00	13.89	3.92	1.55	7.32
1868	9.33	22.28	5.10	0.69	10.49
1869	8.30	16.08	7.20	4.92	9.29
1870	6.11	1.00	7.27	3.36	5.37
1871	6.98	0.36	7.94	2.21	6.03
1872	5.68	0.82	7.72	2.36	5.32
1876	4.71	0.00	6.29	3.70	4.53
1877	4.29	0.05	4.49	3.36	3.79
1878	3.71	0.24	1.88	2.47	2.56
1879	8.11	0.05	3.14	3.72	5.51
1880	3.58	0.12	1.90	2.99	3.01
1881	4.72	0.31	1.53	3.21	3.93

9iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	56.54	61.09	206.80	1145.78	100.00
1855	80.69	57.50	140.17	862.21	100.00
1856	53.07	19.52	196.40	288.47	100.00
1857	59.33	43.83	161.44	473.34	100.00
1858	68.40	53.62	134.79	278.06	100.00
1859	113.24	79.96	59.09	193.05	100.00
1860	105.69	88.21	75.43	163.24	100.00
1861	128.48	54.97	46.49	169.29	100.00
1862	125.98	170.64	53.16	14.90	100.00
1863	109.71	186.95	60.16	75.24	100.00
1864	107.28	101.65	72.36	103.05	100.00
1865	100.27	132.98	81.69	78.10	100.00
1866	93.97	268.97	31.15	68.79	100.00
1867	95.59	189.62	53.47	21.23	100.00
1868	88.96	212.38	48.60	6.61	100.00
1869	89.35	173.17	77.53	52.94	100.00
1870	113.63	18.60	135.33	62.44	100.00
1871	115.85	6.02	131.68	36.69	100.00
1872	106.81	15.40	145.12	44.30	100.00
1876	104.07	0.00	138.84	81.75	100.00
1877	113.20	1.34	118.37	88.58	100.00
1878	145.13	9.50	73.70	96.45	100.00
1879	147.30	0.88	56.93	67.61	100.00
1880	118.81	3.83	63.09	99.29	100.00
1881	120.12	7.79	38.95	81.63	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:General Labourers

10i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	75.32	14.61	10.01	0.05	100.00
1855	73.54	9.91	16.26	0.28	100.00
1856	70.27	8.20	20.73	0.80	100.00
1857	61.26	8.09	30.34	0.31	100.00
1858	61.13	4.30	34.12	0.45	100.00
1859	69.15	1.29	27.22	2.34	100.00
1860	76.52	1.68	20.50	1.30	100.00
1861	61.73	3.63	32.82	1.81	100.00
1862	56.05	5.18	37.59	1.18	100.00
1863	72.15	2.67	24.89	0.29	100.00
1864	77.95	4.65	17.12	0.27	100.00
1865	77.82	6.39	15.36	0.44	100.00
1866	84.65	4.45	10.71	0.19	100.00
1867	90.12	5.91	3.65	0.31	100.00
1868	87.76	8.90	3.03	0.30	100.00
1869	85.40	11.93	2.42	0.25	100.00
1870	81.30	15.82	2.58	0.30	100.00
1871	83.05	15.54	1.07	0.33	100.00
1872	90.64	5.44	2.72	1.21	100.00
1876	61.06	11.18	20.75	7.01	100.00
1877	66.07	9.37	20.10	4.46	100.00
1878	65.40	13.34	18.99	2.27	100.00
1879	65.20	21.97	11.17	1.66	100.00
1880	85.62	10.16	3.42	0.80	100.00
1881	83.85	13.57	1.38	1.20	100.00

10ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	58.59	56.63	16.87	20.19	46.73
1855	56.10	49.28	24.63	29.00	45.83
1856	59.36	47.52	30.40	40.54	48.59
1857	58.36	52.99	40.02	24.43	50.68
1858	61.73	40.71	44.64	8.39	52.25
1859	66.85	40.29	51.55	25.42	59.30
1860	66.71	41.17	56.42	28.60	62.63
1861	63.47	46.20	61.57	28.84	60.71
1862	62.24	32.96	56.37	30.97	56.73
1863	67.38	40.81	63.24	18.01	64.68
1864	71.24	49.94	57.60	8.76	65.98
1865	65.28	39.41	56.26	14.18	60.32
1866	65.18	34.86	57.80	6.28	60.89
1867	67.08	38.54	33.06	9.20	60.92
1868	64.56	42.83	30.69	8.61	58.79
1869	67.06	53.42	29.59	12.43	62.56
1870	66.03	66.93	26.26	11.14	62.79
1871	63.28	69.07	15.62	11.48	61.15
1872	67.42	44.57	31.85	25.11	62.51
1876	52.39	48.57	34.12	24.00	43.56
1877	37.89	23.35	16.69	9.20	26.08
1878	43.35	31.72	17.33	6.85	29.79
1879	46.78	61.01	20.14	8.49	39.93
1880	62.74	48.87	22.58	5.95	53.80
1881	67.50	77.63	12.66	9.92	60.71

10iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	125.37	121.16	36.09	43.21	100.00
1855	122.42	107.52	53.74	63.29	100.00
1856	122.16	97.80	62.57	83.43	100.00
1857	115.15	104.56	78.96	48.20	100.00
1858	118.16	77.92	85.44	16.07	100.00
1859	112.74	67.96	86.94	42.87	100.00
1860	106.51	65.74	90.09	45.66	100.00
1861	104.55	76.10	101.42	47.50	100.00
1862	109.71	58.11	99.36	54.58	100.00
1863	104.17	63.10	97.78	27.85	100.00
1864	107.99	75.69	87.30	13.28	100.00
1865	108.23	65.34	93.27	23.51	100.00
1866	107.05	57.25	94.92	10.31	100.00
1867	110.11	63.26	54.26	15.11	100.00
1868	109.83	72.85	52.20	14.65	100.00
1869	107.20	85.40	47.30	19.87	100.00
1870	105.16	106.60	41.82	17.75	100.00
1871	103.48	112.95	25.55	18.77	100.00
1872	107.85	71.31	50.95	40.16	100.00
1876	120.27	111.51	78.34	55.11	100.00
1877	145.29	89.54	63.98	35.28	100.00
1878	145.52	106.47	58.16	22.99	100.00
1879	117.15	152.80	50.44	21.26	100.00
1880	116.63	90.84	41.98	11.06	100.00
1881	111.18	127.87	20.85	16.33	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Engineering Tradesmen

