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ENGLISH MIGRANTS TO EASTERN AUSTRALIA

1815-1860

Janet Lyndall Doust

May 2004

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy of The Australian National University
This thesis contains no material which has previously been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution and, to the best of my knowledge, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis examines English immigration to eastern Australia between 1815 and 1860, dealing predominantly with the colonies of New South Wales and Victoria. I focus on the English because of their relative neglect in Australian immigration historiography, despite their being in the majority among the immigrants. I uncover evidence of origins, class, gender, motivation and culture. To provide a rounded picture of these immigrants, I use statistics and contemporary literary sources, principally correspondence, diaries and official and private archives, and compare the English immigrants in eastern Australia with English immigrants to the United States and with Scottish and Irish immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria in the same decades.

To analyse the origins, motives and skills of the immigrants, I employ demographic data and case studies and examine separately immigrants with capital and assisted immigrants. Overwhelmingly, for both sets of immigrants, the motive was to seek material success in the colonies, faster than they believed they could at home. For the majority, this overcame scruples about the primitive state of the colonial societies and the taint of convictism.

Land was a major attraction for many self-funded immigrants, who began to come into New South Wales in increasing numbers in the 1820s, initially mainly in family groups, but later larger numbers of single men were attracted to seek wealth prior to marriage. Many settled on the land as their primary source of income; others who came to practice in middle class professions were also keen to acquire town and country land for the status and wealth it promised, but lived and worked in urban areas. Chain migration was a common feature among middle class families in all decades. The gold rushes of the 1850s throw into stark relief the gambling element propelling so many people drawn from all but the poorest classes to chase fortunes.
In the promotion of the Australian colonies to labouring people through government-assisted passages, the period 1831-1836 was experimental. I analyse the steps taken, the lessons learned and the background, motivations and skills of the English people attracted by this early scheme. Revised recruitment criteria were put into action in 1837 and I examine a profile of the assisted immigrants from a one in sixty sample from that year to 1860. This longitudinal study shows that, despite contemporary and subsequent criticisms of the quality of the assisted immigrants, they fitted the categories demanded by the colonists and predominantly came from regions of England suffering economic decline.

To examine the culture and values of the English immigrants, I develop an extended case study of one family over two generations and analyse key themes emerging from the private papers of a cross-section of people. These two perspectives illustrate the contribution English immigrants made to the culture in eastern Australia and show how many of them maintained contact with family in England over a long period, while engaging actively in their new society.
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increasing delivery of services digitally over the internet. In Australia, I offer my appreciation to staff in the Menzies, Chifley and Hancock libraries at the Australian National University and to staff of the Noel Butlin Archives, also at the Australian National University, to staff in the National Library of Australia, particularly staff in the Petherick Room, the Microforms and Newspapers Reading Room and Manuscripts Reading Room, to staff in the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales, to staff in State Records New South Wales, to staff in the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, to staff in the University of Melbourne Archives. In England I wish to record my thanks to staff in the Public Record Office, Kew and to staff in the County Record Offices in Maidstone in Kent, in Lewes in East Sussex, in Chichester in West Sussex, in Dorchester in Dorset, in Barnstaple, Exeter and Plymouth in Devon, in Preston in Lancashire and in Lincoln in Lincolnshire. Thanks to the staff in the following libraries in England, the British Library, the National Maritime Museum, Liverpool, Liverpool Central Library, Manchester Central Library and the County Library, Lincoln.

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earlier career as an academic librarian and has taken to this new direction in our lives wonderfully. I am delighted that he has developed an idea which flowed out of my use of select committee reports of the New South Wales Legislative Council and turned it into a project of his own. It will be of inestimable benefit to future historians of colonial New South Wales when it is published later this year.
### Abbreviations

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<th>Abbreviation</th>
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<tr>
<td>ADB</td>
<td><em>Australian Dictionary of Biography</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>AJCP</td>
<td>Australian Joint Copying Project</td>
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<tr>
<td>AONSW</td>
<td>Archives Office of New South Wales (former title)</td>
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<tr>
<td>BPP</td>
<td><em>British Parliamentary Papers</em></td>
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<td>CLEC</td>
<td>Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners</td>
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<td>CO</td>
<td>Colonial Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>DNB</td>
<td><em>Dictionary of National Biography</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>DNZB</td>
<td><em>Dictionary of New Zealand Biography</em></td>
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<td>Devon Record Office</td>
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<td><em>Historical Records of Australia</em></td>
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<td>La Trobe Library</td>
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<td>Mitchell Library</td>
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<td>National Library of Australia</td>
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<td>NDRO</td>
<td>North Devon Record Office</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSW Col Sec</td>
<td>New South Wales Colonial Secretary</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSW PP</td>
<td>New South Wales <em>Parliamentary Papers</em></td>
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<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>New South Wales</td>
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<tr>
<td>NSWLA V&amp;P</td>
<td>New South Wales. Legislative Assembly, <em>Votes and Proceedings</em></td>
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<td>NSWLC V&amp;P</td>
<td>New South Wales. Legislative Council, <em>Votes and Proceedings</em></td>
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<td>PPD</td>
<td>Port Phillip District</td>
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<td>PRO</td>
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<td>PROV</td>
<td>Public Record Office of Victoria</td>
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<td>SRNSW</td>
<td>State Records New South Wales (current title)</td>
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<td>University of Melbourne Archives</td>
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<td>Vic</td>
<td>Victoria</td>
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<tr>
<td>VicLC V&amp;P</td>
<td>Victoria. Legislative Council <em>Votes and Proceedings</em></td>
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Introduction

My interest in the first period of mass migration to eastern Australia was kindled during the 1990s when I was living and working in England. From that distance, I wondered what motivated the first wave of poor migrants to come to Australia. Why did they venture on a long sea voyage to settle in a convict colony of dubious reputation? I have a personal interest in the genesis of this research. In 1837, my paternal great-great grandparents and their first five children came out as assisted immigrants from Devon to New South Wales. In the next two generations, other ancestors emigrated to Australia from south-east Scotland. In what must be fairly typical for an Australian with immigrant origins early in the nineteenth century, I have now discovered a convict ancestor, a female transported from Antrim, also in 1837.

immigration to Australia include the English in their analyses, sometimes explicitly, more often implicitly. There are some studies of English emigrants to Australia from particular regions. The only recent history of English emigration to Australia in the nineteenth century is an unpublished thesis covering the period 1860 to 1900. The motivations for emigration and the values, customs and lives of English immigrants in the colonial societies in Australia deserve far more attention in their own right: they should not just be seen as the majority against whom other groups differentiated themselves. The English surely deserve as much attention as the Irish, the next most numerous of the immigrant groups in nineteenth century Australia. I began my research on poor English migrants but have extended my focus to English migrants in general, to compare the experience of the different social classes.

This thesis examines English immigration to eastern Australia between 1815 and 1860 to assess the background, motives and values of the immigrants. I uncover evidence of origins, class, gender, motivation and culture. To provide a rounded picture, I use statistics and contemporary literary sources, principally correspondence, diaries and official and private archives. To analyse the origins, motives and skills of the immigrants, I employ demographic data and case studies and examine separately immigrants with capital and assisted immigrants.

From the early 1830s, people of limited means could gain a free, or heavily subsidised, passage as ‘assisted immigrants’ to the Australian colonies, if they met a

4 Nicole Tamara McLennan, "from home & kindred": English Emigration to Australia, 1860-1900' (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1998).
specified set of criteria. I sought to test the theory that the English assisted migrants might be conservative people, prepared to accept a paid passage to New South Wales, rather than risk their meagre funds on the voyage to north America. Prior to emigration, the men would have predominantly worked in pre-industrial trades and the women as domestic or farm servants, because of the skills demanded by New South Wales employers. Their acceptance of a paid passage and their clinging to their existing occupations, rather than moving into the modernising and industrialising economy in England or emigrating to the U.S.A., may have meant that there were fewer entrepreneurial people among them than among the poor migrants from England to north America.

If the immigrants to eastern Australia had been more adventurous would they not have gone to the United States or Canada, where the prospects of acquiring land and independence for themselves were a real possibility? It was common knowledge in England that Australian land was expensive and relatively inhospitable to the small farmer.\(^5\) By accepting a paid passage to the Australian colonies where dependence, rather than independence, was the most likely outcome, did not the assisted immigrants demonstrate a preference for security rather than risk? Would this conservatism be reflected in their subsequent lives and in the colonial society?

As my research progressed, I found a range of English migrants who had paid their own passages to eastern Australia and who appeared to have a variety of motives for coming to the colony. Some came to live permanently, some came intentionally for a short time before returning to England, and others lived for a period in one colony before moving to another. Many, after some decades in the colonies, retired to England. The motives of immigrants with capital were no doubt mixed, but there is an overwhelming sense that they were seeking wealth and

increased social status in the fluid society and economy of the expanding colonies, as William H. McNeill argued for nineteenth century European emigrants generally. He concluded that emigration from Europe was driven by individuals seeking wealth, chancing their luck on the basis that a few people were known to have made fortunes in the new world. What influence did the risk-takers and wealth-seekers have on the societies in colonial eastern Australia? Did their attitudes and life-styles modify the influence of the possibly more conservative assisted immigrants?

Social and immigration histories which take the nation state as their boundary tend to view the society under investigation as unique, isolated from influences in other parts of the world. Current globalisation debates and recent social history practice encourage a questioning of the nation state as the natural boundary of historical inquiry. In 1999 The Journal of American History ran a theme, ‘The nation and beyond’, in which transnational history and borders were the focus. At a sub-national level, the American Historical Review, also in 1999, featured a forum on ‘Bringing regionalism back to history’. Both the Australian Historical Association and the Canadian Historical Association Conferences in 2002 had a theme of ‘Boundaries’, in which boundaries could be interpreted as physical or metaphorical. Sub-national or transnational perspectives can illuminate similarities and differences in societies derived from common cultural roots.

This thesis concentrates on English immigrants to the original mainland colony of New South Wales during the period 1815 to 1860. This includes the area in the south-eastern corner which was to become the colony of Victoria. The southern region began to be permanently settled by the British in the 1830s and, as

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6 William H. McNeill, ‘World History and the Rise and Fall of the West’, *Journal of World History* 9, no. 2 (Fall 1998): 8 (Proquest 5000 full text online).
8 *The Journal of American History* 86, no. 3 (December 1999); *American Historical Review* 104, no. 4 (October 1999).
the Port Phillip District, quickly took on a separate identity from that of the older middle district, which was reduced in size in the 1850s but still called New South Wales. The area covered also includes the southern fringes of the eventual colony of Queensland, especially the Darling Downs, as this region was invaded by colonists from the New England district of New South Wales in the 1840s and was an important site of pastoral expansion and wealth generation. This study is limited to the eastern third of the Australian mainland to allow for a concentrated analysis, which provides sufficient regional variation and size to offer comparisons over time and place, without distorting the study to fit into a national framework, which is an anachronism for the period. The immigrants were coming to specific colonies and regions in the continent called Australia, not to a national entity known as Australia.

This research is confined to immigrants who arrived between 1815 and 1860. The year 1815 marks the ending of the long period of conflict involving, initially Britain and its north American colonies, and then Britain and France. After 1815, demobilization and a severe downturn in the economy prompted British people to consider again the option of emigration, following many years when it had not been feasible. I have chosen 1860 as the last year of arrival for the English immigrants under analysis, as this marked the mid-point in the assumption by individual colonies of the management of their own immigration programmes. For the purposes of this research, it was necessary to concentrate the period under investigation to examine immigrants in sufficient depth to ensure judgements are based on a wide range of evidence. Several other Australian immigrant studies, which have originated in doctoral or master’s theses, have adopted similar time-scales; some have examined the first half and others the second half of the nineteenth century, while a few straddle the mid-century divide.9

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The first chapter of this thesis reviews the context of English immigration to Australia. Eric Richards has urged historians of immigration to site their work within the long history of international population movements. He has followed this advice in his recent book, *Britannia's Children* which examines emigration from Britain and Ireland since the early seventeenth century. Research on immigration to Australia must recognise that it is a small part of a much larger migration stream and that it is a recent event in the history of emigration from the British Isles. In addition, despite Australia's geographical isolation, the Australian colonies were intimately linked with other parts of the world through international trade and communications networks, so that people in the Australian colonies were participants in a world-wide system with its centre in Britain.

With this perspective in mind, reinforced by my own predilection for comparative history, this detailed study of migration of English people to eastern Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century is placed within the broader context of the scholarship on English emigration to America. I believe that comparison with English migrants to the United States in the same decades, will provide a useful bench-mark against which to judge the English immigrants to eastern Australia. This is possible because of the availability of several recent studies on English immigrants in the United States in the mid-nineteenth century. They...

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12 McNeil, "World History and the Rise and Fall of the West", 7.

reflect an increase in histories of English emigrants to the United States, building on the pioneering work of Charlotte Erickson. In parallel, there has been growing interest in England in internal migration and emigration. Dudley Baines, Colin Pooley and others have contributed to a welcome revival of histories of English migration and mobility, a subject which had been relatively neglected since Arthur Redford’s work in the 1920s.14

Chapters Two and Three analyse the origins, motives and settlement of English immigrants with capital, those people who could afford to pay their own fares to travel to eastern Australia between 1815 and 1850. Land was a major attraction for many self-funded immigrants, who began to come into New South Wales in increasing numbers in the 1820s; initially they came mainly in family groups, but later larger numbers of single men were attracted to seek wealth prior to marriage. Many settled on the land as their primary source of income; others who came to practice in middle class professions were also keen to acquire town and country land for the status and wealth it promised, but lived and worked in urban areas. Chain migration was a common feature among middle class families.

Chapter Four examines the beginnings of government-assisted immigration from 1831 to 1836 and looks at the English men, women and children who took advantage of this early scheme. In the promotion of the Australian colonies to labouring people through government-assisted passages, the period 1831-1836 was experimental. This chapter analyses the steps taken and the lessons learned by the
British government and the administration in New South Wales. From lists produced in the Colonial Office it has been possible to assess some details on the background and skills of the English people attracted to New South Wales by this early scheme and to compare them with Charlotte Erickson's data on British emigrants to the United States in 1831.\textsuperscript{15}

Revised criteria for assisted immigrants were put into action in 1837 as a result of the assessment of requirements of New South Wales employers. Chapter Five considers the recruitment, background and motives of English people who migrated as assisted immigrants to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District (later Victoria) under these new conditions between 1837 and 1860. It also examines the tensions between the administration in New South Wales and the British government over the private bounty scheme managed at a distance from Sydney and the government scheme managed by the Colonial Office. Officials in Whitehall were the victors when the New South Wales scheme ran out of control, giving the Colonial Office sole management of assisted immigration to the Australian colonies for the next twenty years.

Chapter Six presents a detailed profile of the these English assisted immigrants, derived from a one in sixty sample of migrating groups to both destinations between 1837 and 1860. This sample includes data on English, Irish and Scots immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria in these years, so that the English assisted immigrants are compared with the assisted immigrants from these other countries of the United Kingdom. The numbers of Welsh assisted immigrants were too small to make comparison meaningful. Raymond Cohn's data on English immigrants to the United States from 1836 to 1853 has enabled me to compare the

\textsuperscript{15} Charlotte Erickson, 'Emigration From the British Isles to the United States of America in 1831', \textit{Leaving England}, 126-166.
English immigrants to eastern Australia with their contemporaries who chose the US as their destination in that period.\textsuperscript{16}

Chapter Seven examines self-paying English immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria in the gold rush years of the 1850s. This magnet throws into stark relief the gambling element propelling so many people to chase fortunes on the goldfields of eastern Australia or to participate in the expanding economies generated by the increased influx of immigrants. Many single men were attracted to the gold bonanza, considerably skewing the sex ratio, particularly in Victoria, which had the richest lodes of gold. Families and extended family chain migration can also be seen operating in the later years of the decade.

To examine the culture and values of the English immigrants, I develop an extended case study of one family over two generations and analyse key themes emerging from the private papers of a cross-section of people. These two perspectives illustrate the contribution English immigrants made to the culture in eastern Australia and show how many of them maintained contact with family in England over a long period, while engaging actively in their new society. Chapter Eight presents a study of an immigrant family with its origins in the English midlands and provides a view of their lives and activities from 1840 to 1900. Using personal papers of many people, Chapter Nine considers dominant elements in the culture and lives of English immigrants in Eastern Australia and teases out the contribution they made to the formation of culture in the colonial societies.

The issue of English/British identity in the former British colonies is complex and will be a minor thread running through this study, though not its main focus. The history and culture of the four countries in the British Isles and the creation of a

\textsuperscript{16} Cohn, 'Occupations of English Immigrants to the United States, 1836-1853'; Cohn, 'A Comparative Analysis of European Immigrant Streams to the United States During the Early Mass Migration'.
British identity is a controversial and variously interpreted issue.\textsuperscript{17} England was the dominant political and cultural force, but it was never a simple one-way power relationship. The Scots, Irish and Welsh were involved in the British project and made their own contributions to it, so that for many their own sense of British identity sat comfortably with their identity as Irish, Scots or Welsh.

The English culture in the south-east surrounding the seat of political power in London formed the cultural core of Britishness, so that even for people in other regions of England there could be various degrees of difference experienced between their local culture and the national culture. In the nineteenth century in all parts of the British Isles, local and regional cultural practices were the dominant features in many peoples' lives, unless they joined the growing band of internal migrants in search of more remunerative prospects elsewhere within the British Isles.\textsuperscript{18} People were able to live with multiple identities, some of which were more dominant than others, and the identities themselves were not immutable as they could be created, and recreated, to fit the spirit of the times.\textsuperscript{19}

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In determining whether an immigrant is English, I have taken the pragmatic decision that the dominant criteria are birthplace and education in England, but where possible, I note the background of the immigrant’s parents. This is where the complexity of multiple national identities and the role of Britishness come into play most meaningfully. How many generations do families from Scotland, Ireland or Wales have to live in England before they become English? Only the individuals involved could know what were their primary and secondary identities and it would be different for different individuals and families. I have made a commonsense definition of England to be that area determined by the settlements of 1536 with Wales and 1707 with Scotland. The borderlands are areas of ambiguity in identity for the inhabitants, but there were few marriages across these boundaries among the immigrants in this study. In the instances where I have found couples to be from different countries of the United Kingdom, I have noted this in discussion, where appropriate. When it occurred in my sampling of assisted immigrants, I have assigned the family to the father’s nationality for consistency, though this may not have been how they saw themselves.

Class as a category of analysis has suffered a decline in recent years, but it was not just Karl Marx and his followers who saw hierarchical divisions in society as significant. Few people in nineteenth century England were unaware of the differentiation based on property, wealth, income, occupation, and education and of their own place within this social system. The definitions of class among social theorists have been matters of dispute, but what cannot be denied is that the lived reality of class permeated the England from which the immigrants under investigation came. As Linda Young noted, a sea voyage of a few months was not sufficient to shed such a fundamental element of an individual’s socialization.

22 Linda Young, Middle-Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain (Basingstoke, Hants.: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 31-33.
Indeed, many shipboard and gold diggings journals and letters reveal the acute awareness of class distinctions and behaviour when people were crowded together in those unnatural surroundings. The fine gradations within and between classes experienced by contemporaries are unlikely to be captured in retrospect; however, for the purposes of judging a person’s background and class position I employ the following broad groupings: aristocracy, gentry, middle class (further subdivided into upper, middle and lower) and the working (or labouring) class (subdivided into skilled, unskilled and pauper).

It is important to keep the broader society in view, even while bringing a particular group into the foreground of the study. Immigrants and ethnic groups are sub-cultures of a broader society, the study of which will be richer if they are viewed as part of the surrounding society. This study of English immigrants makes a contribution to the social history of the eastern Australian colonies from the perspective of current social and cultural history practice; it uses a multi-disciplinary approach to tease out the motives, background, skills and responses of these people to their emigration from Britain and their lives in eastern Australia. It investigates the structures and processes of migration, as well as individual experience: it examines the roles of central government, local initiatives, other institutions and commercial operators in influencing and directing immigration to eastern Australia. These influences, combined with economic and personal factors propelling the potential emigrant, are underpinned by analyses of statistical data, drawn from a variety of sources, and as much information about individuals as I have been able to uncover.

My sources for the broad processes in this study come from published and unpublished documents in libraries, archives and record offices in England and Australia. In England I made extensive use of sources in the Public Record Office, the British Library and Record Offices in selected counties, chosen to sample a

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variety of contrasting regions: in the south in Devon, Dorset, East and West Sussex and Kent; in the north, Manchester, Liverpool and Preston; in East Anglia, Lincoln. In Australia, I have drawn on sources in the La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, the University of Melbourne Archives, State Records New South Wales, the Mitchell Library, State Library of New South Wales and the National Library of Australia. I have also found invaluable the long runs of government and private records, in print, on microfilm and now increasingly in digital form and available full-text over the internet. Many advances in the delivery of this variety of data are driven by the demands of genealogists, but they also have inestimable benefits for the historian studying populations and individuals in the past.

In order to provide the individual dimension to this study of English immigrants to eastern Australia, I have drawn on correspondence and diaries, and to a lesser extent, because of their reliance on fallible memory, reminiscences. These sources have been used by other immigration historians, some to illustrate points in broad analyses. In another type of immigration history, such as the books of Erickson, Fitzpatrick, O'Farrell and Hassam, the immigrants’ own written communications form the substance of the work.

I have collected as many sequences as I could of immigrants’ correspondence, diaries and reminiscences in the libraries and record offices noted above. With one exception, I have not used any material which was published in the lifetime of the author, because of the problems of distortion in publications intended for literary or propaganda purposes. Of course, unpublished communications have their own inherent biases and silences, but

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24 Erickson, Invisible Immigrants; Fitzpatrick, Oceans of Consolation; Andrew Hassam, Sailing to Australia: Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 199); O'Farrell, Letters from Irish Australia, 1825-1929.

by collecting as much of this literature as possible, the sheer accumulation of examples provides its own corrective to individual evasions and falsehoods.26 Using surviving private writing may favour the successful immigrant over the unsuccessful and the more educated over the less educated; but from the evidence I have gathered it is clear that people from a range of classes - the unsuccessful as well as the successful - are represented. However, there is a greater survival rate of papers of unassisted immigrants and this was a major reason for my demographic profiling of the assisted immigrants from the passenger lists. I have also made use of the wealth of research embodied in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* which has enabled me to develop some analyses on particular groups of relatively prominent people and to add some individual stories to augment the personal papers I have gathered.

My study combines the best approaches of social and cultural history with the techniques of demography. The colonial governments’ records of assisted immigrants provide a wealth of statistical data for assessing a number of variables at the individual level and also provide evidence about the groups in which individuals were emigrating. I conducted a systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Sydney and the Victorian Ports over a twenty four year period, 1837-1860. This enabled me to investigate the background and skills of each individual sampled and also the groups in which they were travelling. It provided data with which to compare the English assisted immigrants with the Scots and Irish arriving in New South Wales and Victoria at the same time. It also made possible the comparison with the English

immigrants to America from the mid 1830s to the mid 1850s. My analysis of this sample is reported in Chapter Six.

The assisted immigrant passenger data has been used by others, including Robert Shultz, in an early example of computer analysis, and more recently, Eric Richards and John McDonald. In the early days of historians' access to computers, Shultz analysed assisted immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria between 1837 and 1850 in his thesis submitted in 1971. It covers a shorter period than my sample and is necessarily more general in its approach than is now possible, in the light of greater understanding of demographic techniques, the miniaturization of computers and the increased body of literature on British and Irish immigrants. McDonald and Richards have used all the assisted immigrant data for the peak year of the first decade of assisted immigration, 1841, when the highest number of immigrants arrived before the gold rushes of the 1850s. The results they obtained from this one year of data are impressive and helped form my decision to take a longitudinal sample from 1837, when the records become more detailed and consistent to the chosen end date of 1860.

McDonald and Richards' findings on the background and skills of the assisted immigrants for 1841 have been borne out by my sample for the longer period. This longitudinal study shows that, despite contemporary and subsequent criticisms of the quality of the assisted immigrants, they fitted the categories demanded by the colonists and predominantly came from regions of England suffering economic decline. Likewise for the unassisted, many preconceptions about the English immigrants in the first period of mass migration to eastern Australia,

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particularly their regional origins, their motives for emigration and their class are brought into question through my research. These elements fed into the lives and values of English immigrants once they were in eastern Australia and helped to structure their responses to life in the colonies.
Chapter One  The Context of English Migration to Australia

Early British Settlement in Eastern Australia

In the 1790s, small numbers of Britons saw opportunities for themselves in the recently established penal colony of New South Wales.1 Some of the military and naval officers began to run farms and some resigned their commissions to operate as private citizens. They were joined by other immigrants who had received permission to enter the colony. Despite this early sensing of potential, New South Wales was an outpost of Empire of little interest to Britain during the decade and a half of war which had started a year after the first contingent of convicts and their gaolers had landed. This began to change after the defeat of Napoleon when the British government began to look with fresh eyes at its colony at the far ends of the earth and to ponder its future. Initially, the British had claimed the eastern part of the continental mainland from the east coast to 135 degrees east longitude, calling all of this territory New South Wales.2 Progressively over the next century, additional colonies were marked out over the entire continent; in 1825 Van Diemen’s Land, in 1836 South Australia, in 1851 Victoria and in 1859 Queensland, were separated from New South Wales, leaving the eventual colony of New South Wales as the middle portion of the eastern third of the continent. In 1829 Western Australia on the west side of the land mass was separately claimed and settled by Britain.


Background to English Emigration

European migration to Australia in the nineteenth century was a small part of a much larger movement of European people to settler societies in the Americas, Australasia and southern Africa. In its turn, the emigration of European peoples was one episode in the long trajectory of human population movement, stretching back beyond recorded history. The Euro-Atlantic migration stream had begun in the sixteenth century with Spanish and Portuguese colonisation of Central and South America. Migration from Britain took off in the seventeenth century, when an estimated three hundred and seventy eight thousand, mostly English, moved to North America and the Caribbean. This was equivalent to sixty nine per cent of the natural population increase of England in the seventeenth century. Despite the high mortality experienced by the early settlers, the English population in the Americas was more than double that of the Spanish and creole population by the end of the seventeenth century.


century. In the eighteenth century, a further three hundred thousand English moved to North America and the Caribbean, along with two hundred thousand Scotch-Irish, one hundred thousand German-speaking people and two hundred and fifty thousand slaves from Africa. British immigration into North America slowed from the outbreak of the American Revolution in 1775 through to the end of the war with France.

In the nineteenth century, intercontinental migration from Europe developed into a mass movement, first predominantly Irish people, but then British and continental Europeans. Despite the size of this exodus, only a minority of Europeans turned to international migration as a solution to the social, economic and population changes they were experiencing. Those who stayed in Europe employed other strategies, ranging from resistance and rebellion, acquiescence in the diminishing returns of the old life-style or moving shorter distances to areas offering more income. These options were not mutually exclusive, so that families over a generation or two, or individuals in their own lifetime, may have tried one or more of these tactics. The outstanding feature of emigration from the United Kingdom in the period 1820 to 1860 was the huge Irish exodus to the United States, both in absolute numbers and in their share of the total emigration from the United Kingdom. The

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famine of the late 1840s dominates the folk memory of Irish exile, but it is clear that they had been responding to problems at home by emigrating in large numbers in the three previous decades. The variable impact of the exodus of emigrants on the respective countries of the United Kingdom can be sensed when we look at the departure figures as an annual average per thousand of population. For example, in the 1850s in each year fourteen people per thousand left Ireland, five people per thousand left Scotland and only two and a half people per thousand left England.7

Although conditions in England were not as bad as in Ireland in the first half of the nineteenth century, the period from the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815 to 1850 was a time of considerable uncertainty and instability. Post-war depression, under-employment, unemployment, fluctuations in the economy and a huge national debt impacted heavily on the labouring classes. Rapid population growth was one of the markers of the many changes which were taking place. Periods of unrest coincided with rises in the price of wheat and with down-turns in the manufacturing and trade cycles, creating times of recession and misery for a large section of the population, particularly in the years 1829 to 1832, 1838 to 1842 and in 1848.8 Over the last thirty years, models of the agricultural and industrial revolutions as explanations of English social and economic history in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries have been revised.9 That picture of social and economic change in England

has been shown to have placed too much emphasis on the role of industry in the early nineteenth century economy. It also ignored the growing services and financial sectors based on London and to a lesser extent, provincial cities and towns, and glossed over considerable regional variation in job growth and decline. Despite revisionist scholarship on the standard of living, there is still no agreement between those who draw a national picture of rising wages as an indicator of general improvement and those who look at a variety of regional occupational data to see an uneven picture of poverty for many workers in agriculture and industry and a rising standard of living for others and for the growing middle classes.¹⁰

By 1851, fifty-four per cent of the English population was living in urban areas of 2,500 or more people.¹¹ The regional population growth between 1831 and 1861 continued the trend, observable by 1801, of higher percentage growth per decade in the north west, north east, the west midlands, London and the south east and a lesser rate of growth in the rest of the country.¹² Declining agricultural and industrial employment in the south, the south west and east of England and rapidly increasing populations in cities and in the north of England were symptoms of massive changes taking place. These locational changes of population were accompanied by a shift in occupation for many.¹³ The older pre-industrial pattern of a labouring class family economy in which men, women and children all made a contribution to the household income was giving way to new working arrangements, in which women and children were excluded from manual labour. Women’s paid

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¹¹ Hoppen, The Mid-Victorian Generation, 12.


employment was shifting from the home and the surrounding fields to factories and domestic service. In 1851 the most common occupations were agricultural labour for men (1.8 million) and domestic service for women (1.0 million). Just over 811,000 men and women worked in the textile industry, most still in small enterprises or outwork in their homes. The urban middle class, interpreted broadly, made up about one fifth of the population, with a growing army of clerks expanding the ranks of the lower middle class. London and larger cities, particularly the port cities, contained large pools of casual labour. At the top of the income pyramid, landowners living on the income from their lands comprised about seven thousand families.

One of the ironies of English emigration in the nineteenth century is that it increased significantly in the 1850s, when by most accounts the tensions and economic uncertainties of the previous three decades had been much reduced. The reasons for this are not clear. Earlier emigration models would have predicted a higher rate of emigration during the difficult period from 1815 to 1850 and a reduction in the emigration rate as times appeared to be improving. That this pattern was reversed in England may shed further light on the English society and economy in the first half of the nineteenth century. Differing rates of economic growth between and within regions, encouraging internal migration, may have provided sufficient opportunity for those who might otherwise have resorted to overseas migration.14

Chapter One

English Emigrant Numbers, 1820-1860

Determining the numbers of intercontinental migrants in the nineteenth century is difficult, despite the contemporary collection of statistics by various agencies. This is because of inconsistencies in the data, limited or non-existent recording of migration across land borders and return migration. It is generally agreed that between 1820 and 1914, sixty to seventy per cent of the estimated fifty five to sixty million European intercontinental migrants went to the United States, with the remainder emigrating to other destinations, notably Argentina, Brazil, Canada, and Australasia. A combination of a positive image, relative affordability and a shorter passage across the Atlantic, made the United States the most popular destination for English, Scots and Irish emigrants, with Canada being the next most favoured. Many British and Irish migrants took advantage of the cheaper passages to Canada and remigrated to the United States.

By contrast, British and Irish emigration to Australia was around two and a half per cent of the United Kingdom exodus, with close to one and a half million people migrating to Australia between 1821 and 1900. In addition, Australia received one hundred and sixty three thousand British (mostly English) and Irish convicts, with eighty thousand of them transported to New South Wales between

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1788 and 1840 and a further three thousand to New South Wales and Victoria between 1846-1850.\footnote{18}

In the late 1830s and early 1840s, New South Wales and Port Phillip attracted more English immigrants than the United States. Between 1836 and 1842, 5,232 English immigrants were recorded entering the USA from immigration ports, while over 11,300 English people entered New South Wales as assisted immigrants between 1837 and 1842.\footnote{19} English emigrants to the United States increased gradually during the 1840s, then jumped dramatically from six and a half thousand in 1851 to thirty one thousand in 1852, and continued at an annual rate of just under thirty one thousand for the rest of the decade. In the 1850s, the English also migrated in significantly increased numbers to eastern Australia. Between 1853 and 1860, Australasia (the Australian colonies and New Zealand) attracted forty eight per cent of the English and Welsh emigrants (218,500) and forty five per cent of Scots emigrants (54,600). In the same period, the United States attracted forty three per cent of the English and Welsh emigrants (195,700) and twenty nine per cent of the Scots emigrants (35,100).\footnote{20}

\footnote{18} Ralph Shlomowitz, ‘Coerced and Free Migration From the United Kingdom to Australia, and Indentured Labour Migration from India and the Pacific Islands to Various Destinations’, 
\textit{Migration History, History: Old Paradigms and New Perspectives}, eds Jan Lucassen & Leo Lucassen, 2\textsuperscript{nd} ed. (Bern: Peter Lang, 1999), 132; Stephen Nicholas & Peter R. Shergold, ‘Transportation as Global Migration’, 

\footnote{19} Calculated from Appendix I, Table XI, Native Places Adult Immigrants 1837-1850, Robert J. Shultz, ‘The Assisted Immigrants, 1837-1850’ (PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1971), 389; Return of Immigrants introduced entirely at the Government Expense....1 January 1842 to 31 August 1858, NSWLA V&P, 1858, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Parlt., 1\textsuperscript{st} sess., vol. 2.

\footnote{20} Baines, 
\textit{Migration in a Mature Economy}, table 3.3, 63, calculated by Baines from Carrier and Jeffrey, 
\textit{External Migration}, 92-93, 95-96.
Chapter One

Table 1.1 Immigration into the United States from Britain and Ireland, 1820-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>England &amp; Wales</th>
<th>England &amp; Wales</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1820-1830</td>
<td>17,982</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>3,613</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>60,232</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>81,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-1835</td>
<td>6,938</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>2,658</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>94,843</td>
<td>90.8</td>
<td>104,439</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-1842</td>
<td>5,232</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>341</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>300,486</td>
<td>98.2</td>
<td>306,059</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843-1847</td>
<td>16,761</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1,388</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>324,595</td>
<td>94.7</td>
<td>342,744</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-1851</td>
<td>29,528</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>4,418</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>816,506</td>
<td>96.0</td>
<td>850,452</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-1860</td>
<td>273,784</td>
<td>25.7</td>
<td>40,894</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>750,675</td>
<td>70.5</td>
<td>1,065,353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>350,225</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>53,312</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1,347,337</td>
<td>85.3</td>
<td>2,750,874</td>
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</tbody>
</table>


Table 1.2 Immigration into Australia from Britain and Ireland, 1821-60

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>NSW Total</th>
<th>NSW Assisted</th>
<th>NSW Total</th>
<th>NSW Assisted</th>
<th>Victoria Total</th>
<th>Victoria Assisted</th>
<th>Victoria Total</th>
<th>Victoria Assisted</th>
<th>Australia Total</th>
<th>Australia Assisted</th>
<th>Australia Total</th>
<th>Australia Assisted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821-1830</td>
<td>873</td>
<td></td>
<td>8,525</td>
<td></td>
<td>6,194</td>
<td>72.7</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831-1835</td>
<td>8,140</td>
<td></td>
<td>18,410</td>
<td></td>
<td>67,103</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836-1842</td>
<td>49,518</td>
<td></td>
<td>49,015</td>
<td></td>
<td>13,615</td>
<td>85.6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>86,596</td>
<td>71.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843-1847</td>
<td>6,053</td>
<td></td>
<td>21,223</td>
<td></td>
<td>1,260</td>
<td>66.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>14,300</td>
<td>9,851</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-1851</td>
<td>21,641</td>
<td></td>
<td>22,166</td>
<td></td>
<td>15,766</td>
<td>71.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>78,488</td>
<td>53,384</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-1860</td>
<td>76,547</td>
<td></td>
<td>283,329</td>
<td></td>
<td>85,412</td>
<td>30.1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>446,817</td>
<td>221,372</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>162,772</td>
<td></td>
<td>321,470</td>
<td></td>
<td>114,255</td>
<td>35.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>653,136</td>
<td>367,904</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculated from Robin F. Haines, Emigration and the Labouring Poor, Appendices 1 & 2, pp. 261-266.

Flows of British and Irish immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria were uneven. In the boom years from the late 1830s to the early 1840s and again in the 1850s, significantly higher numbers of both self funded and assisted immigrants came into eastern Australia, than in the depression and drought years of the mid 1840s. From the beginning of government-assisted immigration to New South Wales, the numbers of labouring class immigrants built up slowly until the late 1830s and increased substantially between 1838 and 1842. Immigrant numbers increased in the late 1840s and massively in the gold inspired boom of the 1850s, when over four times more immigrants were attracted to eastern Australia than in the earlier peak period.
Migration Systems

Classification of migration into systems or types of migration can aid our understanding of the conditions predisposing some people to migrate and gives us a view of their networks. Older migration theories tended to apply an overarching explanatory system at one level of analysis only, such as destitution at home, assimilation, modernity or wages differentiation between the sending and receiving countries. These migration models emphasized impersonal forces and implicitly denied a role for human agency, with migrants being seen as pawns of broad social and economic processes. Motives for migration are never simply push or pull. An understanding of the complex interaction between broad forces and varying levels of human agency provides a more satisfactory analytical framework and allows one to compare migrations, at different times or in different regions.

Dirk Hoerder suggests a model of migration systems and human agency to analyse immigration to the United States. He identifies four migration systems populating North America from the early modern period. Cross-cutting these four streams of people, Hoerder identifies three levels of human agency; a macro-level of capital flows and national power relationships; a meso-level of regional networks in the home and receiving regions; a micro level of individual and family decision-making. Multi-layered migration systems models make it feasible to compare migration from Britain to Australia and other countries, particularly the United States, which was a highly attractive immigrant destination. Immigrant motivations and varying immigrant flows to both destinations indicate immigrants’ rational decision making, based on an understanding of the state of the economies of both countries. More English emigrants chose Australia in preference to the United States in the late 1830s and early 1840s and again in the 1850s, when English emigration moved ahead of emigration from Ireland.

Historians of nineteenth Australian immigration have drawn on some aspects of migration systems, but have generally not attempted to locate the patterns perceived within a broader paradigm. Chain migration and the quality of the immigrants have dominated in recent studies of nineteenth century British and Irish migration to Australia, taking over from earlier work on the political economy of immigration. Histories of Irish migrants in Australia reveal chain migration reaching back into specific regions of Ireland and some amount of regional concentration in Australia. Scottish Highlander and rural Cambridgeshire migrants have been shown to have taken up the migration opportunity within a regional and kin support system. Colonial debates on the poor quality of the immigrants have been shown to have been emotive rather than factual. McDonald, Richards, Haines and others have used Australian assisted immigrant passenger lists and other data to analyse the skills and literacy of assisted immigrants. They judge them to be above the bottom strata


of the home society and to be resourceful people taking up an opportunity to emigrate when it offered. Using demographic data as surrogates for evidence of motivation, these studies indicate assisted immigrants made active choices to migrate.

Eric Richards and Ralph Shlomowit have employed a migration systems approach to nineteenth century Australian immigration. Shlomowit examined convict, free and indentured migration, the shipping trade and the costs and benefits to the immigrants. Richards analysed disjunctions affecting the various immigrant streams to Australia and questioned the degree of coercion and choice for some of the so called ‘free immigrants’. He drew attention to the conditions at various times in the sending and receiving countries, as these do appear to have had an influence on the flow of migrants to the Australian colonies. It may be that the ‘push-pull’ model is applicable to nineteenth century Australian immigration and indicates that potential emigrants were able to choose Australia or north America on the basis of information available to them.

Four migration systems operated to Australia in the nineteenth century; a northern European-Pacific system, migration between colonies, return to Britain and an Asia-Pacific system. The northern European-Pacific system involved movement


of both coerced and free immigrants from Britain and Ireland, and in much smaller numbers from Germany. This northern European-Pacific system intersected with the Euro-Atlantic migrant stream to north America, with British and Irish emigrants involved in both the European-Pacific and Euro-Atlantic migration systems. The Euro-Atlantic system and its relationship with the European-Pacific system had a significant bearing on the variable flows of immigrants to eastern Australia between the 1830s and 1860s.

Some emigrants from the United Kingdom moved between the Australian colonies, New Zealand, other British colonies and the United States. Return migration from the Australian colonies was acted on by an unknown number of people in all social groups, with the probable exception of labouring families and single women, both of whom would have had difficulty in raising the return fares. In addition to the three European migration systems operating in Australia, there was an Asia-Pacific system involving Chinese, Indian and Pacific Islander peoples migrating as indentured workers in the pastoral and agricultural industries and in the case of the Chinese, to seek gold.26

In Australia in the nineteenth century, the macro level of human agency underlying immigration was formed by the flows of capital between Britain and Australia and by the British presence in the Indian and Pacific Oceans. Capital and market activities intersected with British and colonial government strategies to divert a proportion of the emigrants from Britain and Ireland to the Australian colonies. At the meso-level of the Australian migration system, regional influences and relationships operated in both the United Kingdom and Australia and the micro-level of individual, family, kin and neighbour relations was experienced by all migrants.

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26 *The Australian People: an Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins* ed. James Jupp (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001) for a survey and guide to the literature on non-British immigration to Australia, as well as British and Irish immigration.
All three levels of human agency acting on English migrants to eastern Australia will be examined in Chapters Two to Seven where three key groups of English immigrant will come into focus; immigrants with capital, government-assisted immigrants and gold rush era immigrants.

**Images of New South Wales**

All three levels of human agency were influenced by ideas and information circulating in Britain. Government policy was influenced by, and in turn influenced, public opinion. The expanding print media, as well as advertisements for ships sailing to the colonies, augmented data from other sources. Debates in parliament on both emigration generally, and on the peculiar state of New South Wales, due to its penal origins, and as a colony of settlement, were reported in the press along with commentary and opinion. The ideas promulgated in the press reflected various strands of public opinion and served to influence attitudes towards both emigration and the colony. The capitalist underpinnings of the British economy and society were reinforced through ideological assumptions expressed in a variety of media and in public and private discourse. Lobbyists, particularly in London, played an important role in persuading government to treat the Australian colonies in a manner which suited their vested interests, either capital, in the case of financiers, or ideology, underpinned by capital, for colonisation theorists. At the private or semi-private level, correspondence of immigrants with their families in Britain could be shared with neighbours and acquaintances and had the potential to be the most influential source of information for intending emigrants.

Employment of capital and profit, land, distance, minimization of costs of both criminal justice and colonies, reduction of population pressures and colonisation schemes all played a role in determining the development of the British colonies on the Australian continent. Governments played different roles in influencing the country of choice. In the United States, by ensuring the ready supply of cheap land,
the government there provided a lure for those intent on being independent farmers, even if many of them became employees after arrival or in the next generation. The British government ensured a flow of working class people to Australia by setting an artificially high price on land and paying the fares of these immigrants from the proceeds.

Literary critics and historians have examined various elements of the contradictory images of the Australian colonies, particularly New South Wales. Alan Frost has exposed the influence of negative reactions to the initial settlement and the literary artifice in the apparently ‘scientific’ accounts of the early years of the colony. He has examined the rhetoric of various accounts and the contradictory historical evidence to show how these early biases of alienation, exile and suffering have coloured reactions to European settlement in Australia down to the present. He point out that many of the works of literary and cultural historians present a distorted picture of the experience by relying uncritically on published works which themselves presented a partial view of experience in the colony. Frost points out that historians have also traditionally accepted negative views about the decision to send convicts to Botany Bay, the outfitting of the first fleet and the achievements in the first years of the colony. However what he misses in these criticisms is the fact that there was a persistent negative image in Britain of New South Wales until the 1850s in public arenas such as parliament, newspapers and periodicals.

Due to class biases among politicians and commentators in the press, Australian colonists were still viewed as Frank Clarke notes as ‘both inferior and morally tainted’. Clarke made this comment as a result of reading a wide cross section of the British newspapers and magazines from the late 1820s through to the mid 1850s. For all the positives that Frost has been able to uncover there were many more negative sentiments expressed about New South Wales, as John Hirst recognised in his Convict Society and Its Enemies. Ferguson’s Bibliography of Australia reveals the various strands of writing which make use of pre-existing literary genres of exploration, harsh lives of an underclass, stories of shipwrecks, theories of penology and accusations of excessive expenditure. From 1811, with the publication of D.D. Mann’s Present Picture of New South Wales, emigrant manuals began to be added to the literature on the colony, providing a contradictory image of opportunities for men of moderate means. In 1819 when W.C. Wentworth’s account of the colony and its potential was published it joined several similar, but less influential, emigrant manuals recommending New South Wales for potential emigrants. Wentworth’s passion and advocacy caught the mood of the public and his book was issued in a further edition in 1820 and another in 1824. From then on information evaluating the Australian colonies as places for emigration

34 W.C. Wentworth, A Statistical, Historical, and Political Description of The Colony of New South Wales, and Its Dependent Settlements in Van Diemen’s Land: With a Particular Enumeration of the Advantages Which These Colonies Offer For Emigration, and Their Superiority in Many Respects Over Those Possessed by the United States of America (London: Whitaker, 1819).
35 Ferguson, Bibliography of Australia, vol. 1, 299.
or for investment represented an identifiable strand in the publishing and image-making of the Australian colonies.\textsuperscript{36}

**Attractions of the ‘New World’**

Land was a significant indicator of wealth and status in Britain and the government, officials and free settlers in the British colonies on the Australian continent and adjacent islands rationalized their taking of the lands of other peoples with the fiction of *Terra Nullius*, seeing as vacant lands that were not being cultivated and grazed in a manner familiar to Europeans.\textsuperscript{37} That the land was not the British government’s to grant or to sell, appears not to have been an issue in Britain or in the colonies. In 1770, despite the acknowledged presence of an indigenous people, Captain James Cook had claimed eastern Australia for the British government, after charting the east coast from Cape Howe to ‘Possession Island’.\textsuperscript{38} Seventeen years later, on the basis of this dubious virtual invasion, the British carried out a real invasion of the Australian continent, planting a small penal colony on the Pacific coast at the site which became Sydney. This ‘empty land’ became ‘Crown Land’ to be granted, sold or retained by the British government. The resulting moving frontier of Europeans was to prove a disaster for the indigenous people. For the Europeans, the occupation and alienation of land was to be a divisive political and social issue into the twentieth century. For both peoples it is still a contested arena into the twenty first century.


Creating a White Settler Society

Intervention by the British and colonial governments to overcome the problems of distance, cost and the unsavoury image of 'Botany Bay' was necessary to attract working class immigrants to the Australian colonies. During the 1820s and early 1830s, opinion in Britain and Ireland had been divided on emigration.\footnote{H.J.M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830: "Shovelling Out Paupers"* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972); W.A. Carrothers, *Emigration from the British Isles* (London: P.S. King & Son, 1929), chs 3-5; Richard Charles Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-42): The Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1974); R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788-51* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969), chs 3-4; John Manning Ward, *Colonial Self-Government: the British Experience 1759-1856* (London: Macmillan, 1976), ch. 7.} The debate polarised those who advocated emigration as a means of relieving increasing population, unemployment and poverty and those who wanted to keep the underemployed as a reserve pool of labour. Commentators published their views as part of the debates on political economy. At the heart of the question was a search for a means to finance the emigration of the poor, as the British Government was reluctant to use central government funds for this purpose. For the middle and upper classes, the funding issue was permeated by moral judgements on poverty, pauperism, morality and class.

For people of capital and adventurers colonisation held out prospects of wealth and status difficult to achieve in Britain after 1815. Colonisation schemes were aimed as much at the middle classes, who were to provide the capital and leadership in the colonies, as at finding solutions to the problems of poverty among the labouring classes. In the nineteenth century, various colonisation schemes had an influence on individual and group migration decisions. In the 1830s and 1840s, in eastern Australia and South Australia, the theories of Edward Gibbon Wakefield permeated British government policy and practice at a formative period in the
development of these colonies, particularly influencing the alienation of land and the funding of labouring class immigration.\textsuperscript{40}

At the same time, the British government and influential settlers in the Australian colonies were beginning to apply different policies to different parts of the Australian continent.\textsuperscript{41} Physical and virtual boundaries were being defined and were to have a long term effect on the development of Australian society. Their creation was a joint effort by influential Colonial Office staff, successive Secretaries of State and competing interest groups in the colony. As soon as the metropolitan rulers became aware of the attraction to investors and colonists of lands in south and eastern Australia remote from Sydney, they determined on breaking up the old colony of New South Wales into smaller political units. A complex mixture of ideas was involved in this exercise. The Colonial Office was developing concepts of the appropriate size of a colony. It was also determined to maximise returns from the sale of land, in both the middle district of New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, raising the minimum price per acre to match the price in the new private enterprise colony of South Australia. Policies were developed to attract British settlers to temperate regions of the continent, to promote closer agricultural settlement, and above all, to distance the new colonies from the convict stigma of New South Wales.\textsuperscript{42} Physical boundaries, drawn up in London in the 1830s and the

\textsuperscript{40} HRA, I, passim.
1840s, with some adjustments to accommodate colonial opinion, became colonial, and later state, boundaries and continue to play an important role down to the present.