11i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	40.18	9.60	50.22	0.00	100.00
1855	45.94	8.12	40.94	5.00	100.00
1856	40.43	11.91	43.32	4.33	100.00
1857	38.52	12.76	42.86	5.87	100.00
1858	36.62	4.23	49.30	9.86	100.00
1859	55.75	4.02	31.61	8.62	100.00
1860	50.36	12.41	23.36	13.87	100.00
1861	47.37	13.16	23.68	15.79	100.00
1862	27.48	22.90	39.69	9.92	100.00
1863	61.35	6.13	23.93	8.59	100.00
1864	36.55	5.62	40.16	17.67	100.00
1865	65.96	7.23	17.66	9.15	100.00
1866	60.70	10.85	14.37	14.08	100.00
1867	54.72	12.89	15.41	16.98	100.00
1868	62.81	8.54	11.95	16.70	100.00
1869	63.30	16.29	11.61	8.80	100.00
1870	64.81	12.17	15.84	7.18	100.00
1871	60.93	8.85	10.32	19.90	100.00
1872	51.39	15.63	12.42	20.56	100.00
1876	32.67	0.17	31.33	35.83	100.00
1877	21.46	0.29	39.20	39.06	100.00
1878	23.15	0.91	39.33	36.61	100.00
1879	41.99	0.30	37.73	19.98	100.00
1880	49.59	1.50	20.98	27.93	100.00
1881	54.17	0.86	19.54	25.43	100.00

11ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	0.32	0.38	0.87	0.00	0.48
1855	0.47	0.54	0.83	6.93	0.61
1856	0.36	0.73	0.67	2.32	0.51
1857	0.41	0.94	0.63	5.25	0.57
1858	0.52	0.56	0.90	2.55	0.73
1859	0.40	0.94	0.45	0.70	0.44
1860	0.23	1.58	0.33	1.59	0.33
1861	0.31	1.06	0.28	1.60	0.39
1862	0.34	1.62	0.66	2.89	0.63
1863	0.50	0.82	0.53	4.59	0.57
1864	0.14	0.26	0.58	2.44	0.28
1865	0.48	0.39	0.56	2.58	0.53
1866	0.32	0.58	0.53	3.11	0.41
1867	0.27	0.57	0.94	3.36	0.41
1868	0.49	0.44	1.29	5.09	0.63
1869	0.37	0.55	1.07	3.30	0.47
1870	0.58	0.56	1.77	2.94	0.69
1871	0.33	0.28	1.06	4.84	0.43
1872	0.26	0.87	0.99	2.90	0.42
1876	0.82	0.02	1.51	3.59	1.27
1877	0.88	0.05	2.32	5.73	1.86
1878	0.74	0.10	1.73	5.33	1.44
1879	1.04	0.03	2.35	3.53	1.38
1880	0.53	0.11	2.03	3.03	0.79
1881	0.51	0.06	2.08	2.45	0.71

11iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	66.87	79.58	181.01	0.00	100.00
1855	76.47	88.11	135.27	1133.29	100.00
1856	70.29	142.07	130.74	453.28	100.00
1857	72.40	164.87	111.53	923.08	100.00
1858	70.79	76.59	123.44	350.09	100.00
1859	90.89	211.50	100.95	158.20	100.00
1860	70.10	484.71	102.67	487.38	100.00
1861	80.22	275.54	73.19	413.38	100.00
1862	53.79	257.06	104.94	457.19	100.00
1863	88.58	145.15	94.00	811.49	100.00
1864	50.63	91.44	204.77	861.55	100.00
1865	91.74	73.95	107.27	491.93	100.00
1866	76.77	139.71	127.33	750.07	100.00
1867	66.85	137.93	228.99	817.49	100.00
1868	78.60	69.88	205.89	808.74	100.00
1869	79.45	116.60	227.04	703.44	100.00
1870	83.83	82.00	256.98	426.48	100.00
1871	75.92	64.28	245.45	1119.34	100.00
1872	61.16	204.78	232.95	685.06	100.00
1876	64.34	1.66	118.32	281.71	100.00
1877	47.19	2.73	124.78	308.77	100.00
1878	51.51	7.24	120.46	370.77	100.00
1879	75.45	2.12	170.32	255.43	100.00
1880	67.55	13.40	257.55	384.66	100.00
1881	71.82	8.13	294.75	346.58	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Textile Sector

12i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	66.78	8.13	25.09	0.00	100.00
1855	71.21	9.72	18.88	0.19	100.00
1856	66.33	13.78	19.90	0.00	100.00
1857	60.96	6.31	32.72	0.00	100.00
1858	55.86	12.50	31.25	0.39	100.00
1859	81.94	4.51	11.81	1.74	100.00
1860	87.64	4.49	7.30	0.56	100.00
1861	69.06	17.99	7.19	5.76	100.00
1862	79.29	13.58	7.13	0.00	100.00
1863	72.57	15.77	11.57	0.09	100.00
1864	65.65	28.66	5.61	0.09	100.00
1865	87.20	9.76	2.93	0.12	100.00
1866	90.17	8.47	1.36	0.00	100.00
1867	91.35	7.52	1.13	0.00	100.00
1868	90.52	6.16	3.08	0.24	100.00
1869	91.42	6.86	1.45	0.26	100.00
1870	90.67	6.29	3.04	0.00	100.00
1871	88.15	5.93	5.56	0.37	100.00
1872	87.48	9.94	2.39	0.20	100.00
1876	50.82	0.00	37.70	11.48	100.00
1877	43.33	0.00	50.00	6.67	100.00
1878	65.85	1.22	26.83	6.10	100.00
1879	83.00	7.33	9.33	0.33	100.00
1880	98.83	0.39	0.78	0.00	100.00
1881	94.21	1.20	4.19	0.40	100.00

12ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	1.37	0.83	1.11	0.00	1.23
1855	1.21	1.08	0.64	0.43	1.02
1856	0.83	1.19	0.43	0.00	0.72
1857	1.00	0.71	0.74	0.00	0.87
1858	0.71	1.49	0.51	0.09	0.66
1859	0.98	1.74	0.28	0.23	0.73
1860	0.52	0.74	0.14	0.08	0.42
1861	0.55	1.77	0.10	0.71	0.47
1862	2.20	2.16	0.27	0.00	1.42
1863	2.56	9.13	1.11	0.22	2.45
1864	1.22	6.23	0.38	0.06	1.34
1865	1.11	0.91	0.16	0.06	0.92
1866	0.92	0.88	0.10	0.00	0.80
1867	0.77	0.55	0.12	0.00	0.69
1868	0.57	0.25	0.27	0.06	0.50
1869	0.76	0.33	0.19	0.14	0.67
1870	0.58	0.21	0.25	0.00	0.50
1871	0.32	0.12	0.38	0.06	0.29
1872	0.47	0.59	0.20	0.03	0.46
1876	0.13	0.00	0.18	0.12	0.13
1877	0.08	0.00	0.13	0.04	0.08
1878	0.26	0.02	0.15	0.11	0.18
1879	0.63	0.21	0.18	0.02	0.42
1880	0.74	0.02	0.05	0.00	0.55
1881	0.64	0.06	0.32	0.03	0.51

12iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	111.15	67.41	90.42	0.00	100.00
1855	118.54	105.41	62.38	42.37	100.00
1856	115.30	164.27	60.05	0.00	100.00
1857	114.59	81.59	85.16	0.00	100.00
1858	107.98	226.58	78.25	13.87	100.00
1859	133.60	237.30	37.70	31.86	100.00
1860	121.99	175.56	32.10	19.74	100.00
1861	116.97	376.64	22.23	150.68	100.00
1862	155.18	152.46	18.85	0.00	100.00
1863	104.78	373.09	45.44	8.92	100.00
1864	90.94	466.07	28.62	4.15	100.00
1865	121.28	99.74	17.78	6.56	100.00
1866	114.03	109.08	12.06	0.00	100.00
1867	111.62	80.44	16.76	0.00	100.00
1868	113.28	50.42	53.06	11.48	100.00
1869	114.76	49.10	28.38	21.09	100.00
1870	117.28	42.37	49.37	0.00	100.00
1871	109.83	43.07	132.14	20.83	100.00
1872	104.09	130.22	44.75	6.63	100.00
1876	100.10	0.00	142.38	90.21	100.00
1877	95.30	0.00	159.17	52.71	100.00
1878	146.54	9.73	82.16	61.75	100.00
1879	149.14	51.02	42.13	4.26	100.00
1880	134.63	3.48	9.55	0.00	100.00
1881	124.91	11.29	63.23	5.44	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Farmers

13i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	67.35	13.09	19.54	0.02	100.00
1855	69.90	13.07	16.88	0.14	100.00
1856	72.68	11.39	15.78	0.15	100.00
1857	56.45	9.20	34.15	0.21	100.00
1858	54.93	8.83	35.55	0.70	100.00
1859	54.65	2.05	42.71	0.59	100.00
1860	78.95	3.53	16.60	0.92	100.00
1861	70.56	6.98	20.33	2.12	100.00
1862	56.63	13.91	28.42	1.04	100.00
1863	73.51	8.04	17.16	1.29	100.00
1864	71.95	12.86	12.77	2.42	100.00
1865	70.41	16.94	10.56	2.08	100.00
1866	76.94	14.76	6.67	1.63	100.00
1867	72.13	18.86	7.66	1.35	100.00
1868	68.01	24.33	6.10	1.56	100.00
1869	70.51	24.75	4.30	0.43	100.00
1870	74.61	19.45	5.45	0.49	100.00
1871	73.55	21.21	4.78	0.46	100.00
1872	82.46	13.25	3.64	0.64	100.00
1876	65.77	14.60	15.29	4.33	100.00
1877	57.13	5.85	27.33	9.69	100.00
1878	60.92	6.71	25.58	6.80	100.00
1879	59.20	4.76	31.55	4.50	100.00
1880	77.59	5.93	10.45	6.02	100.00
1881	76.33	6.56	10.33	6.78	100.00

13ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	16.27	15.76	10.22	2.88	14.52
1855	15.93	19.41	7.64	4.33	13.69
1856	15.40	16.55	5.80	1.93	12.18
1857	14.01	15.70	11.73	4.34	13.20
1858	12.15	18.30	10.19	2.83	11.44
1859	10.07	12.18	15.42	1.21	11.30
1860	12.52	15.71	8.31	3.68	11.39
1861	12.99	15.90	6.83	6.03	10.87
1862	11.02	15.52	7.47	4.77	9.94
1863	10.94	19.60	6.95	12.55	10.30
1864	8.21	17.24	5.37	9.71	8.24
1865	6.93	12.26	4.54	7.93	7.08
1866	7.70	15.05	4.68	6.86	7.92
1867	7.86	17.99	10.16	5.78	8.92
1868	7.37	17.25	9.11	6.53	8.66
1869	7.36	14.72	6.99	2.88	8.31
1870	7.40	10.04	6.78	2.22	7.66
1871	7.84	13.19	9.73	2.21	8.56
1872	8.16	14.43	5.68	1.78	8.31
1876	9.96	11.19	4.44	2.62	7.69
1877	8.27	3.68	5.73	5.04	6.58
1878	9.72	3.83	5.61	4.93	7.17
1879	8.02	2.49	10.74	4.33	7.54
1880	8.19	4.11	9.95	6.42	7.75
1881	4.29	2.62	6.60	3.91	4.24

13iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	112.10	108.54	70.42	19.87	100.00
1855	116.36	141.78	55.79	31.63	100.00
1856	126.35	135.79	47.62	15.84	100.00
1857	106.10	118.90	88.86	32.85	100.00
1858	106.18	159.98	89.02	24.72	100.00
1859	89.10	107.77	136.40	10.75	100.00
1860	109.89	137.88	72.99	32.30	100.00
1861	119.51	146.27	62.83	55.51	100.00
1862	110.83	156.12	75.14	48.00	100.00
1863	106.14	190.24	67.41	121.85	100.00
1864	99.68	209.22	65.10	117.77	100.00
1865	97.94	173.18	64.16	112.05	100.00
1866	97.30	190.06	59.15	86.67	100.00
1867	88.13	201.78	113.88	64.86	100.00
1868	85.11	199.11	105.12	75.40	100.00
1869	88.52	177.13	84.14	34.64	100.00
1870	96.50	131.06	88.48	28.93	100.00
1871	91.64	154.14	113.71	25.84	100.00
1872	98.13	173.58	68.32	21.44	100.00
1876	129.56	145.58	57.74	34.07	100.00
1877	125.63	55.92	87.01	76.60	100.00
1878	135.56	53.51	78.33	68.83	100.00
1879	106.37	33.09	142.42	57.49	100.00
1880	105.70	53.07	128.34	82.88	100.00
1881	101.20	61.88	155.76	92.40	100.00

DETAILS PERTAINING TO:Agricultural Labourers, Gardeners &c

14i Proportions of Occ Group Going to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	16.34	5.34	78.32	0.00	100.00
1855	6.58	6.10	87.18	0.13	100.00
1856	3.39	5.11	90.94	0.56	100.00
1857	21.74	4.49	73.47	0.31	100.00
1858	3.88	5.27	85.16	5.69	100.00
1859	9.83	2.18	60.13	27.86	100.00
1860	12.48	2.35	66.63	18.54	100.00
1861	4.42	6.28	77.35	11.95	100.00
1862	6.60	6.40	82.81	4.18	100.00
1863	5.40	6.38	85.10	3.12	100.00
1864	15.54	2.76	80.39	1.31	100.00
1865	12.66	2.91	82.17	2.26	100.00
1866	39.96	6.28	49.11	4.66	100.00
1867	15.84	7.92	63.46	12.78	100.00
1868	23.95	6.19	38.70	31.17	100.00
1869	35.58	3.46	56.88	4.09	100.00
1870	21.71	10.34	66.34	1.60	100.00
1871	36.43	8.78	52.83	1.96	100.00
1872	23.45	11.49	54.22	10.84	100.00
1876	2.13	3.76	93.09	1.02	100.00
1877	1.35	0.27	98.23	0.15	100.00
1878	1.57	1.07	97.33	0.03	100.00
1879	3.51	0.78	95.49	0.22	100.00
1880	25.68	30.96	42.95	0.41	100.00
1881	12.57	6.32	80.43	0.67	100.00

14ii Occ Group as a Proportion of Total to Each Destination:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	2.19	3.57	22.74	0.00	8.06
1855	1.25	7.54	32.84	3.46	11.40
1856	0.51	5.24	23.58	5.02	8.59
1857	3.45	4.90	16.14	4.11	8.44
1858	0.51	6.52	14.55	13.78	6.82
1859	0.82	5.89	9.85	26.21	5.13
1860	0.70	3.72	11.84	26.34	4.04
1861	0.33	5.75	10.44	13.66	4.37
1862	0.76	4.22	12.86	11.32	5.87
1863	0.20	3.91	8.66	7.64	2.59
1864	0.54	1.13	10.32	1.61	2.52
1865	0.37	0.62	10.35	2.52	2.07
1866	1.13	1.81	9.76	5.57	2.24
1867	0.24	1.04	11.54	7.52	1.22
1868	0.45	0.76	10.03	22.72	1.50
1869	0.62	0.35	15.55	4.56	1.40
1870	0.50	1.23	19.02	1.68	1.77
1871	0.66	0.93	18.40	1.61	1.46
1872	0.63	3.40	22.96	8.16	2.26
1876	0.31	2.73	25.57	0.58	7.27
1877	0.32	0.28	33.88	0.13	10.83
1878	0.46	1.13	39.52	0.04	13.26
1879	0.36	0.31	24.75	0.16	5.74
1880	1.47	11.67	22.21	0.24	4.21
1881	0.45	1.62	32.91	0.25	2.71

14iii Ratios of Observed to Expected Numbers:

YEAR	United States	British North America	Australasia	Elsewhere	Total
1854	27.19	44.30	282.27	0.00	100.00
1855	10.96	66.13	288.09	30.38	100.00
1856	5.90	60.96	274.44	58.43	100.00
1857	40.86	57.98	191.19	48.67	100.00
1858	7.50	95.58	213.25	201.95	100.00
1859	16.03	114.85	192.02	511.17	100.00
1860	17.37	91.97	292.87	651.56	100.00
1861	7.49	131.59	239.02	312.79	100.00
1862	12.92	71.83	218.93	192.75	100.00
1863	7.79	150.90	334.34	294.99	100.00
1864	21.53	44.83	409.88	63.89	100.00
1865	17.61	29.74	499.09	121.68	100.00
1866	50.53	80.87	435.13	248.11	100.00
1867	19.35	84.73	943.13	615.11	100.00
1868	29.97	50.62	666.51	1509.43	100.00
1869	44.66	24.74	1112.34	326.52	100.00
1870	28.09	69.69	1076.60	94.98	100.00
1871	45.39	63.82	1256.59	110.20	100.00
1872	27.91	150.47	1016.92	361.36	100.00
1876	4.19	37.52	351.51	8.03	100.00
1877	2.97	2.58	312.72	1.16	100.00
1878	3.50	8.51	298.05	0.33	100.00
1879	6.31	5.43	431.05	2.81	100.00
1880	34.98	276.89	527.22	5.62	100.00
1881	16.67	59.60	1213.29	9.18	100.00

Notes to Tableset

1. Total for all male adults whose occupations were distinguished are given in Appendix V.II.

2. The total percentages for table-types i) and iii) do not always add up to 100.00 exactly (although they are usually accurate to within .01%). This is because the percentages are derived from a fortran subroutine which repeatedly used the fifth column as denominator.