Virtual boundaries of race, ethnicity, class, religion and gender, drawn up at the same time as the physical boundaries, have also had a profound effect on the formation of Australian society. The Colonial Office developed an explicit racist policy on labour immigration for colonial eastern Australia. Proposals by pastoralists to import ‘hill coolies’ from Bengal as shepherds in the late 1830s and 1840s, throw into stark relief the assumptions underlying the construction of New South Wales as a settler society. The development of this policy was a joint colonial and metropolitan imperial exercise. Debates in the colony over the employment of non-European labour coincided with metropolitan imperial strategies and the articulation of theories of settler colonisation as an extension of Britain. As a result, the middle district of New South Wales and its successor colonies of Victoria and South Australia were confirmed as white settler societies, to be peopled predominantly from the British Isles. At the same time, northern Australia, because of its climate, was seen by the Colonial Office and the ruling elite of New South

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Wales as a place suitable for Asian workers. The development of these immigration policies ran parallel with the short-lived Aboriginal Protectorates. The philosophy underpinning the setting up of the protectorates reveals another aspect of government and Colonial Office attitudes of British cultural and racial superiority, cloaked in a paternalist language.46

Close attention to the discourse on the employment of non-European labourers reveals the respective roles of government and colonists in the creation of distinct types of society in different parts of the Australian continent.47 Analysis of the origin and development of particular social values helps us gain fresh insights into Australia’s formation within the British Empire and the ambiguous position of British settlers in colonies of settlement, as colonists and subjects of the metropole. As early as 1976, Robert A. Huttenback, writing from a United States perspective, saw the influence of colonialism on the developing racism in the Australian colonies as part of an Empire-wide phenomenon.48

The humanitarian, evangelical discourse of the Colonial Office and of influential Whig parliamentarians in the 1830s and 1840s was in the vanguard of the shift in opinion in Britain, as ideology moved from enlightenment notions of human inclusiveness to the racism underpinning the development of nationalism and imperialism.49 Defining a racial Englishness, or Britishness for those from the other

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countries of the Union able to situate themselves within the myth, provided a way of distinguishing Britons from continental Europeans, and particularly from the alien others encountered in the Empire. Catherine Hall charts the shift to racial thinking in Britain, from an ideology developed among the elite in the 1830s and early 1840s, to a broader public from the mid 1840s onwards. This can be seen in the lectures and writings on race and Britishness of public speakers, such as Robert Knox and George Dawson. In the 1860s, concepts of British superiority and race were aired in public discourse in the controversy over Edward John Eyre's bloody suppression of rebellion in Jamaica. This racist ideology permeated the Empire, carried by members of the elite, who moved between Britain and the colonies. At another level, these ideas were part of the mental world of the British migrants moving into British colonies and the United States.

It is clear that the philosophy behind the working out of a racial population policy for New South Wales and Victoria was not unique to those colonies. What was unique to south eastern Australia was the specific form in which these ideologies were worked out and became embedded in the society. The formulation of a policy of exclusive European, predominantly British, settlement for southern Australia occurred in the context of Australia's place in the British Empire and the migration of capital and labour entailed in that venture. Colonial Office officials put these ideas to work in creating a society for British settlement in south eastern Australia. This racial population policy came out of the tensions inherent in the discourse on the

abolition of slavery. The abolitionists could simultaneously abhor the system of slavery and despise as lesser beings those who had been slaves.

Indentured labour and convict labour took on similar connotations and were condemned in the metropole, and by some in the colony, as tantamount to slavery. These forms of labour could not be condoned in a society now destined to be attractive to British settlers. British and European migration to North America under indentured labour contracts had been common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but had declined to insignificance in the first third of the nineteenth century. Public identification of indenture with slavery and a fall in the relative cost of a passage across the Atlantic, combined to deter European immigrants from accepting tied work contracts in north America.

From the 1830s onwards, in response to the abolition of slavery, indentured labourers from India were recruited to work in plantations in Mauritius and the West Indies. Indentured labour quickly became identified in British minds with workers from Asia, operating under conditions which looked little different to slavery. Herman Merivale asserted that the watchful eyes of the British public and government would prevent a new system of slavery, but Governor Gipps was less certain. On 6 July 1841, debating Indian immigration, Gipps expressed his

53 The Molesworth Committee expressed the view that wealth in NSW was based on slavery and a high subsidy from the British government, 'Report from the Select Committee on Transportation', 3 August 1838, BPP, Transportation, vol. 3, xxxii-xxxv; John Ritchie, Towards Ending an Unclean Thing: The Molesworth Committee and the Abolition of Transportation, Historical Studies 17, no. 67 (1976): 150-154.
conviction that, 'in England the measure would be objected to on the ground that Coolie Labour would be only another name for slave labour'. Confirming this view, two colonists told of their recent experience in failing to recruit Scots and English labourers as assisted immigrants claiming, they 'are deterred by the fear of being sold for slaves on their arrival'.

The governing elite in New South Wales was concerned about the implications for the society of the servile nature of indentured labour, but was even more concerned that the introduction of workers of a different colour and culture would deter emigrants from Britain. There was undoubted exploitation of some, perhaps most, of the indentured Asian labourers in eastern Australia in the 1840s and 1850s. Expressing both humanitarian and racist motives, the Colonial Office and successive Secretaries of State managed to restrict Asian labour immigration into eastern Australia by refusing to sanction government funds for it; also by ensuring that the government of Bengal held firm on banning its nationals from entering into contracts with employers from New South Wales.

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56 'The Coolie Petition', Sydney Herald, Saturday 10 July 1841.
59 Normanby to Gipps, 13 March 1839, HRA, I, vol. 20, 64; Gipps to Stanley, 27 March 1843, ibid., 594; Stanley to Gipps, 4 August 1843, HRA, I, vol. 23, 73; 'Her Majesty's Government have no measure in contemplation for permitting the Emigration of Coolies into New South Wales', Stanley to Gipps, 29 November 1843, ibid., 166.
Landholders searched for alternative labour streams to supplement the varying flows of assisted immigrants from Britain. Some employers devised schemes to bring in Indians, Chinese, Pacific Islanders, and Maoris under indenture, at very low wages. Others made use of indigenous people as shepherds, with varying degrees of success; while many refused to do so. During the 1830s and 1840s, few immigrants from outside the British Isles actually came into the colony. Between December 1837 and March 1846, one hundred and fifty Indian coolies were brought into New South Wales by agents. A few other Indians brought in as servants with their masters and mistresses. In these years, few ships arrived from Indian ports and only occasional mention is made in passenger lists of Indian servants in steerage. These figures contrast with Price’s estimates of two shiploads of ‘maybe nearly 300 going to New South Wales in 1837’ and ‘in 1844...Captain Robert Towns...introduced...100 or so more Indians’. In December 1837, forty two Indian labourers and one Indian Surgeon (or possibly Sirdar) were introduced on the Peter Proctor, under indenture to John Mackay. A further seven Indian ‘servants’ were brought in on the Gaillardon in March 1838. There were no Indians on the Emerald Isle when it arrived in September 1838, despite the Australian’s claims to the contrary. In October 1844, Gordon Sandeman brought in twenty four ‘Indian servants’ on the Minerva and in March 1846 Robert Towns was the agent for

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61 ‘Reports of Vessels Arrived’, 1837-1846, AONSW Reels 1265A-1273.
63 AONSW Reel 1265A.
64 AONSW Reel 1266.
65 Ibid.
‘Cooleys’ who arrived on the Orwell, fifty three men ‘servants’, twelve women ‘servants’, three boys and one girl.66 These data, derived from the Port Jackson ship arrival lists and Sydney newspaper reports, are consistent with the evidence provided by Mackay and others to the 1841 Committee on Immigration and by Sandeman and Towns to the 1854 Select Committee on Asiatic Immigration, although Towns had forgotten which year the Orwell brought his Indians to Sydney.67

By the early 1850s, around three thousand five hundred Chinese were working as indentured labourers, including just over one hundred employed by the Australian Agricultural Company.68 Benjamin Boyd used Pacific Islanders and Maoris in his whaling business and in 1847 brought in 117 Pacific Islanders to work on his Monaro pastoral runs.69 In 1851, German immigrants made up the most significant non-British minority of the immigrant population, yet they numbered only a few thousand, out of a combined population in New South Wales and the Port Phillip District of two hundred and sixty thousand and a further eight and a half thousand at Moreton Bay.70

The debates and attempts to gain government funds to import non-European labour in 1837 and 1841 were repeated along similar lines in 1843, 1845, 1847, 1852 and 1854, with an evolving cast of proponents and opponents, but the racial boundaries for government-supported immigration had been essentially determined

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66 AONSW Reels 1271, 1273.
by 1841. Some pastoralists and squatters continued to agitate for government assistance for their schemes to import Indian, and later Chinese, indentured labourers, but they lacked support of a majority of the leaders in the colony. From 1843 onwards, public opinion became a more significant element in the debate. This was in the depths of a severe depression, in which urban working class unemployment and mitigation of insolvency for capitalists were the dominant political issues. It was also the first year of elections for both the Sydney Municipal Council and the Legislative Council. In this heightened atmosphere, public opposition to indentured labourers revealed the involvement of Sydney-based working class men. The opposition petition expressed fears that workers from Asia and the Pacific would drive down wage rates. Like the Secretaries of State, the men at the Colonial Office and the colonisation theorists, the petitioners believed, ‘the inhabitants of Great Britain have a right to supply any demand for labour which may be created in this colony’. They employed anti-slavery language in pressing their case, but no stronger than Elliot’s rhetoric from the Colonial Office.

Just as the 1837 New South Wales Committee on Immigration had recommended using Indian labourers in the north of the colony, the Colonial Office and the Secretaries of State, generally agreed with this position. In 1843 and 1844, Lord Stanley, contemplated using Malay or Chinese labourers in the garrison settlement at Port Essington, because it was ‘clear that the Climate ... will not admit of reliance being placed on European labour for general Agricultural purposes’. By contrast, in 1848 Lord Grey, when considering the emigration of Irish orphans to the Australian colonies, was advised by the Colonial Land and Emigration


Commissioners that, ‘the climate both of New South Wales and of South Australia is remarkably healthy and suited to European constitutions’. Interestingly, when contemplating setting up the Colony of North Australia for British ‘exiles’, neither Stanley nor Gladstone mused on the likely effect of this tropical climate on European constitutions. Perhaps that was part of the punishment? The view persisted in both New South Wales and the Colonial Office that Asians would be needed to work in the tropics, as Europeans were unsuited to the climate. Unsurprisingly, given the weight of opinion in both the colony and the Colonial Office, the northern part of New South Wales, as the separate colony of Queensland, made extensive use of non-European labour in the second half of the nineteenth century, while the southern colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia did not.

The Role of Commercial Enterprise

Bankers, merchants and other financial capitalists played a significant role in the development of the colonies in Australia in the nineteenth century. Cain and Hopkins’ analysis of the important role of ‘gentlemanly capitalists’ based in London involved in ‘service capitalism’, for example banking, insurance, brokering, holds up well for the Australian colonies up to the 1850s and later. Their emphasis on the influence of financial capitalists on government is evident in the formative years of the development of the Australian colonies. Cain and Hopkins do underplay the role of financial capitalists and merchants in provincial centres, particularly Edinburgh and Liverpool, but they are right to stress the central importance of men involved in

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the interlocking financial service sector in London, a network with ready access to
government. Cain and Hopkins do not claim that London financiers controlled
government or that government was their mouth piece, as John Darwin asserts.78
They make a good case for the importance of financial capitalists, over industrial
capitalists, in the expansion of Empire for which their thesis stated more baldly in the
1980s had been criticised by M.J. Daunton.79

Cain and Hopkins reassess the Robinson & Gallagher orthodoxy of the informal
Empire and imperialism by default. Certainly in relation to Australia from the 1820s
onwards, financial and merchant capitalists, mostly based in London, played a
significant role in lobbying government, in financing shipping, in developing joint
stock companies for pastoral production and colonisation, providing credit and acting
as agents for the sale of staple produce from the colonies, as Frank Broeze has
recognised.80 British service and financial capitalism impacted on emigrants to the
Australian colonies in a variety of ways, depending on their circumstances and will
be examined, where appropriate, in the following chapters. Shipping and commercial
agents in Britain which impacted on all of the immigrants will be analysed in this
chapter.

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Commercial merchant shipping was a vital element in bringing immigrants to the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century. Australian trade and passenger routes intersected with the European Atlantic commercial shipping trade and were sensitive to fluctuations in the Atlantic shipping economy, as well as to more direct economic and political influences within Australia and Britain. British merchant vessels dominated international shipping in the first half of the nineteenth century and controlled the Empire and colonial trade for much longer. Because of the distance to Australia from British ports, the assisted immigrant passenger trade used sailing ships until the 1880s when steam ships became a viable alternative. Australian-owned ships operated in local coastal shipping and in the Pacific and Indian Oceans, but generally did not operate between Australia and Britain.

Merchant vessels were hired by government to carry convicts to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. In the early 1830s, this system of government tenders was extended to obtaining ships for assisted immigrants. As well as carrying passengers and freight, British shipping and its financiers were inextricably involved

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in managing the flows of capital between Britain and the Australian colonies. The details of this are obscure, but it does seem that fluctuations in the 1830s and 1840s in numbers of immigrants and in private British capital inflows were related. Butlin's graph of capital inflows into New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land between 1826 and 1845 matches the contours of the assisted immigrant numbers during this same period. The Australian interest in the City of London worked in a variety of ways to promote the immigration of free labour, to manage the export trade to the growing colonial markets, to finance colonial trade and shipping, to develop banks and other financial institutions in the colonies.

In the late 1830s and early 1840s, and again from 1851, British shippers had a strong incentive to shift their focus from the Atlantic to the Australian trade and played a strong role in generating immigrant traffic. Depression in the Atlantic economy and in Britain turned shippers' eyes to the Australian colonies. Between 1837 and 1841, the New South Wales bounty system was taken up as a commercial opportunity by several British shipping firms, acting in a complex relationship with commercial agents and private individuals in Sydney. The competition to generate passengers was intense and accounts for the increase in immigrants delivered to New South Wales and Port Phillip in 1841, when three times the number carried in 1840 were landed.

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87 Butlin, *Forming a Colonial Economy*, Figure 11.33, 101.


In 1840 the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission took over complete control of assisted immigration until the end of the 1850s. International passenger and freight shipping to and from Australia remained a chancy business during the mid 1840s, with low assisted immigrant approvals and the difficulties of ensuring a profitable round trip. Commercial interest in the eastern Australian trade revived at the end of the decade with an increase in assisted immigrants, followed by the discovery of gold. As well as the intrinsic lure of the goldfields, commercial shipping availability, price competition and advertising in Britain helped attract large numbers of immigrants to the suddenly attractive antipodean societies.

London, Plymouth and Liverpool were the major ports for English emigrants to eastern Australia in the thirty years to 1860. In the 1830s and early 1840s many ships starting from London called in to Plymouth. In addition, over these thirty years, 126 ships to Sydney carrying assisted immigrants were recorded as beginning their voyage in Plymouth, making it by far the most important port for the English emigration trade to Sydney and Port Phillip. In 1853 the passenger trade in the south east of England shifted to Southampton, eliminating the slow and uncertain voyage from the Thames into the English Channel. Ships from Southampton also called into Plymouth. Between 1831 and 1842, 92 emigrant ships for Sydney left London and 46 left Liverpool. In the 1850s a shift to Liverpool as the second most important port of embarkation for Australian migrants took place. Between 1852 and 1861, only seven Sydney-bound assisted-immigrant ships left from London, 48 left Southampton, while 62 left Liverpool.

References:
The immigration shipping trade to Port Phillip from 1839 to 1842 was similar to the trade to Sydney at the same time and can be seen as a variant destination within the same market. In the 1850s, this changed significantly when the Victorian gold rushes made carrying Victorian immigrants a competitive market. This marked the entry into Australia colonial passenger trade of the emerging Liverpool and Southampton lines which were to dominate in the later nineteenth century. Ships for the government-assisted immigrants to both Sydney and Melbourne continued to be the old all-purpose merchant sailing ship operated by a broad spread of owners. Surprisingly, there has been little recent scholarship on the effects of the Victorian gold rushes on the self-paying passenger shipping trade in the 1850s. In 1966 in *The Tyranny of Distance*, Geoffrey Blainey devoted a chapter to the clippers introduced to the Melbourne run and the advances in navigation and oceanography which combined to reduce the sailing time dramatically.

A more detailed analysis of this trade in the 1850s could tell us to what proportion of the self-paying immigrants came on the clippers and what proportion came on the all-purpose merchant shipping. This would be a major undertaking and is outside the scope of my research. More recently, Frank Broeze has provided a brief informed analysis of the effects of the gold rush on the Australian shipping trade and the colonial economies and their continued domination by British commercial interests. He saw much continuity with the management of shipping in the 1840s and noted that the technical innovations and the prominence of the Liverpool-based shipping lines were developments already evident in that earlier period.

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Commercial agents played a role in the immigrant trade to the Australian colonies. In the New South Wales bounty bonanza of the late 1830s to 1841, there was a close relationship between a number of British-based agents and their Sydney partners. The most visible of these partnerships was that between Walker and Co. in Sydney and the London-based John Marshall whose over-commitment in the trade led to bankruptcy in 1840. 95 A.B. Smith and Co of Sydney weathered the 1840s depression and were significant agents in the immigration trade in both high immigration periods, from 1838 to 1844 and again from 1849 to 1855, when they were the agents for 46 immigrant ships. In 1843, Robert Towns who had operated in a minor way in the immigrant trade to New South Wales in the 1830s as captain of his own ship, set up an agency in Sydney linked to the London ship owner Robert Brooks. 96 A network of agents in England was essential to the recruitment of assisted immigrants and for the management and co-ordination of the fit-out of the ships. 97 Some representatives were more effective than others and when they were successful over an extended period, they were instrumental in generating chains of migrants from particular localities, as Colin Holt, Paul Hudson and Dennis Mills have demonstrated for Cambridgeshire in the 1840s. 98

The initial choice of emigration ports for the antipodean trade had been made on the basis of the port's ability to supply the provisions and other requirements for the ships for the assisted immigrants, as well as its proximity to a supply of likely

95 Persons authorised to import migrants, 1838-42, AONSW, 4/4779, ff. 22,33,37,64; database compiled from AONSW, Assisted Immigrants, 1828-42, Assisted Immigrants, Sydney 1839-61 & Lloyds Register 1822-1861; Broeze, 'Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia, 1831-50', 244-246.
96 Broeze, Mr Brookes and the Australian Trade, 164-179.
assisted immigrants. Provisioning ships became the work of commercial shipping agents overseen by government officials.\textsuperscript{99} Once established at a port, the government emigration trade generated valuable business for the town, which could be vulnerable to rival bids from other ports, as Plymouth found when it had to fight for its position in the 1850s when the Bristol Chamber of Commerce unsuccessfully endeavoured to break into the New South Wales immigrant trade.\textsuperscript{100} In 1853, after some years of lobbying, the Southampton Chamber of Commerce, with the South Western Railway, succeed in winning a government tender for the emigration trade to Australia, replacing the Port of London as an Australian emigrant port for south east England.\textsuperscript{101} Liverpool was cushioned by the high volume of its immigrant and freight trades with north America and grew in importance as a port for emigrants to Australia. The self-paying immigrants generally left from these main ports associated with the assisted immigrant trade as there were regular sailings to the Australian colonies and they were well advertised.

Depots for assisted immigrants to Australia were developed as part of the inter-relationship between commerce and government.\textsuperscript{102} For the Australian assisted immigrant trade, the logistics of organized assembly of large numbers of poor people

\textsuperscript{99} Brayshay, 'Government Assisted Emigration from Plymouth in the Nineteenth Century', 190-194; Brayshay, 'The Emigration Trade in Nineteenth Century Devon', 110-113.

\textsuperscript{100} Bristol Chamber of Commerce to the Legislative Assembly of NSW, 11 Nov. 1857, NSWLA V&P, 1858, 2\textsuperscript{nd} Parlt., 1\textsuperscript{st} sess., vol. 2, 927-930.

\textsuperscript{101} Patterson, A History of Southampton, vol. 2, 101-110; Brayshay, 'The Emigration Trade in Nineteenth Century Devon', 113-114.

at a port to wait the arrival of their ship, or the full complement of passengers, led to
the development of Emigrant Depots run as commercial operations, subject to
government tender. This contrasted with poor emigrants’ experience of the passenger
trade to north America, run on purely commercial lines. Before the Colonial
Office took over the management of all assisted emigration to Australia, two
commercially run depots for Australian-bound emigrants had emerged, one in
London and one in Plymouth. In 1835, John Marshall acquired a former naval
victualling building in Plymouth and used it as an emigrant depot for the New South
Wales and South Australia government-assisted immigrants. In Deptford, on the
Thames, south east of London, Richard Cooper had built up an emigrant lodging
house in the late 1830s. In 1842, both of these emigrant lodging places were
accepted by government as official government emigrant depots. Government and
these two commercial operators developed the management techniques and standards
which were applied to new depots at Birkenhead on the Mersey, at South Elms in
London, and at Southampton in the 1850s.

As well as providing accommodation for the emigrants waiting to board ship,
the depots developed a machinery of control of the people in transit. Successful
group living in crowded conditions required the imposition of discipline on intimate
aspects of daily lives, unlikely to have been experienced by many before their arrival
at the depot. Regimented bathing and washing of clothes, learning to be part of a
structured mess group for meals, sleeping in dormitories and close supervision of
behaviour, developed as part of the routine of the emigration depots and was
continued on board well-regulated immigrant ships. The depots were generally
successful in managing this transition for the emigrants. The depots appear to have
been run by competent managers who were able to administer their systems of
control within an overall ethos of benevolent authoritarianism.

103 Ibid.
The Role of Philanthropy

Many individuals and groups provided charitable assistance to poor people to enable them to take up the option of emigration. Voluntary social action was pervasive in English society during the nineteenth century and was an outcome of the evangelical religious revival. Individuals can be glimpsed behind some of the poorer emigrants, providing them with funds for fares or transport to the port and for the clothing and other items required on the ship. Local gentry might well step in to support a person who was ineligible for English parish assistance or for colonial government assistance. Notable examples of individual assistance, such as the third Earl of Egremont's emigration schemes from his estates in Sussex, Devon and Ireland were well known at the time, but there are many other examples of less publicized individual donations of money to assist emigrants. It is often impossible to determine the degree of largess or coercion operating in these local arrangements, in which the relations of power and influence were so unequal.

Among the thousands of charities in England in the middle years of the nineteenth century, there were many which developed specifically to aid and encourage emigration and there were other charities which provided more specific elements of assistance, such as religious reading for the voyage or visiting immigrants at the ports. In England, the philosophies of the most influential emigration societies and charities changed from an emphasis on recruiting the

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105 Bundle of Items Relating to Emigration to Canada, Petworth House Archives, WSRO, MP 320.

destitute in the 1830s, to expecting evidence of emigrants’ embrace of the philosophy of self-help by the 1850s. In the early 1830s, the London Emigration Committee and contemporaneous emigration committees in Liverpool and Cork recruited destitute people, predominantly women, for emigration to New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land. Later emigration societies, operating in the late 1840s and 1850s, such as the Family Colonization Loan Society, attempted to ensure that they were recruiting self-reliant people by expecting them to repay their fares after settling in Australia. These repayment schemes were largely unsuccessful, but the proponents of self-help nevertheless influenced the form of the government-assistance schemes in the 1850s.

**English Settlers for eastern Australia 1815-1860**

The immigrants attracted to Australia in the first half of the nineteenth century had this combination of influences and agencies around them in deciding to emigrate, in making a choice of destination, seeking a passage and sailing to the other side of the world. The following chapters explore the motives, background and colonial lives of English immigrants who ventured out to New South Wales and Victoria in the first decades of mass immigration of free settlers from the British Isles.
Chapter Two

In England ‘success marched with very slow steps’\textsuperscript{1}: English Immigrants with Capital 1815-1830

Attracting Colonists with Capital

With the ending of Britain’s conflict with France, opinion-makers began gradually to pay more attention to New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land. The government had incurred massive debt during the wars, and among other economy measures, sought a means to reduce the expenses of the penal settlements. At the same time it began to think of these colonies as places suitable for free settlers with capital. With encouragement from government, some people in Britain responded to the uncertain times at home by applying to seek their fortunes in the Australian colonies. Government’s financial predicament and individuals’ wealth-seeking were to combine to change the thirty year old penal colony. New South Wales began to develop into a hybrid settlement, in which landholders took over from government most of the costs of maintaining convicts, but expected for themselves the civil institutions and liberties to which they were accustomed in Britain.

Owning land was an indicator of wealth and status in Britain, enjoyed by the aristocracy, the gentry and some of the growing middle class. The so-called ‘waste lands’ of New South Wales began to be seen as an asset which the government could allocate to settlers with sufficient funds to develop European style farms. The British had justified their annexation of eastern Australia because they thought it was not being used productively by the indigenous inhabitants.\textsuperscript{2} The prospect of acquiring colonial land developed into a major attraction to settlers with capital. Many aspiring colonists wanted to possess land as their primary source of wealth, while for others


the ownership of town and country land would give them status, as they practised their professions. From 1815, New South Wales offered opportunities for middle class immigrants and with their demand for land the colony began to grow beyond the confines of the Cumberland Plain.

Land had been granted to soldiers, civil officials, settlers and convict emancipists from the 1790s. The dispatches of Governor Macquarie and the Secretary of State reveal the government's evolving policy on land grants and free settlers. Lord Bathurst, the Secretary of State, moved towards granting land to settlers who could maintain themselves and develop their properties. He had arrived at this position before he appointed a Commissioner to investigate the colony and its management. Macquarie continued to promote a vision of New South Wales as an agricultural colony of small settlers drawn from rehabilitated former convicts. Progressively, new areas outside the Sydney region were opened up for occupation; the Hunter Valley to the north, the Bathurst and Wellington districts to the west, the Illawarra-Shoalhaven on the south coast and the southern highlands and southern tablelands to the south west. Macquarie accepted the inevitability of free settlers with capital being given land grants, but could not overcome his objections to grazing, which he judged a 'lazy object'. When greater numbers of free settlers with capital began arriving in 1821, Macquarie repeated his earlier criticisms, claimed that settlers with capital preferred to go to Van Diemen's Land and implied that New South Wales was attracting gentlemen adventurers, with little real wealth behind them.

3 Grenville to Phillip 22 Aug. 1789 & enclosure, HRA 1, vol. 1, 124-128.
6 Macquarie to Liverpool 17 No. 1812, HRA 1, vol. 7, 559.
7 Macquarie to Bathurst 21 Jul. 1821, HRA 1, vol. 10, 534.
Responding to pressures in Britain over the costs of the penal colonies, the rising crime rate and the clamour of personality clashes in New South Wales, Lord Bathurst was pushed into setting up a Commission of Inquiry. As is so often the case with government inquiries, it served to deflect criticism from the Secretary of State on to the Governor. The Commissioner, Thomas Bigge, had been well briefed before he left England in April 1819. His three reports were accepted by government and paved the way for the introduction of a limited curb on the powers of the Governor through a nominated Legislative Council and a reorganisation of the machinery of justice. Bigge recommended a policy of large landholdings for men of capital, including permitting grantees to purchase adjacent land to enable them to run sheep and cattle. As a combined reformatory and cost cutting measure, Bigge advised that male convicts should be assigned in the countryside, away from towns and government service. This dovetailed neatly with large landholders' increasing demand for labour.

New land regulations, based on Bigge's recommendations, were put into place during the administration of the next two Governors, Brisbane and Darling, and provided an incentive for men of capital to emigrate to New South Wales. In

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10 Report...Agriculture and Trade..., 48-50.

11 Report ...Into the State of the Colony of New South Wales, 155-175.

these years, due to sustained efforts to reduce the costs of the colony, there were continuing modifications to conditions for land grants and increasing acceptance of land purchase. As Beaglehole noted of the Secretaries of State’s policies during the 1820s, ‘in Australia land-policy was being canvassed in a way that makes the Howick-Goderich reform of 1831 seem the conclusion of an argument, rather than the first light of a new evangel, as it has been so persistently represented’. The limits on the areas where land grants could be taken were expanded, but not eliminated, shoring up problems for the future. It was difficult for the government in Britain and the colonial administration to determine whether people had the capital to entitle them to the grants they were claiming. During the 1820s there were recurrent complaints from the New South Wales administration alleging misrepresentation of capital and speculation in land.

In the middle of the decade, Lord Bathurst granted land to English investors who were not intending to be settlers, but who were prepared to send out an agent to select, manage and develop their grants. The most prominent of these absentee investors was Thomas Potter Macqueen. He was a member of parliament and had seen the investment potential of New South Wales when he read the Bigge reports. In 1823 he received an initial grant of ten thousand acres, to which he added

1788-1956 (Sydney: NSW Department of Agriculture), 27-60; Perry, Australia’s First Frontier, 26-152.
16 Horton to Brisbane 20 October 1823, HRA 1, vol. 11, 141-143.
significant additional acreage through grants later in the decade. People like Macqueen and others, in touch with political policy makers, were able to generate significant absentee investment opportunities for themselves in colonial land. Macqueen lived on his Hunter valley estate of Segenhoe from 1834 to 1838, when he sold up and returned to England. In 1825, Hart Davis and Son, a Bristol mercantile firm received approval for a grant of thirty thousand acres as an absentee owners.  

Neither Hart Davis nor his son appears to have come out to the colony. In 1827, believing that absentee grantees were not operating in the best interests of the colony, Governor Darling refused to grant land to men not intending to settle and this change in policy was upheld by the new Secretary of State, Sir George Murray. Thenceforth grantees had to live on their land for a minimum of three years, although this was not adequately controlled. Speculation in granted land had begun in the Hunter region as soon as it was opened and continued there, and elsewhere, during the 1820s.

In 1824, the Australian Agricultural Company (AA Company) was created by financiers in the City of London as a vehicle for English investors. It was a joint stock company formed to develop large-scale grazing in New South Wales and had been encouraged by the wealthy colonial landowners, the Macarthur family, through their son, John junior, who represented their interests in London. The Australian Agricultural company was granted one hundred thousand acres, which their first agent, Robert Dawson, selected in the Port Stephens region, north of Newcastle.

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19 Bathurst to Darling 28 Sep. 1825, HRA 1, vol. 12, 61; Hay to Darling 6 Apr. 1830, HRA 1, vol. 15, 392.
20 Darling to Goderich 1 Oct. 1827, HRA 1, vol. 13, 531-533; Murray to Darling 31 May 1828, HRA 1, 215-216.
Both the AA company and Macqueen brought in their own workers, making them some of the earliest free indentured labourers to come to New South Wales.\(^2\) Some employees of the AA Company in the 1820s, notably Dawson, William Hampden Dutton and James White went on to successful careers as independent landowners.\(^2\) 

### Table 2.1 Total Land Granted or Sold 1819-1831

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Acres</th>
<th>% Increase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>145,054</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>381,466</td>
<td>163.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>2,894,929</td>
<td>658.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1829</td>
<td>3,156,103</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830</td>
<td>3,344,030</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831</td>
<td>3,514,043</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The acceleration of land grants and sales through the 1820s can be seen in Table 2.1 above. The steep increase between 1821 and 1828 indicates the intense interest among immigrants and investors in Britain in possessing land in New South Wales. Charlotte Erickson notes that English immigrants to the United States in this period were disproportionately enticed to the frontier through their desire for rural land.\(^2\) She has found that, from the 1820s, English immigrants preferred to settle on farms in predominantly rural states, in the old northwest around the Great Lakes and in the midwest, rather than in the older settled coastal regions. From this settlement pattern, their correspondence and their origins in the non-industrialising regions of

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\(^2\) Ibid., 38-52; Pemberton, *Pure Merinos and Others*; Campbell, 'Genesis of Rural Settlement on the Hunter', 92; *ADB* 1, vol. 2, 195.


England, Erickson concludes that the English immigrants in the United States in the early nineteenth century were chasing a agrarian myth. They were also seeking independence, not wanting to work for an employer. The English immigrants to Australia may well have been motivated by a desire for an idealised rural life, but from 1815 until the 1850s, due to government policies directed towards settlers with capital, it was a dream available only to the relatively wealthy or speculators like Macqueen. Poorer immigrants to New South Wales were destined to be wage labourers.

**Numbers of Free Settlers 1815-1830**

Until the early 1820s, the numbers of free immigrants to New South Wales had been small, with just over a thousand in the twenty years to 1810, increasing to one thousand five hundred between 1811 and 1820. In the 1820s, statistics of free settler arrivals were not recorded systematically until the end of the decade. There are inaccuracies and changing categories in the returns of annual population musters which make consistent comparison difficult. The data may not be entirely accurate, but the trend is unmistakable. Table 2.2 gives a series of snapshots of the increasing numbers of adult free settlers in New South Wales at several points between 1819 and 1833. They increased gradually in the early years of the decade and steeply between 1828 and 1833. The changing ratio of the sexes indicates a shift from family immigration in the early years of the decade to an increased proportion of single males at the end. This trend was to continue into the 1830s among immigrants with capital, who were not subject to restrictions on age or occupation, unlike the


government-assisted immigrants. In 1819, in the free settler population, there were three and a quarter men for each woman. By 1822 this ratio had declined to just over one male to each female. This can be attributed to an influx of free settler families, a number possibly bringing female servants with them, as well as young adult daughters. By 1828, this trend had reversed, with a rise to one and a half males to each female. Immigration of adult males accelerated sharply after 1828 and by 1833 there were just over two adult male free settlers to each female adult free settler.

Table 2.2 Increasing Population of Adult Free Settlers 1819-1833

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Men</th>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Male/Female Sex Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1819</td>
<td>794</td>
<td>245</td>
<td>1,039</td>
<td>3.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821</td>
<td>846</td>
<td>643</td>
<td>1,489</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822</td>
<td>963</td>
<td>814</td>
<td>1,777</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1828</td>
<td>2,561</td>
<td>1,565</td>
<td>4,126</td>
<td>1.64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>17,542</td>
<td>8,522</td>
<td>26,064</td>
<td>2.06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: For 1819, *HRA* 1, vol. 10, 287; for 1821, ibid., 575; for 1822, NSW Col. Sec., Returns of the Colony, 1822; for 1828 ibid., 1828; for 1833, ibid., 1833.

It is not possible to determine the nation of origin within the United Kingdom of these immigrants, as this information was not collected. However data in the New South Wales Colonial Secretary’s papers, *Historical Records of Australia* and the *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, suggest that a majority of the immigrants in the 1820s were English, followed by a higher proportion of Scots than their share in the UK population, and smaller numbers of Irish. Some of the people who were technically English, being born, raised and educated in England, should more properly be classified as British. Their families had gravitated to the south-east of England from Scotland, Ireland and Wales a generation or two previously, attracted by the economic and career opportunities of London.
Colonial Opportunities for Artisans and Skilled Tradesmen 1815-1830

After 1815, men with experience in skilled occupations began to apply for permission to emigrate to New South Wales, sensing more opportunity for themselves than in Britain. An early example of this can be seen in a request from William Broughton, the acting assistant Commissary General. Broughton, from Kent, had been in New South Wales since the beginning of European settlement. The Governor supported his request for permission for his brother-in-law, Richard Tress and family, and Broughton’s mother, to be allowed to come out to the colony and to be granted free passage on a convict ship. Tress had been employed as a shipwright at the King’s Dockyard at Chatham, but in 1815 could see an imminent downturn in business with the ending of the war. As Broughton explained, ‘from the recent Peace, there can be no doubt a reduction of these useful Artisans must take place, and it is on this Account that he is more anxious to come to this country’. Richard Tress and family arrived in the colony in October 1817 on the convict transport, Mariner. In 1821, Tress was appointed Master Boat Builder at the King’s Dockyard, Sydney, on an annual salary of ninety one pounds and five shillings.

Other skilled workers were beginning to respond to opportunities offered by the growing colony, but until the mid 1820s their presence is elusive. In May 1823, Lord Bathurst responded to Governor Brisbane’s proposals to tie land grants to the ability to maintain one convict for each one hundred acres granted. He worried that creating remote places of banishment for recalcitrant convicts would reduce the labour pool for settlers. Bathurst asked Brisbane to provide him with an estimate of the demand for labour. In October 1824, Brisbane sent the details, commenting on 'the encouragement of free Labourers and Mechanics...I cannot but view it as the

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29 HRA 1, vol. 8, 608; Goulburn to Macquarie 25 Apr. 1816 & 1 May 1816, HRA 1, vol. 9, 119-120.
30 Macquarie to Bathurst 7 Feb. 1821, HRA 1, vol. 10, 381; List of Names...Civil and Military Employments etc, ibid., 580.
31 Bathurst to Brisbane 30 May 1823, HRA 1, vol. 11, 83-86.
best measure which could be adopted towards the prosperity of the Colony in giving every reasonable encouragement to mechanics.\textsuperscript{32} The demand identified was for just under four hundred rural workers and a small number of town mechanics. Lord Bathurst took no further action.\textsuperscript{33}

In December 1826, Governor Darling forwarded a letter of complaint from George Weller who claimed that he had been unfairly refused a land grant and was returning to England after eight months of frustration in the colony.\textsuperscript{34} Darling stated that Weller had been too busy running his business in Sydney to find out what the regulations for obtaining land grants were, ‘though they have been repeatedly published in all the Papers’. At this distance, we cannot know how valid Weller’s claims to possess the required capital were, but it appears that the Governor and the Colonial Secretary were operating a filtering mechanism to refuse tradesmen grants they would have given to gentlemen settlers producing similar evidence. Darling’s next comments were revealing:

He appears to be of the Class of “Shop Keepers”; many of whom have lately come out, and think they have a right to Land in proportion to the amount of their Investments. In most cases, the Goods are not their own, but have been supplied on Commission. Mr Weller \textit{told me} he had been bred to Business, and had no knowledge of Agriculture; still he expected...\textit{to have been placed in possession of his Grant of Land without Interrogations}, and of course without conforming to the Regulations.\textsuperscript{35}

Darling reported several other cases where he judged that retailers had misrepresented their capital and had been refused a grant. He implied that these claims had not been adequately investigated by the Colonial Office, but these incidents also revealed Darling’s conservative preference for an agricultural and mercantile social order.

\textsuperscript{32} Brisbane to Bathurst 29 Oct. 1824, ibid., 385-388.
\textsuperscript{33} Synopsis of Despatches, ibid., 970.
\textsuperscript{34} Darling to Hay & Enclosure 16 Dec. 1826, \textit{HRA} 1, vol. 12, 766-769.
\textsuperscript{35} Ibid., 767.
We want *Agriculturists* and *Mechanics*, or Persons possessing available Capital; some of those lately arrived, whom I could instance, are now Settled and have already brought their land into cultivation; and you may rest assured that Persons of these descriptions will always receive prompt assistance, but Shop Keepers can never become Farmers and are not likely to benefit the Colony as Agriculturists.\(^{36}\)

Of course, officers and gentlemen could become proprietors of farms, even those with no experience of farming.

Similarly, in 1829, Darling referred to another case in which he considered the claimants to be of the wrong class to receive a land grant and asserted that they did not have the ready capital to invest in improvements.\(^{37}\) Here Darling displayed a racial, as well as a class bias, against the applicant, Michael Hyam, a shoemaker. Hyam had been recommended as a settler by the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and had joined in partnership with a hosier to reach the minimum capital required for a grant. Darling dismissed this, although several gentlemen merchant partnerships had been given land grants. Darling justified the rejection of Hyam’s application noting, ‘thus by uniting their respective investments of shoes and stockings, he hopes to obtain a grant as if he had imported capital available for agricultural purposes to the amount of £2,000’. In further extenuation of his refusal, Darling confided, ‘Hyam, as might be supposed from what I have stated, is a perfect Jew’. Darling’s despatch concluded, ‘For my own part, I could wish that such people as Hyam and his partner would confine themselves to their own proper calling, and defer becoming landed Proprietors until they have done making shoes and selling stockings’. Possession of land as a means to generate wealth was for gentlemen, though some skilled tradesmen and shopkeepers were able to demonstrate that they did possess the required capital.

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\(^{36}\) Ibid.

\(^{37}\) Darling to Twiss 28 January 1829, *HRA* 1, vol. 14, 618.
Anthony and Ann Hordern arrived in Sydney in March 1825. Anthony Hordern was from Staffordshire. He had migrated to London where he worked as a wheelwright and coachmaker in the East End. His wife, Ann Woodhead, was the daughter of a London stay and bonnet maker and had experience in her father’s shop. It seems likely that Anthony and Ann Hordern were spurred to emigration after a family disagreement, for they had taken five years from their first inquiries to actually take up the challenge. They had brought goods for sale with them and Ann, having run an experienced eye over the women she saw in the street in Sydney, immediately on arrival placed an order with her father for stock she knew would be in demand. Ann’s first advertisement appeared in the *Sydney Gazette* of 21 April 1825 and was to be the beginning of an emporium which only ceased trading in the mid twentieth century. On arrival, Anthony Hordern set up in his trade as a coachmaker. In July 1825, the Horderns had sold sufficient stock to claim and be granted a land grant of 640 acres which they received a year later and took up in the Fish River District. They appear never to have worked this grant. In 1827, Anthony Hordern, probably assisted by his wife, gave up coachmaking to run an inn in Sydney. By 1831, Ann Hordern began another shop which was geared to the quality trade. This proved to be so successful that in 1838 her husband joined her, the firm’s name changing in typical patriarchal fashion to Anthony Hordern.

**Colonial Opportunities for Middle Class Professionals, 1815-1830**

Growing numbers of free settlers created a market for the services of middle class professionals, as did changes in civil and legal administration, opening up opportunities for men keen to advance at a faster rate than they believed they could in England. Lawyers, merchants, surveyors, doctors, clergymen, clerks and administrators began coming out to New South Wales in greater numbers than previously, many with their families. Initially, intending settlers applied to the

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39 Ibid., 23.
Colonial Office for permission to settle and receive land grants; but by 1825, when many more people were making their own way to the colony without first seeking permission, the Secretary of State instructed Governor Brisbane to give land grants to them on the same conditions as those who had Colonial Office approval.\(^{40}\) Men in official or semi-official positions were given free passages on convict ships for themselves and their families, at a time when the cost of a passage to New South Wales was an impediment to emigration for under-capitalised middle class families.\(^{41}\)

**Legal Practitioners**

Increased business in the civil and criminal courts had encouraged legal men to emigrate to New South Wales. Some came out for a few years before they moved to take a promotion in another colony or to return to Britain. Others settled permanently, several of them founding legal dynasties. However peculiarly the law had been administered in New South Wales in the early decades of British settlement, it was fundamentally English Law.\(^{42}\) This gave an advantage to English and Irish trained lawyers over lawyers from Scotland, where a different legal system operated. After the first re-organisation of the judicial system in 1814, greater numbers of English lawyers began to be attracted to New South Wales.\(^{43}\)

Jeffrey Hart Bent, the first Judge of the Supreme Court was appointed in England by the Secretary of State. Before he embarked, he encouraged two English attorneys, W.H. Moore and Frederick Garling, to emigrate to New South Wales.\(^{44}\)

\(^{40}\) Bathurst to Brisbane 24 Feb. 1825, *HRA* 1, vol. 11, 526-527.

\(^{41}\) For example, the Dowling Family in 1827-8 on the *Hooghly*, Dowling, *Reminiscences of a Colonial Judge*, 2-3.


Undoubtedly, arrogance and personality conflicts between Bent and Macquarie made for a disastrous beginning to this new legal era. Bent’s challenges to existing legal practice, by refusing to allow former convicts to appear as attorneys before him and refusal to hold court in an unsuitable building, were badly bungled attempts to assert the independence of the judiciary and to raise the image of the legal profession. The next two Judges of the Supreme Court, Field and Forbes, introduced further innovations to bring the work of the courts closer to English practice and to ensure the Governor’s proclamations were not in violation of the laws of England. This marked the beginning of a shift in the governance of the colony from an autocratic regime to an approximation of the English settlement of 1688.

Following in the footsteps of Forbes, other judges and legal men came out from England, the majority of whom were to remain in the colony for the rest of their lives. In August 1824, John Stephen took up the position of Commissioner of the Court of Requests. In quick succession, he was appointed Solicitor General and in 1825 acting assistant Judge in the Supreme Court, a post which was confirmed by the Crown in 1826. John Stephen was an uncle of James Stephen, then a legal advisor in the Colonial Office, and subsequently permanent Under Secretary, owing his posting to New South Wales to his nephew’s patronage. John Stephen’s father was Scottish and his mother was from Dorsetshire. He had been called to the English bar and had practised as a solicitor and barrister in the West Indies. He returned to England in 1810 and settled on an estate near Wells in Somerset. Due to financial problems, in 1815 Stephen unsuccessfully tried to resume his practice in the West Indies. His son Alfred, later Sir Alfred Stephen, recalled ‘dear mother was compelled to be frugal in all things.’ As C.H. Currey noted, ‘a legal office requiring a man of Uncle John’s qualifications had been created at Sydney by the New South Wales Act of 1823 and,

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at the request of James Stephen, Earl Bathurst "enabled" John Stephen, in his nephew's words, "to change the land of slaves for the land of convicts".

The second Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court was James Dowling. He arrived in New South Wales with his wife and six children in February 1828.\(^4^9\) His father was Irish, from Queen's County, but the family had been established in London before James Dowling was born in 1787. He had been educated at St Paul's School, London, had worked as a parliamentary reporter and had been called to the Bar in 1815. With six children to raise and educate, Dowling found that he was unable to make sufficient money to support his family. His son, James Sheen Dowling, who was eight when the family moved to Australia, and who had a close relationship with his father, summarised the motives for emigrating as financial and more rapid promotion:

In the year 1827 he had been twelve years called to the Bar, was forty years of age, and in common with hundreds of members of the same branch of the profession found that success marched with very slow steps, and foresaw that many years must necessarily elapse before he could calculate with certainty upon making an income sufficient to provide for the increasing wants of his family of six children. He wisely concluded to seek a judicial appointment in the Colonies.\(^5^0\)

The prospects of the salary of a Judge and the town and country land grants which would confer a status akin to a member of the English gentry were powerful incentives for Dowling and family to emigrate. James Dowling was advised by Justice Barron Field, who had left the colony in 1824, 'depend upon it [your] children will be happier and wealthier in the colony. The girls will marry better than


\(^5^0\) Ibid., 1.
in England, and the boys will like a farming and wild country life'.\footnote{Field to Dowling, 30 July 1827, Letters to Sir James Dowling, ML A489, cited in Bennett, \textit{Sir James Dowling}, n. 38, 178-179.} Despite their free passage on the convict transport, \textit{Hooghly}, Dowling had to borrow from his sister to meet their travel expenses. The cost of living in New South Wales, combined with the fixed salary of a Judge and the demands of his growing children, kept the Dowling family short of liquid capital. To live up to his status as a Judge Dowling borrowed money in the colony at a high rate of interest to build their town house.\footnote{Bennett, \textit{Sir James Dowling}, 14-15.} However, on arrival the Dowlings had immediately acquired a status they could never have attained in England. They had nine acres of Sydney 'town land' in the bush at Darlinghurst and 2,560 acres at Williams River in the Hunter Valley.\footnote{Ibid.; Return of Civil Servants...Grants or Reserves of Land...23 November 1828, \textit{HRA} 1, 478-9.} Their rural landholding provided the family with additional income, although Dowling himself was uncomfortable with the New South Wales countryside and left others to manage it for him.

William Henry Moore and Frederick Garling were the first attorneys to come as free settlers to practise in New South Wales. Their motives are not as clear as the men who came as Judges. It is likely that they also were finding their profession crowded and were attracted to a known salary as a government stipendary attorney and the right to earn additional income from private practice. Moore, who was the son of a London solicitor, had served his articles with his father and had been admitted as an attorney to the Westminster Courts in 1810. He arrived in Sydney in January 1815 and was called to the bar of the new Supreme Court of New South Wales on 11 May 1815.\footnote{ADB, vol. 2, 255-256; Bennett, \textit{A History of Solicitors in New South Wales}, 21-23.} Moore came to the colony with his wife and appears not to have had children, so that provision for a large family had not been a motive for his emigration. Frederick Garling was the London-born son of an architect and had practised as a solicitor and attorney in London before accepting the offer to transfer...
to New South Wales. Unlike Moore, Garling had a substantial family to support. Garling, his wife and five children arrived in New South Wales in August 1815. Both Moore and Garling benefited from being in Sydney as free settler lawyers at an early stage of the reconstruction of the colony’s legal system. In 1822 Commissioner Bigge reported that Moore and Garling had been ‘very fully remunerated’ and had more than recouped their costs of emigration.

In 1824, as the numbers of legal men in the colony grew, six men signed the Supreme Court roll as solicitors and by the end of 1830, another eighteen had been added. Saxe Bannister, John Stephen Wardell and W.C. Wentworth signed the roll as barristers in 1824, in 1827 another two were added and another five by 1830. The majority of these men were English or from families who had been based in England for a generation or more. Roger Therry, admitted as barrister on the New South Wales Roll in 1829, appears to be the first man from the Irish bar, to practise law in New South Wales.

Surveyors and Medical Practitioners
Surveyors were another profession in demand. From the 1820s onwards, with the opening of vast acreages for incoming settlers, the Surveyor General’s department was unable to keep up with the task of survey. In 1822, John Tremayne Rodd, a widower from Devon and two of his sons, Robert Adamson Rodd and Brett Clements Rodd, arrived in Sydney. John T. Rodd had worked in India for a number

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56 ADB, vol. 2, 256.
57 NSW Supreme Court, Rolls of Barristers & Solicitors, 1824-1876, AONSW fiche, no. 853; Bennett, A History of the New South Wales Bar, 34-36, 43-46.
of years, before becoming a Hydrographer in the Royal Navy. In June 1822, John T. Rodd, applied for a post in the Surveyor General’s Department and in June 1825 finally obtained an appointment as assistant surveyor through the influence of Lord Harrowby. Lord Bathurst had been led to believe that John T. Rodd was ‘a Young Man of considerable talent and equally qualified for the Situation’. Within twelve months of his appointment, Governor Darling was reporting that Rodd ‘is advanced in years, and appears to be worn out’. Surveyor-General, Oxley, had advised the Governor that John Rodd and another colleague ‘have long been, ‘from Illness and Infirmity, incapable of active Field duty, or even of assisting in the construction of the required Maps’. Rodd did not undertake any further surveying and resigned from his subsequent post of Superintendent of Public Works at Newcastle when accusations of misuse of government property surfaced. In 1831, Rodd, through sheer persistence and an influential patron in England, obtained a belated grant of 1,800 acres to which his post as an assistant surveyor in the 1820s would have entitled him. This occurred, despite Oxley’s clear statement that, ‘On Mr Rodd’s arrival, I stated to him my apprehension that his advanced years and then apparent infirmities would incapacitate him for active Field employment, and I have no expectation that he will ever become an efficient Assistant Surveyor’.

In May 1828, Governor Darling warned the Secretary of State of growing arrears in surveying and requested additional surveyors and draftsmen be sent out.

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60 Darling to Bathurst 27 Jul. 1826, HRA 1, vol. 12, 455; Darling to Twiss 24 Aug. 1829, HRA 1, vol. 15, 131; ADB, vol. 6, 52; A Genealogical History of Pioneers of Australia, 309.
61 NSW Colonial Secretary, Index 1788-1825; Bathurst to Brisbane 21 Aug 1824, HRA 1, vol. 11, 351.
62 Darling to Bathurst 27 Jul. 1826, HRA 1, vol. 12, 455.
63 Oxley to Darling 24 Jul. 1826, HRA 1, vol. 12, 456.
65 Howick to Darling 17 Mar. 1830; Howick to Bourke 20 Nov. 1831, HRA 1, vol. 16, 260-261, 460-461.
Despite his concern to contain the costs of the colonial administration, Sir George Murray, agreed to increase the establishment of both surveyors and draftsmen, as he was conscious that an increased speed of survey would augment colonial funds from land sales.\(^68\) Felton Mathew was one of the additional surveyors appointed and he arrived in Sydney from London in December 1829.\(^69\) Unlike John T. Rodd, Felton Mathew proceeded quickly to begin working in the countryside. On 1 January 1830 he was already on the banks of the Hawkesbury surveying farms. In January 1832 Mathew Felton’s fiancee and cousin, Sarah Mathew followed him to the colony; they were married on 21 January 1832 in St James Church, Sydney and formed an unusual partnership in which she travelled with him on his fieldwork and assisted him in writing up his reports.\(^70\)

Surgeons were another category of skilled professional which the administration in New South Wales found essential to employ from the beginning of settlement. By 1792 there were also some medical men in private practice.\(^71\) At first, it was difficult to recruit and retain surgeons in the colony, as many had successful practices at home. In 1814 Governor Macquarie told Lord Bathurst that ‘a few respectable Medical Men should be encouraged to come out to this Colony, as Free Settlers’.\(^72\) There was greater incentive for medical men to come to New South Wales when many military and naval surgeons were reduced to half pay in the middle of the decade, but it took them some time to assess their prospects and decide on emigration. On the instigation of William Redfern, an emancipist medical practitioner and ex-naval surgeon, the government adopted the practice of insisting

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\(^{68}\) Murray to Darling 13 Aug 1829; Murray to Darling 8 May 1830; Murray to Darling 13 Jul. 1830, *HRA* vol. 15, 103-104, 468-469, 580.


\(^{71}\) Note 43, *HRA* 1, vol. 8, 662-663.

\(^{72}\) Macquarie to Bathurst 28 Apr. 1814, *HRA* 1, vol. 8, 155-156.
that naval surgeons accompanied each shipload of convicts. This gave half pay naval surgeons a year's employment and it also gave them an opportunity to judge the colony and its prospects.

By 1817, no additional medical practitioners had come as free settlers and the government medical establishment had been reduced from six to five. Macquarie suggested that it would be necessary to provide higher pay and other benefits to attract doctors, particularly to country districts. The medical establishment began to increase after this. Dr James Bowman and Dr Edward Bromley, both of whom had been naval surgeon superintendents on convict ships, came out in 1817 with recommendations from the Colonial Office that they be appointed to medical posts at Hobart and Port Dalrymple (Launceston). Governor Macquarie exercised his local discretion and refused to discharge the incapacitated incumbents, until the Colonial Office granted them pensions in recognition of their long service. Disappointed, both Bromley and Bowman returned to England to make representations to the Secretary of State. Bromley came back to Van Diemen's Land as a Naval Officer and James Bowman was appointed Principal Surgeon in New South Wales on the retirement of D'Arcy Wentworth. Bowman, who took up his post in Sydney in 1819 was born in Carlisle, Cumberland, had enlisted in the Navy as an assistant surgeon in 1806 and been appointed surgeon the following year. By 1821, the medical establishment in New South Wales had increased to eight, with six of these

73 Redfern to Macquarie 30 Sep. 1814, HRA 1, vol. 8, 290-292; Macquarie to Bathurst 18 Mar. 1816; Macquarie to Bathurst 4 Apr. 1817, HRA 1, vol. 9, 54-57, 344-344.
74 A List of Persons Holding Civil and Military Employments...1 January 1816, HRA 1, vol. 9, 94; List of Names etc., of Persons Holding Civil and Military Appointments...31 March 1817, ibid., 244.
75 Ibid., 355.
76 Macquarie to Bathurst 18 March 1816, HRA 1, vol. 9, 68-75; Bathurst to Macquarie 20 Jan 1817, ibid., 204; Macquarie to Bathurst 12 Dec 1817, ibid., 716-717.
77 Goulburn to Macquarie 20 May 1819, HRA 1, vol. 10, 150-151; Bathurst to Macquarie 14 Apr. 1819, ibid. 146146-147.
78 Macquarie to Bathurst 28 Feb. 1820, ibid., 281; ADB 1, 137-138.
surgeons being new appointments. By 1828 the numbers of government practitioners had increased to nine, but again only two of the men employed in 1821 remained on the staff, Doctors Bowman and Hill. In the 1820s, the medical men in government employment were former military or naval surgeons and came from all of the countries of the United Kingdom. English surgeons were competing for posts in the colony with men from Ireland, Scotland and Wales; those from Ireland and Scotland might well have medical degrees.

William Elyard had trained as a medical apprentice in Gravesend, Kent and in London hospitals, prior to a career as a naval surgeon. He had no appointment to the colonial medical establishment, but he had been granted a free passage for his family on the convict transport, *John Bull*, on which he acted as surgeon superintendent. In retrospect in a letter to Governor Brisbane, Elyard stated his reason for emigrating. ‘Your Excellency is aware many Officers of the Army and Navy have been induced by the continuation of the Peace and the want of employment in their professions to seek in other Countries a better provision for their families than their limited incomes enabled them to make in England’. His son, Samuel Elyard noted, ‘having determined to settle in New South Wales...Being on half pay and having a wife and five children, he hoped to provide for them in this country better than in England, where every profession was overloaded; and intended to exercise his profession and also become a settler’. For a number of years after arrival, his finances were insufficient to maintain his family comfortably, but despite this when he was offered a post of assistant surgeon in the government service he turned down the offer, refusing as a well-qualified surgeon to undergo a fresh examination of his knowledge and experience, a hide-bound act of pride which

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79 List of Names etc. of persons Holding Civil and Military Appointments...30 Nov. 1821, *HRA* 1, vol. 10, 579; Return of the Civil Servants of the Government...23 Nov. 1828, *HRA* 1, vol. 14, 479.
80 Elyard family, Papers 1807-1892, ML MSS 594/1, 4-6.
81 Ibid., vol. 4, 127.
disadvantaged he and his family for a number of years, until they were able to able to live on rental income from his country land grants.

Merchants

Merchants were another significant group in the developing colonial economy and society. These men operated import-export businesses connected to London-based firms, and a smaller number of Liverpool and Edinburgh enterprises. They were from mixed backgrounds, but they liaised with and worked for the powerful upper middle class British gentlemen financiers, who made money from advancing credit, exporting wholesale goods and importing produce into Britain from around the world.\(^2\) Mercantile firms and their colonial agents played an important role in the development of free enterprise in New South Wales. Wealthy merchants were of a class and status far removed from Darling's despised shopkeepers, though undercapitalised merchants did merge into the shopkeeper class.

Merchants had seen opportunities for themselves from the early days of the colony, and when the East India Company's monopoly was lifted from the Australian region, they began coming in greater numbers.\(^3\) Some ship's captains acted on their own account, or as agents for others, and until 1817 many of the


convict ships had carried merchandise, as well as their human cargo.\textsuperscript{84} More of the merchants arriving in Sydney in the 1820s had been trained in, and had family connections with, British mercantile firms. In the early 1820s, Bigge counted twelve import-export merchants in Sydney. Fifer estimates that forty merchants came to Sydney between 1820 and 1824 and that more than sixty men stated their occupation as merchant in the 1828 census.\textsuperscript{85} About a quarter of the merchants in the 1820s were from Scotland, only one or two were from Ireland and the rest were English.

The prospect of land grants, as well as the increasing size of the free settler market, provided a strong incentive for men with the right connections and capital backing to settle in New South Wales. Influential merchants, such as Thomas Winder, Thomas Icely, W. Jemmett Browne and his Aspinall nephews, Thomas Raine, John Hosking, Charles Gore and Joseph Barrow Montefiore set themselves up in the 1820s.\textsuperscript{86} They acquired country properties, and ran their mercantile enterprises from Sydney. Men like these were a fundamental part of the expansion of the British Empire and the growth of New South Wales. Their pivotal role has tended to be overlooked, but it is clear that, despite some of the extreme risk taking and consequent bankruptcies, merchants were the conduit through which much private capital and credit flowed into and out of the colony. Men like Winder and Icely moved from mercantile activity to become settled landholders. Winder was instrumental in several private enterprise developments in the Hunter Valley and

\textsuperscript{85} Ibid., 41-42, 55.
Icely became a prominent wool and cattle breeder in the Bathurst District and a long-term member of the Legislative Council.

**Immigrants in the Countryside 1815-1830**

In the 1820s land being opened for the newcomers was at the frontier of European control and settlers experienced conflict with the indigenous people and raids from bushrangers.\(^7\) It is difficult to determine accurately which immigrants were living in the countryside, despite the evidence in the 1828 census (Table 2.3). This was particularly true for families who were intending to, and did eventually, settle on their properties. In the 1820s, families and wealthy single men spent much of their time in Sydney or in embryonic regional settlements closer to their grants, such as Bathurst and Newcastle, and relied on overseers and convict labourers to work their country properties. Some men who personally supervised the development of their land were separated from their families for long periods. A few families moved to the countryside quickly, but others waited until the latter part of the decade, when the zone of conflict had moved on.

The Hunter Valley, which had only been opened at the end of 1822, was the most popular area for new immigrants intending to settle as country gentry.\(^8\) These people were wealthy and well-connected in Britain. This can be gauged from the size of their holdings, the number of their servants, their equipment and the number of


\(^8\) Perry, *Australia's First Frontier*, 26-42, 52-78, 121-124, 130-152; Campbell, 'The Genesis of Rural Settlement on the Hunter'.
convicts assigned to them. The Hunter Valley had water access to Sydney, land suitable for agriculture around the river and its tributaries, and land for stock grazing in the hinterland. This allowed for a mixed farming economy, with which many of the farmer immigrants were familiar. Because of its attractions, speedier survey was taking place in the Hunter Valley than elsewhere.

2.3 Location of Immigrants 1828

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<th>County &amp; District</th>
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<th>Females 12+</th>
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<th>Sex Ratio</th>
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<td>64</td>
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<td>8. Liverpool &amp; District</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>45</td>
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<tr>
<td>9. Camden &amp; Illawarra</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>30</td>
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<td>57</td>
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<td>11. Bringelly &amp; Cook</td>
<td>44</td>
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Source: Return of the Population of New South Wales According to a Census Taken in November 1828, AONSW, Returns of the Colony 1828 (Blue Book), 146-147.

Free settlers with capital who had arrived in the decades prior to 1820 had taken up most of the land in the County of Cumberland, because of its accessibility and proximity to the Sydney market. The Illawarra-Shoalhaven, the western districts around Bathurst and the Wellington Valley, and the south-west, were less favoured by newcomers, because of the high cost of transport to Sydney. These areas tended to be taken up by longer-established free settlers, the majority of whom sent employees to these remote regions, but some recently arrived free settlers, particularly half-pay military officers, selected land in the Bathurst district. Ken Fry has identified fifty nine gentlemen immigrants in the Bathurst district, forty six

89 Ibid., 72-75.
90 Ibid., 41.
of whom were living on their properties in 1828. In the Illawarra-Shoalhaven and the south west, there is a less clear indication of the social composition of landowners, though there were some wealthy recent settlers, men like merchants Alexander Berry and his partner Edward Wollstonecraft, who divided their time between the Shoalhaven and Sydney, and experienced farmers like James Atkinson who lived on his land at Bong Bong.

In the 1820s, former military and naval officers were among the men who chose to earn their living predominantly from the land. Some took up the opportunity not long after they retired on half-pay; others waited until the mid to late 1820s, when officers were being encouraged to sell their commissions for promises of colonial land. Many moved to New South Wales at this time, though their exact number is elusive. However, the careers of several give us some indication of the mix of their skills and motives. It would appear that despite the varying length of their service in the army or navy, they were generally younger sons of the country gentry or provincial middle class. This provided them with youthful experience of observing farming practice, either within their family economy or at one remove, in the local area. For the former army officers, their period of service in the Penninsula Wars would have given them first hand experience of drier, harsher countryside than England, a useful preparation for managing the Australian environment. The sale of their commissions provided former officers with more capital than most middle class professionals in the colony, so that they could develop and wait for a return from their land, without having to work in another occupation.

92 Fry, Beyond the Barrier, 75-81.
Robert Copland Lethbridge, who served in the Royal Navy until the end of the hostilities, had been born in 1798 in Launceston, Cornwall and was the second surviving son of Christopher Lethbridge, a recorder and solicitor. In 1821 Lethbridge had commanded a convict ship to New South Wales and made his first application for a land grant in December of that year. He returned to the colony in 1823 and took up an initial grant of 2,560 acres in the County of Georgiana, south of Bathurst, though they lived on his wife Mary’s Penrith property, ‘Werrington’, which had been granted in 1806 to her father, Governor King. The Lethbridges added to these lands through further grants and purchases and relied entirely on their income from agriculture and grazing to support themselves and their seven children.

Thomas Fitzherbert Hawkins had served in the Navy during the wars as a purser. He had been born in May 1781 to a long-standing Devon family whose background is now obscure. Hawkins was not wealthy and had lost his capital in a failed business venture in London. With his wife, who had been born in Kent, his mother-in-law and their eight children, the Hawkins family arrived in the colony in January 1822. In April 1822 Hawkins accepted an appointment as the Commissariat Storekeeper at Bathurst, then a remote military outpost. The Hawkins family accepted this posting and travelled in convoy over the roughly cut road across the Blue Mountains. This was the first such journey by a settler family. It was a significant ordeal, beginning on 5 April 1822 and finishing eighteen days later. Sarah Hawkins wrote a vivid account of it in a letter to her sister Ann, not long after their arrival in Bathurst. It was a remarkable undertaking for all concerned and shows their desperation for the post in Bathurst and for their two thousand acre land grant. Hawkins resigned as Storekeeper in November 1823, after he had received an

94 NSW Col. Sec. Index, 1788-1825; A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia, 223-228.
95 ‘Mrs Elizabeth Hawkins, Journey from Sydney to Bathurst in 1822’, Fourteen Journeys Over the Blue Mountains of New South Wales 1813-184, ed. George Mackaness (Sydney: Horwitz-Grahame, 1965), 102-103; ADB vol. 1, 524-525; Fry, Beyond the Barrier 131-134; NSW Col. Sec Index, 1788-1825.
inheritance of three thousand pounds. They prospered from their landed property, with additional income from a part-time Coronial position. The Hawkins, with three more children added to the eight they had taken over the mountains, become one of the leading families in the district.

Thomas Valentine Blomfield had come to New South Wales as a Lieutenant with the 48th Regiment in 1817. He had served in the Peninsular War and had been decorated for his actions there. Thomas Blomfield had been born at Old Newton, Suffolk, and was the third surviving son of his father, also Thomas, who was a Lieutenant in the West Suffolk Militia, and probably a farmer. Thomas Blomfield Junior saw potential in New South Wales and, after serving in the colony for six years, managed to resign his commission before his regiment departed. In August 1820, he had married Christiana Jane, daughter of a wealthy settler, Richard Brooks, giving Blomfield a strong incentive to stay. In addition, he liked the colony and was tiring of the military life. In 1822, Thomas Blomfield took up his grant of two thousand acres on the Hunter River. His wife and children lived with her parents at ‘Denham Court’, near Liverpool from 1822 until 1824, while Blomfield supervised the clearing and cropping of his land and the construction of a house. Christiana’s delight in her new house on their property, ‘Dagworth’, and in her marriage, is evident in her letter to Thomas’s family in England. They moved into their cottage on 21 September 1824, just five weeks before Christiana gave birth to their third son. Already the land was taking on an English orderliness, with the picturesque alien wildness at a safe distance. ‘It is a very pretty place. Our house stands up on a hill from which we have a very extensive view. On one side we see through the trees part of Lake Lachland, and on all sides we see the mountains, which have a very

96 NSW Col. Sec Index, 1788-1825; Blomfield family, The Blomfield Letters Covering the Period 1799 to 1845 ed. Eve Buscombe (Sydney: Eureka Research, 1982).
98 Christiana’s letter of 2 Jun. 1825, ibid., 47.
wild and beautiful appearance.' She goes on to give a proud, detailed description of their house. This was an English family settling happily into the Australian countryside.

The other significant group of immigrants who settled on the land as their primary source of income were younger sons of English farmers; some from gentry landowner families and others from tenant farmer families. James Atkinson came out to Sydney in May 1820 and worked briefly as principal clerk in the Colonial Secretary’s office before taking up and settling on one thousand five hundred acres of land in the newly opened Southern Highlands. Atkinson’s father was a farmer in mid-Kent, an area of high quality farms which supplied the London market. Although James Atkinson had worked in a clerical position in Deptford after school, he had absorbed the lessons of scientific farming from his father and their neighbours in the village of Mereworth. When he returned on a visit to England in 1825 he found such interest in the prospects of farming in New South Wales that he published *An Account of the State of Agriculture and Grazing in New South Wales* for intending settlers. In it he criticised the slovenly techniques of colonial farmers who knew little about the latest farming techniques, or indeed had no previous farming experience. He showed on his own farm that he understood the practice, as well as the theory, of scientific farming. When Atkinson died on his estate in 1834 he left a wife and three children and was mourned by the *Sydney Monitor* which noted that he was 'a gentleman of considerable literary attainments, and, as a practical agriculturalist ...second to none in the Colony'.


100 Cited in *ADB* vol. 1, 42.
John and Walter Rotton arrived in Sydney in November 1821.\textsuperscript{101} They came from Tooting Graveney in Surrey, a prosperous rural area close to London.\textsuperscript{102} In 1822 both John and Walter Rotton declared that they each had sufficient capital to take ten convicts on assignment, entitling both of them to grants of one thousand acres. John Rotton selected his grant at Patrick’s Plains in the Hunter Valley, but Walter Rotton missed out by falling foul of the law. In 1822, while waiting for his land grant, Walter Rotton worked as a clerk for a merchant, Vicars Jacobs, who accused him of embezzlement and this was upheld by a Criminal Court Jury. Walter Rotton was sentenced to seven years transportation to Port Macquarie, eventually commuted to assignment to his brother John on his Hunter estate.\textsuperscript{103} Walter Rotton protested his innocence at his trial and in several later memorials, but was unable to convince the courts, the Governor or the Secretary of State. The \textit{Sydney Gazette} reporting his trial noted, ‘the prisoner a young man respected by all that were acquainted with him, and possessing so many enviable advantages, inconsiderately plunged into the commission of that worst species of offence – a breach of trust’. It looks as though Walter Rotton’s desire to amass capital had tempted him into stealing from his employer. John Rotton certainly had sufficient capital to set up on his grant. In 1823 he wrote to his brother Richard about the costs of starting a farm, but consoled himself with a positive view of the future and the Englishness of the Hunter Valley landscape. ‘My land is what I conceived the land would be, when in England – wooded like a park with about ninety acres like an English meadow – this I am cultivating and shall have this year forty acres in grain of various kinds’.\textsuperscript{104}

\textsuperscript{101} John Rotton, Letters, 1821, 1823, NLA MS 9248; NSW Col. Sec. Index, 1788-1825; Biographical Cuttings on John Rotton, granted land in the Hunter 1822, NLA; entries for John Rotton and Richard Rotton, FamilySearch.
\textsuperscript{102} \textit{The London Encyclopaedia} eds Ben Weinreb & Christopher Hibbert (London: Papermac, 1987), 867.
\textsuperscript{103} \textit{Sydney Gazette} 25 Oct. 1822; NSW Col Sec Papers, 13 Mar & 2 Apr. 1824.
\textsuperscript{104} John Rotton, Letter 7 Jul. 1823, NLA MS 9248.
Unlike most of the other immigrants intending to derive their primary income from the land, John Street was the eldest son. His family had an eight hundred acre farm near Guildford in Surrey. He had been born in 1781, had two surviving brothers and a sister and was forty one years old, and unmarried, when he arrived in Sydney in 1822. Street brought with him sufficient capital to receive a two thousand acre grant which he selected on the Campbell River in the Bathurst District. His motives for emigrating are revealed in a letter from Thomas Henty in response to a letter from Street explaining his reason for emigration. Henty sympathised and lamented the continuing dire state of income from agriculture in England saying, 'ruin stares the farmers full in the face, and rents are lowering all over the Kingdom.' In 1825, John Street married Maria Wood Rendell who had come from Tiverton, Devon, with her family. By 1827, the Streets were living on their property in the Bathurst district when their first son was born and the following year when the census was taken.

George Wyndham was the third son of a junior branch of an extended family of gentry, merging into the aristocracy in his distant kinsman, the Third Earl of Egremont. George Wyndham’s family were based in Dinton, Wiltshire and as a younger son, he had been educated at Harrow and Cambridge for a church or political career. George Wyndham was dissatisfied with the plans mapped out for him, rejected the idea of being a clergyman and turned down an offer of a government post. Initially, he travelled to Canada but found it too cold and in 1827 migrated to New South Wales with new wife, Margaret. They looked at and decided

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105 NSW Col. Sec. Index, 1788-1825; John Street, Letters to J. Street, ML A3013; ML MSS Card Index no. 1; A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia, 346-350.
106 25 Jan. 1822, John Street, Letters to John Street, ML A3013.
107 A Genealogical History of Pioneer Families of Australia, 346; Fry, Beyond the Barrier, 76.
against Van Diemen’s Land, and arrived in Sydney in December 1827. George Wyndham came out with three thousand pounds and immediately purchased a property of two thousand acres on the Hunter River, renaming it ‘Dalwood’. He subsequently added to this in 1831 with his primary land grant of 2,560 acres and developed a mixed agriculture and grazing business and experimented with growing grapes. The Wyndhams were followed to Australia by several other relatives and their families.

By 1830, the English free immigrants who had came to New South Wales were a mixed group of people. They were searching for wealth and a better standard of living than they believed they could find for themselves in England. In their quest for economic independence they paved the way for later immigrants with capital who by 1830 were viewing New South Wales as a land of opportunity. Artisans and middle class professionals were attracted to New South Wales if they believed that they could progress faster in their calling there than they could in the crowded and depressed English post-war economy. Influence and capital were essential prerequisites for these immigrants to gain employment and land grants in the colony, even though most of them had insufficient patronage in England to progress their careers at home. The immigrants of the 1820s provided a market for merchants and service professionals and created a demand for the labour of free working class immigrants, creating a growing service economy in Sydney and beginning the settlement of land beyond the Sydney region.

Land was a primary attraction for settlers with capital across all classes of English people attracted to settle in New South Wales. In the 1820s in New South Wales land was granted by government to those who could demonstrate they had the capital to work it in an approved manner and increasingly additional land was being sold to those with the funds to augment their grants. The size of the rural holdings being granted and sold was greater than most agricultural establishments in England,
but was of a different quality and did not have the nearby markets of a large population. Nevertheless the colonial land could and did provide the basis for wealth, as well as status. From artisans and tradesmen, only some of whom succeeded in demonstrating that they had the required capital, to middle class professionals and the younger sons of the gentry, land promised a basis for the development of wealth and the acquisition of a superior social position within the colony than they could have aspired to in England. Artisans and shopkeepers, like the Horderns, and most middle class professionals lived in Sydney and employed managers on their rural lands or sold them to others more interested in deriving their primary income from agriculture or grazing. In the 1820s, the opening up of the Hunter Valley, and to a lesser extent the Bathurst district, provided good quality land for immigrants with sufficient capital to receive the maximum grants and to purchase additional land to set up large estates on which they settled with their families. These wealthier settlers, sons of gentry or the upper middle class, chose their lands well and formed the nucleus of a self-conscious landed gentry in both districts.

By the end of the 1820s the free immigrant population was still small but sufficient single men and families had ventured out and had made progress to demonstrate to others at home that the convict colony on the other side of the world had potential for those who were frustrated at their material progress in England. Personal advice from settlers through letters was more influential in persuading intending emigrants to try a particular destination than any amount of institutional propaganda. The growing numbers of single men venturing to New South Wales in the late 1820s was a portent for the next decade when the lands of New South Wales would provide a potent incentive for young men seeking their fortunes. Both single men and families with capital were to be outnumbered by government-assisted immigrants in the next two decades, but New South Wales, and its new southern outpost of Port Phillip, proved to be attractive to many immigrants with capital over the next decade until the depression of the early 1840s.
Chapter Three  ‘Anyone may live at ease, provided he brings some small capital\textsuperscript{1}: English Immigrants with Capital 1831-1850

On 9 March a Mr Nicholson wrote from Sydney to the Colonial Office expressing his view as a recently arrived immigrant: ‘Anyone may live at ease, provided he brings some small capital’.\textsuperscript{2} He noted that people possessing five hundred to a thousand pounds who were prepared to work, ‘are certain to make themselves and family an hereditary estate here’, an impossible dream in England on such small capital. However, he went on to qualify this by noting the disadvantages of a rough society from which the immigrant with capital would have to insulate himself and his family, a situation which he believed would last for several generations. The material prospects in New South Wales for men of limited capital encouraged an increased emigration from England to eastern Australia in the 1830s, first to the middle district and later in the decade to the newly opened southern regions. Middle class immigrants in the 1830s followed the pattern begun in the 1820s, with sufficient reports of success being sent back to England to encourage emigrants, like Mr Nicholson, to assess the colony of New South Wales for themselves.

Some English families and single women would have been deterred from emigrating to New South Wales because of the state of the society. Others believed their family’s future prospects of material success would be enhanced in the colony and chose to emigrate, despite the continuing criticisms of the state of the society. The larger number of the aspirant middle class immigrants in the 1830s increased the size of polite society and began that shift in perceptions of the eastern colonies,

\footnote{1 Extract of a letter from Mr Nicholson, Sydney, NSW, 9 Mar 1831, CO 384/28, 466. This is not Sir Charles Nicholson, who arrived in Sydney in \textit{1833-4}, \textit{ADB} vol. 2, 284.}
\footnote{2 Ibid.
creating around themselves the culture and institutions which Mr Nicholson had found still scarce in 1831. The eastern Australian colonies continued to be attractive to men trained in the professions and to merchants with links with mercantile houses in Britain. For them, land was still a potent motivator, augmenting their status, while they pursued their primary careers in the urban settings of Sydney and the infant town of Melbourne.

**Self-funded Immigrants 1831-1850**

The possibility of possessing rural land was a major motivation for a new generation of young men coming to maturity in Britain in the 1830s and would continue to attract adventurous male immigrants as new regions on the Australian mainland were opened up. In the 1830s, for some young middle and upper class British men, a visit to the colonies replaced the grand tour of continental Europe enjoyed by earlier generations of wealthy youth. Some stayed a short while, and then moved on to other colonies or returned to Britain, but others remained to live out their lives in the developing colonies in eastern Australia. The extent of this movement of young men is impossible to gauge, because arrival and departure records for self-paying passengers were not maintained to provide meaningful statistics. Some idea of the mobility of some of these men shows in the growing contemporary published literature of travel, adventure and autobiography, and in surviving correspondence and diaries, available in increasing numbers in libraries and record offices in both England and Australia.\(^3\)

The gross figures of immigration into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1831 and 1851 (Table 3.1) indicate the growing attraction of New South Wales in the 1830s, the dramatic down-turn in immigration in the depression of the 1840s and the increased appeal of the Port Phillip district in the late 1840s.

\(^3\) The increase in publishing on experiences in the Australian colonies is revealed in entries under 'Emigration', 'Exploration' and 'Voyages' in John Alexander Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia* vols 2-4 1831-1850, fasc. ed. (Canberra: National Library of Australia, 1975).
Table 3.1 Immigration into NSW and PPD from Britain and Ireland, 1831-51

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>85,352</td>
<td>64,381</td>
<td>20,971</td>
<td>37,941</td>
<td>28,843</td>
<td>9,098</td>
<td></td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculated from Robin F. Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, Appendices 1&2, pp. 261-266.

Unfortunately these immigration statistics do not distinguish country of origin within the British Isles or sex; but the census of 1841 recorded sex but not the country of origin. As the early government-sponsored assisted immigrants were biased towards women in the first half of the 1830s and balanced after 1837, the significant excess of males over females in the free population not born in the colony can be attributed to the greater attraction to the colonies of unassisted single men. It appears also that the 'free' category in 1841 was inflated by the numbers of convicts who had served out their sentences. However it is clear that in the 1830s and 1840s male immigrants who paid their own passages significantly outnumbered unassisted female immigrants.

Table 3.2 Birthplaces of the NSW Population 1841

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Born in Colony Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Not Free Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Middle District</td>
<td>14,357</td>
<td>14,277</td>
<td>39,166</td>
<td>22,668</td>
<td>116,788</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PPD</td>
<td>447</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>7,309</td>
<td>3,113</td>
<td>11,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moreton Bay</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>14,819</td>
<td>14,630</td>
<td>46,505</td>
<td>25,795</td>
<td>128,726</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For middle and upper class English females the situation was very different to that of their brothers whose seizure of opportunities to improve their wealth and status in the colonies was socially sanctioned. English women ventured to Australia in these two decades mostly as members of family groups, as wives or daughters, rarely alone or in all female groups. This continued to contribute to the growing imbalance in the sex ratio of free settlers, a situation only finally redressed when the numbers of native-born outstripped immigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century. It was not until 1846 that the New South Wales census collected data on the country of origin within the British Isles. Again these figures are imperfect, but they do provide an indication of the wide discrepancy between the numbers of free English men and English women in the colonies by the middle years of the century.

3.3 Birthplaces of the NSW Population 1846 & 1851

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year &amp; Colony</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Aust</th>
<th>England</th>
<th>Wales</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Other British Countries</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1846 Middle District</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>27,120</td>
<td>32,992</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>6,168</td>
<td>21,915</td>
<td>1,076</td>
<td>862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>27,237</td>
<td>13,376</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>3,896</td>
<td>15,814</td>
<td>743</td>
<td>278</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846 Moreton Bay</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>764</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>530</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>255</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1846 PPD</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>3,855</td>
<td>7,407</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>2,757</td>
<td>5,037</td>
<td>800</td>
<td>245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>3,728</td>
<td>2,693</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>1,468</td>
<td>4,089</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851 Middle District</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>39,691</td>
<td>32,531</td>
<td>345</td>
<td>5,947</td>
<td>19,237</td>
<td>1,096</td>
<td>1,460</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>39,691</td>
<td>15,418</td>
<td>175</td>
<td>4,167</td>
<td>17,483</td>
<td>804</td>
<td>551</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851 Moreton Bay</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>974</td>
<td>2,490</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>584</td>
<td>1,203</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>618</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>873</td>
<td>683</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>736</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1851 PPD</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>10,452</td>
<td>19,737</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>5,134</td>
<td>7,714</td>
<td>1,853</td>
<td>1,066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>10,018</td>
<td>9,171</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>2,919</td>
<td>6,904</td>
<td>1,572</td>
<td>428</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Australians: Historical Statistics, Table IEO 61-67, p. 10.

The boom in the 1830s was transformed in the 1840s into a period of deep depression, brought on by a combination of factors: drought, excessive speculation in land and goods, the withdrawal of credit to Britain due to depression in the Atlantic economy, the ending of transportation of convicts and the near simultaneous

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cessation of assisted immigration. The state of the economy in these two decades is reflected in the fluctuating numbers of both assisted and unassisted immigrants.

**Land: Settlers and Squatters**

Although the period 1831 to 1850 saw a continuation of trends for immigrants with capital begun in the 1820s, the single most significant new development was the spread of settlement from those few regions opened in the 1820s to the north, west and south of Sydney. This led to a massive uncontrolled pastoral invasion of the lands beyond the designated settled districts, in a swathe from the Darling Downs in the Great Divide, west of Moreton Bay, through to the South Australian border.5 This was an unintended consequence of British government policies, designed under Wakefieldian and other influences, to encourage the concentration of rural settlement and to create an hierarchical society of rural capitalists and their employees. The slow progress of official survey and the artificially set minimum price for land encouraged a massive land-taking exercise of excessive greed and rapacity, beyond the boundaries of the designated settled districts. This development favoured young men with access to some capital and credit to purchase sheep or cattle and prepared to live roughly on land they decided to make their own. Whether another approach on the part of the government might have effected a different result is impossible to say. It does appear that, despite some tensions and difficulties, the United States more effectively managed a government-sanctioned opening of lands to small holders in its vast territories, in the mid-west and west, during the same period, meeting the aspirations of a generation of small farmer families.6

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In 1831 in its first few weeks in office, the new Whig government abolished the system of granting land in New South Wales to immigrants with capital, a policy which began to erode in the second half of the 1820s under the Tory government. In early 1831, among a number of policy issues relating to land and emigration, Lord Goderich notified Governor Darling of the end of land grants and floated the idea of a minimum price, 'say five shillings an acre' at auction. In July 1831 he intimated that although the price of land had been suggested as five shillings, there was nothing to prevent the Governor from increasing the minimum reserve price if the quality warranted it. Initially, this change in policy met little resistance and Governor Bourke was able to report positively on expected revenues for the coming few years.

However, this optimism was based on a misjudgement of the behaviour of men greedy for cheap or free land. Despite the minimum price remaining at five shillings an acre until the end of the decade, the New South Wales government in 1835 had to recognise that gentlemen, as well as outlaws, had moved into the lands beyond the official limits of settlement. Governor Bourke proposed to regulate squatting by issuing annual licences, maintaining a fiction that the land still belonged to the Crown, though it had de facto passed into the possession of the private individuals and their animals occupying it. This institutionalised a situation which became a long-standing political problem. Confrontations between people with vested interest in squatting beset the next Governor, Gipps, who in the 1840s had the unenviable task of enforcing unrealistic Colonial Office land policies at a time of economic crisis.

7 Goderich to Darling 9 Jan 1831, HRA 1, vol. 16, 19-22, quote above is on 22.
8 Goderich to Bourke 10 Jul. 1831, HRA 1, vol. 16, 297-298.
9 Bourke to Goderich 27 Feb. 1832, HRA 1, vol. 16, 532-533.
11 Gipps-La Trobe Correspondence; John Gipps, Every Inch a Governor: Sir George Gipps, Governor of New South Wales 1838-46 (Port Melbourne: Hobson's Bay Publishing, 1996); K. Buckley, 'Gipps and the Graziers of New South Wales, 1841-1846' parts 1 & 2, Historical Studies
The situation was further complicated by a new front of invasion coming from Van Diemens Land where pastoral lands had become fully occupied. In the mid 1830s, squatters moved across Bass Strait into the southern districts of New South Wales, to the Port Phillip District and around Portland Bay in the west. The British government increased the minimum price of land in the Port Phillip District, and then in the middle district of New South Wales, to protect the planned infant colony of South Australia; this placed a price on land, particularly in New South Wales, well beyond a fair market value, causing more men to push out beyond the boundaries in pursuit of their goals of land occupation.

Views on the over-pricing of land were expressed forcibly in the press, in the Legislative Council, were reported officially by Governor Gipps to the Colonial Office and conveyed in private letters to friends and patrons in Britain, but to no avail. Typical of these reactions was the a private letter, dated 14 March 1841, from William Hardy at Port Phillip to John Abel Smith, a Member of Parliament and a businessman with a number of Australasian interests. Hardy provided considerable detail on actual conditions in several regions which he had personally visited on more than one occasion. He believed squatting to be ‘the only sensible way for a man of ordinary capital to settle in N.S.Wales’ and that the shortage of labour in the districts where squatting was taking place made it extremely expensive. Hardy thought land in the Port Phillip District to be a better prospect because of its fertility.


12 Shaw, A History of the Port Phillip District, 44-110.
14 Gipps to Glenelg 1 Apr. 1839, HRA 1, vol. 20, 79-81; Gipps to Russell 19 Dec. 1840 (3 separate dispatches), HRA 1, vol. 21, 111-134; Gipps to Russell 13 Sep. 1841, HRA 1, vol. 21, 505; Gipps to Stanley 14 May 1842, HRA 1, vol. 22, 44.
and higher rainfall, judging land there to be worth the amount currently being raised at auction. He noted:

I would not recommend anyone to purchase the Crown Lands of N.S.W. – for the best of reasons, that government asks too much for them. This is solely a pastural country; it never can be an agricultural one for the reasons I have above given – and no grazing land is worth more than 5/- an acre...And now that they have introduced the South Australian System, not an acre will be purchased anywhere.16

In 1841 Hardy estimated a man would need at least five thousand pounds to purchase land a reasonable distance from Sydney,. He advised that the attempt to concentrate settlement in the ‘South Australian System’ would fail because the nature of the land militated against agriculture. Hardy recommended that men without capital should attempt to secure employment on the land with an experienced settler to learn about the conditions first hand, noting:

If he is a man of integrity & steadiness, he would soon gain both credit & friends really willing to assist & push him on, & tho’ his progress will be slow, he will at last arrive at independence. Should he have a little money, of course his object would be attained in a much shorter time. But in either case, he must make up his mind to a life of self-restraint & labor; but as an honorable man, the end to be obtained by his many privations – independence – will be a sufficient stimulus & reward; - an end that cannot be attained in these days at home, while every avenue of Life is crowded with unsuccessful candidates for employment.17

Clearly, twenty years after they had started coming out to New South Wales, its attraction for middle class men of small or limited means was still seen as an opportunity to build wealth in a manner not possible for them in England.

Among the young English men trying their luck on the land in eastern Australia in the early 1830s were William and Frederick Dutton and Edward John

16 William Hardy to John Abel Smith.
17 Ibid.
Eyre. Both the Duttons and Eyre were educated middle class men of limited capital, but with an abundance of energy, doggedness and determination to move fast to build their fortunes. The Duttons were the sons of the British Consul in Cuxhaven, Hanover, Frederick Hugh Hambden Dutton, who had been born in Norwich in 1769. The Dutton boys were all born in Germany, but their careers indicate their continued identification with their English, or British, identity. Like other young Britons of their generation, they saw for themselves opportunities in the British colonies, despite their fluency in German and familiarity with the continent of Europe. William Hampden Dutton was the first of the brothers to visit New South Wales. He had come to eastern Australia initially in 1826, as an overseer for the Australian Agricultural Company, in charge of a shipment of sheep from Germany. He quickly moved from its employ and formed an alliance with the long-established Riley family, for whom he worked before returning to Europe in 1827.

The similarities and contrasts in the careers of the Duttons and Edward John Eyre provide an insight into the world of single-minded determination to wrest a successful career for themselves in an alien land. William Dutton, with his brother Frederick, returned to New South Wales in March 1830, in time to receive a land grant on the basis of two thousand pounds borrowed from Alexander Riley. They managed Riley's property, Raby, until William’s land grant, Goodradigbee, became available in 1831. The Duttons proceeded to run extensive flocks of sheep in the Yass, Monaro and Albury districts and were early in trekking sheep and cattle from the New South Wales middle district to Port Phillip and South Australia. In common with a number of other men at this time, the Duttons made their initial profits driving stock to distant markets and selling it to newly arrived immigrants. They speculated

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in a number of other ventures, including copper mining. William was forced into insolvency in 1841 through over-speculation, managed to overcome this set-back, but died in Melbourne in 1849. His brothers, Frederick and Francis, developed successful careers in South Australia, as pastoralists and investors, and played an active role in public affairs. They were exemplars of middle class Englishmen who successfully exploited opportunities in the rapidly expanding colonial economies to establish a pastoral, political and cultural dynasty.

During the 1830s and 1840s Edward John Eyre’s career overlapped with the Duttons in time and location. Through a different set of choices, and perhaps because he did not have the support of other family members in the colonies, Eyre’s career moved away from pastoralism to colonial administration. Eyre has been an object of attention from contemporaries and later commentators, and more recently has attracted critical attention from feminist post-colonial scholars. In 1859 to add to his published works, Eyre produced a detailed autobiographical account of his time in the Australian colonies. It was not published in his lifetime, but fortunately the manuscript is in the Mitchell Library and was published in 1984.

Edward John Eyre was the only surviving child of a Church of England clergyman, vicar of Hornsea and Long Riston, Yorkshire. He was born in 1815 and


22 Entry on Eyre, ADB vol. 1, 362-364.
received a sound education, but had little prospect of advancement, as his father occupied a modest living and did not possess inherited wealth. His father had paid a deposit for him to enter the army, but as the time drew near his father preferred that his son emigrate to New South Wales. The young Eyre was only seventeen when he travelled out to the colony in 1832-33 with capital of just under 400 pounds. Despite undertaking some similar ventures to the Duttons’, Eyre’s career demonstrated a restlessness which was not conducive to developing wealth through landholding and pastoralism. He carried out the recommended apprenticeship, initially assisting on a station in the Hunter Valley and a year later bought his own land, three hundred miles to the south on the Molonglo River, in the region of present-day Queanbeyan and Canberra. Within two years, he sold this property, making a considerable short-term profit, but this had to offset serious losses he had incurred in a speculative venture in collecting sheep from the Liverpool Plains and bringing them to the Campbell’s run in the Molonglo region.

Eyre then began overlanding stock to the Port Phillip and Adelaide Districts, making considerable profits from these trips, but he chose not to continue these profitable ventures. In retrospect, he claimed to have consciously turned his back on making more money and instead volunteered to explore areas in the new colony of South Australia to assess their potential. Building a public reputation of heroic masculinity, he pushed himself and his men to the limit in three exploring expeditions. He then accepted a post as Protector of Aborigines on the River Murray at three hundred pounds a year, considerably less than he had earned on his last journey overlanding stock. This career change possibly fulfilled an evangelical impulse, consistent with the religious values of his upbringing, gained him a government position and brought him to the attention of the Colonial Office.

23 Eyre, Autobiographical Narrative, 1.
24 Ibid., 193-194.
Eyre revealed a psychological need to pit himself against the harsher conditions of his new country and to sternly direct the men under his command, possibly as compensation for the relatively slender capital resources and personal social position he had brought to the colony. His reminiscences reveal an insecure man, conscious of the obscure background of his family, despite his straining to prove a famous remote ancestry.²⁵ Eyre's exploration and his protectorship of Aborigines indicate his need to prove his worth as a famous, self-made, moral man. Eyre's first ten years in the Australian colonies showed him undertaking a series of ventures, only some of which were successful and to be continually striving for notice and recognition. Eyre's autobiography is an intriguing exercise in self-deception, for he appears self-righteous, unconscious of his inability to stay anywhere for any length of time and continually highlighting his own heroism and superior understanding of indigenous people. He glosses over his many hasty decisions and his harsh, unbending treatment of employees, both Indigenous and European. His autobiography reveals a continued failure of judgement and a tendency to blame others for the predicaments in which he found himself. Eyre presented an extreme example of the anxieties and complexities integral to English middle class masculinity remaking itself in a colonial setting, a feature identified in his behaviour by Hall and Evans.²⁶

In Colonial Armidale, John Ferry presents a picture of the northern frontier of squatting in the New England region of New South Wales in the second half of the 1830s.²⁷ Here, unlike the southern district where Eyre had established himself, the squatters were from the more gentrified society of the Hunter Valley. However, their social origins did not prevent their developing a rough colonial masculinity as they took up land and engaged in frontier skirmishes with the Indigenous people. Sons of

²⁵ Ibid., Appendix 1, Eyre Genealogy, 217-220.
²⁷ John Ferry, Colonial Armidale (St. Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1999), 15-37.
English gentry in Wiltshire, George and John Everett arrived in the colony in 1838 and established themselves on two stations in New England, Ollera and Wandsworth, which Ferry judged to be an extension of the family’s English landed interests. George and John were followed by another brother, Edwin, in 1842. They formed a partnership to manage the New England runs, which remained in their family for generations, while keeping up strong connections with England. Like Eyre, the Everetts demonstrated a complex relationship of superiority over the Aborigines. While making use of Aborigines as employees, in their station diary and in correspondence to family back in England, the Everett men revealed their contempt for Indigenous people and their culture. Like a number of other settlers on that frontier, they condoned reprisal expeditions in which settlers meted out vengeance on groups of Indigenous people, beyond the reach and gaze of British law.

Most single young men arrived with letters of introduction, many of which proved to be useless, as Eyre had found, but the Hodgsons had a network of patrons. Arthur and Christopher Hodgson were also the sons of a Church of England clergyman, Rector of Rickmansworth, Hertfordshire, for fifty years. They were better placed financially than Eyre’s family, as both sons were educated at Eton and Cambridge. Arthur had been in the navy as a midshipman from 1833 to 1837 before going up to Corpus Christi College, to join his brother, Christopher Pemberton, known in the family as ‘Pem’.

Arthur Hodgson’s account of the voyage to Australia illustrates his valuable connections. He and his parents dined on shore at Portsmouth with Admiral and Mrs

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28 Entries for George, John & Edwin Everett, ADB vol. 4, 144-5.
29 Ferry, Colonial Armidale, 15-37.
Bourne before his ship sailed.\textsuperscript{31} Arthur travelled out to the colony in 1838-1839 on the \textit{Royal George}, under the patronage of James Macarthur, a wealthy colonist, returning from England with his new wife.\textsuperscript{32} In Cape Town, Arthur had letters of introduction to a number of leading colonists, including the Colonial Secretary, most of whom invited him and his companion to dine and stay the night.\textsuperscript{33} Arthur Hodgson almost certainly came out with some capital and his brother, Christopher, arrived with four hundred pounds the following year.\textsuperscript{34}

Soon after arrival Arthur went into partnership on the land, initially managing a squatting run in the New England district where he was joined in 1840 by Christopher.\textsuperscript{35} After a few months, they and their partner moved to the Darling Downs, where they were the second group of Europeans to take up a squatting lease, calling it Eton Vale. The Hodgsons acquired their land in a time of drought and depression, but managed to weather the difficult times in the 1840s. Christopher returned to England in 1846 and entered the Diplomatic Service, but Arthur remained in Australia until 1870 when he returned permanently to England, after a prominent career as a pastoralist, politician and leader of polite society in southern Queensland.\textsuperscript{36}

From the mid 1830s young men of limited capital, and families with more substantial means, opened up another frontier of settlement. The southeast corner of the continent beckoned to a number of settlers in Van Diemens Land and to intending emigrants in Britain, attracted to the promise of fertile, well-watered land in a temperate region. This looked considerably more attractive than the challenges

\textsuperscript{31} Entry for 4 Nov. 1838, Arthur Hodgson, Journal.
\textsuperscript{32} Ibid.; Arthur Hodgson, Journal etc. on Royal George, Lond-Sydney 1838, Sir Arthur Hodgson Papers, AJCP M675.
\textsuperscript{33} Entries for 21-24 Jan 1839, ibid.
\textsuperscript{34} Journal of the Reverend Edward Hodgson, 393-4.
\textsuperscript{36} \textit{ADB} vol. 1, 405-6.
of the frontier in the middle district of New South Wales, hundreds of miles from Sydney. There had been an abortive attempt to set up a British outpost on Port Phillip Bay in 1804; fishermen and whalers had unofficially called at places along the coast in the intervening years and there was a short-lived convict settlement at Western Port in 1826-7. Despite the overland journey in 1824 from Sydney to Corio Bay by Hume and Hovell, government and settlers in New South Wales continued to ignore the region on the southern coast, because of unfavourable reports about the quality of the land. However, colonists in Van Diemens Land, with an incentive to find more pastoral land, discovered its attractions.