3. As 'mechanics' were specified from 1872 only, tabulations for group 11b are not provided.

V.V GENDER, MARITAL STATUS AND DEPENDENCY RATIOS: EMIGRANTS DEPARTING UK PORTS FOR THE MAIN REGIONS OF DESTINATION, 1854-72

Table One — Adult Women Per 100 Adult Men [a]

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1854	72.98	91.29	72.93	15.56	74.87
1855	85.17	65.97	66.08	30.64	77.60
1857	76.89	69.83	59.37	65.10	70.54
1858	77.24	83.20	73.91	58.51	75.87
1859	87.28	97.16	73.75	146.52	86.67
1860	85.61	73.07	73.06	85.96	82.31
1861	84.85	77.94	70.08	54.60	78.33
1862	82.87	57.50	67.51	51.57	73.76
1863	72.35	74.50	72.10	41.92	71.74
1864	68.70	59.00	76.25	42.92	68.35
1865	61.53	42.94	69.86	45.76	60.53
1866	58.02	41.59	78.95	44.43	58.66
1867	62.38	46.30	89.18	41.33	61.98
1868	61.53	48.85	72.70	44.49	60.16
1869	55.50	48.59	71.77	42.20	55.16
1870	62.69	55.16	73.74	39.16	61.55
1871	61.20	52.68	82.86	45.40	60.49
1872	61.16	52.65	71.12	43.75	59.90

Table Two — Men Per 100 Adults

	USA	BNA	AUST.	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1854	57.81	52.28	57.83	86.54	57.18
1855	53.83	52.79	50.00	73.22	52.58
1856	54.00	60.25	60.21	76.55	56.30
1857	56.53	58.88	62.75	60.57	58.64
1858	56.42	54.58	57.50	63.09	56.86
1859	53.39	50.72	57.55	40.56	53.57
1861	54.10	56.20	58.80	64.68	56.07
1862	54.68	63.49	59.70	65.98	57.55
1863	58.02	57.31	58.11	70.46	58.23
1864	59.28	62.90	56.74	69.97	59.40
1866	63.28	70.62	55.88	69.24	63.03
1867	61.59	68.35	52.86	70.75	61.73
1868	61.91	67.18	57.90	69.21	62.44
1869	64.31	67.30	58.22	70.32	64.45
1870	61.47	64.45	57.56	71.86	61.90
1871	62.03	65.50	54.69	68.77	62.31
1872	62.05	65.51	58.44	69.56	62.54

Table Three — Single Women Per 100 Single Men [b]

	USA	BNA	AUST.	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1856	73.42	48.24	49.07	20.39	64.27
1857	64.82	51.84	44.36	62.85	57.35
1858	64.15	68.47	60.51	36.80	62.52
1859	77.37	79.12	59.39	46.11	70.58
1860	75.96	55.65	59.99	49.81	70.94
1861	75.05	61.68	53.35	41.48	65.86
1862	71.44	42.46	54.42	29.99	59.19
1864	53.94	42.83	64.18	37.05	54.62
1865	49.98	27.19	55.21	40.45	47.95
1866	44.44	26.31	67.23	28.67	45.07
1867	49.55	29.84	81.09	24.64	49.05
1868	46.60	30.03	63.13	26.99	45.12
1869	39.97	27.80	61.71	38.59	39.58
1870	46.70	33.55	62.99	36.06	45.79
1871	47.39	32.49	72.46	47.58	46.45
1872	46.78	32.93	56.86	38.75	45.39

Table Four — Married Women Per 100 Married Men

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1856	129.28	132.73	107.69	104.35	121.65
1857	125.88	112.11	108.72	70.83	117.95
1858	126.38	124.74	113.72	92.46	119.56
1859	128.61	174.03	117.35	344.94	144.34
1860	126.19	149.60	123.03	153.27	127.58
1861	121.20	130.52	130.52	89.61	123.17
1862	125.85	117.87	113.84	110.16	119.85
1863	126.44	117.37	110.27	70.73	120.08
1864	138.27	109.91	114.40	50.15	121.75
1865	105.30	121.79	111.14	51.71	105.06
1866	118.83	99.28	118.47	81.21	115.29
1867	112.88	106.98	119.31	95.66	112.04
1868	115.23	115.93	111.68	90.42	113.93
1869	112.23	115.43	107.47	45.73	108.68
1870	121.31	118.84	107.29	41.94	113.56
1871	108.04	128.96	114.61	43.77	105.46
1872	109.79	137.88	111.31	48.64	106.25

Table Five — Single Women Per 100 Married Women

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1854	337.74	238.99	148.37	0.00	253.30
1855	217.37	158.87	197.04	275.86	204.09
1856	213.15	136.89	111.40	140.62	174.55
1857	208.95	108.68	134.20	226.05	174.66
1858	190.48	154.75	158.03	62.23	171.08
1859	250.71	193.65	153.67	26.42	175.19
1860	253.05	163.34	186.34	60.51	221.26
1861	229.67	152.88	147.61	123.48	192.25
1862	213.53	144.59	169.17	121.63	188.58
1863	203.54	126.75	175.76	102.39	189.78
1864	179.97	111.74	139.93	87.77	161.55
1866	167.50	100.00	191.24	82.33	62.98
1867	172.86	102.81	252.93	83.82	169.42
1868	130.08	77.38	203.86	82.42	125.10
1870	141.19	83.21	183.12	77.03	133.07
1871	148.73	95.17	192.90	81.45	141.04
1872	144.14	103.24	144.00	77.94	136.45

Table Six — Single Men Per 100 Married Men

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1856	375.31	376.64	244.52	719.57	330.36
1857	405.77	235.04	328.85	254.76	359.22
1858	375.28	281.93	297.02	156.35	327.19
1859	416.78	425.97	303.63	197.61	358.28
1860	420.37	439.11	382.14	186.19	397.94
1861	370.90	323.47	361.16	266.75	359.53
1862	376.15	401.39	353.91	373.44	368.89
1863	430.47	257.23	321.77	241.46	385.05
1864	471.42	314.90	316.18	123.16	389.08
1865	379.13	500.61	281.70	112.22	353.95
1866	447.89	377.39	337.03	233.24	416.89
1867	393.77	368.65	372.14	325.44	387.01
1868	359.67	356.54	407.27	262.49	357.52
1869	365.26	321.32	355.02	97.67	343.48
1870	366.75	294.73	311.95	89.58	329.99
1871	339.10	377.77	305.12	74.93	320.25
1872	338.29	432.26	281.86	97.83	319.39