Publicity from Major Mitchell’s overland expedition from Sydney to the region in 1836, and information filtering back from the first settlers in the Port Phillip district, encouraged men from both Sydney and Britain to search for wealth in the newly opened lands. From then on, invasion and settlement of the southeastern corner of the continent was amazingly swift. Like the other pastoral frontiers at this time, squatting in these regions was mostly a masculine venture. A.G.L. Shaw estimated that in 1840 there were only seven wives in this country with their men and that it was not until the end of the 1840s that many women lived on their family’s country property in these regions. The majority of the squatters were immigrants from Britain, even if they had come indirectly from New South Wales or Van Diemens Land. By 1849, 666 men held 827 squatting runs. Of those who can be identified, it appears that Scots made up forty percent overall, and fifty percent in the Western District, English around thirty five to forty percent and the remainder were Irish. Because of the need for capital to purchase stock and supplies, the majority

37 Shaw, A History of the Port Phillip District, 1-16, 35-36.
38 Ibid., 33-66.
39 Ibid., 67-110.
40 Ibid., 101.
41 Ibid., 102-105; Letters from the Victorian Pioneer, ed. Thomas Francis Bride (Melbourne: Heinemann, 1969, first pub. 1898); R.V. Billis & A.S. Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1932); R.V. Billis & A.S. Kenyon, Pastures New; An account of the
of the squatters in the southern districts in the 1830s and 1840s had come from the
British and Irish middle and gentry classes, generally (as elsewhere in this period and in the 1820s) younger sons or members of over-crowded professions and trades. Of the Englishmen of this first wave of squatters in the southern districts identified by Shaw from the ADB, seven were farmers’ sons, four from army or navy families, four from mercantile families, two were engineers, two were skilled tradesmen and three belonged to the professions.42

At either end of this first rush of squatting in the region, which was to become the separate colony of Victoria, three families provide an interesting contrast in background, while at the same time showing a common motivation in their search for material success and status through possession of a rural estate. The Hentys were a farming family from Sussex and were the first people to set themselves up as squatters on the southern shores at Portland Bay. A decade later in 1843, Gittens Bucknall, a jeweller, and his wife Sarah emigrated from Gloucestershire and settled in the Loddon River district, northwest of Melbourne, becoming successful graziers. The Gittens near neighbours, George and Alfred Joyce, London-born sons of a wealthy ironmonger and businessman, arrived in the colony in the same year and also developed good careers on the land. Naturally, each person’s story is unique, but the records of these three families in the first few years after their arrival provide an insight into the motives of immigrants who took up land and managed their businesses successfully. There are many hints of failure but little surviving qualitative evidence.


42 Shaw, A History of the Port Phillip District, 102-105.
Chapter Three

Thomas Henty and his wife, Elizabeth, decided to emigrate to Australia with their seven sons and a daughter, after close consultation with their friend John Street, who had arrived in Sydney in 1822.43 As a family partnership, the Hentys risked all of their considerable capital in their move to the Australian colonies. They had owned a farm of 281 acres in West Tarring, Sussex and farmed additional leased land nearby. During the Napoleonic Wars they had prospered sufficiently for Thomas Henty to become a partner in a bank based in Worthing, but they found during the 1820s that their fortunes were declining with the depressed market for rural produce.

Henty was a successful farmer, who had practised modern scientific farming methods and was a renowned breeder of thoroughbred horses and merino sheep, some of which had already been exported to New South Wales. With the launch of the planned colony of the Swan River in 1829, the Hentys decided to seek their fortunes there. As an advance party, they sent out three sons, James, Stephen and John, with male employees and the employees' families in a chartered ship.44 With the substantial capital they had at their disposal they were entitled to claim a land grant of over 84,000 acres. The Henty boys, with their experience of farming good land in England, decided against settling in the Swan River district, because they thought its soil to be of a poor quality. From 1831, they progressively moved their capital and themselves to Launceston in Van Diemens Land, being joined there by their parents in 1832. The Hentys were unable to have their Swan River land grant transferred to grants in either Van Diemens Land or New South Wales, as the timing of their move further east coincided with the policy change to purchase and the abolition of grants. Thomas Henty before he left England, his son, James, who

44 Bassett, The Hentys, 97-204; ADB, vol. 1, 531.
returned to England in 1834, and powerful allies, such as the Earl of Arundel and Lord Surrey were unable to persuade the Secretaries of State to make an exception for the Hentys.\(^{45}\)

Dissatisfied with their prospects in Van Diemens Land, the Hentys prospected and chose to squat at the head of Portland Bay on the southern coast of New South Wales, despite being denied permission to do this. They eventually received an ambiguous assurance from Lord Aberdeen that their occupation of land at Portland Bay would be recognised if lands there were opened for settlement. Their claims on this land caused problems when surveying began in the district in the late 1830s and this situation continued until a final settlement with the British government was achieved in 1849. Edward Henty had set up at Portland Bay in November 1834 with stock and workers and was followed by his brother, Francis, a month later. In 1836, they were joined by their brothers, Edward and Stephen and Stephen’s wife, Jane. Their parents, together with their brothers, Charles, a banker, and James, a merchant, remained in Van Diemen’s Land, while another brother, John, managed a grant at King George’s Sound in Western Australia. Their brother, William, was in England for a number of years, attempting to plead the family’s compensation for their Swan River grant. The father, Thomas Henty, died in 1839 with the future of his sons’ inheritance still unresolved.\(^{46}\)

The Hentys settled into farming, grazing and whaling, and during the squatting expansion in the second half of the 1830s, they pushed into the hinterland, searching out other squatting leases, particularly Merino Downs on the Wannon River. At Portland their establishment grew to about one hundred and fifty people. In the early 1840s in the severe depression, the Hentys moved to re-organise the management of their landed enterprises, and James’ mercantile house to avert

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\(^{45}\) Bassett, *The Hentys; ADB*, vol. 1, 531-532.

\(^{46}\) Ibid., 532.
collapse in both businesses. Marnie Bassett, a biographer of the Hentys, summed up their careers in Australia by noting:

> As settlers, the Henty men were notable not merely for being the first to settle in Victoria but also for their number and quality: a father and seven educated sons experienced in farming and trading, occupations of prime importance to a new colony, and importers of unusually substantial capital in money, skilled workers and thoroughbred stock.47

Despite the patriarchal tenor of this assessment, Bassett’s biography of the Henty family, prior to and after emigration, reveals that the Henty women also made a significant contribution to the family’s formation, enterprise and long-term success.48

The Bucknalls moved into the upper Loddon region of the Port Phillip District in 1844.49 They are an example of a prosperous family from provincial England, who chose to emigrate to increase their social status and their large family’s financial prospects by acquiring a rural estate. The E. Gittens Bucknalls had a successful jewellery business in Stroud, Gloucestershire and were members of an extended family with mill-owning and other small business interests in their local area. When Gittens Bucknall and his wife Sarah sold their jewellery business in Stroud they realised a capital of two thousand pounds. They already had relatives in Sydney who were providing them with information on conditions in the colony. They had also been in contact with officials in the Colonial Office, for they took advantage of a short-lived scheme, whereby an intending immigrant wanting to purchase land in the Port Phillip district could pay a deposit in London. They paid the Colonial Office two hundred pounds, which entitled them to subsidised passages for all of the family and their servants, with the exception of Gittens and their one

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47 ADB vol. 1, 534.
48 Bassett, The Hentys.
year old infant. This meant that they paid only forty pounds in fares to bring out twelve people: the parents, their six children, Sarah’s nineteen year old niece, Anne Mary Tucker, Jessie Selling (or Telling), a carpenter, and Samuel and Harriet Martin, a farm labourer and his wife. Samuel Martin’s occupation was noted as ‘agricultural labourer’ in the passenger list, but according to Bucknall he was a farmer. In addition to their heavily subsidised fares, the Bucknalls arrived with credit for a future land purchase. Governor Gipps disputed their eligibility for these concessions, but was over-ruled by Lord Stanley.

Despite being advised by their relative in Sydney, Annie Wiseman, not to attempt farming because of their inexperience, Gittens was determined to make their living on the land. He had thoroughly researched the requirements for setting up on the land. He was determined that it was the best means by which he could provide for his five sons, who would work on the run after the eldest had been trained on other stations, to give them a patrimony and to reduce the expenses of hiring employees. Gittens Bucknall had also taken the precaution of bringing an experienced farmer and a carpenter to increase the skills and self-sufficiency of the party. They came out with material supplies to tide themselves over several years and with their capital in gold, the deposit paid in England, and jewellery to sell in Melbourne. On arrival they set themselves up in Melbourne in a large tent and consulted men to whom Gittens had letters of introduction. After prospecting for a station on the Goulburn River, Gittens decided to purchase for £250 the licence of a run with one thousand sheep on the Loddon River. In February 1844 the Bucknall entourage set out in cavalcade from Melbourne to move to their land and its

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50 Ibid., 9-11; Passenger List for Lord Keane, 1843, SRNSW, Index to Assisted Immigrants Arriving Port Phillip, 1839-1851.
53 Ibid. 10-15.
primitive buildings, but they had their tent and Gittens’ careful planning and precautions, and they settled down to develop a pastoral enterprise.

The future of brothers, George and Alfred Joyce, depended on their ability to turn around significant losses incurred by George in his first two years in the colony in the early 1840s. They managed to secure for themselves income independent of their parents and succeed in an occupation far from the urban trades in which they had been trained. George and Alfred Joyce, like many other male immigrants in this period, were younger sons, respectively the fourth and fifth sons of Thomas Joyce and his wife Elizabeth. They were born in Whitechapel, Middlesex, to a family whose wealth was expanding beyond its initial ironmongery business into investments in oil refining and shipping. Their business premises were initially in Whitechapel, and as their operations expanded, they moved to larger premises in Bishopsgate. George had apparently served an apprenticeship as a tailor and Alfred in mechanical engineering with a millwright. Alfred showed early initiative by enrolling in classes at the London Mechanics Institute to study the theory behind the practical skills he was learning at work. George and Alfred Joyce’s background and upbringing was thoroughly urban, based in the expanding metropolis.

Nevertheless, in April 1840 George chose to emigrate on the London, a ship in which the family had a share, to Melbourne, an infant town just three years old. He had come out with a five hundred pound loan from his father, probably mostly in goods, and set himself up as a tailor. These funds were also intended to be used by his younger brother, Alfred, who emigrated three years later, to find the economy sunk into the depths of depression and his brother facing bankruptcy. After a year in Melbourne, George had given up his tailoring business and invested his capital, which he had received in bills, not cash, in buying sheep and a squatting run at

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inflated prices, just before the speculative bubble burst. When the depression struck and the bills were not honoured, George and his partners found themselves with outstanding debts and stock at discounted prices. Alfred Joyce noted: ‘that instead of finding my brother half way on the road to a fortune, I found that half the original capital had vanished and the value of the remainder greatly reduced, and he was awaiting my arrival to help him somewhat out of his difficulties’. 55

Presumably Alfred had inherited some of his father’s business acumen, for after inspecting the run and assessing the situation, he and George managed to persuade the Captain of the London, and Frederick Gonnerman Dalgety, the family’s Melbourne agent, to advance them one hundred and fifty pounds from the family’s share of the capital in the ship and its cargo. They used this to pay George’s outstanding debts and to buy, at a significant discount, another flock of sheep and the lease of another run on the upper Loddon River, where they worked hard to establish themselves and increase their flocks. By the early 1850s, they were sufficiently successful to buy a second run and to dissolve their partnership. Both George and Alfred Joyce were able to adapt to a rural life, despite their London upbringing, and thoroughly enjoyed it, savouring their independence and their prospects of future prosperity. In recalling their situation by May 1844, when they were moving their stock to their new station, Alfred commented:

Very enjoyable to us young chums was this travel and camping, the watching of the flock by night and the rousing camp fire for the watchers, and the satisfaction that we were journeying to a home of our own, with anticipation of future prosperity as our flock increased, with perhaps the acquisition of another and larger run in the distant future. No thought now of returning home either by the next voyage of the ship or by any other. Looking backwards was no part of our contemplations; our mental vision was directed to the contemplation of future prosperity and wealth, as well as a life of independent freedom and adventure. 56

55 Ibid., 41.
56 Ibid., 56.
He made this statement in retrospect, but as he had enjoyed a long career on the land, it probably captured his remembered emotions by the campfire, after a period of considerable uncertainty and anxiety, as he negotiated his future independence.

**Immigrant Townsfolk and Men Trained for the Professions**

In the 1830s, despite the attraction of a life on the land for many self-funded English immigrants, others chose to settle in the growing towns to take up professional or mercantile careers. The increasing number of immigrants coming into the colonies created a demand for these services. This had begun in the 1820s, and it continued in the 1830s, and to a diminished extent in the 1840s. From the surviving evidence in personal papers and from entries in the *ADB*, it appears that men with professional education and training were more likely to emigrate with a wife and family. This also influenced their decision to live in a town. There were also a number of young, single men arriving on their own, with no support other than their education and previous job experience.

For at least two decades Sydney had been developing an economy which mediated between Britain and local activities, as Melbourne was to do when it began to be settled from the late 1830s.⁵⁷ Without the people at the time realising what was happening, these two towns were developing as modern port and financial cities, with an important relationship in the Imperial and the local economy. They were on the way to creating a modern infrastructure which was to make them into world cities, with financial and political links outside the continent, as well as being

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dominant urban places commanding large hinterlands. These developments, and the increasing numbers of immigrants motivated by desire for material gain, provided opportunities in Sydney and Melbourne which belied their recent origin. Neither city had the sophistication of London, but both rapidly outgrew their function as ports, though this remained important, and took on the attributes of British provincial cities. This was reflected in their growth and their share of each colony's population, and occurred despite the rural nature of the visible economy in the pastoral and agricultural industries.

The invisible economy of services and finances was a significant driver of opportunities for the middle classes in both cities. Other towns began to grow as regional centres in both colonies and provided some opportunities for men in the service professions, particularly law, medicine and the church. Sydney grew from a population of 14,382 people in 1833, of whom nineteen percent of the men and just under fourteen percent of the women were convicts, to a population of 58,933 in 1851, with much of the increase coming from immigrants and their families. Melbourne grew from a few squatters in 1836 to just under eleven thousand in 1846 and just under twenty-five thousand in 1850.

As in the 1820s, and among their fellow immigrants who went on to the land, the clearest motive for emigration for most of these people was hope of achieving greater prosperity in the colonies than they believed they could at home. During the 1830s mercantile houses in Sydney rose from forty to over sixty, as the increased wool exports and growing population made voyages both to and from Sydney

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59 NSW Col. Sec, Blue Books, 1833, 1851.
60 Shaw, *A History of the Port Phillip District*, 68, 231-232; Southern or Port Phillip District, NSW Col Sec, Blue Book, 1846, 39.
profitable. A number of English men of business emigrated to Sydney in the 1830s and early 1840s and set themselves up as merchants. Some had long associations with New South Wales, such as Ranulph Dacre who arrived in Sydney in 1831, after nearly a decade of trading with the colony in charge of his own ship; and Robert Towns, who settled in Sydney in 1843 and who also had a long period of regular contact with the colony.

Several merchants emigrated with their families, without having been previously in the colony, including Thomas Breillat and Stuart Alexander Donaldson, who despite his Scottish name had been born in Lancashire into a mercantile family with a partnership in a London mercantile firm. Other men came out sensing the possibilities for setting up other types of enterprise. Joseph Thompson and his wife, Mary, from Shadwell, Middlesex and their twelve children arrived in Sydney in 1834 and established themselves up as general retailers. Francis Kemble, a director of the Australian Colonial and General Life Assurance and Annuity Company, London, saw a future for sugar refining in New South Wales and arrived in 1842 with machinery and employees to develop a plant in Sydney. Kemble and family came out with the company’s principal financier, William Knox Child, the former deputy Lord Lieutenant of Kent, and Child’s family.

A number of single young Englishmen arrived to work in merchants’ houses in Sydney in the 1830s. Frederick Gonnerman Dalgety, probably more properly classified as a Briton than an Englishman having been born in Canada, the son of a

British army officer, emigrated to Sydney in 1834 and worked as a clerk in T.C. Breillat and Co. He moved to Melbourne in 1842, where he quickly established himself as the principal of his own prosperous firm.\(^6^4\) Thomas Sutcliffe Mort, born in Bolton, Lancashire arrived in 1838 and took up a post as a clerk in Aspinall Browne & Co., whose partners were from the same region of Lancashire and who had offered him employment with them prior to his emigration.\(^6^5\) Unlike Dalgety and Mort, there were many less well-known young men, who immigrated and took up positions in mercantile or other commercial operations, such as Henry Neale Scaife employed as a clerk, first in Sydney and then Goulburn before returning to England in 1844.\(^6^6\) Richard Grice of Bootle, Cumberland, emigrated to Melbourne in 1839 as a single man and formed a successful mercantile partnership on arrival.\(^6^7\) Others can be glimpsed in the papers of established families in the colony, such as the Macarthurs, with reports of requests from parents of departing sons for letters of introduction. Two noted in Edward Macarthur's correspondence were William West, the son of John West, the Rector, who had assisted Edward Macarthur in obtaining bounty immigrants from Dorset, and the son of John Marshall, the prominent shipper and agent in the assisted immigrant trade to New South Wales.\(^6^8\) I have been unable to establish whether either of these sons actually came out to Sydney as a result of these overtures.

An early example of an English middle class man emigrating to the eastern Australian colonies primarily for his health, rather than his wealth, was Robert Lowe

\(^{6^4}\) *ADB* vol. 3, 4-5.
\(^{6^6}\) Henry Neale Scaife, *Journals*, NLA MS 7869.
who arrived in Sydney with his wife, Georgiana, in 1842.\textsuperscript{69} Emigrating for health would become a more common motivation as the duration of the voyage was reduced and its relative comfort increased, with the introduction of larger and faster ships in the 1850s. It does not appear to have been a significant motivation for middle class migration to Australia prior to that. Although Lowe emigrated ostensibly because of his ailing eyesight, it is likely that he chose to do so, consciously or unconsciously, to remove himself from his parents' over-zealous concern for his health and to make as much money as possible in a short time. Lowe had suffered poor eyesight and stigma at school and university due to being an albino. He had to battle with his parents to stop being sheltered at home and to be allowed to go to school and university. After he was called to the bar in 1842, doctors diagnosed a serious deterioration in his eyesight and predicted he would be blind in seven years. Immediately, Lowe decided to go to New South Wales to 'seek his fortune', as his \textit{ADB} biographer R.L. Knight, put it.\textsuperscript{70} Robert and Georgiana Lowe arrived in Sydney in early October 1842 and he was admitted to the bar later that month.

\textbf{Extended Family Immigration}

Among the middle class people who emigrated to New South Wales and Victoria in the 1830s and early 1840s the cost of maintaining a large nuclear family could be a prime reason for the move. Many couples were experiencing significantly less infant mortality than in previous generations and, until they began to practice contraception, family sizes increased greatly. Allied to this, I have found some examples of English middle class families in which there was either a simultaneous emigration of several adult siblings and their respective spouses, or a form of chain


\textsuperscript{70} \textit{ADB} vol. 2, 134.
migration, in which married members of a family emigrated over a number of years. Factors behind these staggered extended migrations can be glimpsed in family papers and biographies. They were generally related to the long-drawn out process of establishing a male middle class career, in which finishing education in England, getting established in a profession, amassing sufficient capital for investment in the colony and finding a suitable wife, were critical components.

Two examples of this type of middle class emigration took place among families when the father was appointed to a government quasi-legal post in Sydney. Charles Windeyer, his wife and their children, with the exception of their son Richard, who had been left behind in England to finish his legal education, arrived in Sydney in 1828. Charles Windeyer had sufficient capital to receive a grant of land on the Williams River in the Hunter Valley. This property was managed by one of their sons, while Charles sought work in Sydney to maintain his wife and their eight other children. He obtained a post as chief clerk to the bench of magistrates and eventually became a senior police magistrate in Sydney. The Charles Windeyers were followed in 1835 by a brother, John Windeyer, who died shortly after arrival. In 1835, Richard Windeyer, the son Charles and Mary Ann Windeyer had left behind in England, arrived with his new wife to set up as a barrister, having been advised by his father of the lucrative potential of legal business in Sydney. In 1838 another brother of Charles, Archibald Windeyer, his wife and eight children came out and settled as vine-growers in the Hunter Valley.

The Mannings were another extended English family whose members arrived at various stages from the late 1820s through to the end of the 1830s. John Edye Manning and his wife Lydia and five of their children arrived in 1829 when he took up the position of Registrar of the Supreme Court. They were progressively followed

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\[71 ADB vol. 2, 614-617.\]

\[72 ADB vol. 202-203, vol. 5, 206-209.\]
by their adult children: Edye Manning, a merchant and shipowner, his wife and one son in 1831, another son, James Alexander Manning and his wife arrived in 1834 to become pastoralists, and a third son, William Montague Manning came with his wife in 1837 to practise as a barrister.

Edward Kitson and his sister, Caroline Gibson (née Kitson), accompanied by her husband, John Gibson, were three middle class adults who emigrated to New South Wales in late 1839. They were from the south-west of England and their correspondence provides a picture of the financial motives behind their decision to emigrate and the network of family and friends in England and the colony. In 1836, Edward was in Crewekerne, working as a doctor. His elder sister, Elizabeth married Edward Bellamy, also a doctor, and their younger sister, Caroline, was at boarding school. It appears that their parents were dead and that Edward was responsible for the welfare and managing their inherited finances for himself and his sisters. In 1839, Caroline married John Gerard and after a short honeymoon in Wales, they boarded a ship for New South Wales with her brother Edward. They were to be followed by Elizabeth and Edward Bellamy and would be joining John Gerard’s brother and family who were living in the Illawarra district of New South Wales.

They set out from Bristol on the *Chelydra* on which they brought out goods to as a means of transferring their capital and in the hope of realising a profit and a few weeks later it was followed by another ship, the *Victoria*, on which some more of their capital had been invested. On arrival in the colony, Caroline and John Gerard went straight to join his brother and sister-in-law in the Illawarra. Edward Kitson had remained in Sydney for several months to oversee the sale of the goods

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73 Bellamy family, Letters received from relatives in Australia and England, 1829-1890, ML MSS 6705.
75 Letters 1840-1843, Bellamy family, Letters received.
they had brought with them, before he moved to Goulburn. In the early 1840s Edward reported to his sister, Elizabeth, that New South Wales was a place, ‘particularly adapted for the capitalist and the poor man’, for the former could invest in land and the latter command high wages. He considered it to be much harder for a middle class gentleman with a family to live comfortably in Sydney and ‘keep up appearances’.

After several months of assessing their prospects both Kitson and the Gerards had decided that practising medicine in or near a country town would better provide them with an affordable, respectable lifestyle, than living in Sydney. Both men set up as medical practitioners outside Sydney and their households were recorded in the 1841 census: Edward, a bachelor, was living in a house in Goulburn with an elderly housekeeper, and John and Caroline Gibson, were based with John Gibson’s brother and family, the Gerard Gerards, in the Illawarra. Edward was dismissive of the sacrifices required to become a rural landholder. To achieve this he judged it would be necessary for a husband to ‘rough it with his Family in the bush, in a bark hut, nearest neighbour perhaps 10 or 20 miles off, & having men about him he must be constantly on his guard against’. Edward Kitson reflected that the eventual outcome from investment in a rural property could be a lucrative long-term prospect, but that he was not prepared to recommend this to the Bellamys.

Kitson advised Edward Bellamy, who was at this stage still expected to emigrate, but who eventually did not, to bring out £1,500 clear and to continue to practice in England until he could save sufficient capital to achieve this aim. The Gerards and Kitson had managed to sell some, but not all, of the goods they had brought with them, due to the over-speculation in merchandise by many recent

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76 Edward Kitson to Francis Bellamy, 20 Sep. 1840, Bellamy family, Letters received.
77 SRNSW, Index to the 1841 Census.
78 Ibid.
79 Ibid.
immigrants and local merchants. Edward detailed the interest rates current in the colony for investing money, ranging from twelve and a half percent to 30 percent, but despite the temptation of investing in the money market at these inflated rates, they had decided to invest their funds in cattle on the Monaro, in partnership with others. This was a speculative venture on which they had borrowed, as well as investing the funds they had realised from the sale of their goods. Clearly they were looking for a quick profit which they did not achieve due to the speculative nature of the venture, their inexperience with local conditions and the eventual bankruptcy of their senior colonial partner.

Fortunes of the Colonial Middle Class
The letters of Edward Kitson and his sister, Caroline Gerard, are an excellent example of the informal intelligence flowing back to England, which intending immigrants could use to make their own decisions about emigrating. Whatever happened to the Bellamy's finances back in Somerset, they chose not to emigrate, a decision no doubt made in the light of the detailed communications they received from Elizabeth's brother and sister, and from other friends and relatives in the colony. These letters also reveal a lot about the anxieties over finance and the appearance and maintenance of gentility, so important to the middle class in Britain and in the colonies. For these reasons and because of the precipitate plunge into depression and the high rate of insolvencies and bankruptcies in New South Wales in the early 1840s, the immigration of middle class families and speculators dried up, until it began to increase again towards the end of the decade. They did survive the setback of the depression of the early 1840s because of their decision to practise medicine in growing provincial regions.

Single men and families with capital of the English middle class who came to New South Wales and Port Phillip in the 1830s and 1840s, like those who had come before them in the 1820s, brought out clear expectations of improving both their financial position and their situation within the respectable middle class. Many did not succeed, particularly those who had over-speculated in the frenzied grab for land and capital in the 1830s; others managed to salvage their fortunes and reputations during the 1840s, having learnt from the misfortunes of those around them. The population was still small, but with the immigration of people with capital from the middle class, the colonies in the southeast of Australia were beginning to move beyond their origins as remote prisons. The employment of British capital introduced new elements into the society and created a market and demand for the labour of free immigrants, who in parallel with the immigrants of the middle class, came into the colonies in increasing numbers during the 1830s and early 1840s and added complexity to the social structure of the infant society. To obtain sufficient free employees to support the lifestyles of the people with capital, the government adopted the expedient of using revenue from the sale of land to pay for the passages of working class immigrants. This element of English emigration to south eastern Australia will be the subject of the following three chapters.
Chapter Four The Experiment Begins: Assisted Immigrants, 1831-1836

The first decade of government-assisted immigration fell into two distinct phases. After uncertain beginnings in the early 1830s, thousands of labouring class immigrants were transferred to New South Wales from Britain and Ireland, in what in hindsight can be seen as a major exercise in social engineering. Up to the end of 1836, the project was experimental, with management of assisted immigration being carried out by charities, commercial shipping operators and some colonists. The government moved from a distanced position in 1831-1832 to build up a bureaucratic machinery of control in the Colonial Office in response to criticisms from New South Wales over the choice and quality of immigrants sent from England by the London Emigration Committee.

Metropolitan judgements of New South Wales’ labour and demographic needs had coincided with philanthropic concern for the plight of poor single women. These values dominated the selection of immigrants on behalf of government in the first half of the 1830s, after a short period of permitting immigrants to self select in free market conditions. Moralists in government and emigration charities aimed simultaneously to redress the masculine gender imbalance in the Australian convict colonies, and to solve a problem of growing numbers of destitute single females in Britain and Ireland. New South Wales employers’ demands were not given priority until the second half of the decade.

The quality of the early assisted immigrants and the management of the scheme was criticised by some colonists. This was reflected in the Governor’s dispatches, in private correspondence and in the press, in both Britain and New South Wales. These views were uncritically accepted by historians until the 1970s,
when A. J. Hammerton and Robert Shultz analysed the evidence and drew attention to bias in Madgwick's influential *Immigration into Eastern Australia 1788-1851*.\(^1\) In 1982 Frank Broeze published a detailed examination of the role of commercial enterprise in assisted immigration to the Australian colonies from 1831 to 1850, providing an insight into the complex interaction between government and business in mobilising immigrants and in formulating policy.\(^2\) Despite the advocacy of Hammerton, Shultz and Broeze, the power of the contemporary denunciations and anxieties over 'shovelling out paupers' and anti-British fervour, articulated at the time and integral to radical Australian nationalism, continued to dominate the argument until the 1990s when a number of historians employed social history and historical demographic techniques to draw out and analyse many aspects of the origins, skills and strategies of assisted immigrants to Australia in the nineteenth century, building up a convincing corrective to Madgwick's arguments.\(^3\)

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Setting up the Machinery of Government-assisted Emigration

Prior to the 1990s, the development of the political and administrative machinery of government-assisted immigration to Australia and the related growth of central government intervention through the Colonial Office were topics of recurrent scrutiny and shifting interpretations. More recently Robin Haines and Frank Broeze have returned to this theme: Haines in her history of recruitment of labouring class immigrants in Britain and Ireland from 1831 to 1860 and Broeze in his business biography of shipping operator, Robert Brookes. The detailed surviving evidence continues to provide a fascinating insight into the personalities involved and their role in evolving policy and practice through a rapidly increasing bureaucracy, which looks remarkably like its modern counterpart, and into the communications between the colony and the government in the metropolis. From this episode I will draw out only those significant elements which impacted directly on the people who chose to take up the offer of government assistance to travel to eastern Australia in the 1830s and 1840s.

In 1831, Viscount Goderich, the Secretary of State for War and the Colonies in the new Whig government began to work on plans for labouring class emigration


to New South Wales and Van Diemen’s Land. Goderich and his parliamentary Under Secretary, Lord Howick, were putting into practice ideas which had been debated in parliament and the community in the previous decade. The reformist Whig government was keen to promote emigration of the poor, while simultaneously reducing government spending. It moved experimentally, not with a fully fledged plan as R. C. Mills and his followers have asserted. In the 1820s Wilmot Horton, parliamentary under-secretary for the Colonial Office, had advocated emigration for the poor and was a more direct influence on Goderich and Howick than Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Howick acknowledged his debt when he introduced a bill on emigration in the House of Commons in February 1831 and noted that despite the recent formation of a Colonisation Society, Wilmot Horton was the originator of ‘the idea of emigration as a means of relief to this country’.

In the first seven months of 1831, Goderich acceded to a request to send to New South Wales fifty young women from the Foundling Hospital in Cork, contemplated sending out unemployed agricultural labourers from the south of England, where serious unrest had taken place at the end of 1830, introduced a bill into Parliament which lapsed when Parliament was prorogued and appointed an Emigration Commission of parliamentarians to kick start emigration of the poor to New South Wales, with the aim of government remaining at arms length. Funding

6 Goderich to Darling, 5 January 1831, HRA I, vol. 16, 7-9; Burroughs, Britain and Australia 1831-1855, Ch. 2; John Manning Ward, Colonial Self-Government, ch 7.
7 ADB, vol. 1, 554.
9 Goderich to Darling 5 January 1831 and enclosures, HRA 1, vol. 16, 7-9; Goderich to Darling, 23 January 1831, ibid., 34.-38; ‘Warrant of Appointment, 22 June 1831’, CO 384/27, 1B-11; ‘Appointment of the Commissioners, 22 June 1831’, CO 385/12, 1B, 11; Charles Gordon Lennox, fifth Duke of Richmond, DNB, vol. 11, 927-929; Henry George Grey, Viscount Howick, ibid., vol. 22, 786-789; Sir Francis Thornhill Baring, ibid., vol. 2, 1113; Sir Henry Ellis, ibid., vol. 6, 697-698; Eric J. Evans, The Forging of the Modern State: Early Industrial Britain 1783-1870, 2nd ed. (London: Longman, 1996), Appendix A, 390; CO 385/12-15, passim; Commissioners’ final letter and commendation of the work of Elliot, CO 385/14, 423-425; on the thinking of the Emigration Commissioners, Goderich to Bourke, 28 September, 1831, HRA 1, vol. 16, 378-380; Goderich to
for government-assisted immigration to New South Wales came from colonial land sales, more by default than deliberate design. Contrary to expectations, land sales were buoyant from their introduction in 1831 when land grants had ceased and a minimum price of five shillings per acre was set in accordance with the Ripon regulations.\textsuperscript{10} By February 1832 Governor Bourke was able to advise the Secretary of State that he could budget for ten thousand pounds per annum for the next three years to fund emigration of working class people.\textsuperscript{11}

In London a charitable Emigration Committee grew out of the management committee of the Hackney Refuge for the Destitute.\textsuperscript{12} The men in this group were prominent merchants, financiers, administrators and clergy, who gave their time to the institute in a spirit of practical charity. The growing influence of this committee, and government reliance on it, can be traced in Colonial Office files and the Refuge's records.\textsuperscript{13} Satisfied with the proposed role of the London Emigration

Bourke, 12 October, 1831 and enclosures 1-4, ibid., 408-416; on the New South Wales' requirements, Darling to Goderich 10 September, 1831 and enclosures, ibid., 346-351.
\textsuperscript{10} Goderich to Darling, 9 January 1831, ibid., 19-22.
\textsuperscript{11} Bourke to Goderich, 27 February 1832, \textit{HRA 1}, vol. 17, 533.
\textsuperscript{13} To the Refuge for the Destitute, 29 Nov 31, CO 384/27, 299-301; Edward Forster, Esq, 16\textsuperscript{th} February, 1832, CO 385/13, 237-238; E. Forster, Esq, 28 May 1832, CO 385/14, 296-297; E. Forster, Esq., 13 July, 1832, CO 385/14, 369-370; Report of the Commissioners for Emigration, 15 March 1832, \textit{BPP: Emigration}, vol. 19, 135-139; Goderich to the Commissioners for Emigration, 4 August 1832, ibid., 161-162.
Committee and its ability to manage all aspects of emigration, the Emigration Commissioners notified Lord Goderich on 23 August 1832 that they had fulfilled their brief. The Commission was disbanded, and what were anticipated to be minimal responsibilities, were handed over to the Colonial Office to be carried out by T. F. Elliot who had liaised with the Emigration Committee on behalf of the Emigration Commissioners. It was not until 13 April 1833 that the Emigration Committee’s first ship for Sydney, the *Bussorah Merchant*, sailed from Gravesend. For the next three years, the Emigration Committee’s ships dominated the New South Wales assisted immigration trade.

The Governor’s and Legislative Council’s early expressions of trust in the Emigration Commissioners and the ‘Committee of Gentlemen in London’ were soon replaced by concern. They were dismayed by the behaviour of some of the single female immigrants. Instead of directly criticising the Emigration Committee, the governor and his officials blamed John Marshall who operated in an anomalous position as secretary to the committee, as well as its shipping agent. Critics saw the members of the committee as dupes of an unscrupulous operator, filling up ships with unsuitable immigrants to maximise his profits. The Emigration Committee’s emphasis on recruitment of single females fuelled concerns, as free male workers continued to be in short supply in New South Wales. Respectable people in the colony, like their counterparts in Britain, wanted to reduce the sex imbalance in the colony, but not at the expense of the economy and their own investments. The colonial criticism of the female immigrants, and their method of selection backfired, providing ammunition for *The Times* and other newspapers in Britain to attack both the government and the colony. An article in *The Times* in 1834, reporting the

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14 The Viscount Goderich, 23rd, August 1832, CO 385/14, 423-425.
15 Reports of Vessels Arrived 1832-December 1834, AONSW Reel 1264.
outcry over the arrival of the women on the Layton was the first in a series, opening a shrill campaign, condemning single female emigration, convict transportation and the alleged depravity of the colony.\textsuperscript{18}

Progressively, the Civil Service assumed greater direct involvement in managing government-assisted emigration. Half-pay Lieutenants were appointed as agents at key ports to oversee the fit out and victualling of the emigrant ships.\textsuperscript{19} In February 1835, J. D. Pinnock, a clerk in the Colonial Office was appointed to check the credentials of bounty applicants.\textsuperscript{20} In October 1835, Governor Bourke accepted the New South Wales Legislative Council's recommendations on major changes to the management of immigration and the mix of immigrants.\textsuperscript{21} In future, two thirds of immigrants would be recruited in Britain and Ireland on behalf of government by naval surgeons with experience of the colony's labour and population requirements and one third would be chosen by private individuals who held bounty approvals granted by the New South Wales administration. In September 1836, Lord Glenelg, the Secretary of State, signalled his and the Treasury's agreement to a trial of this new method of emigrant recruitment. On 6 December 1836, the Emigration Committee tendered its resignation; it noted that its work was to be taken over by an Agent-General for Emigration in the Colonial Office and seized the opportunity to condemn New South Wales society, rather than acknowledge that its selection of immigrants was biased towards its own perceptions of Briton's social problems, rather than the labour force requirements of the colony.\textsuperscript{22}

\textsuperscript{18} CO 384/36, 620.
\textsuperscript{19} CO 384/32, 35; Stanley to Bourke 26 July 1833, HRA 1, vol. 17, 173-174.
\textsuperscript{20} Aberdeen to Bourke 17 February 1835, ibid., 668.
\textsuperscript{21} Despatches and Letters on the subject of Immigration into New South Wales, NSWLC V&P, 1837, 573-581.
\textsuperscript{22} CO 384/36, 10-15.
Assisted Immigrant Numbers 1832-1836

Labouring class immigrants who came to the colony in the first half of the 1830s were fewer than the colonial employers claimed they required.\(^{23}\) Children made up one quarter of this cohort; though they were potential workers for the future, they were not attractive to short-sighted employers, intent on paying the lowest possible wages to their workers and resentful of colonial funds paying for the importation of people not immediately economically productive. Single females on charity organised ships comprised just over half of the assisted immigrants. The rest were married couples and families, making use of a mix of loans, bounties for their daughters aged between twelve and thirty, and part payment of the fares for the parents and boys. Some of the family groups arrived on the female immigrant ships, the rest came on more than twenty-four other ships.\(^{24}\) Up to the end of 1836, assisted immigrants were out-numbered by immigrants paying their own fares.

Table 3.1 Immigrants to NSW 1832-1836

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bounties</th>
<th>for</th>
<th>Mechanics</th>
<th>Families</th>
<th>Bounties</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Paid</th>
<th>Own</th>
<th>Combined</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Children</td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>for Single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Bounties</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>134</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>471</td>
<td>321</td>
<td>792</td>
<td>679</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>284</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>364</td>
<td>1253</td>
<td>661</td>
<td>418</td>
<td>333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>256</td>
<td>484</td>
<td>519</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>395</td>
<td>545</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>140</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>516</td>
<td>808</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>212</td>
<td>150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>475</td>
<td>451</td>
<td>904</td>
<td>1830</td>
<td>2052</td>
<td>3882</td>
<td>2928</td>
<td>1396</td>
<td>1198</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: "Return of the Number of Free Persons who have arrived in New South Wales, from 1st January, 1829, to 31st December, 1835", NSWLC V&P 1836, np; "Return of the Number of Free Persons who have arrived in New South Wales during the Year 1836", NSWLC V&P 1837, p. 602.\(^{25}\)

\(^{23}\)Bourke to Stanley 18 September 1834, HRA 1, vol. 17, 538-539; Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 283-322.

\(^{24}\)Return of the number of free persons who have arrived in New South Wales from the 1st of January 1829 to 31st of December, 1835, NSWLC V&P, 1835; Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, 1828-1837, AONSW Reel 1286.

\(^{25}\)There is a discrepancy in the report for 1829-1835 in the two columns for numbers of children in 1832. The first column has 195, while the total column has 197. I have adopted the higher figure, as have Haines, Madgwick & Ferenczi, as cited in Robin Haines & Ralph Shlomowitz, ‘Nineteenth Century Immigration from the United Kingdom to Australia: An Estimate of the Percentage Who Were Government Assisted’, Flinders University of South Australia, Working Papers in Economic History, no. 45 (September 1990): 10 and Table 7, 58.
Table 3.2 Assisted Immigrants as a Percentage of all Immigrants to NSW 1832-1836

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Assisted %</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>1832</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>46.7</td>
<td>1833</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>30.9</td>
<td>1834</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>38.2</td>
<td>1835</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>46.9</td>
<td>1836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>41.3</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated from the returns cited in Table 3.1

Table 3.3 Civil Status of Assisted Immigrants to NSW 1832-1836 – Percent

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Men Married Women</th>
<th>Married Men</th>
<th>Married Women</th>
<th>Single Men</th>
<th>Single Women</th>
<th>Children Men</th>
<th>Children Women</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>17.7</td>
<td>16.9</td>
<td>40.5</td>
<td>24.9</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>14.1</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>45.0</td>
<td>27.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1834</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>52.9</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>72.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>63.9</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Calculated in the returns cited in Table 3.1

The records for assisted immigrants to Sydney in the early 1830s are incomplete and not all assisted immigrants were recorded separately from self-paying immigrants. Sufficient data is available to provide some indication of the origins and other characteristics of many of the early assisted immigrants. For example, in 1832, almost six hundred immigrants came out on ships from Liverpool. This is consistent with Colonial Office correspondence with a number of shipping firms, particularly those based in Liverpool, but is not reflected in the passenger lists recorded at Port Jackson for these immigrants. The earliest extant passenger lists

26 There is a discrepancy between the total immigration figure adopted by Madgwick & Ferenczi of 1721 and the figure of 1621 cited in the report for 1836 in the 1837 NSWLC V&P, 1837, 602; Haines & Shlomowitzz, 'Nineteenth Century Immigration' indicate that they believe that the figure in the 1836 NSW Blue Book of 1621 does not cover the full year and so have adopted the figure of 1721 used by Madgwick and Ferenczi. The NSW Blue Book 1836 (second copy) on the microfilm set has the figure of 451 men corrected to 551 men and the total also corrected to 1721. Madgwick’s Table IV, 223 adjusts the unassisted males upwards by the full 100 to 551. I have also adopted this correction.

27 Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, 1828-1837, AONSW Reel 1286 has a note on the title page of one of the volumes making up this series to indicate that these records are incomplete and I have found this to be true from evidence of some assisted immigrant ships cited in contemporary literary evidence which are not in the lists of assisted immigrants.

28 CO 384/ 27-33. CO385/3-5.
contain brief records of names and some other details, but not the immigrant’s place of birth or most recent place of domicile. Immigrants who petitioned government in 1835 on a range of grievances had come out in 1832 on several ships from Liverpool, on whose passenger lists, they and their fellow steerage passengers were noted as coming from England.29

Skilled Male Workers and Their Families

In a review of assisted emigration to July 1833, Lord Stanley, successor to Lord Goderich, noted that 397 families comprising 1,538 people and 361 single females had been dispatched.30 A list of these 397 families provides the name of the male head, his occupation, the size of his family and the size of his loan.31 This gives us a snapshot of the trades of the men and size of their families. A few families on the list did not proceed to the colony, but most did. William Macpherson, the Collector of Internal Revenue at Sydney, in referring to these families gives their number as 378.32 Thus we have some data on the men attracted to the opportunity of migrating to New South Wales in 1832 and 1833, ninety five per cent of whom entered the colony.

A comparison of these immigrants can be made with British immigrants to the United States in 1831.33 The numbers to New South Wales were much smaller than those to the United States and the lists of immigrants to New South Wales are only

29 Sydney Gazette, 24 November 1835; Australian, 24 November, 11 December 1835; Index to Passengers to Sydney 1828-1842, AONSW Reels 1-8; Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, 1828-1837, AONSW Reel 1286.
30 Stanley to Bourke, 26 July, 1833, HRA 1, vol. 17, 171-172.
32 William Macpherson, Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 288-289.
for those supported by government-assistance, whereas the United States lists recorded all steerage passengers. However, an analysis of the occupations of these two sets of immigrants provides a benchmark to examine the workers who came out to New South Wales in the first eighteen months of assisted immigration. I have followed Erickson's criteria for assigning occupations to particular categories. In 1832-1833, the majority of immigrant family heads who took up the government’s offer of a loan to travel to New South Wales were pre-industrial craftsmen, such as builders, woodworkers and shoemakers, who had responded rationally to the skills advertised as being in demand.34

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupational Class</th>
<th>United States</th>
<th>New South Wales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English &amp; Welsh</td>
<td>Scots</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labour</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Crafts</td>
<td>34.9</td>
<td>33.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>16.5</td>
<td>15.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/Professions</td>
<td>12.4</td>
<td>17.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>1,794</td>
<td>202</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.4 Occupations of Immigrant Men, 1831 USA & 1832-33 NSW – Percentage


Table 3.5 Occupational classification of pre-industrial craft male workers to USA 1831 & NSW 1832-33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>England &amp; Welsh to USA 1831</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>England &amp; Wales 1831</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>England &amp; Welsh to NSW 1832-33</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>41.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Trades</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal Trades</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Trades</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>22.6</td>
<td>7.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworkers</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>18.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>6.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other mechanics</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>not listed</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>297</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number</td>
<td>718</td>
<td>2,207</td>
<td>3,179,729</td>
<td>298</td>
<td>397</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Commerce and professional occupations are under-represented in the New South Wales sample, because these people were not eligible for government assistance and would have paid their own fares to come to the colony. Perhaps the greatest surprise in the two samples is the similar proportion of industrial workers migrating to both destinations, with a slightly higher proportion among the immigrants to New South Wales. This reveals something about the state of the industrialising economies of the Midlands and the North of England, with workers from those regions seizing a chance to take up either a subsidised fare to New South Wales or paying their fares for the shorter trip to the United States.

Lord Stanley expressed concern about the quality of these assisted immigrants saying, ‘it became advisable to leave generally to the Ship-owners much latitude in collecting Persons of the description required’.\(^{35}\) He thought that a more organised system might mean the numbers of emigrants would be reduced, but that they would be chosen more carefully. Governor Bourke believed that most of the immigrant mechanics who had arrived up to September 1832 would do well, but he

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Macpherson, Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 290-291.

\(^{35}\) Stanley to Bourke 26 July, 1833, HRA 1, vol. 17, 173.
noted that there was some disappointment among them that wages were not as high as they had been led to expect. He qualified this by saying:

They need not be discouraged by the apprehension of want of work, or of such wages as will afford them and their families, if soberly and industriously inclined, a full supply of the necessities of life. The demand for labor of almost every kind is still urgent, and articles of the first necessity and some luxuries are to be had very cheap.

In an editorial in August 1833, the Sydney Herald noted with favour on the quality of the recently arrived immigrant mechanics.

The low number of agricultural workers among the New South Wales immigrants in 1832 and the first half of 1833 was redressed from the second half of 1833 to the end of 1835, when 93 agricultural families, comprising 439 people, received some government assistance to migrate to New South Wales. It appears that they were in the majority among skilled male assisted immigrants in these years, when most of the assisted immigrants were single females. This infusion of skilled agricultural workers in these three years boosts the proportion of agricultural trades among the skilled male immigrants to New South Wales from 1832 and 1835 to around twenty percent, much closer to the twenty four percent in Erickson's 1831 sample.

In December 1835, some immigrant mechanics and small capitalists who had arrived in the colony since 1831 addressed a memorial to the Secretary of State on a range of grievances. For reasons known only to himself, Governor Bourke took

36 Bourke to Goderich 24 September 1832, ibid., vol. 16, 758.
37 Sydney Herald 26 August, 1833.
38 A Return of the Number of Agricultural Labourers...since...19 August 1833, in Correspondence Respecting Emigration, BPP: Emigration, vol. 19, 325; A Return of the Number of Agricultural Labourers...since...27 March 1835, in Return to an Address of the Honourable the House of Commons 26 February 1836, no. 3, ibid., 372.
39 Bourke to Glenelg, 2 September 1836 & enclosure, HRA 1, vol. 18, 513-525.
nine months to forward this petition, possibly because the memorialists attributed inattention to their concerns to Governors who were "naval or military men".\footnote{Ibid., 516.} As early as June 1833, these men had begun to articulate their concerns at the misleading rates of wages used in advertisements by the Emigration Commissioners.\footnote{Sydney Herald, Supplement, 10 June 1833; Sydney Herald 13 June, 24 June, 22 July 19, August, 23 September, 26 August, 25 November 1833.} In 1835, disgruntled at not being asked to give evidence before the recent Immigration Committee of the Legislative Council, the signatories attempted to gain support from the Australian Patriotic Association.\footnote{Sydney Gazette, 17, 24, 26 November, 12, 23 December 1835; Australian, 20, 24 November, 4, 8, 11, 18, 25 December 1835.} The members of the association declined to be deflected from their primary aim of lobbying parliament for a new constitution for New South Wales.

Thus thwarted, the immigrants put together a petition. Usefully, they reveal some of the reasons behind their decision to emigrate. They came to the colony to 'improve our State'. They cited the depression in Britain and the promise of high wages in the colony. They claimed they chose 'to place ourselves under the protection of British laws in this most distant colony than accept the more liberal offers held out to immigrants by Foreign States'. This may have been genuine additional motive in choosing New South Wales rather than the United States, as well as a rhetorical device of special pleading. They were concerned that wages were not as great as they had been lead to expect, that the cost of living was high, that it was difficult for small capitalists to buy land due to slow survey, the auction system and the monopoly of established landowners, and they resented the Australian Agricultural Company's monopoly over mining coal. They expressed dissatisfaction with the penal nature of the society and its authoritarian local administration. In compensation, they sought grants of land in proportion to the costs they had incurred in coming out and setting up in the colony.
Governor Bourke reminded the Secretary of State that he had already drawn attention to the over-generous wage estimates in the publicity circulated by the Emigration Commissioners, that the petitioners were exaggerating the cost of living in New South Wales, that slow survey and sale of land was due to the size of the colony and that many of the recent immigrants had received subsidies from government for their fares. He cited improved circumstances already achieved by some immigrants: 'Many Journeymen Artisans, who arrived a few years ago, have in fact assumed the station of Master Tradesmen and are erecting some of the public works under contracts with the Government'. Lord Glenelg paid the memorial scant attention, noting that: 'the complaints in question do not, in general appear to be of a nature to admit of any relief without injustice to the Colonial Society at large'.

In contrast to his assessment of the skilled mechanic immigrants, Bourke criticised three hundred discharged soldiers, who had come out under a special assistance scheme. They had no specific trades and had been reluctant to take labouring jobs. They were now mostly employed, but he advised: 'They are not of a description of Persons whom it is desirable to see here'. In 1835, the New South Wales Colonial Secretary, Alexander McLeay, corroborated Bourke's early assessment of the married mechanics and their families: 'I think that of the families that have come out, a number are likely to become good colonist'.

The tradesmen in both the pre-industrial craft trades and in the industrialising trades had responded to information, first published in the *Sydney Gazette* in 1830, listing trades required in the colony and highlighting the trades most in demand.

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43 Bourke to Glenelg, 2 Sep. 1836, *HRA* 1, vol. 18, 514.
44 Glenelg to Bourke, 14 April 1837, ibid., 731.
45 Bourke to Goderich, 24 September 1832, ibid., vol. 16, 759.
46 Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 285.
Engineers and millwrights, blacksmiths and coppersmiths, weavers, building trades and woodworking trades, were all a priority and these were the trades predominant among the skilled working men who came to New South Wales in 1832 and 1833. Builders, sawyers and brickmakers were more strongly represented among the New South Wales immigrants than the immigrants to the United States or in the home population. The increased numbers of immigrants in New South Wales was generating a strong demand for builders.

Table 3.6 Occupations of Industrial Workers to USA 1831 and NSW 1832-33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>US English</th>
<th>US % of Male E &amp; W</th>
<th>NSW % of Class Immigrants</th>
<th>NSW % of Male</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Weavers</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Spinners</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calico Printers</td>
<td>53</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Textile Workers</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Textile Workers</td>
<td>227</td>
<td>63.1</td>
<td>10.3</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iron &amp; Steelworkers</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>8.9</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Engineers &amp; Millwrights</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watch &amp; Instrument makers</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Metal Workers</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Engineers etc</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Printers</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>5.6</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chemists/Druggists</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glassworkers</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Papierworkers</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Miscellaneous</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All Miscellaneous</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>15.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>360</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Very few of the tradesmen who came to New South Wales in this period repaid the loans they had received to subsidise their passages.48 Officials in the colony claimed to be unable to keep track of them, despite being able to do this for

48 Bourke to Stanley 6 December 1833, HRA 1, vol. 17, 300-301; Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 288-289.
convicts, and also found it difficult to enforce the validity of the promissory notes signed in England. For their evasion of their debt to government, these immigrant mechanics were condemned by John Dunmore Lang.\(^49\) He looked forward to a time when: ‘The Colony may be stocked with reputable and virtuous mechanics, and not with dishonest persons and fraudulent debtors’. The notoriety thus gained seems to have coloured later perceptions of the work skills of these immigrant tradesmen, in contrast to the builders brought in by Lang. The men under Lang’s watchful eye had repaid their debt to him by the time of his lecture, or so he claimed.\(^50\)

### 3.7 Family Composition of Immigrants to USA 1831 and to NSW 1832-33

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>US</th>
<th>US</th>
<th>US</th>
<th>NSW</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English &amp; Welsh</td>
<td>Scots</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. in Family Groups</td>
<td>4,483</td>
<td>384</td>
<td>1,718</td>
<td>1,544</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mean size of Family</td>
<td>4.40</td>
<td>4.26</td>
<td>3.52</td>
<td>3.90</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Thirty three percent of the couples to New South Wales had no children with them, compared with twenty six percent of the English and Welsh couples and thirty seven percent of the Irish couples in the US sample.\(^51\) Forty seven percent of the couples to New South Wales had between one and three children, eighteen percent had four to six children and under two percent had seven to ten children. These slight differences in family size between the early assisted immigrants to New South Wales and their contemporaries migrating to the United States possibly reflects a response to the largely unknown status of the colony as a free immigrant destination and its

\(^{49}\) John Dunmore Lang, *Emigration; Considered Chiefly in Reference to and Expediency of Importing and of Settling...a Numerous, Industrious and Virtuous Agricultural Population*, Sydney, E.S. Hall, 1833, 11-12, (republished as a chapter in *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales*, London, Cochrane and McCrone, 1834).

\(^{50}\) Lang, *Emigration*, 7.

\(^{51}\) Charlotte Erickson, ‘Emigration from the British Isles to the U.S.A. in 1841: Part 1’, Table 16, 364.
reputation as a penal colony, to which a higher percentage of couples without children and smaller families were prepared to take the risk, over those families and smaller percentage of couples opting for the much better known United States. However, the mean family size for the skilled agricultural males who migrated to New South Wales from 1833 to 1835 was 4.72, indicating a search for opportunities by these larger families and the government’s recognition of the value to them of agricultural families with young adult males and females, often also with agricultural skills, as part of the migrating unit.

**Single Female Immigrants**

Between August 1832 and January 1836, nine assisted immigrant ships, each carrying two hundred or more single female immigrants, and some married couples and families, arrived in Sydney. Five came from Ireland: *Red Rover* (August 1832), *Duchess of Northumberland* (February 1835), *James Pattison* (February 1836), *Duchess of Northumberland* (? 1836), *Lady Macnaughton* (Sailed Nov. 1836); and four came from London, *Bussorah Merchant* (August 1833), *Layton* (December 1833), *David Scott* (October 1834), *Canton* (5 September 1835).52 The *Red Rover* had been organised by the Cork House of Industry and the Dublin Incorporated Society for Promoting English Protestant Schools in Ireland.53 The other female immigrant ships were chartered by the Emigration Committee.

Initially, Lord Goderich and the Emigration Commissioners thought that the single women they were planning to send out would come from ‘agricultural regions’, but in putting the scheme into action, destitute women from urban areas

52 Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, 1828-1837, AONSW Reel 1286; Glenelg to Bourke 30 January 1836, enclosure Forster to Hay, HRA 1, vol. 18, 268-269 on *James Pattison* which is not recorded in AONSW Reel 1286. *Lady Macnaughton* is not recorded in AONSW Reel 1286, but was one of the ships organised for the London Emigration Committee, as stated in their final Report of December 1836, Evidence of John Marshall, Report of the Select Committee on Transportation, 1838, *BPP: Transportation*, vol. 3, appendix, 307-308.

became the prime recruits. On 13 July 1832 the Colonial Office wrote to Edward Forster, the Chairman of the Emigration Committee, that it would advertise: ‘into every Parish in London and in the Country 10 miles round & shall also have advertisements in the principal London Newspapers’. Later, the Emigration Committee endeavoured to recruit women from outside London, but with little success in enlisting from rural areas, possibly due to the restraints of their kinship and neighbourhood ties, which inhibitions had broken down for destitute women in urban areas.

Passenger lists for three of the four Emigration Committee ships from London have sufficient detail on them to make some assessment of the women on these ships. In 1833, eighty two percent of the women on the *Bussorah Merchant* and sixty five percent of the women on the *Layton* were from London. On the *Canton* in 1835, a third of its single females were from Ireland, sixteen percent from Scotland and only thirteen percent from London. There were very few women from other parts of England on any of these ships. The publication of the criticisms of females on the *Layton* and the publicity condemning New South Wales society, added to fears about the morality of women travelling alone, made it harder to recruit single women for the next few ships to both Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales.

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54 Goderich to Darling 23 January 1831, *HRA* 1, vol. 16, 34.
55 E. Forster, Esq., 13th July, 1832, CO 385/14, 370.
57 *Bussorah Merchant*, Reports of Vessels Arrived 1832-1834, AONSW Reel 1264; *Layton*, List of Emigrants by the Ship Layton for Sydney, CO 384/32, 60-61; *Canton*, Return of Free Passengers on Board the Ship Canton, Immigration Dept., Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, 1832-1836 AONSW Reel 1286.
58 Hammerton, "Without Natural Protectors", 554.
### 3.8 Origins of Single Women – 3 Ships, 1833 & 1835

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Bussorah Merchant</th>
<th>Bussorah Layton</th>
<th>Layton</th>
<th>Canton</th>
<th>Canton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater London</td>
<td>164</td>
<td>82.8</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>64.8</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South East England</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South West England</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North East England</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North West England</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>France</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>198</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


On the *Layton*, eighteen single women came from workhouses outside London; five from Chatham, one from Christchurch, Dorset, four from Devonport and eight from Gosport. Of the other women from the regions, four came from Birmingham and one each from Maidstone, Southend, Gateshead, Carlisle and Scotland, two from Gosport and four from Exeter. It may be that some of the women from other regions in England were recruited in London, which was attracting migrants from many parts of the country.59 The women with London origins came from a variety of districts and thirty-four of them came from seven separate institutions. The behaviour of the small numbers of women from port towns on the *Layton* reinforced the accusations that they were prostitutes.60 Recruitment for the *Canton* in 1835 shows that the Emigration Committee had paid attention to criticisms of the high proportion of women from London, despite its refusal to admit that the earlier recruitment might have been rushed and indiscriminate.61 The *Canton* had the widest spread of women from other English regions, as well as women from Ireland and Scotland.

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60 John Rule, Correspondence and diary, CO 384/36, 437-455.
61 Hammerton, “‘Without Natural Protectors’”, 548-549, appendix, 562-565.
indicating an increased recruitment effort by the Emigration Committee and its agent and a
growing awareness of the colony among poor single women.

### 3.9 Ages of Single Women – 3 Ships 1833 & 1835

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Bussorah Merchant</th>
<th>Bussorah Layton</th>
<th>Layton</th>
<th>Canton</th>
<th>Canton</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15-16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17-20</td>
<td>98</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21-25</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>29.3</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>29.2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26-30</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>13.1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>158</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The pattern of the ages of the single women on each of the three ships was similar, with most in the seventeen to twenty five years age group, although the upper and lower eligible ages were fifteen and thirty. On the *Layton* there were larger numbers of women aged between twenty one and thirty and this may well have accounted for some of the difficulties on the voyage and for the adverse reactions of the officials in the colony. The *Layton* also had more girls in the fifteen to sixteen age bracket than the other two ships.

### 3.10 Occupation of Single Women on Bounty – 2 Ships, 1833 + 1835

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Layton No.</th>
<th>Layton %</th>
<th>Canton No.</th>
<th>Canton %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Servants</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>41.1</td>
<td>108</td>
<td>68.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Trades</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Governess/Teacher</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Retail</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Farming/Dairy</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Misc. Industrial</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>11.39240506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>88.6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Occupations were recorded for some of the women on the Layton and the Canton. For women from workhouses on the Layton there was no record of work experience, either because of their youth, long-term unemployment or having been in prison prior to moving into the institution. The work experience or aspirations of the women claiming a calling, are representative of nineteenth century female urban working class occupations. Most women were domestic servants, some worked in clothing trades, only a few were governesses and teachers, despite McLeay’s claim that an excess of governesses had been sent out.

The controversy over the single female immigrants between 1833 and 1836 came out of a complex of anxieties. Class misunderstanding fed middle class fears of the sexuality of unprotected single women. Turning the majority of the women into paragons of middle class virtue is as ahistorical as damning them all as prostitutes. Some of the women would have engaged in opportunistic prostitution, when faced with the dual liability of absence of family support and unemployment. Others may have been longer term, professional prostitutes. Some females on the ships where strict segregation was not maintained, undoubtedly had sexual liaisons with sailors. Evidence survives to corroborate claims that some women on arrival moved in with a man, without benefit of


63 Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 285.

marriage. Most of the single women, but not all, were from the working classes; they came from similar backgrounds to the convict women and would have differed little from them in attitude and conduct. The fact that the officials in the colony considered the Irish single women to be better selected than the English, probably tells us more about the relative conditions in England and Ireland than the selection processes in both places. A higher proportion of single female immigrants from Ireland than from England were likely to have been from the respectable working class, as single English women of this class were reluctant to emigrate because of the social stigma attached to women travelling unaccompanied by family or neighbours.

There was strong criticism of some women on three out of four of the Emigration Committee’s ships from London. Governor Bourke had appointed a reception committee from among his senior officials at the suggestion of the Secretary of State.65 This group provided accommodation in a government building for the women on arrival and vetted potential employers. The background of the men on this committee should not be overlooked when we consider their reactions to the single female immigrants. Alexander McLeay, the Colonial Secretary and Campbell Drummond Riddell, the Colonial Treasurer were two senior salaried officials.66 They came from Scottish gentry families. McLeay’s father was provost of Wick and deputy-lieutenant of Caithness. Riddell’s grandfather was the first baronet of Ardnamurchan. McLeay and Riddell were assisted by William Macpherson, the Collector of Internal Revenue. All three would have been influenced by a Scottish sense of rectitude and propriety for all, regardless of class, and would have been conscious of their own elite position in the colonial society. Sir Richard Bourke’s despatches on the women relied on information supplied to him by McLeay and Riddell.

In December 1833, Bourke reported on the women on the *Bussorah Merchant* which had arrived the previous August.\(^{67}\) He noted: ‘Their character and behaviour have proved, as far as I have ascertained, in general satisfactory’. He qualified this by saying that their behaviour was as he expected to find in single women without family protection:

> It would be altogether unreasonable to expect that an universally favourable report could be made of the private moral habits of the Women...exposed as they must be to extraordinary temptations arising from the disproportion...between the sexes, and which must amount...to a very high premium on an irregular unmarried life.\(^{68}\)

In 1835, Macleay told the Committee on Immigration: ‘By the “Bussorah Merchant”, there was a considerable proportion of well conducted women...but many of these females have turned out to be very bad, and some of them useless’.\(^{69}\)

The arrival of the *Layton* in December 1833 caused consternation. Bourke reported to Lord Stanley that: ‘About fifty of the Emigrants fully answer to the description which it was hoped the whole would have merited, but the remainder appear to be of very indifferent character... It appears...that an almost unlimited intercourse existed between the seamen and a great number of the female passengers during the voyage’.\(^{70}\) Bourke acknowledged that the management of the passengers and sailors on the voyage had been poor. He requested that greater care be taken with the selection of the women and made his first criticism of John Marshall’s role: ‘The evil is...I cannot but think to be attributed to the Employment of a Mercantile Broker as the medium between the applicants and the Committee. It becomes the interest of such a person to fill up the list as speedily as possible’. Alexander McLeay summed up his impressions of the women who came on the *Layton*: ‘there were a

\(^{67}\) Bourke to Stanley 6 December 1833, *HRA* 1, vol. 17, 299.  
\(^{68}\) Ibid.  
\(^{69}\) Minutes of Evidence, The Committee on Immigration 1835, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 285  
\(^{70}\) Bourke to Stanley 21 January 1834, *HRA* 1, vol. 17, 343-346.
considerable number of well-conducted females but there was also a very large proportion of women of very bad character'.71

Criticism of the selection of women on the *David Scott*, which arrived in October 1834 and the *Canton*, which arrived in September 1835 continued to fan tensions between New South Wales and the Emigration Committee and to provide ammunition to opponents of the government's policies. Of the women on the *David Scott*, Bourke reported: 'Some of these have proved highly respectable and the majority are generally allowed to have been better selected than on former occasions...about one sixth of the whole number consisted of low and profligate women, of whom the better characters on board complain most heavily'.72 McLeay judged the women on the *David Scott* to be: 'the best of those from England, notwithstanding some reports to the contrary'.73 He thought fifty two out of 226 to be unsatisfactory. He stated that: '41 appear to be common prostitutes'. William Macpherson also thought that about forty of the women on the *David Scot* were: 'without doubt, town girls'.74 He based this: 'partly on the style of dress and manner...on the little conversations among them...and partly on information acquired as Secretary of the Emigrants' Friend Society'. Of the women on the *Canton*, McLeay reported that: 'the character of a great proportion of the Females on this Ship became notorious very soon after their arrival, and the annexed list B. shews how 28 of them have already turned out'.75

In general, the men of the reception committee were not impressed with single female assisted immigrants. Macpherson mused: 'Upon the whole, I think the general character of the Female Emigrants arrived, may be considered as good; but

72 Bourke to Spring Rice 13 February 1835, HRA 1, vol. 17, 658-659.
73 Minutes of Evidence, The Committee on Immigration, 1835, NSWLC V&P, 1835, 285
74 Ibid., 290.
75 Bourke to Glenelg 3 March 1836 and enclosures, HRA 1, vol. 18, 342-345.
they would have been much more suited to the wants of this Colony, if a large proportion of them had been selected from the country, rather than from towns'.

McLeay said: ‘Taking all the women generally...they certainly are not of the description of persons required, either as servants or as the wives of small settlers; a great portion of them being, or, at least, calling themselves Governesses, Nursery Governesses, and Ladies’ Maids’. Riddell was concerned about the temptations for unaccompanied single women crowded together on a long voyage and recommended that single women should come out with families, who would assist them to exercise moral restraint. Riddell and McLeay repeated their earlier assertions that the London Emigration Committee was placing too much confidence in its ship broker. McLeay noted that Edward Forster was a friend of his and that he had written to Forster about his concerns: ‘But neither he, nor the other members of the Committee seem to be disposed to allow that any blame is imputable to their agent’. Forster and Henry Parker maintained this stance in their evidence to the Molesworth Committee which was not inclined to believe them, treating them respectfully, but subjecting John Marshall to a probing cross examination.

J.D. Lang’s polemics played a role in the persistence of a jaundiced view of the early assisted immigrants. He was a passionate advocate of the superiority of his vision of immigration to improve the moral tone of New South Wales society. He had unsuccessfully petitioned the New South Wales Governor and the Colonial Office for compensation for the costs associated with his first batch of assisted immigrants. In a lecture in 1833, he put forward his vision for group migration of

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77 Ibid., 285.
78 Ibid., 287.
79 Ibid., 285.
81 Bourke to Goderich 8 July 1833 & enclosures, HRA 1, vol. 17, 161-165; Stanley to Bourke 25 March 1834, ibid., 404.
agricultural families. His reformed society was to be an hierarchical, pastoral community, evoking a past virtuous era and excluding industrial workers. Unaccompanied single females had no place in his plans.

In 1835, frustrated at being unable to influence the direction of society, Lang began a newspaper, *The Colonist*. He had a number of ‘evils’ in his sights, but one of his most persistent themes was the inadequacy of the current assisted immigration scheme. He opened the second issue on 8 January 1835 with an editorial critical of emigration and returned to the theme thirteen more times during the year. The majority were long editorials, denouncing government involvement, the operations of the Emigration Committee, its agent and the quality of the immigrants. This was the most sustained press criticism of assisted immigration in New South Wales. The *Sydney Herald*, and the *Sydney Gazette* were not obsessed with the subject as Lang was, but tended to uncritically assume that authorities in Britain would rid themselves of paupers, with the assumption that ‘undeserving poor’ would be sent out, despite acknowledging evidence to the contrary among many recent immigrants. As the paper supporting an employer’s perspective, the *Sydney Herald* also paid attention to immigrants’ wage demands and what it judged to be lenient enforcement by the local administration of Master and Servants legislation.

**The Voyage to the Colony**

Management of large numbers of immigrants was difficult on some of the immigrant ships in the early 1830s. Technically the immigrants were free agents, not bound by the authoritarian structures used to manage the armed forces or convicts. Successful immigrant voyages depended on the exercise of authority by the captain, senior

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82 Lang, *Emigration*, 2.
83 Ibid., 12-13.
84 Ibid., 14.
86 For example, *Sydney Herald*, 21 December 1835; *Sydney Gazette*, 17 November 1835.
officers and ship’s surgeons and the imposition of strict rules and regulations during the voyage. All the passengers were subject to ship’s discipline, but the curtailment of freedom of action could be irksome to steerage passengers who were segregated into separate male and female dormitories, with married couples being split up. They were divided into messes for meals, were forced to go on deck whenever the surgeon or superintendent determined and were subjected to discipline and physical restraint if they transgressed the rules.

The ships which became notorious for ill-discipline among single females showed evidence of dissension among the men in charge and their inability, or unwillingness, to impose order in a manner consistent with the free status of the passengers. This was clearly the case with three of the Emigration Committee’s ships from London to Sydney, the Layton, the David Scott and the Canton. The voyage of the Layton in 1833 was particularly noted for the complete breakdown in the relationship between the senior officers and for their lack of action in managing the behaviour of some of the women and crew. The Surgeon, John Rule, sent the Colonial Office a copy of the vituperative diary he had kept during the voyage, railing at the captain, the Superintendent of the immigrants, John Marshall, and Marshall’s son who was on the ship. Rule dwelt on instances of sexual licence, accusing Marshall junior and other men of cohabiting with some of the single women. In addition, he recorded every angry exchange he had with the Captain and other crew. As Governor Bourke reported:

It seems to be admitted by all parties that the greatest disorder and confusion prevailed during the whole passage...with whom the fault chiefly rests, I cannot undertake to say without fuller investigation...Nothing appears to have occurred which demands the interference of a court of Law; and I am

88 John Rule, Correspondence and diary, CO 384/36, 437-455.
not aware that I am competent to take notice of anything which occurred on board, otherwise than by directing a prosecution.89

There the matter rested, but the defensive response of the Emigration Committee and the bad press in Britain revived an unwelcome notoriety for New South Wales, despite the Committee's tacit admission of fault by recommending an increase in the amount to be paid to future Superintendents at the end of a voyage on which discipline had been well maintained.90

Between 30 April and 8 September 1835, fifteen year old John Dawson recorded his experience as an emigrant on the Canton, the last of the Emigration Committee's female emigration ships from London.91 John was migrating with his parents and seven siblings, aged between nineteen and six, to meet up with a brother already in the colony.92 The Dawsons were an agricultural family from Lincolnshire, taking advantage of loans and bounties to subsidise their fares. The father, also John Dawson, was a gardener and agriculturalist. John Dawson junior's diary is interesting, as he was a good observer of shipboard life. As well as recording routine matters, as most shipboard diarists tend to, he noted particular incidents and the people involved in them, so that we gain more than a glimpse of the interactions on board. Checking the details recorded by John on illness and deaths in official reports indicates that he was a careful, accurate reporter.

Two hundred and eight people, twelve years and over, and twenty six children arrived on the Canton. There were nine families with children, one extended family of young married couples and their younger kin and 134 single women; one single woman had one child with her and another had two children. The Dawsons

89 Bourke to Stanley 21 January 1834, HRA 1, vol. 17, 344.
90 Spring Rice to Bourke 1 August 1834 & enclosure from Edward Forster, ibid., 489-491; Spring Rice to Bourke 10 September 1834 & enclosures from Edward Forster, ibid., 508-512.
91 Dawson, Journal of the Ship Canton.
92 'Return of Free Passengers on board the Canton arrived ? September 1835', NSWAO Reel 1286.
were the largest nuclear family on the ship. Four of the eight families were headed by women, presumably widows, though this was not stated on the passenger list. The voyage of the *Canton* was unpleasant. The ship was held up in the English Channel by adverse weather for three weeks. Having left London and reached Deal on 1 May 1835, the ship did not leave the English Channel until the night of 22 May. For much of that time, they were anchored in Tor Bay waiting for a favourable wind. John and his family and many of the other passengers experienced sea sickness during this period and his father, mother and many of the other passengers continued to suffer from it for much of the voyage.

On Sunday 31 May, John noted that his twelve year old sister, Charlotte, was suffering from small pox. Fresh outbreaks continued throughout the rest of the voyage, causing the *Canton* passengers to be quarantined on arrival in Sydney Harbour. The disease may well have been passed on by a female passenger, who had been so ill on the second day that she was taken off the ship at Deal. Three of John’s sisters and several other women who caught small pox recovered, but three small children died from it.\(^93\) John and the other older boys and men did not succumb, because they were effectively quarantined in their segregated accommodation.

On most days John commented on the rations issued to the twenty two female and three male steerage messes and kept a detailed record of the food for three days. There were eight people in each mess. The diet was monotonous, often badly prepared and one can empathise with the daily disappointment with the food and with John’s compassion for his mother and sisters over the more meagre rations served to the women: ‘Had \(\frac{1}{2}\) pint of oatmeal (each man) served out again to-day – my mother’s Mess have not had half enough biscuit for these last two or three days’. Flour, oatmeal or biscuits, salted meat and fish, potatoes, cheese, pea soup and occasional rations of vinegar to combat scurvy, were the main items in the steerage

\(^{93}\) Dawson, *Journal of the Ship Canton*.\ldots
passengers diet. Although he does not mention wine and grog in his details of rations, John notes both being provided for the women, and presumably also the men, in the course of recording other events.

The incidents recorded by John Dawson reveal an undercurrent of emotion and hysteria, even some possible coercion to emigrate, among some of the single women and newly married couples, as well as resentment of shipboard discipline. John Marshall accompanied the emigrants on the ship from London to Deal. When he disembarked, Dawson noted: ‘a very affecting scene the females all sobbing & crying’. Presumably, the reality of their emigration overwhelmed them on seeing the departure of their last link with London. Two weeks later, on Sunday 17 May 1835, while the ship was anchored in Tor Bay, a powerful sermon was delivered by a clergyman. John reported that it: ‘made a great impression on some of the females. Some of them fainting, others sobbing and crying’. While they were in Tor Bay, John Marshall visited the ship again, prompting some of the women and a married couple to seek to return home. Marshall allowed only one woman, Jane Wells, to disembark. Despite throwing some of their possessions into the water and threatening to go overboard to swim the mile and a half to shore, Thomas and Mary Newberry from Surrey were persuaded by Marshall to remain on the ship.

Four days earlier, the Newberrys had been involved in an altercation with the Surgeon, who had found Mary Newberry with her husband in the men’s cabin. A similar incident took place on 20 August when the surgeon berated Richard and Elizabeth Howard from Norfolk for being together in one of the cabins. In both these cases, the couples were probably recently married and finding the enforced segregation difficult to endure; to be berated for a private meeting up with one’s spouse was a clear example of the curtailment of immigrant’s rights while on board. A scandalous sexual episode came to John’s attention on 26 August, when one of the
female cabin passengers was found by the Captain in the Steward's pantry. An awestruck John noted, "the man has a wife & family in London".

Various restraints were used to control behaviour on board in a rough form of social control treating recalcitrant immigrants more like that imposed on convicts or soldiers and sailors than on free Britons. On 16 May, John noted that one of the Scottish females was locked in the coal hole for persistent smoking. On 14 June, three or four of the females struck the Surgeon and were put into the hole as a consequence. This was after a similar incident on 30 May when the Surgeon had an argument with Kitty Manning, who refused to go on deck when ordered to vacate the cabin. Several other girls came to her support when: 'he struck her with a Swab...a lot of the other Girls joined her & abused him shamefully. Threatened to murder him at the first opportunity'. On 3 August, John reported that the women's ration of wine was stopped, as they had been wasting biscuit.

Arrival in the Colony
Most of the assisted immigrants were not bound to work for a particular employer, giving them apparent freedom of action on arrival. This meant that government assistance did not carry the opprobrium of indentured labour, so abhorrent to the British labouring classes at this time and it differentiated them from the convicts, who had no choice in their assignment. Arrival in the colony could be an anxious time for the assisted immigrants, many of whom needed immediate employment to survive. The spectre of destitution faced by arriving immigrants was recognised as

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early as September 1832, when the Emigrants’ Friend Society was established.95 Some assisted immigrants did have contracts with employers prior to leaving Britain, but they were in the minority.

Following up individual passengers among the masses of poor people who emigrated to the colony is difficult, unless one has information on their movements from other sources.96 An advertisement using a letter, dated Sydney, October 1835, publicising the wages received by single women and the family heads who had travelled out on the Canton, states that Dawson senior was employed by Messrs. Walker and Co. and implies that he was employed for their country property.97 According to the disposal list for the Layton, all the Dawsons were employed by Mrs Scott of Cumberland Place, Sydney.98 The diarist, John Dawson junior, went on to become a solicitor practising in Sydney and his younger brother Thomas became an overseer for the Macarths of Camden in the mid 1850s.

The Governor’s despatches and lists for some ships in the bounty records give a snapshot of the early days after arrival of some of the other assisted immigrants.99 The ‘disposal’ lists are hastily drawn up and often barely legible, though some fair copies are in the British government archives. The lists give an

95 New South Wales and General Post Office Directory (Sydney: Stephens and Stokes, 1832), 288; Bourke to Stanley 6 December 1833, HRA 1, vol. 17, 300; Bourke to Stanley, 21 January, 1834, ibid., 343-344.
96 Index to Passengers to Sydney 1828-1842, AONSW Reel 2; New South Wales Calendar and General Post Office Directory...1836 (Sydney: Stephens & Stokes, 1836), 34, 114; New South Wales and Port Phillip District Post Office Directory for 1839 (Sydney: James Maclehose, 1839), 41, 142. search on Dawsons in NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, NSW Pioneers Series do not provide evidence of the family living together in one location.
97 Emigration to the Australian Colonies, Rous Family Archives, Ipswich, Suffolk Record Office, AJCP M942.
98 Entry for John Dawson arrived on the Canton, Index to Passengers to Sydney 1828-1842, AONSW Reel 2.
indication of large numbers of individuals engaging newly arrived immigrants. Contrary to the accusations of *The Times*, Riddell and MacPherson were conscious of their responsibility to the single women and ensured that ‘respectable’ women were not engaged by publicans and other employers who might be a bad influence.100 The male heads of family groups were generally engaged from the ship, but if accommodation was not part of the contract they incurred immediate expenses in setting themselves up in rented rooms.101 Between 1832 and 1835, single women were housed in the unfortunately named “lumber yard”, which can, and did, give an impression of inadequacy. Governor Bourke’s explanation, that it was one of the few government buildings available to put up two hundred women and that they were screened from prying eyes while there, was accepted by the Secretary of State.102 Most of single women were employed in situations, such as domestic servant, in which accommodation and board were provided as part of the contract.

One of the single women who had arrived in Sydney in December 1833 on the *Layton* emerges briefly out of the generalisations of moralistic reports and impersonal lists and reveals to us a woman anxious to improve her situation but not prepared to sacrifice her respectability to do so.103 In June 1834 Isabella Gibson wrote to her sister, Helen in London.104 This was her second letter to her family since arriving in Sydney. Like many newly arrived immigrants, Isabella was anxious to hear family news and fretted that she had not received a letter: ‘I regularly enquire at the post office every Packet that comes from England and as often return home disappointed’. She was twenty eight and had been living in Hoxton, east London.


101 Macpherson, ibid., 295, on accommodation costs.

102 Spring Rice to Bourke 10 September 1834, *HRA* 1, vol. 17, 508-510; Bourke to Secretary of State, 8 May 1835, ibid., 724-726; Glenelg to Bourke, 1 December 1835, ibid., vol. 18, 215.

103 Passenger list, CO 384/32, 60-61.

104 Isabella Gibson, Letter to her Sister, Helen Gibson, from Sydney, 19 June 1834, ML Doc1416.
Her father and sister lived in Ashline Place, off Drury Lane, London, north of the Strand. Isabella’s father is addressed as a ‘Cowkeeper’. Both Hoxton and Drury Lane were poor neighbourhoods. Isabella’s reasons for emigration are not clear, but were probably a mixture of impulse, poverty and discontent. It is likely that she heard about the opportunity to emigrate through her local church, as there is nothing in the records to suggest that she was an inmate of a workhouse. As her letter indicates, Isabella was prepared to take positive action to improve her position. Like many newly arrived immigrants, she was unsettled and unhappy with her life in the colony. She contemplated working her passage back to London as a servant or nursery governess for a young family.

Isabella Gibson’s occupation of needlewoman was, like other female working class and lower middle class occupations, difficult to substantiate as a genuine work-based skill, until proven in practice. Isabella’s claim to experience was borne out in her work with Mr Hart of Jamison Street, Sydney, cabinet maker and upholsterer. She was employed initially for an annual wage of eight pounds, board and keep, but had her wages raised by two pounds per quarter, after the first three months. In addition to her upholstery needlework, she had to make eight beds and sweep six rooms each day. This mix of specific skill and domestic duties was noted by A. J. Hammerton to be a feature of paid female work with undercapitalised employers. Isabella was clearly not pleased with the domestic work, but was justifiably proud of her wage increase. She spoke well of her employers:

106 Isabella Gibson, Letter to her Sister, Helen Gibson.
107 Australian Almanack and Sydney Directory for the Year of Our Lord (Sydney: Printed at the Gazette Office by Anne Howe, 1834); The City of Sydney Directory for 1844 (Sydney: E. Alcock, 1844).
But I do not well know what is best to do ther are so very few places that is any way tolerable here that I am afraid to risk leaving Hunts they are such quiet people and have never once found fault with me since I cam to their house But I trust that providence will direct me for the best for I have none either to care for or assist me.

Isabella did not go back to England. She married Henry W. Bath at Scots Church, Sydney in 1836. They had one daughter, Eliza, born the following year. Isabella died in 1846.109

Lessons Learned

Between 1832 and 1836, just under four thousand assisted immigrants and five and a half thousand self-paying immigrants arrived in New South Wales.110 As new settlers they were outnumbered by fifteen thousand male and two thousand female convicts who arrived in the same period. The society was still small. With natural increase and the influx of newcomers, the population grew from sixty thousand in 1833 to seventy-seven thousand in 1836. The significance of the first period of organised immigration of free workers was neither the number nor the quality of the immigrants, but the experience gained by both the British government and New South Wales administration. In 1836, the Secretary of State agreed with the Governor and Legislative Council that the labour requirements of employers in New South Wales should be paramount in the future selection of assisted immigrants.111

The next stage of assisted immigration was also experimental with a new set of management issues, as well as some of the old ones persisting, but it provided the

109 NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, *NSW Pioneers Series*, CD-ROM.
111 Despatches and Letters on the Subject of Immigration into New South Wales, NSWLC V&P, 1837, 573-581.
opportunity for many more free workers and families to emigrate to eastern Australian.
Chapter Five 'Seeking a moral and industrious class of Emigrants': English Workers for New South Wales and Victoria, 1837-1860

In September 1835, the New South Wales Legislative Council’s Committee on Immigration concluded its summary of government-assisted immigration by emphasising the importance to the colony of both the moral and economic dimensions of immigration. It acknowledged the need to continue to provide free passages to New South Wales for labouring class people to counter the attraction of the United States and to overcome the negative image of Australia and proposed new regulations to produce 'the best means of extending and promoting the introduction of a moral and industrious class of Emigrants'.1 All the immigrants were to have a moral, as well as an economic role. The Committee emphasised that it no longer wanted to perpetuate a society built on convict and ex-convict labour and looked forward to a large injection of 'free and virtuous inhabitants'.2

The idea of remaking a penal colony into a settler society, attractive to British and Irish emigrants, was in accord with Colonial Office thinking and directed policy from the late 1830s. Government acceptance of the recommendations on assisted immigration was followed by the abolition of convict transportation to eastern Australia and the refusal to use government funds to import indentured labourers from India and China.3 The government’s vision of New South Wales as a British settler society faltered in the later 1840s when it proposed to re-introduce convicts, but this was short-lived, overturned by an alliance of working class and middle class activists in the colony and the developing inclination in the Colonial Office to heed colonial public opinion.

2 Ibid., 416.
The Immigration Committee specified the numbers and proportions of immigrants it thought desirable, about three thousand people over each of the next three years. One eighth were to be married mechanics, with not more than two or three children (never more than 300 per year to avoid unemployment for those with dependents); one quarter were to be married mechanics without children and one eighth married farm servants without children, one quarter single male farm servants. The final quarter were to be unmarried women, 'of virtuous character':

This class of Emigrants is by far the most important to the Colony in a moral point of view. The great object of importing young women is not merely to supply the demand for servants – it is to restore the equilibrium of the sexes; to raise the value of female character; and to provide virtuous homes for the labouring classes of the community'.

The Governor, Sir Richard Bourke moved immediately to implement the recommendations. The British government concurred and the Colonial Office put them into effect. In March 1837, the first explicit statement from the British government on acceptable origins for immigrants for New South Wales was made by Secretary of State, Lord Glenelg. Under the terms of the 1835 immigrant bounty regulations, Edward Macarthur and John Dunmore Lang had both engaged families of German vine dressers. Glenelg gave Macarthur and Lang grudging permission to bring in a few German families, but made it clear that this was to be treated as an exception. The money derived from the sale of colonial land was to be used for the benefit of the home country. New South Wales was to be a colony for 'surplus' or 'redundant' population of the British Isles. These funds were not to be spent bringing 'foreigners' into the colony. The prohibition on paying the fares from colonial funds for labourers from continental Europe was not rescinded until the end of 1847. In lifting this ban after representations from colonial employers, the Secretary of State,

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Earl Grey, insisted that funds set aside for emigrants from the British Isles could not be used; other colonial revenue would have to be earmarked for immigrants from the European mainland.\(^7\)

Some settlers did not share the high moral position of the 1835 Committee on Immigration, preferring their labour to be as cheap and docile as possible.\(^8\) For them, the ending of transportation and assignment of convicts and the prospect of having to employ free workers at current wage levels threatened the profitability of their enterprises. It was these men who endeavoured to persuade government to pay for the importation of single Indian and Chinese men whom they believed would work for significantly lower wages and would be more malleable than British labouring class immigrants. The government refused to allow colonial funds to be used for this and continued to maintain its policy that Asian and Pacific peoples were suited to work in the tropical areas of the Australia continent, but not in the parts of New South Wales thought to be suitable for British and Irish settlers. The government believed that intending emigrants from the Britain would not emigrate to colonies in which there were Asian workers.

**Recruitment under the new regulations, 1837-1847**

In late 1836 the Colonial Office, the New South Wales Government and some colonists began to recruit immigrants for New South Wales. The new regulations were designed to allow private individuals to recruit immigrants, personally or through their agents, as well as providing for large scale recruitment, initially by government and later by private enterprise.\(^9\) Employers in New South Wales agonized over the contradiction between tying immigrants to fixed-term contracts

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8 Doust, ‘Setting up Boundaries in Colonial Eastern Australia’.

and a belief that indentured labour was unsatisfactory labour. They considered the wages in the colony to be too high due to the scarcity of skilled free workers; one of their explicitly stated aims in importing more immigrants was to drive down the cost of employing free labour.

A few colonists took up the option of personally recruiting immigrants, but the involvement of commercial operators was on a larger scale and quicker than the committee and Governor had predicted. In the late 1830s and early 1840s, British shippers had a strong incentive to shift their focus from the Atlantic to the Australian trade, when a depression in the Atlantic economy coincided with the availability of increased funds for assisted immigration to the Australian colonies. Capitalists in Sydney and the Port Phillip District seized this commercial opportunity in partnership with firms in Britain. The competition to generate passengers was intense and accounts for the increase in immigrants delivered to New South Wales and Port Phillip in 1841, when three times the number carried in 1840 were landed.

The early records of bounty approvals are incomplete, but sufficient information was recorded on some passenger lists to show the growing involvement

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10 William Bowman & George Bowman, Printed Letters, Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V & P 1838, 116-120; Report of the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P 1839, 1-4; Report from the Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P 1841, 1, 3.
of commercial operators, alongside bounty orders issued to private individuals.\(^\text{13}\) From October 1837, a bounty register was maintained in the New South Wales Colonial Secretary's office.\(^\text{14}\) In it we can see the ambitions of those who aimed to bring out large numbers of immigrants. By 1839, in contrast with the modest, unfulfilled applications of individuals such as James Wright of Lanyon, Queanbeyan or Niel Black, briefly in Sydney before moving to the Port Phillip district, the potential for profit from the bounty system had induced commercial agents linked to shipping firms to apply for bounty orders on a large scale.\(^\text{15}\) On 26 August 1839, Walker and Co. in Sydney, in partnership with John Marshall in London, was granted approval to bring in 1,000 families.\(^\text{16}\) Between December 1840 and August 1841, Marshall and Walker imported 675 families plus 349 single men and 375 single women. In December 1840 they obtained a second approval for another 1,000 families but only managed to supply 39 families and 106 single men and 119 single women before Marshall's bankruptcy. In four separate applications between April 1839 and July 1841, A.B. Smith and Co of Sydney gained approval to bring in 2,000 families, actually landing 578 families, plus 425 single men and 425 single women by March 1841 and a further 66 families, 52 single men and 38 single women in 1842.\(^\text{17}\) Other commercial bounty operators were Aspinall Browne & Co., A. Campbell and R.J. Jamieson, from Sydney, Messrs. Thomas Ensor & James of Port Phillip, and Gilchrist & Alexander who introduced immigrants to both Sydney and Port Phillip.

\(^{13}\) Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, 1828-1842' AONSW Reels 1286-1334; Unassisted Passengers Arriving in Sydney, AONSW Reels 1264-1268; *Lloyds Register*, 1832-1842; Statement of the Expenditure on Account of Immigration into New South Wales for the Year 1837, NSWLC V&P, 1838; Appendix to the Report of the Committee on Immigration: C', NSWLCV&P, 1838.

\(^{14}\) Bounty Admissions and Immigrant Lists 1838-1842', AONSW, 4/4779.

\(^{15}\) Ibid., 22; Broeze, 'Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia', 235-246.

\(^{16}\) Bounty Admissions and Immigrant Lists 1838-1842, 22, 64; database compiled from Assisted Immigrants, 1828-42, AONSW Reels 1286-1349; Assisted Immigrants, Sydney 1839-61', AONSW Reels 2134-43 & *Lloyds Register*, 1822-1861.

\(^{17}\) Bounty Admissions and Immigrant Lists 1838-1842, 21, 42-64; Return of Bounty Orders...1 September 1841, Return of Bounty Orders...1 March 1842, BPP: *Emigration*, vol. 21, 4-5.
The news of the change in the assisted immigrant regulations reached London in the second half of 1836 via the Governor's despatch and also from individual colonists who had arrived from New South Wales to recruit their own immigrants. In November 1836, James Walker in London sent a letter to William Bowman in Devon, giving him the latest news. Walker wrote that John Dunmore Lang and James Macarthur had come to London armed with colonial government 'authority to send out Emigrants'. James Walker was partner in Walker Brothers & Co. which operated in London for William Walker & Co. William Bowman was an Australian-born landholder, son of free settlers on the Hawkesbury River, north-west of Sydney. Bowman, too, held colonial government bounties to select and import immigrants into New South Wales. James Macarthur and his brothers, Edward and William, were also second generation inheritors of wealth, accumulated by their free settler parents.

The correspondence of Bowman and the Macarthurs provides an insight into the activity and networking in Britain of New South Wales capitalists seeking to recruit free workers in the mid 1830s. The Walkers saw a commercial proposition for the family business. In the early stages of the implementation of the new regulations, men such as Bowman and Macarthur took direct action to recruit labourers for themselves and their associates. At the same time, they attended to other business in Britain, lobbied government and made contacts to further their

18 James Walker to William Bowman, 30 November 1836, William Bowman Papers, ML, CY3885.
19 ADB, vol. 2, 566.
20 ADB, vol. 1, 138-139.
21 William Bowman Papers; Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney 1828-1842, AONSW Reel 1286.
22 William Bowman Papers.
family enterprises. On John Dunmore Lang too, was in Europe to carry out a number of tasks, including the recruitment of immigrants from the highlands of Scotland, vine dressers from Germany and Presbyterian clergymen. On this trip, Bowman and Macarthur each also found and married an English wife before returning to the colony.

Other New South Wales capitalists recruited workers in Britain at this time, either personally or through their agents, friends or family. In 1835, William Lawson senior aimed to recruit ten shepherds from Scotland per year for some years, but was disappointed at his lack of success. Thomas Potter Macqueen, who had begun his own imports of labourers in the 1820s, claimed in 1835 to have sent requests to England for six hundred men, women and children and to be offering them generous wages, rations and accommodation. By 1838, Charles Campbell had introduced to his country estate more than sixty free emigrants, men, women and children from the highlands of Scotland. Evan Mackenzie of Moreton Bay relied on his father to find labourers in Scotland. In January 1838, William Rutledge brought out two married couples and eleven single men. The Clyde Company, in the Port Phillip District, and the Australian Agricultural Company, in the middle district, brought in indentured labourers from Britain, paying the workers' fares from company funds,
rather than adhering to the categories set out in the bounty regulations. In 1840, Francis Kemble, director of the Australian Sugar Refining Company brought out forty two individuals in fourteen families to ensure he had skilled artisans for his venture and had sent to England for more.

Between 1836 and 1840 two recruitment systems ran in parallel; the government system, run on behalf of the New South Wales government from the Colonial Office, first by J.D. Pinnock and later by T.F. Elliot, and the bounty system controlled by the New South Wales government. Initially, both systems managed to co-exist, but in 1840, as colonial expectations of increasing land sales and desire for more assisted immigrants raced ahead of available funds, the government system was suspended by the Secretary of State, Lord John Russell. He sanctioned the continuance of the bounty system, which was the favoured option of the New South Wales colonists, despite the government system having delivered significantly more immigrants than private bounty operators to that time. Elliot and the Commissioners did gain control of vetting the applications of bounty emigrants and influenced Russell to order Governor Gipps to dismiss Pinnock, now the Immigration Agent at Sydney. Pinnock was respected by Governor Gipps and the


32 ADB, vol. 2, 38; Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1840, 332.


Legislative Council, but Elliot had drawn attention to bias in Pinnock's reports and virtually accused him of dishonestly preferring the bounty system in league with the commercial operators.35

Despite keeping a register, and in it trying several methods of recording approvals, the New South Wales Governor and Colonial Secretary had permitted bounties to be issued wildly in excess of available funds, in the expectation that a high proportion of them would lapse; but as the orders had acquired a status akin to currency among commercial operators this proved to be imprudent. In January 1841, at a time of deepening depression and diminished land sales, Gipps had to notify the Secretary of State that 71,315 bounty orders valued at 979,562 pounds were in circulation.36 Russell castigated Gipps for his lax management and this was reiterated by Lord Stanley when he took over as Secretary of State a few months later.37 Lord John Russell announced a deadline after which the bounties in circulation would be invalid. Lobbying by the Australian interest in Britain was intense but failed to influence Russell who held fast to his decision.38 Over-extended commercial operators were caught by the short notice of withdrawal of bounties, especially John Marshall who was forced to suspend payments in August 1841 and to file for bankruptcy in January 1842. All immigrant recruitment was handed over to the new Land and Emigration Commissioners in the Colonial Office, but the funds still had to be found by the colony. Between 1842 and 1847 the flow of assisted immigrants was sparse and sporadic, because of the low receipts from land sales due to drought, depression and the high minimum price of land. It proved to be difficult to raise alternative funds through colonial debentures when they were finally sanctioned by

37 Stanley to Gipps, 14 Oct., 1841 and Enclosures 2-4, ibid., 543-552.
38 Broeze, 'Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australasia', 244-246.
Local ‘agents of influence’ in England were important elements in successful recruitment. This was recognised by individuals such as William Bowman and the Macarthurs, and by the Colonial Office and shipping agents. In Dorset, Edward Macarthur was assisted conscientiously by the Reverend John West. In Kent, the Macarthurs were able to rely on the influence of some of the gentry, particularly the Member of Parliament, Thomas Law Hodges, who was a local resident and a keen advocate of emigration as a means of relieving rural overpopulation. In the Kent-Sussex border region it is likely that Edward Hussey of Scotney Castle promoted the Macarthurs’ emigration scheme. Hussey was on the Board of Guardians of the Ticehurst Poor Law Union and his papers contain advertisements and information about assisted emigration to New South Wales. In Kent, Sussex, Wiltshire and Gloucestershire some clergymen and Poor Law Guardians publicized the opportunity to emigrate to New South Wales. Traces of the activities of these clergymen have not survived, unlike those for John West in Dorset, but in 1838 James Macarthur told the Select Committee on Transportation that he had lately been in communication with several clergymen in relation to emigration.

40 Emigration Correspondence of Sir Edward Macarthur; Sir Edward Macarthur Letters 1832-1840.
41 E. Macarthur to his brothers 21 Jan. 1838, 19 Feb., 10 Apr. 1840, ibid.
42 Norman Papers, Kent RO; Hussey Papers, KRO.
Many individuals and groups provided charitable assistance to poor people to enable them to emigrate. Philanthropy was pervasive in English society during the nineteenth century, an outcome of the evangelical religious revival. Individuals can be glimpsed behind some of the poorer emigrants, providing them with funds for fares or transport to the port and for the clothing and other items required on the ship. Local gentry might well step in to support a person who was ineligible for parish or colonial government assistance. Notable examples of individual charity, such as the third Earl of Egremont's emigration schemes from his estates in Sussex, Devon and Ireland, were well-publicized at the time; but there are many other less well known examples of donations of money by local gentry to assist emigrants, as John West's correspondence with Edward Macarthur reveals.