Table Seven — Children Per 100 Adults [c]

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1854	28.57	46.50	29.39	12.09	30.95
1855	31.37	51.64	28.50	20.64	32.32
1856	23.24	34.09	26.32	10.15	24.77
1857	21.01	38.27	23.26	17.48	23.03
1858	19.92	39.57	24.27	39.55	23.17
1859	17.33	33.30	24.18	58.49	22.72
1860	18.05	29.75	20.63	23.59	19.70
1861	18.05	29.75	20.63	23.59	19.70
1862	19.04	27.59	21.90	21.77	20.87
1863	22.85	39.58	22.80	15.85	23.45
1864	24.02	29.51	22.49	12.59	23.57
1865	23.35	21.44	23.40	13.13	22.80
1866	21.66	23.50	21.11	15.15	21.51
1867	22.73	25.97	19.35	13.59	22.41
1868	25.49	29.70	19.35	19.68	25.31
1869	26.30	32.76	19.75	14.00	26.44
1870	26.67	38.48	23.02	14.06	27.55
1871	24.81	32.86	24.20	14.08	25.45
1872	24.11	30.15	24.74	18.29	24.54

Table Eight — Children Per 100 Married Women

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1854	296.42	330.33	173.06	0.00	255.36
1855	215.66	283.16	169.28	289.66	207.24
1856	158.22	203.18	139.85	104.17	155.64
1857	149.36	194.24	146.21	144.54	152.93
1858	132.79	221.97	147.36	173.82	145.57
1859	130.40	198.41	144.52	124.41	134.64
1860	127.71	153.10	138.83	123.56	130.79
1861	129.67	171.76	123.98	149.28	131.09
1862	131.74	184.84	146.27	141.84	141.89
1863	165.19	210.20	150.05	108.61	162.66
1864	167.43	177.11	144.22	80.06	159.43
1865	171.62	151.16	136.51	78.52	158.18
1866	157.81	159.97	139.38	89.80	153.00
1867	161.47	166.45	144.84	85.42	157.82
1868	164.26	174.08	151.79	113.98	162.80
1869	169.57	177.68	143.66	86.04	167.39
1870	166.95	198.30	153.57	88.46	168.55
1871	162.53	185.90	156.44	81.83	162.77
1872	155.08	177.65	145.24	106.96	154.88

Table Nine

Female Children Per 100 Male Children

	USA	BNA	AUST	ELSE.	ALL DESTS.
1854	89.49	91.80	105.16	75.00	93.70
1855	95.26	92.98	97.60	102.70	95.59
1856	95.07	89.50	95.43	144.12	94.70
1857	95.25	95.08	94.61	116.42	95.11
1858	100.97	87.49	92.01	100.00	95.86
1859	99.54	90.11	94.59	93.73	96.44
1860	100.14	82.63	91.36	101.92	97.25
1861	98.88	92.55	96.39	84.08	96.58
1862	96.84	92.86	95.27	81.82	95.38
1863	95.14	89.12	93.51	81.02	94.03
1864	94.31	86.63	94.32	85.75	93.51
1865	91.60	82.10	92.14	95.42	91.02
1866	90.10	75.44	90.14	95.18	89.14
1867	91.22	85.91	94.18	111.32	91.32
1868	87.45	79.57	99.67	95.02	87.34
1869	87.78	94.13	98.38	81.94	89.20
1870	88.21	92.73	99.49	93.84	89.79
1871	86.28	92.88	91.93	89.95	87.69
1872	90.18	87.96	93.91	94.60	90.24

a The normal convention for expressing the sex ratio (i.e. in terms of men per 100 women) has been inverted for all tables in Appendices V.V - V.VII. (This is because there were usually more men than women in emigrant groups, and the extent to which women were under-represented is easier to see if expressed in terms of a fraction of a hundred.)

b Information about marital status is not available for 1854 and 1855.

c Before 1856 'children' were defined as persons under 15 years of age; the official age for children was lowered to 12 years and under, thereafter.

V.VI DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF SCOTTISH EMIGRANTS

Table One Gender and Marital Status Indices: Scottish Emigrants Departing UK Ports for the Major Regions of Settlement, 1877-81

		Tot Adults n	1 %	2 %	3 %	4 %	5 %	6 %
1877	USA	2,875	62.89	61.39	40.99	167.32	116.80	476.80
	BNA	656	56.56	63.87	38.33	144.44	127.89	481.94
	AUST	2,607	57.81	63.37	41.61	109.37	121.07	318.23
	ELSE	972	36.71	73.15	20.20	74.54	62.11	229.17
	TOT	7,110	56.37	63.95	38.06	122.25	111.99	359.76
1878	USA	3,355	58.26	63.19	33.75	175.68	92.07	479.24
	BNA	929	51.55	65.99	30.68	161.22	100.00	525.51
	AUST	3,735	59.62	62.65	43.16	102.30	109.01	258.37
	ELSE	917	34.26	74.48	20.67	62.56	72.44	219.21
	TOT	8,936	55.25	64.41	35.67	120.94	98.37	333.54
1879	USA	7,390	46.57	68.23	24.03	177.81	79.69	582.27
	BNA	1,338	36.39	73.32	21.07	144.26	102.84	704.10
	AUST	4,753	59.18	62.82	41.76	106.06	105.94	269.10
	ELSE	1,108	29.44	77.26	14.98	66.95	57.50	256.90
	TOT	14,589	47.89	67.62	27.86	131.38	88.36	416.61
1880	USA	11,049	57.53	63.48	31.49	220.37	89.35	625.34
	BNA	2,518	41.70	70.57	23.76	133.33	90.98	510.65
	AUST	2,459	65.70	60.35	53.91	108.41	180.17	362.31
	ELSE	1,117	52.46	65.59	23.70	100.00	39.18	165.29
	TOT	17,098	54.78	64.61	32.68	163.26	98.20	490.75
1881	USA	14,015	53.89	64.98	30.83	208.81	99.19	671.78
	BNA	2,405	41.80	70.52	24.66	156.82	105.51	670.91
	AUST	1,908	65.63	60.38	54.91	96.62	164.34	289.19
	ELSE	2,524	35.77	73.65	21.20	71.09	72.28	242.36
	TOT	21,752	57.46	63.51	30.73	195.67	81.19	516.97