In some regions local leaders used provisions in the new Poor Law which allowed parishes to raise loans to fund pauper emigration. This was very much a local initiative, operating unevenly across the country, sometimes for individuals or a few families, other times for larger numbers. Often however, groups of emigrants would be funded from a variety of sources including private charity, poor law parochial funding and New South Wales government funds. In its most positive light, one can see a resourceful solution with a satisfactory outcome for the local area, for the intending emigrants and for New South Wales. It is impossible to


46 Poor Law Commission, *Annual Reports*, 1835-1842; Poor Law Commissioners, Emigration Circular 10 May 1835, PRO MH 10/7; Poor Law Commission Correspondence, passim, PRO MH 12; Jeremy Gibson & others, *Poor Law Union Records*, 4 vols. (Birmingham: Federation of Family History Societies, 1993-1997).
determine the degree of largesse or coercion in these arrangements in which the relations of power were so unequal. Some historians view the poor, particularly those who chose to emigrate, as active agents in seeking their rights, prepared to use poor law or charity assistance when necessary. Whether this was the case for all emigrants assisted by local charity cannot be determined.

A network of agents in England was essential to the recruitment of most immigrants and for the management and co-ordination of the fit out of the ships. For the New South Wales trade in the 1830s, John Marshall was the most effective commercial recruiting agent. Marshall had arranged eight voyages to Van Diemen’s Land and New South Wales between 1825 and 1830. In the early 1830s he had built on this experience by working for the London Emigration Committee and played a major role in assisted immigration to New South Wales from 1837 to the end of 1841, and a more reduced role in the later 1840s. Marshall built up contacts throughout the south of England by personally touring, providing information and


49 *Lloyd's Register*, 1822-1835.

interviewing candidates. From 1836 to 1838 he sent publicity and made personal visits to gentry and Poor Law Unions in the south of England.\textsuperscript{51} Marshall's persistence is revealed by the high survival rate of his letters and advertisements and his visits to the countryside to set up initial contacts and generate the initial recruits. He sent out publicity for specific ships and their sailing times to many agents of influence. Other shipping agents appear to have been less active in personally generating immigrant business, not recruiting in the countryside and distributing fewer advertisements.

\textbf{Recruitment 1848-1860}

From the early 1840s until the early 1860s the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was the sole authority responsible for vetting emigrants for New South Wales. It recruited the majority of assisted emigrants and called for tenders for most ships for New South Wales and the Port Phillip District. The regulations were revised several times to adjust the criteria to encourage certain categories of immigrants not eligible under the general schemes, including family reunions and orphans and relaxation of upper age and family size limits.\textsuperscript{52} The recovery in the New South Wales economy by 1848 saw an increase in the numbers of assisted immigrants to both Port Phillip and Sydney for the next twelve years, until the New South Wales economy faltered in 1860, when assisted immigration was again

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\textsuperscript{51} For example, John Marshall, 'Emigration to Australia: A Fine First Class Ship...April next', January 1837, PRO CO 384/44, 149; John Marshall, 'Emigration to Australia...Duchess of Northumberland...14\textsuperscript{th} November Next', 30 September 1837, Additional Hussey MSS, U1776/016, KRO; Marshall, 'Emigration to New South Wales...Amelia Thompson...14\textsuperscript{th} March Next', December 1837 to Maidstone, Kent Poor Law Union, PRO MH12/5196; Marshall, 'Emigration to New South Wales...James Pattison on the 15\textsuperscript{th}...August...Alfred...on the 8\textsuperscript{th}...September...Andromache...on the 29\textsuperscript{th} September...', February 1838, ESRO, PAR 233/37/4/18; Marshall, 'Emigration to New South Wales 31 January 1839', ESRO, PAR 497/37/13/7; Marshall, 'Australian Packet Ships...Amelia Thompson...29 May...Mary...24 July...', [May] 1839 Chichester of Arlington papers, NDRO, 50/11/181/2.

\textsuperscript{52} Haines, \textit{Emigration and the Labouring Poor}, 272-280.
temporarily suspended. From that time both colonies took over the responsibility for managing assisted immigration for themselves.\footnote{CLEC, Annual Reports 1850-1862.}

The discovery of gold in 1851, first in New South Wales and then in much larger quantities in the Port Phillip District, now the separate colony of Victoria, transformed emigrants' perception of the eastern Australian colonies, making them more attractive to emigrants who flocked to the goldfields and the booming city of Melbourne. Nevertheless, both colonies kept up their assisted immigrant schemes to ensure a supply of working class immigrants throughout the 1850s. Victoria had a huge advantage over New South Wales with a much more buoyant land fund to subsidise assisted immigration during the 1850s, as people poured into the colony, purchasing and leasing rural and town land. By contrast, the New South Wales land fund was more modest, as much of the desirable land had been alienated over previous decades.\footnote{Ibid.} As Table 1.2 in Chapter One indicates, from 1848 and 1851 New South Wales and Victoria attracted just over twenty thousand immigrants each, with Victoria gaining a significantly higher level of self-paying immigrants. From 1852 to 1860 New South Wales received 58,038 assisted immigrants compared with Victoria's 85,412. The huge attraction of Victoria can be seen in the gross immigration there of over 283,000 people of whom only thirty percent were assisted immigrants. In comparison, total immigration from 1852 to 1860 to New South Wales was just over 76,500, of which seventy six percent were assisted immigrants.

In the late 1840s a variety of theorists and charities formed societies to promote assisted immigration in accordance with their ideas of worthy applicants, underpinned by a growing ideology of self-help.\footnote{Haines, Emigration and the Labouring Poor, 196-219.} W.G. Kingston's Society for the Promotion of Colonization and Francis Scott and Caroline Chisholm's Family
Colonization Loan Society (FLCS) were two prominent associations which influenced reformulation of immigration regulations; the FLCS received significant funding from the legislatures in New South Wales and Victoria to carry out recruitment and shipping of immigrant families. These private endeavours faded in the latter part of the 1850s as the local administrations turned to remittance schemes, whereby people already in the colony could deposit funds to enable an emigrant to be considered for assistance. These proved to be a more reliable method of ensuring that emigrants paid a deposit to underwrite part of the costs of their passage, than promises to repay advances once in the colony.

The new self-governing colonies of New South Wales and Victoria continued their reliance on the recruitment efforts of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission until they appointed their own agents in the early 1860s. Assisted immigration which had been a strong issue of contention in the 1830s and 1840s was less of a political issue in the 1850s when questions of franchise and land reform took on a greater urgency than battles over the quality of the assisted immigrants. An indicator of the diminished political emphasis on assisted immigration is revealed by the number and frequency of committees on the subject of immigration. In New South Wales between 1833, when the first immigration committee was held and 1847, there were eleven separate immigration committees, which became annual events from 1837 to 1843, and thereafter met at two year intervals to 1847. In the 1850s three committees on assisted immigration sat in New South Wales and two in Victoria.

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56 CLEC, Annual Reports, 1850-1862.
Motives for Emigration

Some assisted immigrants have left us direct evidence of their motives for emigration, though most left nothing. Of those whose correspondence, diaries and reminiscences have been saved for posterity, many do not mention their reasons for emigration, largely because this would have been discussed with family and friends prior to leaving home. From the accounts where motivation is clear, it appears that a desire to improve job opportunities and standard of living for themselves and for their current or future offspring, was a major factor in the decision to take up a subsidised passage to eastern Australia. The immediate trigger for moving may have been any number of interpersonal factors, unknown and unrecoverable in most cases, but the hope of an improvement in financial circumstances was an over-riding factor. The political and religious motives behind much emigration from Britain in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries no longer operated, but harsh conditions for many labouring class people continued. It is not surprising that economic motives were prominent among the assisted immigrants who took up a passage to eastern Australia in these decades. Some explicit statements by English emigrants of the reason for their decision to emigrate can probably stand as representative of the thinking of most of their fellow immigrants.

Motives of the bounty immigrants recruited by William Bowman and Edward Macarthur in the late 1830s can be inferred through references in both men’s correspondence and their evidence before Parliamentary and Legislative Council inquiries. William Bowman and Edward Macarthur chose the majority of their immigrants from rural southern England. Both men expended considerable time and effort in selecting their emigrants and in developing contractual arrangements with shipping agents. The Macarthur and Bowman bounty recruitment provides an insight into the workers New South Wales rural employers were seeking. Bowman was in North Devon from mid November 1836 to at least early May 1837 and also made contacts in London and the southeast, the Midlands, Scotland and Northumberland
before he returned to New South Wales.\footnote{William Bowman Papers, ML; E.S. Bowman, \textit{John and Honor Bowman of Richmond}, 55-57, and family tree inside the back cover, 'The Bowman Family Fife, Scotland c.1689-1871', provides details of William Bowman's relatives in England and Scotland.} In Devon, he stayed at Castle Hill, near South Molton in North Devon, on the estate of Fortescue of Filleigh, where his uncle was Steward. Bowman's Devon immigrants came from a ten kilometre radius. He enlisted fifty-one men, women and children on bounty for himself and his brother George. They travelled to the colony on two ships, the \textit{City of Edinburgh}, arriving on 31 August 1837 and the \textit{Siam} on 1 February 1838.\footnote{Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, AONSW Reels 1286-7; Committee on Immigration, NSWLC, V&P, 1838, 116-118; E.S. Bowman, \textit{John and Honor Bowman}, 55-57. Date of arrival of the \textit{Siam} is wrongly attributed in AONSW Reel 1287 to 15 October 1837, which was its embarkation date from Gravesend. It arrived in Port Jackson on 1 February 1838, Reports of Vessels Arrived. Port Jackson, January 1838-December 1839, 1840, AONSW Reel 1266.} Three of the five married men from Devon were farm labourers and another was a farmer. George Marlin, the only married man not to have an agricultural occupation, was a carpenter and joiner from Pilton, a parish on the outskirts of Barnstaple. George and Mary Ann Marlin are my great great grandparents who settled in Richmond, west of Sydney, where George worked as a builder for William Bowman and others for the rest of his life.\footnote{NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Births 1837-1857; NSW Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages, Death Certificate of George Marlin, 1 Feb. 1874, Richmond; E.S. Bowman, \textit{John and Honor Bowman 71}; B.T. Dowd, \textit{Hawkesbury Journey: Up the Windsor Road from Baulkham Hills} (Sydney: Library of Australian History, 1986), 208; S. Boughton & others, 'Reminiscences of Richmond', ML Cuttings file, first published in the \textit{Hawkesbury Herald}, no. 3, Friday 21 Aug. 1903, 13; Alfred Smith, \textit{Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite} (Emu Plains, NSW: Nepean Family History Society, 1991), 41, 52-54, 60, 72; Yvonne Browning, \textit{St Peters Richmond: The Early People and Burials 1791-1855} (Mullion Creek, NSW: Y. Browning, 1990), 29, 96.} George and Mary Ann Marlin came out with five children. The other couples from Devon had between two and four children with them. Also on the \textit{City of Edinburgh} were two single people from Barnstaple, Edward Cutlip, a tinman, and Sally Tricker, a farm servant. In addition to the immigrants from Devon, Bowman had recruited three married couples and one single man from Scotland.
The motives of the emigrants from Devon, including my ancestors, can only be inferred from Bowman’s correspondence and from some hints in the archives of local gentry, as these immigrants left no personal trace of their decision to emigrate. Bowman would have had the opportunity to make personal approaches to potential emigrants through contacts with clergymen and members of the local Boards of Guardians. Lord Ebrington, the heir to Lord Fortescue, was Chairman of the South Molton Board of Guardians and his fellow M.P., Lord Chichester, was Chairman of the Barnstaple Board of Guardians. Unlike the Unions on the border of Kent and Sussex, Unions in Devon did not fund emigration, even though the ending of the war with France had returned the local economy to the decline which had begun in the eighteenth century.

An indication of the likely motivation of Bowman’s Devon immigrants is illuminated by the recollections of John Dunn, an assisted immigrant to South Australia in 1840. Dunn was born in 1802 to a large farming family based at Bondleigh, about fourteen miles to the south of South Molton. He began work at the age of ten as a farm labourer. Some years later he became apprenticed to a miller and worked hard, saving money and improving his circumstances. By 1827, he had moved to the port town of Bideford, six miles to the west of Barnstaple. Despite long hours as a master miller, and simultaneously running a small dairy farm with his wife, he reckoned high rents, tithes and low wages were frustrating their efforts to become financially secure. In 1833 he had been dissuaded from emigrating to north

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62 Chichester of Arlington Papers, NDRO, Barnstaple; Fortescue of Filleigh Papers, , Exeter; A Handbook for Travellers in Devon and Cornwall (London: John Murray, 1851) 118-121, 128-130.
America by the offer of higher wages from his employer. In retelling this episode, he comments on the frequency of migration and return migration between Devon and north America. By 1839, promotion of emigration to South Australia had influenced three of his brothers to move there, and Dunn, his wife and family emigrated the following year. They were not destitute, for when they sold up their dairy farm and mill they had accumulated one hundred pounds, but Dunn did not consider this sufficient recompense. He summed up his reason for emigrating:

Although I was doing pretty well I was not satisfied with the old country. I had got on, but I saw many round me slip and fall and, once down, there was no chance for them to rise again. The only hope I saw in front of my sons was to work on at a low rate of wage from their first start to the time when the grave opened to them.  

It is reasonable to assume that Bowman’s hand-picked Devon immigrants, the men experienced at their trades, and their wives, like the Dunns, had their children’s future as much in mind as their own. They were motivated to leave their homes for the potential offered by a growing society on the other side of the world. Bowman’s contracts with two of his Devon bounty families survive. These printed contracts for William and Mary Edwards and Robert and Anne Fisher set out in detail the agreed work for three years expected of the men; they noted wages for the first year and increments for the next two years, sums advanced to pay off debts and buy clothes and the cost of transport from north Devon to Plymouth. As for the Macarthur immigrants, these carefully defined financial records reveal that the Edwards and the Fishers were considerably poorer than the Dunns. On the Siam, on which William Bowman returned to the colony with his new bride, his bounty immigrants were Jabez Bushby, a tailor, and Anne his wife from London, and their two children, Thomas Curtis, a farm overseer from Hampshire, his wife Sophia and

65 Ibid., 16.
their four children, and William Greenwood, a woolsorter from Bradford, Yorkshire. Greenwood was so anxious to take up the offer of a job with Bowman that he had been prepared to leave his sick wife behind, but his dilemma was solved by her death prior to embarkation.67

Edward Macarthur's first batch of immigrants entailed several months' planning and a trip to Dorset from London to interview the applicants.68 The Macarthurs recruited larger numbers of bounty immigrants than Bowman, notably, but not exclusively, for their Camden estate and for Dr James Bowman (not related to William Bowman), W.S. McLeay and Colonel Dumaresq. The time consuming nature of emigrant recruitment demonstrated by Bowman and Macarthur and the others who relied on family contacts in arranging to import their own workers vindicated the judgement of the 1835 Immigration Committee and Governor Bourke who had both anticipated that the majority of immigrants for New South Wales would have to be recruited by government or commercial agents.69

Between 1836 and 1842, the Macarthurs introduced 253 bounty immigrants.70 They also employed assisted immigrants brought in by government and commercial operators.71 Forty-six of the Macarthur's English adult bounty immigrants were from Dorset, twenty-three from Kent, twenty-one from Wiltshire,

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67 William Greenwood or Bramfitt to William Bowman, 29 September 1837, William Bowman Papers; entry for Greenwood on Siam, Assisted Immigrants Inwards to Sydney, AONSW Reel 1287; England, General Register Office, Deaths, September Quarter 1837, fiche.
68 Emigration Correspondence of Sir Edward Macarthur; Sir Edward Macarthur Letters 1832-1840.
70 House of Lords, Evidence of Edward Macarthur 2 Jul. 1847, Report of the Select Committee...on Colonization from Ireland, BPP: Emigration, vol. 4, 314-316 in which he gives the figure of 247 people conveyed to Australia, but this excludes six infants born just prior to or on the voyage. My database compiled from AO Reels 1286, 1290, 1303, 1306, 1348 provides evidence for these six additional infants but the 13 Germans on the Theresa in 1842 were not recorded as assisted immigrants.
71 Employees Personal Accounts 1835-1847, Macarthur Papers, Second Collection, ML, A4186-4189.
ten from Sussex and the remainder from other counties. The average age of adults was 25.3 years, close to the average age of all adult bounty immigrants in this period. Unlike many of the colonists wary of employing men with dependents, the Macarthurs brought in a higher than average number of children; 3.35 children per couple with children, compared with 2.03 among all English assisted immigrants arriving in Sydney between 1837 and 1845. Just under fifty percent of the Macarthurs’ adult male immigrants were farm workers, a small number were pre-pre-industrial mechanics, such as sawyer, wheelwright and blacksmith, two of the men were house servants and one a carter. Of the English women for whom an occupation was recorded, fifty two percent were house servants and thirty six percent were farm servants. There were two cooks and one washerwoman among the adult females.

Evidence of the motivations of the Macarthurs’ English immigrants emerges from correspondence and other sources. James Macarthur told the Molesworth Committee that he had been invited to speak to potential emigrants for New South Wales by the clergyman of Bisley, in the Vale of Stroud, Gloucestershire.72 To his surprise these people did not ask him the questions he had anticipated. When pressed, they told him that they were perfectly satisfied with their potential future standard of living in New South Wales, as they had seen letters from convicts ‘speaking very highly of it, and that of course if the colony was good for them as convicts, it must be still better for emigrants’. His assessment was that ‘they were people in great distress…[and] that they were well satisfied that it was a good country to go to’. Twelve of these families from Bisley emigrated on the government ship Layton from Bristol shortly after James Macarthur had spoken to them.73

72 Evidence of James Macarthur 5 February, 1838, Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Select Committee on Transportation, BPP: Transportation, v. 3, 6-7.
73 Bisley Parish Records, Gloucestershire Record Office, AJCP M2290; Reports of Vessels Arrived 1838-December 1839, AONSW Reel 1266; Gipps to Glenelg 14 August 1839 & enclosure, HRA 1, vol. 20, 40-47.
Regrettably for them and their fellow passengers, the voyage was a nightmare in which seventy children died of measles. All families with children lost one or two of their infants to the disease.

In Dorset, the Reverend John West briefed Edward Macarthur regularly on progress.\textsuperscript{74} These immigrants came from Cranborne Chase and from nearby Wiltshire, areas where labourers were suffering considerable distress, unemployment and low wages.\textsuperscript{75} We can see something of the motivations of these emigrants in West’s letters to Edward Macarthur. On 22 August 1836, West reported that a number of agricultural labourers were interested in emigrating to New South Wales. ‘Poor fellows, they come and tell me their tales of difficulty sometimes as not being able to attain work, & at the same time can get no Parochial assistance and ask me about going abroad from knowing that I have been abroad…with…the Hudson’s Bay Company’. On 26 September 1836 West noted the farmers were trying to dissuade labourers from emigrating by denouncing the colony as a ‘transporting country’. On 3 October 1836 West reported ‘There is quite a Spirit of Emigration awakened among the People around me. Parties call me almost daily’. On 8 November, finalising the arrangements for conveying the emigrants to port, West explained why he wanted to deliver the parties direct to the ship:

\begin{quote}
All the Men have been without work for some time past, and those I have not employed, at least many of them with families, I have been obliged to give an order for them to receive Bread and Cheese to the amount of 1/0 a day each to keep them from distress. As soon as the farmers heard they had actually engaged to emigrate, I am sorry to say, they discharged them, saying ‘they did not wish their young & able bodied Labourers to quit the County. Let the old ones go - said they’ — ‘ah
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{74} Emigration Correspondence of Sir Edward Macarthur; Sir Edward Macarthur, Letters 1832-1840;\textsuperscript{75} West to Brandram, British Foreign Bible Society, 14 November 1838, Dorset Record Office.\textsuperscript{75} Ian Herbert Shearing Stratton, ‘The Work and Ideas of John West, 1788-1845’ (MA thesis, University of Durham, 1977); Ian Stratton, ‘Saint Mary’s Church, Chettle, Dorset’ (Chettle, Dorset: Saint Mary’s Church, 1999).
master, said one of the Emigrants, You likes the flour, and don’t care for the bran.'

The Macarthurs continued drawing on Dorset and Wiltshire for their next two batches of English immigrants, but for the *Royal George* in 1839 they recruited a greater number from Kent and Sussex. In February 1838 Edward Macarthur noted that Mr West was reluctant to provide assistance for 'the general purposes of Emigration', but had agreed to recruit six families, a number which would be easy to produce because of the positive feedback from one of the 1836 immigrants.76 Mrs Cox from Farnham had written in glowing terms of their experience of the voyage, about William Macarthur’s assistance to her when she had fallen ill at Camden Park and concluded, 'Dear Friends I don’t persuade any of you to come, but we do all say if we was in England and knew what was here, we would start directly'. In 1838 the Macarthurs brought in twelve families from Dorset on the *John McLellan*, six for themselves and six for the Dumaesqs.77 In 1839 the Macarthurs had 114 English bounty emigrants on the *Royal George* and another twenty on the *Kinnear*. This was the end of the Macarthurs’ English bounty recruitment. Edward Macarthur’s letters note the growth of Colonial Office and commercial bounty activity, reducing the need to continue his own recruiting efforts.78 In 1847 he recalled, 'the accounts sent home by these Emigrants produced such a Desire to emigrate that I could subsequently have had a great Number of Persons had I possessed the Means of conveying them to Sydney'.79

Some assisted immigrants have left us direct evidence of their motives for emigration. On 25 July 1838 James Smith wrote to his father, brothers and sisters in

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77 E. Macarthur to W. Macarthur 14 May, 21 May, 29 May 1838, ibid.
Beckley, Sussex, from the *Fairlie* which had left London on 12 July and was in Plymouth to take on more passengers. He states his motive for emigrating in a neat hand in a phonetic spelling in which one can hear his Sussex accent. 'I am very comferabull At the pracunt and lick my cittasun very well I have plenty of beef 3 tiems A day and plenty of teea and that is sweet I never get up in the morning and find it Umpty coubird in the morning I have that comfort'.

He was a twenty three year old single farm labourer, and among dozens of emigrants from Sussex had already made friends with John Crouch, a newly married man from Ewehurst, Sussex. *The Fairlie* was a commercial bounty ship organised by John Marshall and whatever the short-comings of the rations, they were bliss to Smith and his fellow emigrants. He had taken to shipboard life well, had suffered little seasickness and told his family 'I hope you Don't grave non of you becocus I never shead one Tear when I parted from you all I should shake hands With you all with out sheading one tear but when I shock hands with Jane she squade my hand'.

James Smith settled quickly into life in New South Wales, welcomed by friends and relatives already in the colony, one possibly a former convict. In July 1840 in his first letter from Sydney, almost certainly written for him by someone with a greater command of spelling and grammar, he reiterated his motives for emigration: 'I assure you I do not wonder at so many people emigrating to this colony lately from england as the times are so bad and in this country it is quite the reverse - wages is very high and there is a great demand for labour'.

In 1841, James Smith was followed by his widowed brother, Edward, his niece Hannah, sister Sarah and cousin John Smith. Edward, Hannah and Sarah set up a household eight miles from Sydney where Edward worked as a gardener and they

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80 James Smith & others, Letters Received from James Smith, Sarah Monkhouse, Thomas Monkhouse and others, 1838-1848, ML, MSS 5994.
81 AONSW Reel 1290.
lived happily as a family group in a little hut in the grounds of the estate. James Smith was farming on his own account in the Hunter Valley with a relative, Samuel Smith, when they arrived and it took some time before they were reunited with their brother, because of the difficulties of locating people in the countryside. Edward and Sarah were as clear as their brother in stating their reasons for emigration. 'Tell Jane not to grieve for we looke forward in hopes of getting a better living than we did in englin’.  

Henry and Clarinda Parkes who emigrated to New South Wales in 1839 on John Marshall’s ship, *Strathfieldsaye*, like the people from Sussex, had been suffering poverty and privation from unemployment and underemployment, but unlike them the Parkes travelled as a lone couple, without friends on the ship or in the colony. Their experience of the decision to emigrate, of the voyage and the first years in the colony was an alienating and somewhat shameful episode for the hypersensitive Henry. In November 1838 they had caught the train from Birmingham to London, where they made a half-hearted attempt to settle, but quickly Henry turned to emigration as a solution to their problems:

> My expectations of London have met with disappointment in nearly every particular, but I will not talk of that. You will remember that I hinted to you that, in case I did not succeed in London I should go further. I had almost forgotten that I had such thoughts, among the fresh and astonishing scenes of this strange, glorious place, till it seemed as if there was no place for me among the countless multitude of its inhabitants. My thoughts then returned to emigration.

Despite getting a job in London, Henry remained determined to emigrate. By early December 1838 he had visited the government emigration office to gauge their

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82 Ibid., 27 May 1841.
84 Letter 1, 25 November 1838, ibid., 17-20.
85 Letter 2, 6 December 1838, ibid., 21-22.
chances of an assisted passage and waxed lyrical about his imagined new country; fertile, with high wages and cheap food. The Parkes had to wait several months before they were accepted for a free passage on one of John Marshall’s ships, partly due to the seasonal pattern of embarkation for Australia and partly because Henry’s trade of ivory turner was somewhat marginal to the skilled trades in demand. They obtained the necessary certificates and references from Birmingham with the aid of Henry’s sister, Sarah, and were helped to find the funds required to outfit themselves and get to Gravesend from small sums of money sent them by Sarah and their father. On 25 March 1839, Henry told Sarah, 'I had not a shilling left this morning, except the 7s. you sent to pay for it, just enough to take us to Gravesend'. The next day he replied to his father, 'I thank you for the seeds, and for the sovereign you sent me. I am afraid you must have put yourself to great inconvenience to send me the money. I hope I shall be able to return it tenfold.'

At the beginning of their voyage Henry alternated between patriotic elation at the noteworthy sites they passed on the English coast and despair at the privations of steerage, of which he noted, 'the hole allotted to steerage passengers had a most miserable appearance at first', but the sight of Dover Castle and the Isle of Wight lifted his spirits. By the time they called into Plymouth, Henry had met a few fellow passengers from Birmingham among the cabin passengers, but observed there were also 'many farm labourers from Sussex in the steerage – a very rude set. There are some Irishmen and some Scotchmen.' In his last letter before leaving Plymouth Henry commented 'We fare very well, considering all things…but the steerage of an emigrant ship is of necessity a most miserably uncomfortable place for me. I am more solitary and companionless than I ever was in all my life in this stagnant crowd

86 Letter 3, 7 December 1838, ibid., 28-29.
87 Letters 4-19, 20 December 1838-26 March 1839, ibid., 30-78.
88 Letter 18, 25 March 1839, ibid. 75.
89 Letter 19, 26 March 1839, ibid. 78.
90 Letter 20, 31 March 1839, ibid. 79-81.
91 Ibid., 82.
of human beings. Some of them are of the most indecent and brutish description'.

Despite his despair at his surroundings and fellow steerage passengers, Henry was certain that emigration was the right option, 'My hopes of ultimate success are as good as ever, and it is worth something to endure the disagreeableness of the next four months'.

The Parkes arrived in Port Jackson on 25 July 1839, but it took Henry ten months before he could write his first letter home from the colony. This was not an uncommon reaction to initial feelings of dislocation and despair experienced by some new immigrants. Henry’s high hopes of immediate wealth in a bountiful land were dashed when after a couple of miserable weeks in Sydney, he was forced to accept a position as an agricultural labourer on Sir John Jamison’s estate, Regentville, near Penrith. Despite his humiliation, in the six months there, Henry gained the goodwill of a patron who was the first of many to assist the isolated, talented man’s entrée into business, journalism and politics. Through Sir John Jamison’s influence, Henry landed a government post as a Custom’s Officer enabling him to ‘spend most of my time on board ships, where I have a good deal of leisure to write poetry’. By 22 September 1840, Henry was feeling more positive about his future and reported, ‘I am now in a situation which promises not only to provide me comfortable bread, but to enable me to save a little money’.

Joseph Wilson and his family experienced their departure from Gravesend, the voyage to Port Phillip and arrival quite differently from the Parkes. Wilson and family were farewelled at Gravesend by a large party of family and friends. They embarked on the Samuel Boddington on 1 September 1841 and ‘found the beds rather

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92 Letter 21, 7 April 1839, ibid., 83.
93 Ibid., 83-84.
94 Letter 22, 1 May 1840, ibid., 86-92.
95 Letter 23, 22 September 1840, ibid., 93.
96 Joseph Wilson, Journal, 1 September 1841-30 October 1849, LTL MS 12325.
hard and did not sleep very well but all the children did for tho' there were 20 or 30 little ones not one disturbed us but we missed family prayer'.\textsuperscript{97} The Wilsons were intensely religious and found that this made them conspicuous among the passengers. 'Much abused this morning by Mr & Mrs Bocking for an unintentional offence and among the rest (as a matter of course) for being religious – we were both much hurt, and kept our tongues & tempers with difficulty – but found prayer & reading the Scriptures much sweeter than usual'.\textsuperscript{98} Despite this set-back, the Wilsons were to find their faith a strength when they arrived in Melbourne. Joseph made contact with co-religionists, who helped them find accommodation and work for Joseph in a supportive and welcoming environment.\textsuperscript{99}

Sarah Davenport and her family left Liverpool on 4 October 1841 'as many people leaving home for New South Wales and Port Phillip sent glooming accounts of the country both for good wages and no scarcity of work and the healthfulness of the climate'.\textsuperscript{100} They had an unremitting, harsh life, probably due as much to her husband's fecklessness as to their poverty, but emigrated in high hopes having 'sold our household furniture gathered our effects Paid our Dets and got an order to come out by Paying two Pounds each for the 4 children 8 pound'.\textsuperscript{101} Their emigration began inauspiciously when the ship ran aground on a sandbank just off the Lancashire coast. Sarah's determination, which stood her in good stead in her later difficult life in Australia, shows through in this episode. She was not deterred by having to return to Manchester so soon after having left and having lost all their possessions in the shipwreck:

\textsuperscript{97} Entry for 1 September 1841, ibid.
\textsuperscript{98} Entry for 15 October 1841, ibid.
\textsuperscript{99} Entries for January & February 1842, ibid.
\textsuperscript{100} Sarah Davenport, Diary 1841-1846, LTL MSB 228, reproduced in Lucy Frost, \textit{No Place for a Nervous Lady: Voices from the Australian Bush}, rev. ed. (St Lucia, Qld: University of Queensland Press, 1995, 196-221.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid., 197.
I did not wish to begin Life in old England I wanted to make a fresh start in a new country my husband was a cabinet maker by trad and he used to suffer with the sick headache almost every week I had to work very hard my self to keep our familey and I found my strength getting very low I concluded the best to try a new country.\textsuperscript{102}

They set out again from Liverpool on 24 October 1841 but their misfortunes continued on the voyage. Their small son, Albert, died from an accidental scalding and Sarah remembered, 'this was a more sever tryal than the ship wreck I cold not cry one tear I was stund'. Later on the voyage she went into premature labour and mourned the dead infant who 'was throne in the sea I was almost Dumb with grief I thought my tryals was heavey but I cryed God to help me for my childrens sake I had no one to comfort me in all my tryals for my husband seemed indifferend afater the ship wreck.'\textsuperscript{103}

The Davenports arrived in Port Jackson on 13 February 1842 during an economic depression and an oversupplied market for mechanics. Her husband's lack of resourcefulness continued. 'My husband soon got work but instead of beeter wages [than in England] he got less he was very Dishartened for he wold not turn his hand to anything els but cabinetmaking'.\textsuperscript{104} They continued in Sydney for some months, finding the cost of accommodation and her husband's frequent unemployment difficult. Later that year, looking for a solution, they travelled overland through Goulburn to his sister in the Albury district, suffering further privations and losses and a cold reception on arrival.\textsuperscript{105} The Davenports' experience of failure and their restless moving to search for new opportunities was to be a common feature in the lives of many of the less successful poor immigrants.

\textsuperscript{102} Ibid., 199.
\textsuperscript{103} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{104} Ibid., 201.
\textsuperscript{105} Ibid. 203-211.
The motives of English emigrants in the revived assisted immigration from 1848 to 1860 remain remarkably consistent with those who had emigrated in the earlier period. A rich and sustained letter series of the Paine and Marks families, assisted emigrants from Buckinghamshire in 1849 to New South Wales has survived and been made available to a wider audience.106 This sequence contains forty six letters to family in England from the time of their embarkation at Gravesend in January 1849 to July 1862, and four additional letters from 1889 to 1902 providing details about the descendents of the original Marks and Paine immigrants. This provides significant detailed evidence of English assisted immigrant families which lived obscure lives in the colonies, unlike the Henry Parkes' correspondence, which might be thought to be untypical because he became well-known as a political activist and Premier of New South Wales. The Paine-Marks letters provide information on the lives and movements of an extended family of labouring class assisted immigrants in New South Wales over a long period in the middle of the nineteenth century.

Lucy Ann Paine, her new husband, John Marks and her brother, Charles Paine, left Plymouth in the Agenoria in February 1849 and arrived at Sydney in June 1849.107 Lucy Ann and her younger brother, Charles, were two of six children of William Stevens Paine and Sarah Mortimer, both of Wingrave, Buckinghamshire, who for many years ran a public house, the Horse and Jockey, in the market town of Aylesbury. The Paines had in previous generations been farmers in Buckinghamshire. In the 1790s one of William Stevens Paine's brothers had emigrated to the United States and another to Upper Canada; it is clear that in the next generation emigration to the Australian colonies was seen as an opportunity to continue traditional occupations in a new setting with the hope of an improved

107 Ibid. 4-5, 10-18, 82-86.
chance of averting a fall into destitution. John Marks was the son of a baker whose ancestors had been farmers in Quainton, Buckinghamshire. He had stated his occupation to be a labourer when he married Lucy Ann on 27 November 1848. There is no indication of the trade followed by Charles Paine in England, but in New South Wales both men showed that they were able to successfully carry out a range of pre-industrial and agricultural skills.

Their correspondence shows that Lucy and Charles Paine and John Marks had limited formal education, but their lively intelligence and desire to communicate their thoughts and experiences provide an interesting sustained example of an oral tradition forced into writing by the need to communicate their experiences to family in England. Their Buckinghamshire dialect and the conversational style of their letters is an integral element of their keeping in touch with family and friends left behind. The Paines' letters clearly indicate the economic hopes behind the decision to emigrate. Charles Paine's letter from Gravesend on 16 January 1849 opened the sequence. It is quite likely that he was the main instigator of the emigration as he maintained a cheerful pleasure in all aspects of their experience on the ship. Charles reported that 'I can shour you that we never was more hapier in hour lives than we be at the present time we have plenty of ever thing that we can wish for and we have good bed to sleep on and the living very good'. Lucy's letter from Plymouth revealed that she was less sure about the discomforts of the voyage than her brother and she was also tentative about the wisdom of emigrating. In her first letter from Sydney Lucy expressed the anxiety she and John experienced when he was unable to get work immediately and of her sorrow at her separation from her mother; 'But I shall not Persuade Any Body to come hear At present I have often wished his [John's] Sister was hear to see him when he was out of Work for I All ways tell him it was his

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109 Letter 2, Jan./Feb. 1849, ibid., 12.
friends as persuaded him to come out here I often wish I could see your poor hold face once again. But never mind; I shall live in hope yet’.

On arrival in Sydney Charles quickly found work as a butcher, but John took five weeks before he found employment as a baker, working long hours. Like so many newly arrived immigrants Charles’ and Lucy’s letters from Sydney in the year of their arrival provide much detailed information about wages received and prices of goods, indicating the importance of these factors in the tight economy of the poor immigrant. Charles, with his certainty that immigration was the right move for them and his quick employment in Sydney, wrote encouraging others to come out, particularly a dressmaker friend, Isabella, whom he believed would be much better off in Sydney than in England. ‘My dear Isabela, never stop in that Lousey country and see yourself starve, come to Sydney! My dear, we can save a little money to keep us when we get on in years without being beholden to any body and this is the place where we could do it’. Isabella did not take up his offer but two brothers of Lucy and Charles followed them out to Sydney, Edward in 1854 and Mark in 1857.

The Dannock family, like Charles Paine and John and Lucy Marks took up the opportunity to emigrate to eastern Australia when assisted immigration was revived in 1848. As James Dannock wrote these reminiscences as an old man, we don’t experience the immediacy of the changing emotions and varied reactions conveyed by letters contemporary with the emigration, but we do have his recollection of the major reason for the Dannock family’s move. James was seventeen, when, with his parents, two of his brothers and a sister they left for New

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112 Ibid., 85-86.
113 James Dannock, Life History of James Dannock written by himself copied by his second eldest son Jesse Dannock of Box Hill, Victoria, Australia, 1909, AJCP M1862.
South Wales from their home in Wymondham, Norfolk, ten miles south west of Norwich. James Dannock's father, also James, was a blacksmith, as was his grandfather; their mother was a farm servant. James and his younger brother William had worked at a variety of country labouring jobs in Norfolk. James recalled their reason for deciding on emigration to Australia: 'There were now 6 in the family 2 older than myself & 3 younger. As work was slack father made up his mind to go to America but as just then free emigration started to Australia he decided to go there instead so secured berths for himself Mother & four of us leaving the 2 eldest at home'.¹¹⁴ They travelled out on the *Castle Eden* which arrived in Port Jackson in October 1848. James and his brother William were employed on one year contracts as farm labourers at George's River, south of Sydney and their parents and younger brother and sister went on to Moreton Bay also to take up a one year contract.¹¹⁵ Again the wages and conditions were a key focus of record, with James Dannock remembering, all these years later, the details of the contracts in which he and his brother earned twelve pounds each, plus board and lodging for the first year.

**Working Class Economic Emigrants Attracted to Eastern Australian**

The motives behind the emigration of labouring class immigrants to eastern Australia in the mid nineteenth century are clear. The overwhelming reason repeatedly given by these people was hope for a better future. Despite the great attraction of the United States as an immigrant destination, the opportunity of a free passage to eastern Australia encouraged these people to take up the challenge of a voyage to the other side of the world. The distortions in the land market in Australia due to British government Wakefieldian policies meant that knowledgeable assisted emigrants were not coming to Australia to be small farmers. Many of them, however, were responding to the specific trade and occupational criteria demanded by colonists and the colonial administration. They came predominantly with agricultural or pre-

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 10-11.
¹¹⁵ Ibid., 16-17.
industrial trades in the case of the men and domestic service or farm service in the case of the women. It would seem quite likely that they may have been conservative people moving to retain their existing skills, rather than venturing into the modernizing sectors of the English economy. They were also migrating to Australia in the knowledge that they would be more likely to be employees rather than working on their own account.

The final decision to emigrate could take several years of weighing up of possibilities, like the Dunns, but for many, like the Paines and the Parkes, it was a matter of impulse on the basis of a generalized discontent, a migrating climate of opinion around them and an imperfect knowledge of the conditions which they would find on arrival. The first few months, or longer, after arrival, could be traumatic for assisted immigrants, but the capable and resourceful among them quickly made contacts with people from the regions from which they had come, with fellow church members, with others possessing similar occupational skills or with acquaintances made on the ship. The bounty immigrants of 1837 to 1840 brought out by colonial employers, like my ancestors, George and Mary Ann Marlin, were more cushioned on arrival by the benevolent paternalism of their sponsors who provided transport to their new home and guaranteed work. People like the Marlins were probably the most conservative and cautious of the labouring class immigrants in this generation, preferring a guaranteed situation on arrival over the chance of bargaining for higher wages once in the colony.
Chapter Six  Profile of the English Assisted Immigrants 1837-1860

Demographic snapshots of emigrants from Britain in 1841 provide us with significant data on the people who chose to leave their birthplace for unknown ventures overseas in that year. John McDonald, Eric Richards and Robin Haines have produced studies based on passenger records of the assisted immigrants who arrived in New South Wales in the peak year of 1841. Charlotte Erickson has analysed data on the 1841 emigrants from the British Isles to the United States and to New South Wales from British and United States records. As McDonald and Richards have noted, their data 'provide a mid-century benchmark for social and economic analysis' of assisted immigrants to New South Wales.

I was intrigued by these studies which yield much interesting detail on the origins, skills and possible motives of the immigrants in 1841, providing counter evidence to the contemporary criticism of the selection of the immigrants, accepted


3 McDonald & Richards, 'Workers for Australia', 1.
at face value by Madgwick and others. To see whether the immigrants of 1841 were typical or atypical of the majority over a longer period, I have undertaken a longitudinal sample from 1837, when the new immigration regulations came into force, to 1860, the end of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission’s role in emigrant recruitment for eastern Australia. McDonald’s and Richards’ data on assisted immigrant origins and arrivals largely confirm the accuracy of the statistics Charlotte Erickson derived from British Parliamentary Papers, the slightly lower numbers based on arrivals probably attributable to deaths on the voyage.

**Sampling Assisted Immigrant Arrivals Data 1837-1860**

The assisted immigration records from 1837 onwards recorded more data on individuals than in the previous period, though the lists for some ships, particularly in 1837, have not survived. I have collected data on the assisted immigrants to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District over the period from 1837 to 1860 using a systematic random sample. Sampling theory provides a technique ‘to make generalizations about a population based on a scientifically selected subset of that population’. If the sampling is carried out correctly, it is possible to derive a sample which will approximate a normal distribution, with the sample’s mean close to the true population mean and with a standard error smaller than the standard deviation of the whole population.

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5 McDonald & Richards, ‘The Great Emigration of 1841’, Table 13, 349; Erickson, ‘Depression Emigrants’, Appendix, 205-206.
6 The passenger lists for private bounty and government immigrants in 1837 are incomplete. Appendix C in Report of the Committee on Immigration and Statement of the Expenditure on Account of Immigration into New South Wales for the Year 1837, NSWLC V&P 1838, record 17 and 20 ships, respectively, carrying government or private bounty immigrants, whereas the passenger lists contain records for 9 ships only, Assisted (Bounty) Immigrants 1828-1842, AONSW Reels 1286-7.
8 Ibid., 107.
I chose to undertake a systematic random sample because the structure of the records dictates a sampling technique which takes into account the chronological, sequential nature of the data. The original records are in bound volumes and are available to researchers only on microfilm. It would have been extremely difficult to conduct a random sample on this data, but it lent itself to a systematic random sample, in which one begins at a random point towards the beginning of the data and subsequently systematically selects every nth case until the cut-off point is reached.\(^{10}\)

I decided to sample at the level of the migrating group over this twenty-four year period. The passenger records put husbands, wives and children under fifteen together in one alphabetical sequence and single adult males and single adult females in separate alphabetical sequences. Single adults, if they were travelling with family members were at times included in the family record and at other times in the single category, but with a note to indicate the group with which they are travelling or, if this is not provided, there is usually sufficient data to determine affinity. A migrating group can be one person on his or her own, a married couple without children, a married couple with children or an extended family or a kin group. By sampling the migrating group, I have been able to investigate the immigrants in the units in which they travelled and also to derive demographic data at an individual level.

Although English immigrants are the prime focus of my research, I sampled immigrants from all parts of the United Kingdom to be able to assess similarities and difference between these people, as well as assessing changes in the proportions drawn from each country. As in any sampling technique, it is necessary to choose a sample of a size which will achieve an acceptable degree of accuracy.\(^{11}\) To determine the size for my sample I used statistics of assisted immigrants to New

\(^{9}\) Ibid., 115.
\(^{10}\) Ibid., 148-151.
\(^{11}\) Ibid., 125-139.
South Wales and Victoria compiled by Robert J. Shultz and Robin F. Haines to calculate estimates of sampling intervals.\textsuperscript{12} Using estimates of group proportions and civil status from Shultz and assistant immigrant numbers from Haines and the formula provided by Rea and Parker, I estimated that I should sample every sixtieth migrating group to both New South Wales and Victoria. By sampling every sixtieth migrating group, rather than every sixtieth individual I have achieved a high confidence level in my sample results.\textsuperscript{13}

I began the sample for Port Jackson immigrants at 1837 and for the Port Phillip District in 1839, when the first assisted immigrants were sent direct to Melbourne. From 1851 immigrants to the Port Phillip district were sent to several ports, all within the area which became the colony of Victoria, but arrivals to Melbourne continued to dominate. These additional ports were Corio Bay (Geelong), Port Fairy and Portland. For both the Sydney immigrants and the Victorian immigrants I continued the sampling to the end of 1860.

I entered the data into the Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS), version 11.0, from the microfilm/fiche of the passenger lists.\textsuperscript{14} This made for an economy of data entry as I was able to use SPSS to run the queries to derive summary data which I then entered into Microsoft Excel to produce the tables in this chapter. Data for the following were recorded: name, parish of baptism, county of baptism, country, relationship in group, age, gender, civil status (ie. married, single, widow, widower, child, orphan), religion, literacy (read & write, read only, neither),


\textsuperscript{13} For calculation see Appendix 1.

\textsuperscript{14} Assisted (Bounty) Immigrants Arriving in NSW 1828-1842, AONSW Reels 1286-1349; Assisted Immigrants Sydney, 1838-1860, AONSW Reels 2134-214; Assisted Immigrants Arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-1851, AONSW Reels 2143A-2145; \textit{British Immigration to Victoria: Resource Kit Stage 1: Assisted Immigration from U.K., 1839-1860} (Laverton, Vic.: Public Record Office of Victoria, 1988), microfiche.
bounty agent, occupation, ship, date of arrival, AONSW reel or SLV fiche, port of arrival. If a category was missing, I noted that it was not present. I used the contemporary definition of a child as being fourteen years old or under. This was also the cut-off point between a child and an adult in the US records. Testing of the results, particularly through cross-correlation, has enabled me to detect and correct mis-keyed data, so that the results are true to the original source. I added summary data for region and occupation to be able to group people in broader categories to aid analysis.

Sample Results
The final result of this one in sixty sampling of groups has yielded 2,510 individuals in 1,123 migrating groups on 452 ships to Port Jackson/Sydney and 2,227 individuals in 990 migrating groups on 368 ships to Port Phillip District/Victoria (Tables 6.1 & 6.2) between 1837 and 1860. These results have achieved more than Rea and Parker's recommended minimum sample size for small populations of individuals and falls within the range they quote for the 95% level of confidence and population size ±3%. They quote a sample size of 1,045 for a population size of 50,000 and a sample size of 1,058 for a population size of 100,000. By sampling generously, because of the uncertainty about the number and size of migrating groups, I have achieved a good result for both individuals and migrating groups. Because of the longitudinal nature of the sample and its size, the analytical tables of immigrant characteristics in the following discussion have been arranged in two chronological groups, which reflect the two periods of activity in assisted immigrant recruitment, 1837/1839 to 1844/1845 and 1848 to 1860. The results of the sample for the entire period are summarised in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.
Table 6.1 Sample Results – Assisted Immigrants to Port Jackson/New South Wales and Port Phillip District/Victoria, 1837-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-</th>
<th>Sydney 1845-</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-</th>
<th>PPD 1839-</th>
<th>PPD 1839-</th>
<th>PPD 1837-</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult Males</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>1,503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Females</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>1,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Children</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Children</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>1,922</td>
<td>2,227</td>
<td>4,737</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Table 6.2 Sample Results – Assisted Immigrant Groups to Port Jackson/New South Wales and Port Phillip District/Victoria, 1837-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1837-1860</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1837-1860</th>
<th>P.P.D. 1839-1860</th>
<th>P.P.D. 1839-1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single: females: no family</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. groups</td>
<td>1,123</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of immigrants in samples</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Profile of the Assisted Immigrants 1837-1860

To compare the English assisted immigrants to New South Wales and the Port Phillip district with English immigrants to the United States I have used data calculated by Raymond Cohn on U.S. immigrants. He compiled his data from a random sample of passengers on 119 ships to New York between 1836 and 1853. Cohn argues convincingly that his random sample is superior to the selective random

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sampling developed by Charlotte Erickson and followed William Van Vugt, who both rejected lists they considered to be likely to be inaccurate. Cohn demonstrates that by doing this they did not obtain a true random sample. Thus, their results were skewed and did not properly represent the immigrants, particularly those labeled ‘labourers’. There are differences between the United States passengers and the New South Wales assisted immigrants, as the U.S. data includes all passengers, regardless of class or occupation, whereas the assisted immigrant lists for New South Wales included only those immigrants who met the criteria for assistance. This will affect the two samples at the wealthier end of the immigrant spectrum, but does not invalidate comparison of the working class immigrants, who made up the bulk of immigrants to both countries.

I have used the criteria for migrant groups developed by Cohn, but have added two additional categories: male migrant group head with adult single females in the group and female migrant group heads with adult single males in the group. Apparently Cohn found no examples of these two migrant groups. In the New South Wales sample there are a small number of cases of both. With this exception, I have adopted Cohn’s classification of migrant groups and criteria for calculating dependency and adjusted dependency ratios. McDonald and Richards suggest that the variation of migrating groups from official and informal criteria for assisted immigrants is ‘a rough guide to the differential possibilities of recruitment [for New South Wales] in the British Isles’. The United States as a popular emigrant destination, able to draw on the whole pool of potential immigrants, can give us another benchmark by which to judge the assisted immigrants to New South Wales.