Key to Columns:
1 Adult women per 100 adult men
2 Men as a percentage of all adults
3 Unmarried women per 100 unmarried men
4 Married women per 100 married men
5 Unmarried women per 100 married women
6 Unmarried men per 100 married men

Table Two Girls Per 100 Boys, and Proportions of Children Relative to Total Adults and Married women: Scottish Emigrants Departing UK Ports for the Major Regions of Settlement, 1877-81

		Total Children	Female/Male Children	Children/ Tot Adults	Children/ Tot Mar Women
1877	USA	541	87.85	18.82	105.66
	BNA	138	76.92	21.04	132.69
	AUST	643	93.68	24.66	148.84
	ELSE	221	135.11	22.74	137.27
	TOT	1,543	94.82	21.70	127.63
1878	USA	638	91.02	19.02	99.22
	BNA	226	89.92	24.33	143.04
	AUST	1,136	88.39	30.42	170.57
	ELSE	151	112.68	16.47	118.90
	TOT	917	90.86	24.07	134.94
1879	USA	1,956	91.77	26.47	148.86
	BNA	332	96.45	24.81	188.64
	AUST	1,642	87.87	34.55	191.38
	ELSE	184	84.00	16.61	115.00
	TOT	4,114	90.20	28.20	164.04
1880	USA	3,422	91.60	30.97	160.58
	BNA	703	102.01	27.92	181.19
	AUST	600	76.99	24.40	172.41
	ELSE	233	104.39	19.80	80.07
	TOT	4,958	91.65	29.00	162.40
1881	USA	4,223	90.14	30.13	171.39
	BNA	777	77.40	32.31	225.22
	AUST	525	86.83	27.52	183.57
	ELSE	449	95.22	17.79	116.32
	TOT	5,974	88.45	27.46	136.36

APPENDIX SIX

KINSHIP AND EMIGRATION.

The following tables relate to the extent and nature of functional relationships between emigrants and their kin. Appendix VI. I shows the kin and family composition of the households in which emigrants had dwelt prior to their emigration. Other tables bear upon the emigration experience itself. Appendices VI.II - VI.IV relate to kinship and other types of connection between emigrants who travelled on the same ship. Appendices VI.V and VI.VI present attempts to quantify different types of 'chain' emigration.

VI.I HOUSEHOLDS BY KIN COMPOSITION[a] ELMDON, ESSEX 1861[b] AND THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP (DISTINGUISHING THE LATTER BY OCCUPATION OF HOUSEHOLD HEAD)[c]

HOUSEHOLD TYPE	Occupations Elmdon, Essex, 1861 %	All in the 'census -traced' group %	Farmers %	Crofters %	Farm Workers %	Miners %	Building Workers %	Manuf. GroupP %	Manuf Group-I %	Merch-ants %	Retailers %	Professl. & Indeps. %	Clerical Workers %
Solitaries	6.1	1.7	1.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.9	0.0	3.3	0.0	2.5	3.8
No-family households	7.0	4.5	7.0	0.0	3.6	0.0	4.7	2.4	1.2	0.0	8.5	12.5	11.5
Simple-family households	73.0	73.2	72.1	63.6	82.1	83.9	67.4	70.7	79.0	60.0	76.7	62.5	65.4
Extended-family households	12.2	16.0	12.8	22.7	12.5	16.1	23.3	8.3	17.3	23.3	8.5	10.0	15.4
Multiple-family households	1.7	4.7	7.0	13.6	1.8	0.0	4.7	3.7	2.5	13.3	6.4	12.5	3.8
TOTAL (%)	100.0	100.1	100.1	99.9	100.0	100.0	100.1	100.0	100.0	99.9	100.0	100.0	99.9
TOTAL (n)	115	664[d]	86	22	56	31	43	82	81	30	47	40	26

Notes to Appendix VI.I

a The classification of household type according to kin composition is based on Peter Laslett's work. (See for example: P Laslett, 'Family and Household as Work Group, and Kin group: Areas of Traditional Europe Compared', in R.Wall, J.Robin and P.Laslett, eds. *Family Forms in Historic Europe* (Cambridge, 1983), pp. 513-60

b The figures for Elmdon, Essex are taken from Laslett, op.cit. pp. 518-9; the working of figures in Laslett's table is attributed to Jean Robin.

c See Appendix Four for notes on classification of occupations. The above table shows only selected occupations. (Those excluded are the building management category, labourers, transport workers, public service officials (group 1), the armed forces, workers in domestic, outdoor, and other service, other rural workers, dependents and paupers.)

d Kin composition of household is missing or unclassifiable for 29 of the 693 households in the 'census-traced' group.