Table 6.3 Migrant-group classification of individual immigrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Criteria for classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>All male immigrants age 15 or older travelling without anyone with the same last name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females: no family</td>
<td>All female immigrants age 15 or older travelling without anyone with the same last name</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>Male immigrants age 15 or over travelling with children (under age 15) and/or other males age 15 or older with the same last name. No adult females present. If other adult males, then only one counted in this category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>Female immigrants age 15 or over travelling with children (under age 15) and/or other females age 15 or older with the same last name. No adult females present. No adult males present. If other females, then only one counted in this category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>Male and female immigrants both age 15 or older with the same last name – no children (under age 15) are present. Migrant group may include other adult males or females, but these are not counted in this category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>Male and female immigrants both age 15 or older with the same last name – children (under age 15) are present. Migrant group may include other adult males or females, but neither these nor the children are counted in this category.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>Females age 15 or older travelling in a migrant group except for the head of the group. Composed of adult females not counted in ‘Female migrant-group heads’, ‘Couples: no children’, and ‘Couples: with children’.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>All children (under age 15) travelling as members of a migrant group.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Cohn, ‘A Comparative Analysis of European Immigrant Streams…’, Table 2, 68.

Table 6.4 Additional Migrant Group Characteristics for Assisted Immigrants to Port Phillip and Port Jackson

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Criteria for classification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant group head:</td>
<td>Adult females in group headed by a single man</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Adult females in group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female head: adult single males</td>
<td>Grown and/or dependent children with adult female head (usually their mother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in group</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Chapter Six 198
Table 6.5 Dependency Ratio and Adjusted Dependency Ratio

'The traditional measure of dependency is a dependency ratio (DR), which is calculated by dividing the number of dependents in the group (comprised of all women, children and males 'with family') by the number of adult men who were not dependents. The traditional DR basically reflects the proportion of the immigrants who were adult non-dependent males. Particularly for immigrants, the traditional DR may not be an accurate measure of dependency since female immigrants often headed migrant groups and were an important source of family income. The traditional dependency ratio is thus supplemented here by an adjusted Dependency ratio, where dependents are defined as all adult males 'with family', adult females 'with family' or traveling with an adult male, plus dependent children. Thus, adult females traveling alone or as the head of a migrant group are included with most adult males as non-dependents. The adjusted DR then indicates the number of dependents per head of migrant group.'

Source: Cohn, 'A Comparative Analysis of European Immigrant Streams', 69.

In Tables 6.6 and 6.7 I compare the English assisted immigrants to New South Wales with their contemporaries who emigrated to the United States. In the few cases of family members being from more than one UK country, I have assigned the group to the father’s nationality. The social engineering inherent in the New South Wales government-assisted immigration regulations can be seen in the differences between the English emigrants to the United States and to New South Wales from the mid 1830s to 1853. Despite contemporary criticisms, the migrating groups to New South Wales closely reflect the categories and proportions recommended by the 1835 Immigration Committee and subsequent amendments to the regulations in later years. It also shows that judgements on the propensity of particular groups of English people to emigrate should not be made on the basis of immigration to one country only. Married couples with children form the highest proportion of the adults in the English immigrant groups to both Port Jackson and Port Phillip, while single males predominate among the immigrants to the United States. Between 1848 and 1853, for both New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, the proportion of single males among the English assisted immigrants had dropped from the level of the preceding period, reflecting adjustments made in the categories eligible for assistance during the great self-funded influx of single males to the goldfields and associated opportunities.
### Table 6.6 English Migrant Group Characteristics 1837-1845 – New South Wales, Port Phillip District & United States – Sample data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N.S.W 1837-1845</th>
<th>P.P.D. 1839-1844</th>
<th>U.S.A 1836-1845</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Migrant-Group composition (% total)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>24.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single: females: no family</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: with family</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>24.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Number of immigrants in samples</strong></td>
<td>246</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>4463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependency measures**

| Dependency Ratio (DR)                        | 1.75             | 1.90             | 1.58            |
| Adjusted DR                                  | 1.36             | 1.76             | 0.90            |
| Children/couple with children                | 2.03             | 2.56             | 2.67            |
| Average age: adults                           | 25.5             | 25.3             | 27.6            |

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860 and Raymond Cohn, 'A Comparative Analysis of European Immigrant Streams to the United States During the Early Mass Migration', 19, no. 1 (Spring 1995): Table 5, 76.

The higher percentage of children among the English migrating groups to Port Jackson and Port Phillip is reflected in the greater dependency and adjusted dependency ratios in comparison with the English immigrants to the United States. Up to 1845, New South Wales’s reputation as a convict settlement appears to have deterred single English women, who migrated to the United States in smaller numbers than single men, but in a significantly higher proportion than to eastern Australia. An increased proportion of single English women migrated to New South Wales between 1848 and 1853, but the much higher percentage to Victoria of 11.8 percent came closer to the 13.5 percent for single English women to the United States in the same period.
### 6.7 English Migrant Group characteristics 1848-1853 – New South Wales, Port Phillip District (Victoria) & United States – Sample data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1848-1853</th>
<th>P.P.D. 1848-1853</th>
<th>U.S.A 1846-1853</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition (% total)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>22.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single:females: no family</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>28.7</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: with family</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.8</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Immigrants in samples</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>363</td>
<td>4463</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Dependency measures**

| Dependency Ratio (DR)                         | 2.35              | 2.46             | 1.85            |
| Adjusted DR                                   | 1.57              | 1.42             | 0.85            |
| Children/couple with children                 | 2.39              | 2.38             | 2.62            |
| Average age: adults                           | 26.7              | 26.9             | 27.0            |

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Among English immigrants there was a smaller proportion of groups headed by single males or females to eastern Australia than to the United States in both periods. Between 1837 and 1845 the average age of English adult immigrants to Port Jackson and Port Phillip at 25.5 and 25.3 years respectively, was two years younger than their counterparts emigrating to the United States, possibly reflecting the upper age limits applied to eligibility for assisted immigration to New South Wales. From 1845 to 1853, the age gap between the English immigrants to the US and eastern Australia had narrowed to just a few months in the case of New South Wales and for Victoria was virtually the same as the average age of English immigrants to the United States.

Between 1836 and 1845 English outnumbered Irish immigrants to the United States by 1.5 to 1, whereas as Tables 6.8 and 6.9 show, among the assisted immigrants to Port Jackson and Port Phillip the English were only one half and one
third as numerous as Irish immigrants. A similar proportion of Irish and Scottish immigrants went to both Port Jackson and Port Phillip in this decade. There were only a few Welsh people among the assisted immigrants to both Port Jackson and Port Phillip between 1837 and 1860. I have included them in the other category, along with the small numbers of immigrants born outside the British Isles.

As in the migrating groups to New York, there was a high proportion of single females among the Irish immigrants to eastern Australia, as McDonald and Richards found for 1841. The high proportion of Irish immigrants to the Sydney district and to the Port Phillip District caused a considerable outcry in the early 1840s. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners' subsequent attempts to recruit something akin to the proportions of each national group within the United Kingdom can be seen in the changed national proportions of the immigrants in Tables 6.10 and 6.11 for the period 1848-1860. Some differences between the Irish and the other assisted immigrants can be seen in the higher proportions among the Irish of kin groups headed by single males and females to both Sydney and Victoria in both periods.

18 McDonald & Richards, 'Workers for Australia', 5-12.
### Table 6.8 Migrants to Sydney 1837-1845 – Group characteristics by country of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition (% total)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single:females: no family</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>55.6</td>
<td>7.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>22.2</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>26.0</td>
<td>22.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>22.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: with family</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>31.3</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>30.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>26.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of immigrants in sample</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>932</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dependency measures

| Dependency Ratio (DR) | 1.75 | 2.71 | 2.64 | 2.00 | 2.44 |
| Adjusted DR | 1.36 | 1.63 | 2.20 | 1.13 | 1.61 |
| Children/couple with children | 2.03 | 2.25 | 3.33 | 0.00 | 2.45 |
| Average age: adults | 25.5 | 24.8 | 26.6 | 21.7 | 25.2 |

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

### Table 6.9 Migrants to Port Phillip District 1839-1844 – Group Characteristics by Country of Origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition (% total)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>12.1</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single:females: no family</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>43.5</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>22.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>19.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: with family</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>5.2</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>39.7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>24.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of immigrants in sample</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>305</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Dependency measures

| Dependency Ratio (DR) | 1.90 | 2.46 | 1.69 | 2.83 | 2.32 |
| Adjusted DR | 1.76 | 0.42 | 1.15 | 1.88 | 1.22 |
| Children/couple with children | 2.56 | 2.27 | 2.80 | 5.00 | 2.53 |
| Average age: adults | 27.3 | 24.4 | 26.9 | 27.9 | 25.3 |

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860
### 6.10 Migrants to Sydney 1848-1860 – Group characteristics by country of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition (% total)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>16.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>12.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females: no family</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
<td>25.6</td>
<td>14.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>4.9</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>12.0</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>6.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples with children</td>
<td>26.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>22.4</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>20.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: with family</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>4.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>32.8</td>
<td>28.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Immigrants in sample</td>
<td>765</td>
<td>649</td>
<td>125</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>1578</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency measures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency Ratio (DR)</td>
<td>1.91</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>2.05</td>
<td>4.28</td>
<td>2.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted DR</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>0.83</td>
<td>1.05</td>
<td>1.17</td>
<td>1.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/couple with children</td>
<td>2.24</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>2.92</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>2.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age: adults</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>27.6</td>
<td>25.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

### 6.11 Migrants to Victoria 1848-1860 – Group characteristics by country of origin

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>Irish</th>
<th>Scottish</th>
<th>Other</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition (% total)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>3.9</td>
<td>4.3</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single females: no family</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>0.1</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>14.3</td>
<td>11.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples with children</td>
<td>24.6</td>
<td>17.5</td>
<td>24.3</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Males: with family</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Females: with family</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>7.4</td>
<td>3.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependent children</td>
<td>31.7</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>33.7</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Immigrants in sample</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>571</td>
<td>511</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>1922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency measures</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dependency Ratio (DR)</td>
<td>2.78</td>
<td>3.60</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>3.00</td>
<td>3.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjusted DR</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>2.76</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children/couple with children</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.32</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>2.00</td>
<td>2.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average age: adults</td>
<td>27.2</td>
<td>24.4</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>27.5</td>
<td>26.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860
As Tables 6.10 and 6.11 indicate, between 1848 and 1860, among the assisted immigrants to Sydney the English were the largest group, but they were followed closely by the Irish. Among the assisted immigrants to the Port Phillip District there was a considerably larger proportion of English and a very large Scottish immigration, just slightly less than the Irish immigrants, whereas Scots made up only a small proportion of the assisted immigrants to New South Wales in these years. There was a high proportion of single females among the Irish both to New South Wales and Victoria, helping to redress the imbalance in sex ratio caused by the attraction of gold-seeking for single males. Among the English assisted immigrants, couples with and without children were the dominant emigrating groups in both periods to both places. Larger English families went to Victoria than to New South Wales and the average age of English adults to Victoria was somewhat higher than to New South Wales, reflecting the larger size of their families.

I have grouped the English immigrants to Sydney and Port Phillip into the regions in which they were recorded as having been baptized. Table 6.12 indicates the allocation of counties to regional groups. It is not possible to tell from the passenger lists whether people had moved from their place of birth in the interval before they emigrated, but their occupations and the fact that their birthplaces coincide with the regions where active recruitment for New South Wales was taking place indicates that of those who may have moved, most had not gone far. Pooley and Turnbull found short-distance internal migration within the local region to be the most likely move for British people of the working class in the nineteenth century. I have used these regional groupings based on county locations, rather than the classification of counties into high and low wage agricultural and high and low wage industrial used by Charlotte Erickson and others. I believe those broad designations

---

obscure uneven economic development within counties and regions. I prefer to examine the actual origin of these people and correlate that information with their occupation to get an indication of their possible motivation for emigration.

Table 6.12 English Regions and Counties

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>County</th>
<th>Region</th>
<th>County</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Greater London</td>
<td>City of London</td>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>Bedfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middlesex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Buckinghamshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surrey, metrop.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Derbyshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast England</td>
<td>Berkshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Herefordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Essex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Leicestershire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hampshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Northamptonshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hertfordshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Nottinghamshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Isle of Wight</td>
<td></td>
<td>Oxfordshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Kent</td>
<td></td>
<td>Rutland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Surrey, rural</td>
<td></td>
<td>Shropshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sussex</td>
<td></td>
<td>Staffordshire</td>
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<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>Cambridgeshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Warwickshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Huntingdonshire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Worcestershire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lincolnshire</td>
<td>Northeast England</td>
<td>Durham</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Norfolk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Northumberland</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Suffolk</td>
<td></td>
<td>Yorkshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest England</td>
<td>Cornwall</td>
<td>Northwest England</td>
<td>Cheshire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Devon</td>
<td></td>
<td>Cumberland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dorset</td>
<td></td>
<td>Lancashire</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gloucestershire</td>
<td></td>
<td>Westmoreland</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Somerset</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Wiltshire</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Table 6.13 Origins of English Assisted Immigrants to eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>Sydney 1839-1844</th>
<th>PPD Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>PPD Sydney 1839-1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
<td>Men</td>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater London</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast England</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>8.4</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest England</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>19.7</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>30.0</td>
<td>26.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast England</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest England</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>13.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of immigrants in sample</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Across the entire period from 1837 to 1860, the greatest proportion of assisted immigrants from England to both New South Wales and the Port Phillip District/Victoria was drawn from rural areas in regions with declining economies, falling behind the industrialising regions at the forefront of the modernising British economy. As McDonald and Richards found for the English immigrants to New South Wales in 1841, the English immigrants between 1837 to 1845 were drawn broadly from all the English counties, but some regions dominated. In these years the majority of English assisted immigrants to Sydney came from the southeast, the southwest and the northwest. In the southeast, the majority of the adult assisted immigrants came from Sussex, followed by Kent, with smaller numbers from other counties in the region. Most of the people from the southeast came from villages in the high weald around the Sussex-Kent border, a depressed economy of decayed rural industry and primitive agricultural practice. Between 1837 and 1841 the parishes on both sides

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of the border, encouraged by their Poor Law Unions, borrowed money to assist people to emigrate, initially to north America, but increasingly to New South Wales, as both government and commercial recruiters advertised the opportunity of assisted emigration and the new poor law regulations did not allow financial assistance be given for emigration to the United States.\(^\text{26}\) This was the most significant area from which pauper-funded emigrants came to New South Wales between 1837 and 1845. Parishes in Cranbrook Union in Kent and nearby parishes in the Ticehurst, Rye and Battle Unions in Sussex enthusiastically applied to raise mortgages to send immigrants to New South Wales. Just over sixty percent of the men were farm servants or agricultural labourers, thirteen percent were general labourers, another thirteen percent claimed a pre-industrial trade and just over five percent were farmers.

Between 1837 and 1845, twenty percent of the English male adult immigrants to Sydney came from southwest England, predominantly from Cornwall, Devon and Gloucestershire. Fifty seven percent of the men from the southwest were agricultural workers, ten percent general labourers, twenty nine percent pre-industrial tradesmen and just under five percent domestic servants. Only fourteen percent came from towns and their occupations fitted the agricultural and service requirements of New South Wales employers. During this period, just under fifteen percent of men and eighteen percent of women among the English adult immigrants came to Sydney from northwest England, most from various towns in Lancashire. These men were agricultural workers, labourers and pre-industrial tradesmen, fitting the profile

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\(^{26}\) Poor Law Commission, *Annual Reports*, 1835-1842; Parish Vestry Records, ESRO; Ticehurst Union, Board of Guardian Minutes, March 1839-December 1840, ESRO; Rye Union, Board of Guardian Minutes, June 1837-August 1839, ESRO; Poor Law Commission, Correspondence, Sussex, Battle Union MH12/12747-8, Rye Union MH12/13076, Ticehurst Union MH 12/13138-13141; Kent, Cranbrook Union, Board of Guardian Minutes, 1835-1842, KRO; Parish Vestry Records, CKS; Poor Law Commission, Correspondence, Kent, Cranbrook Union MH12/4911-4913.
required by the regulations. This was to be the highest percentage of assisted immigrants from the northwest of England between 1837 and 1860. Men and women from this region came in significant numbers only between 1840 and 1842, when the opportunities to obtain assisted passages to Australia appeared in quantity at a time of economic depression in the United States, indicating these immigrants had an understanding of conditions in rival emigration destinations. This higher propensity to emigrate to eastern Australia from Lancashire in 1841 is indicated in Erickson’s and McDonald & Richards data. Erickson found that emigrants from Lancashire were attracted to the United States in significant numbers later in the century but in 1840-42 depression in the Lancashire economy gave them a motive to take up the passage to eastern Australia. It is clear from Table 6.14 that proportions of immigrants to Sydney from the northwest of England between 1848 and 1860 had dropped significantly and declined also to Port Phillip/Victoria, but not as steeply. The men and women from the northwest of England drawn to Australia via assisted passages in this second period continued to exhibit the pre-industrial and agricultural trades for men and domestic service for women required under the regulations and they were drawn predominantly from rural Lancashire.

Of the regions from which English adult assisted immigrants were drawn to the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1845, the southeast and southwest predominated, but the Midlands and northeast England were more prominent than the northwest and London. However, the numbers were small at this early stage in the settlement of Port Phillip and it would be unwise to attribute too much significance to these differences. All the male occupations fitted the profile required. It is not possible to determine the geographical locality of the immigrants to Port

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27 Erickson, 'Depression Emigrants', Table 5.14, 206; McDonald & Richards, 'The Great Emigration of 1841', Table 13, 349.
Phillip at a level lower than county, but they were probably drawn mainly from rural areas, similar to the English immigrants to Sydney.

Between 1848 and 1860, as Table 6.13 indicates, the majority of the English assisted immigrants to both Sydney and Victoria came from the southwest, followed by the southeast, the midlands and East Anglia, which had not been significant regions for assisted immigrants to eastern Australia in the earlier period, with the other regions contributing smaller numbers. This emigration from East Anglia in this later period has been attributed by Holt, Hudson and Mill to an intensification of local recruitment efforts and chain migration to Victoria. From my data it is clear that emigrants from East Anglia were also attracted to New South Wales between 1848 and 1860 in similar proportions to their compatriots who went to Victoria.

The majority of English adult immigrants came from a spread of rural areas and fitted the occupational profile required in the regulations. Between 1848 and 1860 the proportions of women from greater London increased significantly over the previous period, reflecting a continuing difficulty in recruiting single English women in rural areas for emigration to New South Wales.

29 S. Colin Holt, Family, Kinship, Community and Friendship Ties in Assisted Emigration from Cambridgeshire to Port Phillip District and Victoria, 1840-67 (MA thesis: La Trobe University, 1987); Paul Hudson and Dennis Mills, 'English Emigration, Kinship and the Recruitment Process:
6.14 Origins of English Adult assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>Sydney Men</th>
<th>Sydney Women</th>
<th>PPD Men</th>
<th>PPD Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Greater London</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>18.9</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>24.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southeast England</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>East Anglia</td>
<td>15.0</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>14.4</td>
<td>11.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Southwest England</td>
<td>39.5</td>
<td>28.8</td>
<td>36.7</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midlands</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>11.4</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast England</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northwest England</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>324</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

The discrepancy in Table 6.15 in the relative percentages of men in the agricultural/pastoral and labourer classes migrating to Port Jackson and Port Phillip is created by the problem identified by Erickson, Van Vugt and Cohn for the U.S. lists, in which some clerks did not distinguish between agricultural labourers and general (non-agricultural) labourers. It is clear in many of the Victorian lists that the term labourer was used for both occupations, as they only contain the term ‘labourer’, whereas the Port Jackson lists record both terms for men on most ships. It seems reasonable to assume that, as the same selection criteria was intended for both Port Phillip and Port Jackson, the proportions of agricultural labourer and labourer (non-agricultural) would have been similar.
Table 6.15 Occupational Class of Adult Male Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English %</td>
<td>English %</td>
<td>Irish %</td>
<td>Irish %</td>
<td>Scottish %</td>
<td>Scottish %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Pastoral</td>
<td>53.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>60.0</td>
<td>20.3</td>
<td>61.5</td>
<td>47.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>50.0</td>
<td>11.7</td>
<td>59.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>5.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-industrial Crafts</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/Professions</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Among English male immigrants to the United States, Cohn estimates forty four per cent to be labourers (both agricultural and non-agricultural) and sixteen percent to be farmers, men possessed of sufficient capital to purchase some land to run a farm.\(^{31}\) Most of the English male assisted immigrants to eastern Australia from an agricultural background were unlikely to have possessed sufficient capital to be categorized as farmers in New South Wales and so all would have been classed as agricultural labourers. Some of them may have been classified as farmers if they had gone to the United States. Just over sixty percent of the English male assisted immigrants were agricultural or general labourers compared with seventy to eighty percent labourers among the Irish and sixty percent among the Scots. Unlike the early 1830s, few assisted immigrants to eastern Australia between 1837 and 1845 had worked in the new industries of the industrial revolution, but around thirty five percent of the English male assisted immigrants to Sydney were skilled in pre-industrial trades, slightly higher than Cohn’s estimate of twenty eight percent for the English to New York. Fewer males with pre-industrial craft skills went to the Port

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Phillip District in this period, reflecting the early state of its development and economy, another indicator that emigrants had some knowledge of employment opportunities in various destinations.

**Table 6.16 Occupational Class of Adult Male Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture/Pastoral</td>
<td>46.9%</td>
<td>54.8%</td>
<td>48.8%</td>
<td>52.4%</td>
<td>64.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labourer</td>
<td>18.5%</td>
<td>33.7%</td>
<td>38.0%</td>
<td>23.8%</td>
<td>13.2%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Service</td>
<td>1.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-industrial Crafts</td>
<td>27.6%</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>19.0%</td>
<td>19.9%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>2.8%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/Professions</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>1.5%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>0.7%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transport</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
<td>1.6%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
<td>1.3%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Between 1848 and 1860 the relative proportions of skills of English male assisted immigrants to Sydney remained the same as in the previous period with agriculture/pastoral workers first, followed by pre-industrial skills and labourers in third place. Reflecting the development of the Port Phillip economy in this period, its proportion of English male immigrant occupations followed the Sydney pattern. Skills of men from Scotland were similar to the men from England, but for Irish men agriculture-pastoral and general labourers pre-dominated, with pre-industrial skills significantly lower among the Irish.

I highlight the mix of trades among the men classed as having pre-industrial skills in Tables 6.17 and 6.18. Not surprisingly, in the underdeveloped expanding communities in eastern Australia, with a shortage of housing and public buildings, men skilled in the building trades were in demand. The different proportions of pre-industrial trades among the English men migrating to Port Jackson and New York provide an illustration of immigrants being informed of their likely job prospects in
these different locations. Between 1848 and 1860 among the assisted male immigrants to Sydney and Victoria, building trades were still the dominant male pre-industrial skills of English and Scottish men, but had declined significantly among Irish men.

Table 6.17 Pre-industrial Trades of Adult Male Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>23.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Trades</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Trades</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal trades</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>3.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Trades</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking Trades</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Trades</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Mechanics</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of male immigrants</td>
<td>34.4</td>
<td>35.0</td>
<td>18.3</td>
<td>17.2</td>
<td>25.0</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Table 6.18 Pre-industrial Trades of Adult Male Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Building Trades</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>18.8</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>5.4</td>
<td>7.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mining Trades</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Food Trades</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metal trades</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clothing Trades</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Woodworking Trades</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miscellaneous Trades</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Mechanics</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percent of male immigrants</td>
<td>28.0</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>19.0</td>
<td>19.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No. in Pre-industrial trades</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860
In Tables 6.19 and 6.20 the occupations of English assistant immigrant women arriving in New South Wales between 1837 and 1860 were similar to those in the early 1830s. Domestic service was the dominant occupation, followed by pre-industrial crafts, particularly in the clothing trades and agriculture, either as farm or dairy servants. These trades provide another indicator of the pre-industrial skills of most of the female immigrants, a continuation of the pattern which McDonald and Richards found for the cohort of 1841.31 Between 1848 and 1860 (Table 6.20) the skill mix was broadly similar for the Irish and Scottish female assisted immigrants. The discrepancy between English female assisted immigrants to Sydney, with a high proportion entered as 'lived at home/domestic duties', probably reflected lazy recording, as the skill mix to both places should have been similar.

It would appear that clerks in the Port Phillip district more consistently recorded married women's occupations than clerks in Sydney did, possibly reflecting middle class assumptions about the male breadwinner family and ignoring the wife's occupation. This was not the practice of the labouring classes at this time, when all members of the family made a contribution to the family economy.32 The Victorian data provides a better indication of the spread of occupations among the female assisted immigrants. The significant difference between the proportions of English and Scottish women with agricultural backgrounds and Irish women was another


reason for criticism levelled at Irish women generally and specifically related to their inexperience in domestic service. 33

### Table 6.19 Occupational Class of Adult Female Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural/Pastoral</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>30.4</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>12.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>61.2</td>
<td>53.3</td>
<td>50.9</td>
<td>71.3</td>
<td>51.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-industrial Crafts</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>10.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/Professions</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lived at home/Domestic Duties</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>11.2</td>
<td>7.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse/Midwife</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>15.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

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### Table 6.20 Occupational Class of Adult Female Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agricultural/Pastoral</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>19.3</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Domestic Service</td>
<td>32.0</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>51.7</td>
<td>68.7</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pre-industrial Crafts</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Industry</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce/Professions</td>
<td>0.4</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lived at home/Domestic Duties</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>5.1</td>
<td>22.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse/Midwife</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>40.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>21.2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

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33 For example, Report from the Select Committee on Irish Female Immigrants 1958-59, NSWLA, V&P 1859.
Literacy rates among the immigrants provide an indicator of the level of their education and skills in relation to their peers remaining in England. Eric Richards noted that the above average literacy of the adult assisted immigrants to New South Wales in 1841 was "a measure of the essential selectivity of the emigration itself". The evidence of literacy among the assisted immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria is a rare indicator of the formal educational skills of British and Irish working class men, women and children in the nineteenth century. The only other long-run contemporary record of literacy of adults in England are the marriage registers, beginning with the introduction of civil registration in 1837. This, of course, as many have noted, is a flawed surrogate for tests of reading and writing skills, based on the assumption that writing was generally taught after reading and that a person who could write could also read. The evidence of literacy in the assisted immigrant passenger lists may be a better indicator than a signature, but was presumably gathered from self-testimony of the immigrant, rather than a test. However, as literacy was not a criterion for acceptance as an assisted immigrant, we can assume that people did not have an incentive to overstate or understate their ability to read and write and that the literacy reports in the lists are subject to no more mis-recording than other personal details.

As Richards found for 1841, Tables 6.21 and 6.22 reveal that the English assisted immigrants in the period 1837 to 1845 had a literacy level well above the average for the home population, in which it is estimated that thirty three percent of men and forty percent of women were unable to read and write. My findings for the period 1837 to 1845 indicate a lower level of literacy for English women than

34 Richards, 'An Australian Map of British and Irish Literacy in 1841', 345.
36 Ibid., 350-352.
Richards found in 1841, but still well above the average for women in England. During this period literacy was not recorded for children. The majority of English women and men in my sample who were unable to read or write came from rural southeast England. Irish women were less literate than their English or Scottish counterparts, but Irish men were closer to English and Scottish men’s literacy levels.

Table 6.21 Literacy of Female Adult Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>42.2</td>
<td>46.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>34.3</td>
<td>28.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>17.0</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Table 6.22 Literacy of Male Adult Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
<th>Sydney PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1844</td>
<td>1837-1845</td>
<td>1839-1845</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>70.8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>66.1</td>
<td>76.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>9.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>12.8</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>180</td>
<td>64</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Tables 6.23 and 6.24 report adult literacy levels in the later period. Between 1848 and 1860 the literacy level of English women to Sydney had increased significantly over the previous period, but the literacy of both English men and women was lower to Sydney than to Port Phillip, indicating something about the discrimination of the more educated in choosing the southern colony with its booming economy and absence of a convict stigma in its origins. However, men and
women emigrating to both Sydney and Victoria were still more literate than the averages for England during this period of just above thirty percent illiteracy for men in 1850, decreasing to about twenty eight percent in 1860, and forty five percent illiteracy among women in 1850, decreasing to about thirty percent in 1860.\textsuperscript{37} By contrast the illiteracy level of women to both Port Phillip and Sydney was under seven percent and among men to Sydney was under fifteen percent and men to Victoria just four and a half percent. The literacy level of Irish female assisted immigrants remained the same in both periods. The literacy level of Scottish assisted immigrants increased significantly in the later period, reflecting a shift in recruitment predominantly from the Highlands in the earlier period to a more widespread regional distribution. This indicator of educational attainment shows, as Richards found for 1841, that over this long period from 1837 to 1860 the assisted immigrants to both New South Wales and Victoria were consistently among the better educated members of their class in England.

Table 6.23 Literacy of Female Adult Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>Scottish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads &amp; Writes</td>
<td>69.7</td>
<td>78.1</td>
<td>42.6</td>
<td>41.8</td>
<td>82.5</td>
<td>78.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads</td>
<td>23.8</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>30.8</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>14.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>6.2</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

\textsuperscript{37} David Vincent, \textit{The Rise of Mass Literacy: Reading and Writing in Modern Europe} (Cambridge:
Table 6.24 Literacy of Male Adult Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads &amp; Writes</td>
<td>68.5</td>
<td>82.1</td>
<td>65.3</td>
<td>65.9</td>
<td>92.9</td>
<td>84.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads</td>
<td>16.8</td>
<td>12.7</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>17.1</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>14.7</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>19.1</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>229</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>129</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>151</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Tables 6.25 and 6.26 report the literacy of girls and boys aged seven to fourteen between 1848 and 1860. This data was not recorded for children in the previous period. The results are a curious mix for English boys and girls to Sydney and Victoria, and between English, Scots and Irish to both destination. This possibly reflects casual attention to standards in recording this data, rather than a reliable indicator of the educational differentials between the sexes or between the three countries from which the young assisted immigrants were drawn.

Table 6.25 Literacy of Girls 7-14 Years Old in the Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>Irish</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads &amp; Writes</td>
<td>41.7</td>
<td>33.8</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>21.6</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reads</td>
<td>35.4</td>
<td>40.0</td>
<td>44.1</td>
<td>37.8</td>
<td>80.0</td>
<td>39.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neither</td>
<td>14.6</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>20.6</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>7.7</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>5.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Table 6.26 Literacy of Boys 7-14 Years Old in the assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>31.0</td>
<td>49.0</td>
<td>36.8</td>
<td>27.3</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>21.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irish</td>
<td>42.9</td>
<td>18.4</td>
<td>26.3</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>69.2</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scottish</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>34.2</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>34.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not given</td>
<td>4.8</td>
<td>16.3</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>15.2</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

The very different religious profile of the English assisted immigrants from the majority of Irish Roman Catholic immigrants between 1837 and 1845 is evident in Tables 6.27 and 6.28. The category ‘protestant’ recorded frequently in the Sydney lists and even more highly in the Port Phillip lists indicates the anxieties and fears of the administration and protestant leaders of society at the high proportion of Irish Roman Catholics among the assisted immigrants, revealing sectarian tensions which were to dog the society for another hundred and thirty years.38 The ‘establishment’ was less concerned with recording the fine grading of protestant sects among the assisted immigrants, than they were in differentiating Roman Catholics from the rest. Roman Catholicism was a concern for the conservative leaders in the eastern Australian colonies, having only been permitted to be practised openly in Britain in 1829. For the Scots and southern Irish religious affiliation was a national marker of

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difference from the English, but in the case of the Scots, Presbyterianism was acceptable as the established Protestant national church. Roman Catholicism was a different matter, feared and fought over for centuries, and in the Australian colonial context, a marker of difference, distinguishing Irish assisted immigrants, who were predominantly from southern Ireland. The culture and values of these Irish people were alien to most British colonists. Their identification with Roman Catholicism grew with the developing Irish national version of Catholicism promoted by Cardinal Cullen in Dublin and by the Irish Catholic immigrant priests who provided a rallying focus for Irish Catholic immigrants.39

Table 6.27 Religion of Adult Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women %</td>
<td>Men %</td>
<td>Women %</td>
<td>Men %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>42.0</td>
<td>36.0</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>34.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>11.8</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>14.9</td>
<td>13.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent (Congregational)</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissenter</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>26.8</td>
<td>26.6</td>
<td>47.4</td>
<td>55.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>3.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>343</td>
<td>331</td>
<td>116</td>
<td>106</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

39 Donald Akenson, Third Freilich Foundation Lectures, August 2003, Humanities Research Centre, Australian National University; O’Farrell, The Irish in Australia, 66-82, 105-108.
Table 6.28 Religion of English Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1837-1845

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>Sydney 1839-1844</th>
<th>PPD 1837-1845</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women %</td>
<td>Men %</td>
<td>Women %</td>
<td>Men %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>5.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>25.4</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>6.7</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>8.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent (Congregational)</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dissenter</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>53.7</td>
<td>54.2</td>
<td>86.7</td>
<td>85.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>100.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Table 6.29 Religion of Adult Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Sydney 1848-1860</th>
<th>PPD 1848-1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Women %</td>
<td>Men %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>40.1</td>
<td>30.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>43.6</td>
<td>52.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>7.8</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>4.6</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent (Congregational)</td>
<td>1.8</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian Denominations</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>0.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>697</td>
<td>505</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

As Table 6.29 indicates, the proportion of Roman Catholics among the assisted immigrants to both Sydney and Victoria had been reduced between 1848 and 1860 compared with the earlier period, reflecting the reduced proportion of Irish among the immigrants. The much higher levels of Presbyterians in Victoria reflected its considerably greater Scottish and Ulster contingent than came to New South
Wales. Among the English assisted immigrants (Table 6.30) to both Victoria and Sydney, as might be expected, the majority claimed allegiance to the Church of England, followed by Wesleyan Methodists at around ten percent and small numbers of adherents of other protestant sects.

Table 6.30 Religion of English Assisted Immigrants to Eastern Australia 1848-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Women</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>Sydney</th>
<th>PPD</th>
<th>PPD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roman Catholic</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church of England</td>
<td>80.3</td>
<td>85.0</td>
<td>78.7</td>
<td>78.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent (Congregational)</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Christian Denominations</td>
<td>0.8</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Protestant</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewish</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Given</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number in sample</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>324</td>
<td>229</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Systematic sample of assisted immigrants to Port Jackson 1837-1860 and to Port Phillip 1839-1860

Quality of the Immigrants

Colonists continued to criticize the quality of the assisted immigrants, particularly the immigrants who came in the peak years of 1841 and 1842. The tensions between the New South Wales government and the Colonial Office led to a higher than average refusal to pay bounties for a number of these assisted immigrants. After considerable delay, most of the refusals were overturned by the Colonial Office, but the furore coloured perceptions of the quality of assisted immigrants during this period. With the careful selections of William Bowman and the Macarthurs, the

40 This can be seen in the reports of the immigration committees, the reports of the new Immigrant Agent, Merewether and in dispatches between the Colonial Office and the Governor from 1841 to 1843. The larger outstanding claims and support of the Colonial Office are summarised in Stanley to Gipps 30 June 1843, HRA 1, vol. 22, 816-842; Stanley to Gipps 14 July 1843, ibid., vol. 23, 24-26; Stanley to Gipps 5 September 1843, ibid., 102-114; Gipps to Stanley 28 February 1844, ibid., 422-438.
skills of their bounty immigrants were less an issue than questions of personality, diligence and tenacity, which could only be judged on the job. What did the Macarthurs and the Bowmans think of their new workers? In 1838, William Macarthur reported that their bounty immigrants were satisfactory workers and all had chosen to stay with them, rather than taking up the release clause in their three year contracts. Although the Macarthurs also employed government-recruited emigrants from Gloucestershire, William Macarthur said he preferred to have his immigrants chosen by his agent. William Bowman in his response to the N.S.W. Committee on Immigration in 1838 said ambiguously, 'My brother and I brought out seven Families from England to this Colony last year; and I have no hesitation in saying, that those who are industrious, have no difficulty in providing for themselves'. With hindsight in 1847, Edward Macarthur said that the whole cohort of immigrants from 1831 to 1841 were 'somewhat below than above the average Standard of Labourers in the United Kingdom, whether with respect to Conduct and Skill in their several Callings', but this was in response to the still contentious charge that emigration depleted the reserve pool of labour in Britain and Ireland.

Other employers' responses to the assisted immigrants who had came into the colony between 1837 and 1845 are revealed in evidence before the five Committees on Immigration of the Legislative Council from 1841 to 1847. Many, but not all, flockmasters experienced difficulty in attracting and keeping shepherds, and to a lesser extent other rural workers, at the wages they offered and seemed perplexed that unemployed mechanics in Sydney refused go to the country to become shepherds. Despite a number of tradesmen experiencing unemployment in Sydney from 1842 to 1844, many recent immigrants bargained for their wages and

41 Evidence of William Macarthur, Minutes of Evidence, Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P 1838, 16-21; Report of the Select Committee...on Colonization from Ireland, Evidence of Edward Macarthur 2 July 1847, BPP: Emigration, vol. 4, 325.
42 William Bowman Printed Letter, Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V & P 1838, 117.
43 Committees on Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840, 1841, 1842, 1843, 1845, 1847.
conditions and were not prepared to take less than they knew to be a fair rate. In general, it would appear that the act of leaving home and emigrating had given these people a sense of independence, which they might not have been able to exercise if they had remained at home. David Taylor, a builder and stonemason who had emigrated ten years previously and who had employed many men on prestigious building jobs in Sydney, such as the new cathedral, provided an insight into the reluctance of the men to take work in the country:

If I may be allowed to speak plain, one reason is, that the new comers, those who have come into the country during the last two or three years have no faith in country employers; they seem to think, whatever is professed, that they will get orders for their wages, and seldom or ever get them cashed.44

When asked by William Bowman to compare the conditions of workers in Britain with those in the colony, Taylor had no doubt that conditions were better in the colony. 'When they can get employment and have their wages secured to them, they are better off here than at home; there is nothing approaching to actual misery or want here'.45 By 1845 employers were again bemoaning the high wages workers were able to command, due to their bargaining power in a newly buoyant employment market, a situation which continued until assisted immigration started up again in 1848.

With renewed assisted immigration in 1848 and the changed political priorities of the 1850s the majority of assisted immigrants of that period were less criticised than the earlier cohorts, with the exception of the Irish, particularly Irish female orphans. A larger population also served to dilute the perceived effect and defects of recent arrivals compared with the personal, emotive reactions so stridently recorded in the 1830s and early 1840s. However, there was a last flurry of

44 Evidence of David Taylor 11 September 1843, Minutes of Evidence, Select Committee on Immigration, NSWLC V&P 1843, 32.
accusations of poor quality and unsuitability when assisted immigrants began arriving again in New South Wales in 1848. In 1850 Earl Grey, the Secretary of State responded to these allegations, providing a detailed account from the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for the New South Wales Governor, Fitzroy. They pointed out that there continued to be many unsubstantiated allegations in the criticisms, and that of just under nineteen thousand emigrants to Sydney and Port Phillip combined, only 188 were identified as having possibly misrepresented their occupations.\(^{46}\) The CLEC reported that the 33 miners from Cornwall would actually have combined mining with agricultural labour and that they had not lied about their skills. They noted that another 136 immigrants accused of falsely stating their occupation would have worked in agriculture at some point in their careers.

The outcry on the quality of some Irish female orphans who had arrived in 1848 was partially acknowledged by CLEC as an injudicious selection. However, the dogged persistence of the Celtic Association forced an inquiry in 1859, in which it was acknowledged that the orphans had not been experienced in domestic service when they had arrived, but had been able to be trained for this occupation and that they had been harshly and wrongly slandered.\(^{47}\) The evidence provided by unsympathetic male witnesses at an earlier inquiry into the Irish female orphans revealed their lack of understanding of the tragic situation of the Irish famine from which these girls were fleeing.\(^{48}\)

The main preoccupations in both New South Wales and Victoria was to continue to encourage sufficient immigrants from rural areas of the United Kingdom, a policy which the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners had been carrying out since

\(^{46}\) Papers Relative to Immigration, NSWLC V&P, 1851.


\(^{48}\) Minutes of Evidence Taken Before the Orphan Immigration Committee, 12 Oct. 1848, HRA , 1, vol. 26, 754-760.
the late 1830s. For New South Wales, not blessed by as large a revenue from gold as Victoria, there was a continuing search for the funds to support assisted immigration during the 1850s. As McDonald and Richards found for the assisted immigrants in 1841, the English assisted immigrants to both New South Wales and Victoria between 1837 and 1860 had agricultural or pre-industrial skills and were above average in their literacy. The proportions of married and single men and women were close to those required by the 1835 Committee; those couples with children, because of age restrictions, tended to have small numbers of children, matching the employers’ desire to have married immigrants with as few dependents as possible. All aspects of the demographic characteristics of the English assisted immigrants to eastern Australia between 1837 and 1860 indicate that these were people drawn predominantly from rural areas and possessing the skills the conservative establishment had set out to acquire. Over the years from 1837, when the colonists’ requirements for employees were finally heeded by the Colonial Office, to the end of 1860, the vast majority of the assisted immigrants exactly fitted the profile demanded. However, the immigrants having taken up the offer to emigrate demonstrated that they continued to be active agents in seeking to improve their circumstances and that they were not prepared to accept posts where they had reason to believe they would be exploited.

50 McDonald & Richards, 'The Great Emigration of 1841', 337-355; McDonald & Richards, 'Workers for Australia', 1-33; Richards, 'An Australian Map of British and Irish Literacy in 1841', 345-359.
Chapter Seven ‘All’s not gold that glitters’¹: English Gold Rush Era Immigrants 1851-1860

The Lure of gold

During the 1850s, immigrants poured into Victoria, and to a lesser extent into New South Wales, when it became known that both colonies possessed alluvial goldfields.² Earlier isolated finds of gold had not precipitated rushes, but in 1851 when Edward Hargraves claimed a reward for finding gold in the rivers and streams to the north of Bathurst, New South Wales, the situation had changed. Immigration to the eastern Australian colonies was gradually increasing after the doldrums of the mid 1840s. The discovery of gold in California in 1848, and the rush there from 1849 of immigrants from many countries, including men from eastern Australian, imparted a different significance to the news of gold in New South Wales.³ Hargraves was a skilful publicist and by precipitating a rush of men from Bathurst to the area he had christened Ophir, he presented a fait accompli to the local administration. The New South Wales government was powerless to prevent

individuals mining for what technically under English Law belonged to the Crown.\footnote{Blainey, \textit{The Rush That Never Ended}, 13-27}

In Victoria, recently separated from New South Wales, the exodus of men to the New South Wales goldfields spurred the search for gold. It was found in several locations in the second half of 1851 and soon proved to be deposited in significantly greater quantities than in the colony to the north.\footnote{ibid., 28-45.}

The Californian and eastern Australian goldfields held out the promise of riches to men who were prepared to live in rough conditions and undertake heavy labouring work to extract the gold which was found in surface deposits in river valleys.\footnote{Ibid., 22-23, 36-45, 59-63; Kenneth N. Owens, ‘Introduction’, \textit{Riches For All: The California Gold Rush and the World}, ed. Kenneth N. Owens (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 16-18; Jeremy Mouat, ‘After California: Later Gold Rushes of the Pacific Basin’, \textit{Riches For All}, 266-267.} For the first few years until the alluvial gold was exhausted, men were able to work on their own account, usually in partnership with others, independent of an employer. Over the next fifty years new gold fields were found in other locations in Australia, New Zealand, North and South America and southern Africa, precipitating fresh rushes, until the last to the Klondike in 1897.\footnote{Blainey, \textit{The Rush That Never Ended}; 13-102, 161-197; Mouat, ‘After California’, 264-295; Charlene Porsild, ‘The Last Great Gold Rush: from California to the Klondike in the Nineteenth Century’, \textit{Riches For All}, 317-327; Robert Ross, \textit{A Concise History of South Africa} (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 64-72; Leonard Thompson, \textit{A History of South Africa}, 3rd ed. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), 110-122, 132-141.} Gold was found as European settlers continued to move deeper into these conquered lands. The rushes were facilitated by the advancing technology of international communications and commercial shipping.

Gold has been a symbol of wealth for the peoples of Europe, the middle east, the Nilotic peoples of Africa and some other regions for several millennia, but was not similarly valued by the natives of Australia, New Zealand or North America.\footnote{Iain McCalman, Alexander Cook & Andrew Reeves, ‘Introduction’, \textit{Gold: Forgotten Histories and Lost Objects of Australia}, 1-7; Mouat, ‘After California’, 266-267.}
When Europeans moved into auriferous regions in the new world, the discoveries of alluvial gold stirred deep passions of avarice and the prospect of instant wealth. News of the Californian and Australian goldfields came to people in Britain at the end of a difficult decade of political unrest, unemployment, and financial crises, when many men were deeply uncertain about their ability to earn sufficient money to support themselves and a family. The gold rushes were an extreme example of the strong economic motive underlying the emigration of people from Britain in the nineteenth century. For emigrants not interested in mining gold, the great increase in population in the eastern Australian colonies provided an incentive for developing other businesses and services, while the attraction of land continued to be an important lure. The publicity surrounding the discoveries of gold continued the process of changing the image of eastern Australia in Britain and made Victoria, in particular, a magnet for immigrants who were prepared to pay their own fares to participate in the action.

Self-Funded Immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria 1851-1861

The effects of the discovery of large deposits of alluvial gold in Victoria in the second half of 1851 can be clearly discerned in Table 7.1. By 1851 Victoria was already attracting almost twice as many immigrants as New South Wales, and significantly, two and a half times the number of unassisted immigrants. In September 1851 news of the gold discoveries in New South Wales reached the British Isles and in January 1852 people in the United Kingdom learned of the goldfields in Victoria. Initially men already in the colonies were able to benefit

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from being on the spot to make the most of the early surface pickings and rushed from one gold field to the next with each fresh discovery. The lure to people in Britain was as strong as it was to colonists, and on hearing of the substantial finds of gold, a great rush of immigrants came out to Victoria and a smaller number to New South Wales.

Table 7.1 British and Irish Immigrant to New South Wales and Victoria 1851-1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>NSW Total</th>
<th>NSW Assisted</th>
<th>NSW Unassisted</th>
<th>Victoria Total</th>
<th>Victoria Assisted</th>
<th>Victoria Unassisted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>2,327</td>
<td>1,571</td>
<td>756</td>
<td>2,553</td>
<td>1,778</td>
<td>41.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-54</td>
<td>27,999</td>
<td>18,170</td>
<td>9,829</td>
<td>46,373</td>
<td>94,213</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1855-58</td>
<td>39,256</td>
<td>32,491</td>
<td>6,765</td>
<td>113,992</td>
<td>79,840</td>
<td>70.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1859-61</td>
<td>11,791</td>
<td>8,966</td>
<td>2,825</td>
<td>7,569</td>
<td>33,820</td>
<td>81.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>81,373</td>
<td>61,198</td>
<td>20,175</td>
<td>300,298</td>
<td>209,651</td>
<td>69.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Calculated from Robin Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, Appendices 1 & 2, 261-264.

The increase in fare-paying immigrants to New South Wales to nearly ten thousand between 1852 and 1854 was a significant advance on the 746 arrivals in 1851, but was dwarfed by the massive influx of ninety four thousand people into Victoria in the same period. Although 1852-1854 marked the high period of alluvial mining and the peak in immigrant numbers, self-funded immigrants continued to come into Victoria in large numbers for the rest of the century. As in the earlier period, the home country of self-funded immigrants was not recorded on lists of arrivals, but the censuses of 1851 to 1861 did report country of birth.

Males born in England outnumbered males born in the other countries of the United Kingdom in both New South Wales and Victoria. For summary purposes I have combined the figures for English and Welsh, but the number of Welsh to both colonies in this period was low. In New South Wales in 1851 there were some two thousand more Irish-born females than English, but by 1856 the numbers had reversed, with two thousand more English females than Irish. Almost certainly this

change was due to the application of selection priorities for English female assisted immigrants, a preference demonstrated by 1861 when there were thirty thousand more English-born women than Irish women counted in the census.

7.2 Birthplaces of the New South Wales and Victorian Population 1851-1857

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Australia</th>
<th>England &amp; Wales</th>
<th>Scotland</th>
<th>Ireland</th>
<th>Other</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>39,691</td>
<td>32,876</td>
<td>5,947</td>
<td>19,237</td>
<td>2,466</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>39,853</td>
<td>15,593</td>
<td>4,167</td>
<td>17,483</td>
<td>1,355</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>10,452</td>
<td>19,983</td>
<td>5,134</td>
<td>7,714</td>
<td>2,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>10,018</td>
<td>9,302</td>
<td>2,919</td>
<td>6,904</td>
<td>2,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>m &amp; f</td>
<td>41,233</td>
<td>100,269</td>
<td>36,044</td>
<td>39,728</td>
<td>19,524</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NSW</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>54,658</td>
<td>44,175</td>
<td>8,593</td>
<td>22,212</td>
<td>7,074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>54,638</td>
<td>25,077</td>
<td>6,106</td>
<td>23,895</td>
<td>2,854</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Victoria</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>43,478</td>
<td>101,318</td>
<td>33,794</td>
<td>35,152</td>
<td>50,592</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>f</td>
<td>41,403</td>
<td>50,386</td>
<td>19,405</td>
<td>29,440</td>
<td>5,798</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Australians: Historical Statistics, IEO 68-74, 10.