VI.II A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES OF KIN CONNECTIONS BETWEEN EMIGRANT 'FAMILIES' [a]

	I The 'census-traced' group		II The 'in-depth' group	
	n	%	n	%
No obvious kin	417	72.5	123	62.8
Lateral-through woman	36	6.3	20	10.2
Lateral-through man	49	8.5	21	10.7
Lateral-no sex difference[b]	7	1.2	6	3.1
Lineal, through woman	18	3.1	7	3.6
Lineal, through man	6	1.0	3	1.5
Lineal, no sex difference [c]	8	1.4	8	1.5
Lineal and lateral, woman	8	1.4	3	1.5
Lineal and lateral, man	22	3.8	6	3.1
Lineal and lateral, no sex difference	2	0.3	2	1.0
Combination	2	0.3	2	1.0
TOTAL	578	99.8	196	100.0
(missing)	(208)	(26.6)	(35)	(15.2)

a The kin relationship is with reference to emigrants who travelled to New Zealand on the same ship. Each family unit in Appendix VI.II is representative of a family in the 'hierarchical' sense of the data-base although the value given for the kin relationship in each case is determined according to agnatic and affinal bonds between families in the 'conceptual' sense. (See Chapter Seven for an explanation of this methodological nicety).

b 'Sibling exchange' marriages which occurred, for example, when two sisters married two brothers (or, more pertinently with respect to the above, when a brother and a sister married a sister and a brother) and the consequent emigration of both families concerned, defined a kin relationship which could not be described as through either the man of the family or his spouse. In these instances the families identified took the value 'lateral relationship - no sex difference attributed'.

c Most 'lineal - no sex difference attributed' values were given when it was impossible to tell 'whose' mother was accompanying an emigrant family. (Confusion arose when it was not clear if the lady concerned was using her maiden name, her married name, or a name from a previous marriage.)

VI.III THE TRAVEL COMPANIONS OF EMIGRANT FAMILIES: A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE MAIN TYPES WHICH WERE BASED ON NEITHER KINSHIP NOR CONJUGAL TIES.

	I The 'census-traced' group		II The 'in-depth' group	
	n	%	n	%
1. None likely	363	72.7	125	78.1
2. Peers (male) [a]	73	14.6	17	10.6
3. Peers (female)	22	4.4	6	3.8
4. Employer	4	0.8	1	0.6
5. Employee(s)	11	2.2	6	3.8
6. Non-kin household member	15	3.0	3	1.9
7. Combination: 6+ (4 or 5)	11	2.2	2	1.3
TOTAL	499	99.9	160	100.1
(missing)	(284)	(36.3)	(71)	(30.7)

a The relationships given are with respect to family head or spouse, i.e. 'peers (male)' indicates that the travel companions were primarily associated with the husband of a family rather than with his wife.

VI.IV KINSHIP CONNECTIONS OF EMIGRANT FAMILIES ACCORDING TO FAMILY LIFE CYCLE. (THE 'CENSUS-TRACED' GROUP)[a]

Family Life Cycle Stage	n	No obvious kin %	Lateral-woman %	Lateral-man %	Lateral no sex difference %	Lineal woman %	Lineal man %	Lineal-no sex difference %	Lineal & lateral woman %	Lineal & lateral man %	Lineal & Lin. & Latt no sex diff. %	Combination %	Total %
1 - All children 3 less than 10, or wife less than 45 and childless	97	51.5	16.5	14.4	3.1	3.1	1.0	1.0	2.1	6.2	0.0	1.0	99.9
4 Some children lt 10, some ge 10	169	77.5	3.6	6.5	0.0	3.0	1.2	0.6	3.0	4.0	0.0	0.6	100.1
5 All children ge 10, some lt 20	108	84.3	0.9	4.6	0.9	2.8	0.0	2.8	0.9	1.9	0.9	0.0	100.0
6 All children 20 or over, or wife ge 45, no child at home	76	75.0	3.9	7.9	0.0	6.6	0.0	1.3	0.0	3.9	1.3	0.0	99.9
TOTAL	450	73.1	5.8	8.0	0.9	3.6	0.7	1.3	1.8	4.0	0.4	0.4	100.0

a Notes to Tables 7.5 and Appendix VI.II apply to Appendix VI.IV

VI.V FAMILY CHAIN EMIGRATION: A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES [a]

	I The 'census-traced' group		II The 'in-depth' group	
	n	%	n	%
No chain emigration	221	65.2	118	68.6
Married person followed by spouse	5	1.5	1	0.6
Parent followed by spouse and children	23	6.8	5	2.9
Parent & children followed by spouse (& children)	5	1.5	2	1.2
(sub-total)	(33)	(9.8)	(8)	(4.7)
Parent(s) & children followed by children	21	6.2	8	4.7
Son(s) followed by parents and siblings	18	5.3	8	4.7
Daughter(s) followed by parents and siblings	4	1.2	2	1.2
Son(s) and daughters followed by parents and siblings	10	2.9	7	4.1
(sub-total)	(32)	(9.4)	(17)	(10.0)
Sons followed by siblings only	27	8.0	18	10.5
Daughters followed by siblings only	5	1.5	3	1.7
(sub-total)	(32)	(9.5)	(21)	(12.2)
TOTAL	339	100.1	172	100.2
(Nos missing)	(444)	(56.7)	(59)	(25.5)

a Units are emigrant families.
Generally row categories are described in terms of the family as it existed at census time. (Exceptions occur when a new family was formed after the census and this family is known to have emigrated in stages.)

VI.VI CHAIN EMIGRATION OF KIN OUTSIDE THE FAMILY UNIT (AS IT EXISTED AT CENSUS TIME)[a]: A FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF THE DIFFERENT TYPES

	I The 'census-traced' group		II The 'in-depth' group	
	n	%	n	%
No obvious kin	48	46.6	28	39.4
Lateral - through woman	12	11.7	10	14.1
Lateral - through man	16	15.5	10	14.1
Lateral - no sex difference	3	2.9	2	2.8
(sub-total)	(31)	(30.1)	(22)	(31.0)
Lineal - through woman	2	1.9	2	2.8
Lineal - through man	0	0.0	0	0.0
Lineal - no sex difference	1	1.0	1	1.4
(sub-total)	(3)	(2.9)	(3)	(4.2)
Lineal and lateral, woman	8	7.8	6	8.5
Lineal and lateral, man	8	7.8	7	9.9
Lineal and lateral, no sex difference	2	1.9	2	2.8
(sub-total)	(18)	(17.5)	(15)	(21.2)
Combination	3	2.9	3	4.2
TOTAL	103	100.0	71	100.0
(Nos missing)	(680)	(86.8)	(160)	(69.3)

a If a new family was formed between census and emigration time, and this family was known to have emigrated in stages, then 'kin outside the family unit' might refer to what had been the focal conjugal unit at the time of the census.