In New South Wales by 1851 colonial-born males of European stock outnumbered the English-born, but not the total of all male immigrants born in the British Isles. This trend continued with the male immigrants from the British Isles outnumbering native born males at the 1856 census. At both these censuses English-born males outnumbered males from the other countries of the British Isles and came in greater numbers during the early period of the gold rush, increasing their lead over the Irish from a third more in 1851 to double the number of Irish males in 1856.
### 7.3 Birthplaces and Sex Ratios, NSW & Victoria 1861

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Birthplace</th>
<th>NSW</th>
<th>Victoria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Australia</td>
<td>164,727</td>
<td>157,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio*</td>
<td>100.1</td>
<td>102.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England</td>
<td>84,299</td>
<td>171,994</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wales</td>
<td>1,379</td>
<td>6,146</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>18,254</td>
<td>61,584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>54,979</td>
<td>88,492</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>158,911</td>
<td>328,216</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio*</td>
<td>140.9</td>
<td>158.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other British</td>
<td>4,212</td>
<td>5,514</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colonies</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio*</td>
<td>169.7</td>
<td>276.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Europe, American etc.</td>
<td>9,990</td>
<td>22,669</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio*</td>
<td>300.2</td>
<td>354.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>13,020</td>
<td>25,092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio*</td>
<td>4,339.0</td>
<td>2,787.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>350,860</td>
<td>538,628</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex Ratio*</td>
<td>130.3</td>
<td>155.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: *Australians: Historical Statistics*, IEO 82-89, 11.

Table 7.3 shows the preponderance in 1861 of males over females among the English and Scots immigrants, but not the Irish, an imbalance which continued for many years. Sex ratios in Victoria and New South Wales in 1861, measuring the numbers of males to every hundred females among those born in the British Isles, were 140.9 and 158.4 respectively. In Victoria in 1854 the preponderance of men on the goldfields shows in the wide discrepancy between sex ratios in Melbourne at 144.5 and on the goldfields at 371.3. By 1857 the gap had reduced somewhat to 124.5 in Melbourne and 232.2 on the goldfields. In New South Wales in 1856 the sex ratio for Sydney and suburbs was 96.3 and 132.9 for the rest of the colony, not including the area which would become Queensland at the end of the decade. These sex ratio figures although high, make an interesting comparison with those of gold

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rush California, a frontier of U.S. imperialism only just annexed from Mexico and with no prior history of family or female immigration. In 1850 in California the ratio of males to females was 1,200, dropping to 256 in 1860 and 138 by 1890.\textsuperscript{14} By 1901 when New South Wales was attracting more migrants born in other parts of Australia than Victoria, but still had lower rates of immigration from the British Isles, the sex ratio for British immigrants in New South Wales was 137.1, whereas the Victorian ratio for British immigrants had declined to 110.9. Unlike the sex ratio, the age profile of the unassisted immigrants was similar to that of the assisted immigrants with a majority of the adults being between twenty and forty years old.

What, if anything, is the significance of the population differences between Victoria and New South Wales beginning in the 1850s and continuing through the rest of the century? Obviously, the most notable factor is the much stronger growth of the Victorian population through immigration rather than natural increase; this began before the gold discoveries, but took flight afterwards from 77,345 in 1851 to 538,628 in 1861 and continuing to the end of the century.\textsuperscript{15} This rapid growth of population and its attendant economic, social and political effects ranks Victoria and its capital city, Melbourne, alongside other nineteenth century instant growth regions and cities in areas of recent Euro-American settlement.\textsuperscript{16} In 1861 the differing ratios of country of origin of the Victorian and New South Wales populations related to New South Wales’s longer establishment, with Australian-born at forty-seven percent, compared with thirty percent Australian-born in Victoria. Among the majority of immigrants born in the British Isles in Victoria in 1861 thirty two percent were English-born, compared with twenty four percent English-born in New South Wales. The percentage of-Irish born was similar in both colonies at around sixteen

\textsuperscript{15} Ibid; Haines, \textit{Emigration and the Labouring Poor}, Appendix 1, 263.  
percent. In 1861 Scots made up eleven and a half percent of the Victorian population, but only just over five percent of the New South Wales population.

The lesser attraction of New South Wales for those seeking instant wealth kept its unassisted immigrant numbers well below those of Victoria in the 1850s and later, but between 1891 and 1901 the New South Wales population drew ahead of that of Victoria. Single men among the immigrants attracted to gold mining were highly mobile and were prone to move on to new fields in other parts of Australia and New Zealand, or to the Americas, and many returned to Britain, after a time roughing it in the colonies. Single men who remained in Victoria unmarried were not producing families, thus not replacing themselves and augmenting the population through natural increase.

7.4 Male and Female Population, NSW & Victoria 1851-1901

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Census Year</th>
<th>NSW Males</th>
<th>NSW Females</th>
<th>Victoria Males</th>
<th>Victoria Females</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1851</td>
<td>100,217</td>
<td>78,451</td>
<td>46,202</td>
<td>31,143</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>155,876</td>
<td>80,900</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1856</td>
<td>136,712</td>
<td>112,570</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1857</td>
<td>263,182</td>
<td></td>
<td>145,816</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861</td>
<td>198,488</td>
<td>327,605</td>
<td>152,372</td>
<td>211,023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>274,842</td>
<td>329,932</td>
<td>228,156</td>
<td>329,932</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>410,211</td>
<td>409,943</td>
<td>339,614</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>608,008</td>
<td>541,751</td>
<td>515,951</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901</td>
<td>710,005</td>
<td>597,350</td>
<td>644,841</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


It is difficult to prove anything significant about the contribution of nationality to the aspirations, skills and action of the immigrants who came to Victoria in the 1850s and later, compared with those who came to New South Wales in the same period. Geoffrey Serle, the historian of Victoria’s gold rush period, acknowledged this in his conclusion noting, ‘in broad essentials – national origin and

religion – the Victorians of 1861 were similar to the other Australian colonists; the large Chinese minority was the major variation.\textsuperscript{18} He decided that the immigrants to Victoria might have been more like those to South Australia, than those to New South Wales, because of the shadow of Madgwick’s flawed assessment of the quality of the assisted immigrants to New South Wales. Serle rightly cautioned against placing too much credence on the interpretations which have valorized the Victorian gold rush immigrants and denigrated the assisted immigrants to New South Wales. My research and analysis of both the New South Wales and Victorian assisted immigrants over the period 1837 to 1861, as discussed in Chapters Five and Six, indicates that there was no significant difference between them in terms of skills or origins. This bears out Serle’s assessment of the higher degree of literacy of the immigrants to Victoria than the average of the people they had left behind in Britain. I have found this also to be the case for the assisted immigrants to New South Wales. I have disproved the allegations that the assisted immigrants in the period up to 1851 were predominantly drawn from paupers: they possessed a range of the skills in demand and came from social origins similar to the assisted immigrants to both Victoria and New South Wales in the 1850s.

Similarly, I have found that the middle class professionals, men of capital and skilled artisans, who had emigrated in families or as single people to New South Wales between 1820 and 1850, were overwhelmingly drawn by the prospect of more rapid prosperity in the colony than they believed they could achieve in Britain. Like the unassisted immigrants to Victoria during the gold rush, the middle class immigrants to New South Wales, before and after 1851, were seeking material gain for themselves and their families. It may be true that more of them came out intending to stay than the gold seekers in Victoria, but many of them also thought they might eventually return to Britain; a number did, but more settled and lived out the rest of their lives in the colonies. It is possible that the significantly higher

\textsuperscript{18} Serle, \textit{The Golden Age}, 371-381.
proportion and number of self-funded immigrants to Victoria gave it a population more inclined to risk-taking than among the immigrants to New South Wales. However, emigration to the other side of the world at that time was not a venture for the faint-hearted. Without information to the contrary, we should view the majority of immigrants to both colonies as possessing above average initiative and a willingness to take action, in the belief they could improve their material prospects.

There may have been differences in the societies that developed in Victoria and New South Wales as a result of the huge population influx into Victoria. The Victorian immigrants, like those to New South Wales, were overwhelmingly bearers of contemporary British and Irish culture and values. It could be that local colonial social and environmental factors may have led to differing responses in New South Wales and Victoria, but we will need to carry out more comparative research on both societies in the second half of the nineteenth century before we can confidently make this assertion. The sheer intensity of so many people competing to make money and to develop their careers in an initially underdeveloped colony must have had a significant impact on the immigrants to Victoria in the 1850s and later. The different spatial distribution in Victoria to that in New South Wales, with a higher proportion of people outside the metropolitan area and with many more inland towns at key gold field sites, may also have created opportunities for differing cultural trajectories in the two colonies. The remarkable growth of Melbourne and its society may also have contributed to differences to the society in Sydney and to the values of the inhabitants in both places. The different sizes of the economies of the two colonies from 1852 onwards also had potential to create differences in the culture and business activity in each region.

The longer period of development of the colony of New South Wales and its slower growth may have more firmly entrenched a conservative, backward-looking elite in influential positions in both government and society, making that colony less
open to the drives and influences operating in the southern colony. However, Serle in 1963 rightly drew attention to ‘the difficulty of making satisfactory generalizations about the largely isolated Australian colonies in the nineteenth century’.\(^\text{19}\) He also saw in Victoria contradictory qualities of modernity and a more class ridden society than in New South Wales.\(^\text{20}\) Both elements and many other values of nineteenth century Britain were present in the cultural baggage of the immigrants to all of the Australian colonies. The people who came into the colonies in the years up to 1861 died at various times, but many of them and their children would contribute to the formation of the colonial societies up to and past the time of federation in 1901, augmented by further waves of British immigrants.

**Gold-Seeking Immigrants 1852-1861**

‘It is very likely I shall be off shortly to a new rush. I think there is a nugget for me somewhere.’\(^\text{21}\) Andrew Clunie’s optimism in 1861 about his likely future success at the diggings indicates the hold of the lure of gold had for many men in mid-century eastern Australia. He was born in London in 1818, probably to Scottish parents, and had been in New South Wales since 1856, without significant success at the diggings or from a range of other jobs he had undertaken between trips to various goldfields.\(^\text{22}\) His career in Australia as a single man was typical of the restlessness engendered by the lure of gold and a desire to work for himself. He acknowledged that, ‘I am as unsettled as ever nobody seems to settle in this country, it is an unsettled place altogether’.\(^\text{23}\) On his way to the goldfields, he worked in Goulburn for a few months for an employer and on his own account for a year making boots in the New South Wales southern highlands. He complained about his employer in Goulburn noting, ‘the employers are such a Scrubby set, there are no gentlefolks here as at home, all

\(^{19}\) Serle, *The Golden Age*, 379
\(^{20}\) Ibid., 380-381.
\(^{21}\) 1 May 1861, Clunie family, Letters from Andrew Clunie, 1856-1865, ML MSS 7263.
\(^{22}\) 16 June 1856, ibid.; FamilySearch, Individual Record, Wells Street Scotch Church, London;
\(^{23}\) 2 Nov. 1857, Letters from Andrew Clunie.
sprung from the raff". Conversely, he was pleased when he was working for himself:

I am now living on the main road to Port Phillip 94 miles from Sydney...a shipmate...told me that if I went to Sydney and got some tools I might knock out a first rate living. I did so but did nothing very grand but things are looking up now...I am principally making boots but I will not bind myself to remain anywhere...I am my own Master and doing well. If poor Sarah was alive I could be happy, but I get tired of living by myself. I walked 400 miles before settling here I was so sick of tramping I thought I would take a spell for a time but now I want to be on the move again.25

In mid 1858 he finally ventured to the gold diggings at Adelong in the Snowy Mountains, where he mined for about eighteen months, and then moved to south Gundagai so that he could respond quickly to news of the discovery of new gold fields.26 He worked at various jobs in Gundagai, including running a ferry on the river, again as an employee, and then later trading on his own account. He appears to have been making an adequate but unspectacular living and was able to remit cheques for five pounds to his sister and mother on several occasions.27 He spent nine weeks at the Lambing Flat diggings in 1861, but after that confined his efforts to working in Gundagai. In March 1864 he admitted, 'I trade for myself and earn a bare subsistence'.28 At the end of 1864, he gave up his battle to make money in the colony and decided to return to England, defeated by unemployment and bad seasons, telling his sister, 'it is my fixed determination to come and if possible remain but we will talk that over by and by...I leave this colony without regret'.29 In April 1865 he wrote his last letter from Melbourne informing his sister of the ship on which he had booked his return passage and its sailing date. Because he had been

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24 16 Jun. 1856, ibid.
25 22 Mar. 1857, ibid.
27 1 Nov. 1860-17 Mar. 1864
28 17 Mar. 1864, ibid.
29 16 Nov. 1864, ibid.
away for so long, he enclosed a photograph of himself so that she could 'see what kind of a being to look for...' at the London docks.  

He did not make a fortune in his nearly ten years away from England, but was able to afford a berth, presumably in steerage, on a fast clipper which had come out to Port Phillip in sixty-nine days and which he hoped would return in a similar time. It is probable that he had managed to save some money to take back, as he had been determined not to return until he had something to set himself up in London. He took some months to sell up and settle his affairs after he had made up his mind to leave the colony. He had not been attracted to the women he had encountered in the colony, for in 1862 had told his sister that he would come back to England to find a wife. He obviously felt sufficiently secure financially after his return to England to venture into matrimony, for in 1867 he married Sarah Ann Sibthorpe in Chelsea parish church.

Clunie's story is one of thousands of individual stories of the experience of alluvial gold mining in eastern Australia in the 1850s and early 1860s. His restlessness is typical of one pattern of the experience of a single male immigrant. Although individual males and females and families each had their own responses and reactions to gold in eastern Australia, it is possible to discern various patterns of behaviour among the immigrants from England drawn by the lure of gold. Malcolm J. Rohrbough has found this among the migrants participating in the Californian rush. Similar themes emerge in the reactions of the gold rush immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria. In the following sections I will examine the responses of English immigrants drawn to the Australian goldfields in the 1850s, through a cross-

30 25 Apr. 1865, ibid.
31 2 Nov. 1857; 17 Mar. 1864; 16 Nov. 1864; 25 Apr. 1865, ibid.
32 17 Jan. 1862, ibid.
34 Rohrbough, Days of Gold.
section of their surviving correspondence and diaries. It should be noted that the increased numbers of immigrants to eastern Australia and the excitement and anticipation of instant wealth has resulted in the accumulation of many more sequences of letters and journals from the 1850s than in the previous decades of settlement.

**Motivations of the Gold Rush Immigrants 1852-1860**

A major attraction of the alluvial goldfields for men was the lure of instant wealth. The lottery of wresting riches from the ground spurred the initial rushes within the colonies and relayed stories of luck and ready success back to Britain, propelling the huge increase in immigration from 1852 onwards. From a few men seeking gold north of Bathurst in early May 1851 about a thousand were digging by the end of the month. The reports of substantial finds spurred the influx of immigrants and kept many men chasing their elusive fortunes for years. Reports of men making more money in a few days than they had working in labouring jobs in the previous year acted as the catalyst. The optimistic side of human nature inspired immigrants seeking gold to ignore tales about the unsuccessful and to concentrate on their own potential golden futures.

An early measured account of the initial rushes to the Bathurst district was provided by John Allport, a young merchant in Sydney. He wrote to his grandfather in England in late June 1851 about the gold discoveries near Bathurst. By that time newspapers were estimating that there were two to three thousand men at the Bathurst diggings. Allport provided his grandfather with a cautiously balanced assessment of the situation, whereby many had returned immediately, repelled by the difficult terrain, the winter weather, the rough living conditions and the back-breaking work. He noted at this early stage, when the surface gold was reasonably

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36 John Allport to Grandfather 27 Jun. 1851, Allport family, Papers, ML Aa 31.
easy to find that, ‘the latest and most authentic accounts, estimate that 800 people are making about 20/- per diem. 600 about 3/- to 5/- and another 600 doing scarce anything’. However, he went on to describe some of the larger finds and noted that several male members of their family and some of their friends had gone up to the goldfields, not to dig but to capitalise on the opportunities of leasing land to gold diggers. Allport himself was not tempted to follow them because his mercantile career was developing nicely and he anticipated a rise in salary from seventy five to one hundred pounds per annum within the next few months.

The news of the gold finds in Victoria triggered considerably more excitement than the Bathurst discoveries. Intending immigrant diggers paid little attention to balanced accounts like Allport’s, but were attracted by the stories of overnight wealth, like James Hodgson’s good luck story from Melbourne in April 1852. He noted, ‘well, of course, the news had not been long authenticated before there was a general rush of gentle and simple, rich and poor, up to the mines, in fact, everybody went who could go, and so did your humble servant’. Hodgson described how he had been able to turn around losses he had made in grazing into considerable profits of several hundred pounds in a short session at the Ballarat diggings. Accounts like this and reports in newspapers in the colonies and in Britain fuelled the emigration to eastern Australia in the 1850s.

Money, the cost of living, and anxiety to make money to support themselves, their parents or their families was a constant theme in the letters of the English working class gold rush immigrants to eastern Australia. In March 1853 John Brown, a sailor, wrote from Plymouth to his parents in Chester that he had arranged for his employer to remit two pounds per month of his wages directly to them while he was

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39 Serle, The Golden Age, 37-65; Pickering, ”The Finger of God”. 
on a voyage to Melbourne. He noted that 'I ham a great deal easyer in my mind since now I know that you will not want till I come back which I hope Jim and me will be back together'. However the temptations of the gold fields were too much for him when his ship docked in Port Phillip Bay. He justified leaving his ship because of disagreements with the boatswain and the captain, but gold was his motivation for deserting ship, along with most of his fellow shipmates. He remained in the colonies, moving between one goldfield and the next, from Victoria to New Zealand and then Queensland until 1876 when he moved to Sydney in 1876.

Peter Matthews from near Redruth, Cornwall, an experienced miner, did not need to tell his brothers and sisters of his reasons for migrating to the Victorian goldfields in 1853, for they would have been involved in his decision to emigrate. In 1854 he was able to send them twelve pounds to pay off debts he had left outstanding, with the balance to be given to his sister, Ann. He was certain that coming out to the Victorian diggings was the right thing to have done, telling them, 'as regards my gitting on, it is not very much yet, but a great deal better then I could do at home. I have saved something more than £20 per month'.

For many men, the hope of earning money quickly was coupled with a desire for independence, being their own master and not having to work for an employer. Michael Hilton and his wife, Mary Ann, arrived in Melbourne in November 1853 from Bolton, Lancashire. They were the first of their extended family to emigrate to Victoria and were to be followed by several others over the next few years. In his first letters home, Michael Hilton noted that he had been doing quite well in

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40 3 March [1853], John Brown, Letters 1849-84, Chester Record Office, AJCP M 848.
41 2 Aug. 1853, ibid.
42 Letters and papers 1853-1907, ibid.
43 Letters 27 Feb. 1853, 15 Jan. 1854, Peter Matthews, Correspondence, ML Ag 90/4.
44 15 Jan. 1854, ibid.
45 PROV, Index of Inward Passenger Lists for British and Foreign Ports, Sovereign of the Seas, Nov. 1853.
England, but that he expected to achieve more in Victoria. He indicated that a major motive of many of their fellow immigrants, and indirectly himself, was that 'all say they can get a living and be their own master'.\(^{46}\) Initially, Michael Hilton and his wife settled in Melbourne, where he worked as a joiner with some fellow passengers building a house and a warehouse. In addition, before they moved to the diggings, he sold goods they had brought out as an investment, making a profit of twenty five pounds.\(^{47}\)

As Owen Morgan told the Victorian Select Committee on Immigration in August 1852, it was a common pattern for families to put themselves up in Melbourne on leaving the ship to make some money, before moving on to try their luck at the goldfields.\(^{48}\) Morgan ran an employment agency in Melbourne and his evidence indicates how most immigrants, both single men and families, were able to fend for themselves and avoid offering themselves as employees. If they did approach Morgan they would not engage for longer than a week or at most a month, to enable them to leave employment when they were ready to move to the diggings. Morgan noted, '[a] very great number of families have lately arrived from England, but I do not know what has become of them, as they never come near me'.\(^{49}\) Morgan's experience is borne out by the statistics of the small proportion of the arrivals in 1852 who needed to be accommodated in the hastily provided government and charity shelters in Melbourne, despite the huge strain put on the town's infrastructure by the massive increase in immigrants.\(^{50}\)


\(^{47}\) 18 Jan. 1854, 10 Apr. 1854, 21 Jan. 1855, ibid.


\(^{49}\) Ibid.

Charles Foreman and his wife, Jane, came out to Melbourne from Kent, two years later than the Hiltons, into an employment market saturated with recent immigrants, but he managed to find a job in Melbourne before setting out for the diggings.\footnote{7 Sep. 1855, Charles and Jane Foreman, Letters 1855-1856, UMA 77 91.} During several years of indifferent success in mining for gold Foreman was encouraged by the possibilities he saw in the colony. In March 1856, from the Mount Egerton diggings, he reported, ‘I must say this is the country for a working man and can say it was the best step I ever took even if I do not meet with a pile on the diggings I am certain of getting a remunerative price for my labour as a Journeyman or labourer and when I get it am not cald upon for taxes as in England.’\footnote{9 Mar. 1856, ibid.} After five years of mining, the Foremans turned to running a store at Mount Egerton reinforced by investments in rural land and a gold mine, making a comfortable income for themselves and their growing family. In August 1863, Charles Foreman summarised his thoughts about their decision to emigrate:

Many thoughts flash across my mind of my Boyhood and old acquaintance which almost makes me ask myself why I left my native Land and Home. A step I never shall regret because I thought and still think a man has far better chances here than in England if I had remained in England more likely I should have been a Workman all my days.\footnote{24 Aug. [1863], ibid.}

For middle and upper class men attracted to emigrate to the Australian gold diggings in the 1850s the prospect of adventure, independence and loosening of family ties and social constraints must have been a considerable attraction. Naturally, they were not likely to air such motives in letters to parents, siblings and friends. Some hints of the excitement of the adventure of a voyage to the colonies and a trip to the diggings show up in the reports of these men who ventured up country, but shuddered with distaste at the work and the society there. Others obviously enjoyed the life at the diggings, at least for a time, until they realised that they could earn
more money pursuing an occupation, for which they were better suited and from which they could earn more money than in gold digging. However, the primitive, over-stretched state of Melbourne in the first half of the 1850s was not the place for middle and upper class men, lacking entrepreneurial skills, to find congenial employment.54

William Cussons Nawton travelled out to Victoria in the *Wandsworth*, leaving Plymouth in September 1852 and arriving in Melbourne in early January 1853. In his shipboard diary he commented on the mixed group of passengers attracted to the prospects of gold:

We have every grade of passenger from high to low. The Greater number however being respect[able] middle class people – amongst the rest were a number of young men, decidedly ranking among the Upper Classes – number 20 Mess contained 6 to 7 fine young fellows – several of Cambridge education – who have never earned a penny in their lives – but have no doubt done justice to their Parents’ liberality – Several other messes contd sprigs of farmer aristocracy – who have hitherto spent their days in shooting riding – fishing and going to the weekly market.55

Nawton and his party walked up to the Fryers Creek diggings, but only lasted there a month, ‘having satisfied ourselves that Gold digging was not our proper vocation’. He and several of his friends came back to Melbourne where they believed they could find, ‘something more lucrative’, but some of their companions had remained at the diggings.56 Nawton found the society in Melbourne ‘meagre’ and the colonists rough. He could not advise a friend to come out to the colony: ‘I fear he has far too much sensitiveness and born gentility to stand the brunt of the hard mouthed, coarse colonists, he would have to cope with’. Obviously, Nawton was unable to find employment suited to his own sensibility. He noted in his diary that if his friend

56 1 Feb. 1853, ibid.
came out to Melbourne he would have to take on demeaning work, which he was employing others to do for him in England, clearly indicating Nawton's own disillusion with and distaste for colonial life.

Edward and Benjamin Towle, well educated young men from Derbyshire, were made of sterner fibre than Nawton. They arrived in Melbourne on the Great Britain in November 1852 with plans for Benjamin to invest his capital in sheep farming and Edward to go to the gold fields. The grazing opportunity fell through and they both went with companions from their ship to the diggings at Creswick Creek. In March 1853 they travelled back to Geelong and cashed up their gold for sixty three pounds for just over three months' work and were anticipating making another hundred pounds from a new claim. Despite first-hand experience of the heavy labour involved, they were returning to spend the winter at the diggings, because they could see no other equally lucrative prospects. Similarly, James Selby from London, a qualified medical practitioner, who arrived in Melbourne on the Ballarat in November 1852, persisted at the gold diggings for just under two years, despite little real profit from his time seeking gold. He worked in a team as a digger and practised medicine at various gold fields in central Victoria from December 1852 to the end of September 1854, when he finally gave up the search for gold. On 4 October 1854 he rented a house in South Yarra and commenced full-time medical practice. The persistence of these middle class men for more than a few months at the diggings indicates the hold the prospect of making a fortune could have, despite the rough conditions, hard work and lack of success.

57 Towle family, Papers 1852-58, AJCP M 2345; FamilySearch Index, Breaston, Derby., England, b. 1816 & 1818; PROV, Unassisted Immigration to Victoria, Index to Passenger Lists, 1852, Great Britain.
58 Letter, 2 Mar. 1853, Towle family, Papers 1852-58.
59 James Selby, Diary and Papers, LTL MS 9866; PROV, Unassisted Immigration to Victoria, Index of Inward Passenger Lists, 1852, Ballarat; MRCS England 1839, LSA 1840, Australian Medical Pioneers Index.
Among the middle class men attracted to the goldfields there were established writers and artists who saw in gold a chance to improve their precarious finances. William Howitt, a professional author, was at the centre of a network of writers and artists attracted to the Victorian goldfields in the early 1850s. Howitt and his wife had a long-established writing partnership, but the family funds were in a bad state after the failure of their magazine, *Howitt's Journal*, in the late 1840s. Howitt, aged sixty, and his two adult sons, Alfred and Herbert Charlton, arriving in Victoria in September 1852. They were accompanied by Richard Horne, also an author, who took up employment with a private gold escort and later as an assistant gold commissioner, rather than digging for gold. The Howitts already had relatives in Victoria, for William's brother, Dr Godfrey Howitt, had settled in Melbourne in 1840 and was established as a medical practitioner. William Howitt and his sons stayed on the Victorian goldfields for two years with little success, but the experience provided William with invaluable background for several books on Australia. Similarly, other writers unsuccessful at the diggings, such as Henry Kingsley and Horace Wheelwright, were able to turn their Australian adventures into books. William and Herbert Charlton returned to London in 1854, but Alfred Howitt remained in the colony, becoming a noted bushman and ethnographer of the Australian Aborigines. Horne stayed in the colony until 1869, when he returned to England.

In October 1852 the Howitts were followed into Melbourne by three young single men of their acquaintance, artists Edward La Trobe Bateman, Bernhard Smith and Thomas Woolner. Bateman, who was at that time engaged to Anna Mary

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61 ADB, vol. 4, 424; DNB, vol. 9, 1252
Howitt, decided to follow her father and brothers to the Victorian goldfields and persuaded his friends to accompany him. Woolner and Smith were both founding members of the Pre-Raphaelite brotherhood, whose members included the Rosetti brothers and Holman Hunt. Smith and Woolner worked together at various diggings with limited success and Bateman joined up with the Howitts. After six months Woolner abandoned the hunt for gold and set up in Melbourne, turning instead to his sculpture to make money and returned to England in 1854. Smith remained in Victoria, employed in various government posts, practising his painting in isolation from the influences on other colonial painters, developing a style similar to surrealism. Bateman employed his artistic skills in a number of practical commissions, designing objects from gardens to books. He returned to England in 1867, after he had seriously injured his right hand in a buggy accident.

The attraction of the goldfields for older married men, as well as young single men among artists and writers suggests the lure of the prospects of instant wealth for middle class men in the uncertainties of mid nineteenth century England. Inevitably they moved fairly quickly from seeking gold, but were able to transmute their experience into art or turn their skills at art into commissions and sales. George Rowe was another married man and artist attracted to the Victorian goldfields in 1853 after a severe financial set-back in England.64 He was fifty seven when he arrived, following his son, George Curtis Rowe, who had arrived in the colony in November 1852.65 They were joined by two more of his sons in 1854, Sandford and Thomas, aged fourteen and sixteen respectively. George Rowe turned from digging gold to trying unsuccessfully to run a store at the Long Gully diggings, Bendigo, but he made his money through sales of his paintings of the Bendigo and Castlemaine

64 ADB, vol. 6, 66-67.
65 Arrival of George Curtis Rowe, Blorengen, Nov. 1852; arrival of T.G. Rowe, Albus, Apr. 1853; arrival of Sandford and Thomas Rowe, Miltiades, Apr. 1854, PROV, Unassisted Immigration to Victoria.
fields. He returned to England in 1858 to re-establish himself in his home town of Exeter.

**Partnerships and Allegiances of Gold Rush Immigrants**

The quest for independence, as well as wealth, did not prevent the gold-seeking immigrants from forming formal and informal partnerships. These groups provided security on the road to the diggings and a team to work on a claim once there. In the early years, the gold rush immigrants formed groups among fellow passengers on the ship which brought them to the colony. This was a natural thing to do, giving each man an opportunity to assess potential partners on the long sea voyage. Many letters and diaries mention in some detail the formation of the group, name the partners and give details on the trip to the diggings and the later success or failure of the group. Most report on the break up of the initial group as disagreements arose over many matters, from where to dig, to the contribution each man was making, and particularly, to personality clashes.

James Selby with his younger kinsman, William Selby, travelled together, as did brothers Edward and Benjamin Towle, both sets of men arriving in Melbourne on different ships in November 1852. The Selbys joined a group of seven other men for the trip to the diggings in early December 1852 and overtook another party of their former passengers along the road. Their partnership of nine men began working together at the Castlemaine diggings, but was short-lived. By 20 December the group had began to break down, when one of the members was asked to withdraw and on 11 January 1853 the partnership was dissolved. Similarly, Edward Towle wrote proudly to his sister of the splendid party he was assembling among the passengers on the *Great Britain*. Disillusion quickly set in, with dissension over work, funds

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66 *ADB*, vol. 6, 66-67.
68 11 Nov. 1852, Towle family, Papers 1852-58, AJCP M 2345.
and personalities. By early March 1853 Edward and his brother had decided to sever their connections with the few remaining members of the original group and to work at the diggings together without other partners.\(^{69}\)

People who immigrated as a whole family, with adult single children, younger children and their parents, or in a chain migration of an extended family, were better able to support one another, than partnerships of relative strangers. Typically in the 1850s, some members of the family tried their luck at the diggings, while others provided a base in a town or on the land, for a more steady accumulation of income. The Daniel family left England for Melbourne in late September 1851, just as the news of the finds of gold in New South Wales was reaching Britain.\(^{70}\) By the time they reached Melbourne gold fever had broken out. They were met at the dock by two male family members already in the colony, who made an incongruous sight, a metaphor of the contrasting cultures and opportunities for making money. Frank was in gold digging clothes, with the obligatory full beard and whiskers, and Henry was in white trousers and a black coat, ‘quite a swell’.\(^{71}\)

The Daniels were emigrating as a family group with their mother and several of her children, including James Daniel, a young man, whose diary and letters to his brother in London provide a clear picture of the setting up of a middle class family in Victoria in the chaotic early days of the gold rushes. Their mother and the younger children were settled on a hundred acres at Deep Creek, sixteen miles from Melbourne, and the adult sons tried a variety of jobs, buying and selling merchandise, working as clerks, gold digging and carting goods to the gold fields. In May 1853 James Daniel informed his brother that he had made fifty pounds in three months but that, ‘the grubbery disturbs my equilibrium - to a labouring man this

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\(^{69}\) 2 Mar. 1853, ibid.

\(^{70}\) 3 Mar. 1852, Daniel family, Papers, LTL MS 10222.

\(^{71}\) Ibid.
place is indeed a fortune'. In May 1853 he turned to running an inn at Sunbury, on the road between Melbourne and the central Victorian goldfields.

The Daniels were an example of an extended family, emigrating in the early days of the gold rushes, with family members in the colony helping them over the difficult period of adjustment in the infant society. Later in the decade it became more common for single men, or families arriving to seek gold, to be joining friends and family who already had experience on the gold fields. Families, such as the Hiltons from Bolton, Lancashire and the Foremans from Cranbrook, Kent, joined relatives and friends who paved the way for them. This did not necessarily guarantee success, nor family harmony, but nevertheless it could provide an emotional anchor in an unfamiliar situation.

Other Self-funded Immigrants Attracted to Eastern Australia 1851-1860
There was a strong belief among contemporaries and historians that a majority of males among the immigrants visited the gold fields and took part in some amount of digging in the gold rush decade, particularly in 1852 and 1853. This appears to have been more likely in Victoria than in New South Wales, because of the richness of the Victorian gold fields and because many of them were closer to points of arrival than the goldfields in New South Wales. However, there were those who came to view the spectacle of the goldfields and to report on the strange society springing up in Melbourne and on the diggings in both colonies, but not to take part in the search for gold. Some writers and artists saw the mania, the apparent overturning of social order and the chaotic life in boomtown Melbourne and on the diggings as subjects to fuel their muse and to provide sensational copy for the

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72 15 May 1853, ibid.
audience at home; others such as Patrick Thomas, Caroline and William Dexter and Frederick Terry found outlets for their craft in the growing colonial societies.  

Other unassisted immigrants came out to New South Wales and Victoria in the 1850s motivated by similar hopes and aspirations to those of the earlier waves of self-funded immigrants examined in Chapters Two and Three. Like them, they were seeking the promise of greater material success in their professions or on the land, than they believed they could achieve in England. More people also began to emigrate in the hope of improving their health in the antipodean climate. The idea of a cure in the Australian colonies was made more attractive to invalids because of the increasingly shortened voyage time on the fast ships competing on the run to Melbourne and Sydney. Michael Hilton thought that this was an unwarranted belief. In January 1854, writing to his father a couple of months after arrival, he asked him to pass on a message to a friend, 'tell him it is a mistaken notion about this climate curing consumption for there are a many that soon die after they arrive here'.  

Wealth, health, leaving personal problems behind or adventure, or all these ingredients, could figure in the reasons for emigration of self-funded immigrants to eastern Australia in the 1850s. Many immigrants who were not directly seeking gold would most likely have several motives propelling them to the colonies.

Men who emigrated to practise their professions in Victoria and New South Wales in the 1850s were undoubtedly attracted to the opportunities of booming economies and a vastly increased population, particularly in Victoria. However, they were following in the footsteps of those men who had come out to New South Wales from the 1820s to the early 1840s, and to Victoria from the late 1830s, and were largely from the same traditional gentlemenly professions as their predecessors.


Geoffrey Serle was right to point to the preponderance of Scots among the merchants and Irish among the lawyers in Victoria. Jarlath Ronayne in his study of the networks of Trinity College Dublin men in the Australian colonies, also has noted the predominance of lawyers, politicians and educators among these Irish middle class professional men.

I have analysed the men in professional occupations sufficiently prominent in the second half of the nineteenth century to have been awarded an entry in the Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB). Emigrants from all parts of the British Isles predominated in Victoria, as one would expect, given the size of its immigration in that decade. In New South Wales the effects of its earlier reception of professional families can be seen in the greater number of men who were either born in the colony or arrived with their families in the decades prior to the 1850s. Of the lawyers, more English-born legal men appear to have made Sydney, rather than Melbourne, their first port of call during the 1850s, before leaving for another colony; men such as Sir Lyttleton Holyoake Bayley who moved on to Melbourne and then to India, or Eyles Browne and Ratcliffe Pring, who each moved to Brisbane. In the notables in the ADB who arrived in the 1850s, Butler Cole Aspinall appears to be the only English lawyer to have gone direct to Melbourne. The dominance of the Irish in the legal profession and politics in Victoria was due to their numerical advantage over English immigrant lawyers, as well as to their intrinsic qualities. Among the English commercial immigrants to Sydney in the 1850s were William Cottee, originally from Essex and Shepherd Smith, from Durham, both of whom had London banking experience. Both men forged successful careers in banking and financial investment in New South Wales. English immigrants to Victoria in the

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78 Jarlath Ronayne, The Irish in Australia: Rogues and Reformers, First Fleet to Federation (Camberwell, Vic.: Viking, 2002).
1850s, such as Alfred Felton, Thomas Loader, Robert Murray Smith and Henry Gyles Turner were successful businessmen not tempted by the gold diggings.\textsuperscript{81}

Joseph Brown was attracted to the business of running a mining company on behalf of English investors. His time in Victoria was a short, deeply unhappy experience, after initial optimism. He was London-born and had learned his trade there through an apprenticeship with a merchant and later as an employee with the Levant Company.\textsuperscript{82} From 1826 to 1841 Brown had been based in Colombia, presumably as a mercantile agent. His next ten years are obscure, but writing to his sister, Ann Brown, from Melbourne after his arrival, he indicated a mixture of motives for his latest venture, including lack of employment prospects in England and some sort of personal or family problem:

\begin{quote}
I cannot speak much yet about prospects as our main work will not begin until the Miners arrive. I have not once regarded my coming out with regret because I really had no good position nor prospects in England & this feeling always haunted me as you well know – my situation also in the Lee Road was not quite what I liked & it was out of my power to remedy it without breaking up what I considered very properly & fairly my own Home - & latterly circumstances prevented it from being yours which was also somewhat strange – however here I now am & I must pray to providence to guide me.\textsuperscript{83}
\end{quote}

He provided no more information, but it is clear from his earlier letters to his sister that she had recently relocated from the Lee Road house to Gloucester Street, Kensington.\textsuperscript{84} There is no further hint of the problems behind her move and his decision to take the post in Melbourne with the newly floated English and Australian

\begin{footnotes}
\textsuperscript{81} ADB, vol. 4, 161-162; ADB, vol. 5, 97-98; ADB, vol. 6, 155-157, 311-313.
\textsuperscript{82} Catalogue entry, Joseph Brown Junior, Letters to Ann Brown (sister) from Joseph Brown in Melbourne 1852-1853, UMA 84 71.
\textsuperscript{83} 21 July 1852, ibid.
\textsuperscript{84} 5 Apr. 1852, 12 Jun. 1852, ibid.
\end{footnotes}
Copper Company. The company had been set up in London at the end of 1851 to mine and process copper at the Burra mines in South Australia and to purchase smelters in Cornwall. However, in January-February 1852 the directors of the English and Australian Copper Company, on hearing of the gold discoveries in Victoria, floated another company, the Port Phillip and Colonial Gold Mining Company, to carry out capital-intensive large-scale mining. Brown was appointed resident superintendent of the English and Australian Copper company and Evan Hopkins was appointed as a civil engineer representative of the gold mining company, but in effect they both concentrated their efforts on gold and were based in Melbourne. Brown, Hopkins and five other men had left England in February 1852, travelled by ship through the Mediterranean, trekked overland to Aden and ship to Singapore, from where after considerable delay, they found a vessel to take them to Melbourne. Brown, despite his long experience in South America and other travels, was quite unprepared for Melbourne in 1852 and 1853.

The initial management of the joint companies’ affairs in Melbourne was ineffectual, due to the chaotic state of the society, the high cost of living, the weakness of the colonial administration and the directors’ inadequate arrangements for credit for their initial activities. Their first party of eighty miners and their wives, sent out from Cornwall, broke up shortly after arrival. Hopkins was unable to persuade the local administration to allow them to lease land to carry out large-scale mining. The miners on arrival realised that their apparently generous contracts looked less desirable in the colonial conditions than they had in England. When a new manager with twenty years’ colonial experience, Rivett Henry Bland, was sent out by the London office, his actions were resented by Brown and Hopkins. After several years, the gold company did succeed under Bland’s direction, but by that

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time Brown had left Victoria. In March 1853 Brown told his sister, 'I consider my engagement very unpromising & likely not to be permanent at the Salary which I must insist upon receiving here to meet Expenses – I shall be very glad to return to England but must watch a good & plausible reason for doing so'. There is no hint in his last surviving letter that he had found the means to resign or that he had been recalled as a result of his representations on the affairs of the company to head office. It is likely he returned at the same time as Evan Hopkins, who was on a two year contract and who left Victoria in October 1853. Brown was back in London during 1854 and took up a post as a bank manager in South America, never to return to Australia after his unhappy experience in the early days of gold rush Victoria.

Some other immigrants in the 1850s had more positive reactions to the colonies, apparently settling into the colonial society quite readily. Land was still a prime attraction in the 1850s and would continue to be a hotly contested political issue in both Victoria and New South Wales, once the initial excitement of the gold rush had subsided. The Midgley family left England in June 1851, before the news of the gold finds in New South Wales had reached Britain. It is doubtful that this would have made any difference to their decision to emigrate to Victoria, because they made no attempt to search for gold once in the colony. They were seeking land

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90 18 May 1853, ibid.
and freedom to act as their consciences dictated without the interference of a landlord. John Midgley was a tenant farmer at Bardsey, Yorkshire, a few miles north east of Leeds. He and his wife and their nine children, ranging in age from four to twenty-two years old, emigrated to Victoria in search of land and independence. When they arrived in September 1851, they set themselves up in Melbourne, with the boys of working age immediately finding employment, while their father began the search for suitable land. In February 1852, John Midgley paid for one hundred and twenty acres of land near Koroit, one hundred and seventy five miles west of Melbourne. The family settled there in May 1852 and the boys left their jobs to work on the farm. This became the centre of their lives within the small, quiet rural community of which they became active members through church and friendships.

Edward Grainger and Edmund Biddulph Henning (known as Biddulph to his family) are two contrasting examples of middle class Englishmen drawn to take up land in colonial eastern Australia in the 1850s. Henning’s motive was primarily concern for his health and secondarily earning a living from the land. Grainger’s motive was to settle down after more than a decade as a sailor, a career he had been forced to take on as a fourteen year old when his father’s mercantile business failed, plunging their family from a comfortable middle class existence in London into insecurity and poverty. Both men started out on small farms in the Illawarra district of New South Wales. Later in the decade, Biddulph Henning, with inherited capital from an uncle, was able to purchase a large pastoral property in Queensland, while

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Grainger continued as a small farmer on various leased farms in the Illawarra and the southern Highlands.

Settling into the society for both Grainger and the Hennings was made easier by contacts they had with friends and relatives already in the colonies. Grainger had been apprenticed to the shippers Carter and Bonus and had sailed on voyages to north America and the Mediterranean, gradually working his way up to Chief Officer and gaining his master’s certificate in 1850. In 1852 he sailed to Sydney for the first time and then worked for a while in the coastal shipping trade, based on Sydney at first and then in Melbourne, before taking a posting on a ship back to England in 1853.97 Almost immediately back in London, Grainger engaged to come out as mate on a new steamer being fitted out for the eastern Australian coastal trade. He worked on the coastal ships and ferries on Sydney Harbour for the next four years. In 1857 he married and leased his first small farm at Albion Park in the Illawarra, near to his father-in-law’s farm. Edward Grainger’s correspondence with his mother and sisters in England and Germany and with his daughters, between 1852 and 1901, depicts a loving family involved in local affairs moving comfortably back into the middle class through quiet hard work and education of the children. After his fourteen years of sailing the world, Edward Grainger never left New South Wales again.

Biddulph Henning and his sister, Annie, travelled to Sydney on the S.S. Great Britain in the second half of 1853, leaving behind three sisters, Rachel and Amy, both single, and Henrietta, recently married to the Rev. T.W. Boyce.98 The Hennings were members of a west country gentry family whose wealth had disappeared in the years after the end of the Napoleonic Wars. Their father was a clergyman in a poor parish in Somerset and needed to supplement his meagre income by taking in pupils.

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The Hennings were dogged by serious illnesses affecting all members of their family. In the first half of the 1840s both parents died of consumption, the two youngest children died of scarlet fever and later in the decade the surviving siblings suffered from consumption and typhus.

In 1852 Biddulph haemorrhaged from the lung and had to leave his work in an uncle’s Manchester office. Rather than attempting to convalesce in England, Biddulph decided to sail to Australia. His sister, Annie, who had also shown signs of consumption, decided to accompany him. They almost certainly chose New South Wales because they had friends well-established in the colony. These friends were able to provide guidance and companionship for them on arrival and remained central to their network of acquaintances in the colony. The other two unmarried Henning sisters, Rachel and Amy, followed a year later. Biddulph, Annie and Amy had settled happily into colonial life, but Rachel found it more alien and returned to England in 1856. Despite enjoying her old haunts and companions, she found that she missed her Australian family and travelled back to Sydney in 1861. The Hennings, like so many other colonists from extended families, were emotionally torn between kin, friends and customs in England, and family, friends and their new lives in the colonies. Biddulph, in particular, adapted extremely well to the physical life of a farmer and pastoralist and Annie and Amy adjusted well to their colonial lifestyles, as Rachel did eventually, after her return in the early 1860s.

The self-funded English immigrants of the 1850s to Victoria and New South Wales did not all come out for gold, but many did. They had in common a dominant desire for material success. They came bearing hopes of improving their position in a capitalist society and sought to increase their chances of making money. The colonial societies into which they came were simpler, less structured than the England they had left, for the majority of them appear to have come from the declining regions of the English economy, not directly impacted by industrialisation or rapid urban
growth. In Victoria, the immigrants of the 1850s came into a primitive society, heaving with unanticipated growth. On the gold fields in both colonies, unfamiliar living and working conditions proved congenial for some and anathema for others. Many were able to make adjustments and allowances to cope and even prosper in the colonies. Others were miserable: the more fortunate were able to fund their return to England, but the less fortunate were doomed to despair and early death on the goldfields, in the crowded, unsanitary living conditions in Sydney and Melbourne, or in obscure poverty, no better off than they would have been in England.

The immigrants’ reasons for seeking to improve their material conditions were bound up with the values of English society and with the uncertainties experienced in the generation after the ending of the Napoleonic Wars in an industrialising society. Ironically, social and economic conditions were improving in England in the 1850s when some many English people were attracted to eastern Australia. However, people at the time could not know this and it does appear that Victoria and New South Wales may have benefited from the infusion of many more people prepared to emigrate a long way to improve their prospects. A major motivation behind the search for material success was for a man to be able to support a family in the domestic respectability which was such a potent force in the ideology underpinning the values of contemporary English society. That they had to come to a more primitive location to achieve this aim provided the immigrants with a conundrum which had to be resolved in their lives in the colonies. How the English immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria resolved these complexities in the world-turned-upside-down of the antipodean colonial setting will be examined in Chapters Eight and Nine.

Chapter Eight  An English Midlands Family in Colonial Eastern Australia

The increasing public availability of family papers allows us to develop a picture of people who were neither famous nor infamous, but who in their own way, formed a significant stratum of colonial society. As Linda Young has shown, the middle class was an important sector of society in Britain, the United States and Australia in the nineteenth century and formed part of the intercontinental stream of British emigrants. In this chapter I examine the values and activities of one family whose members emigrated to eastern Australia from the English midlands. This family, the Booths, and their network of kin in Victoria and New South Wales became very wealthy. They were upwardly socially mobile, as they advanced through hard work and prudent investment from the small tenant farmer class in England to the prosperous middle class in the colonies.

While settling permanently in Australia, the Booths maintained close links with relatives in England and encouraged several members of their family, and a wider circle of friends, to follow them. They and their children became prominent in several spheres of activity in Australia: on the land, in the Wesleyan Methodist Church, and the professions. This chapter examines aspects of the life of Abraham Booth and his family, to provide an insight into the culture and values of an English immigrant family which became wealthy, and yet lived a retired, domestic and church-centred life. It has been possible to provide an overview of the Booth family because of the survival of a significant amount of manuscript material. However,

1 Linda Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century: America, Australia and Britain* (Basingstoke, Hants: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003), 31-33.
there are many gaps, particularly in the early years after Abraham Booth’s arrival in
the colony, when he was developing his career.

The Booths embodied the values of the growing middle class in England, identified by
Davidoff and Hall in their pioneering study, *Family Fortunes*, as developing a
recognizable set of values and behaviours between 1780 and 1850. I focus on this
work of Davidoff and Hall on the ideology and practice of the middle class because of its influence, its continuing relevance and its grounding in case studies of middle class people in East Anglia and the English Midlands in the first half of the nineteenth century, close to the areas where the senior Booths and kin had grown up. John Tosh’s more recent study of masculinity and the middle class in
Victorian England also provides valuable insight into the attitudes and mores of the
Booth family into the second half of the nineteenth century.

The term middle class is misleading in the Australian colonial context because of the absence of an upper class, despite some settlers’ claims to be gentry. Middle class in the Australian colonial setting should be judged by levels of income, customs, lifestyle and value systems, rather than being seen as a social position poised between upper and lower classes, as it was in Britain. Within the colonial setting, gentility should not be confused with the class position of the English gentry, however much the wealthier colonists aspired to that status. Taking colonists’ claims to belong to the gentry class at face value, without considering the theories and

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5 Young, *Middle Class Culture in the Nineteenth Century*, 14-29.
studies of class, has weakened some accounts of the social history of genteel society in nineteenth century Melbourne.\(^6\)

Four major themes emerge from the lives of the Booth family: religion, business acumen, family and kinship. The lived practice of these core elements of their lives, combined with their income, places the Booths firmly in the middle class in colonial Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. While it is useful to separate these themes for analysis, the Booths’ customs and activities would have been experienced as a whole and been acted on in an integrated manner by each person, depending on age, gender and family position.

**The Foundation of the Enterprise**

On the 13 December 1840, Abraham Booth, aged 25, and Edward Argyle, aged 23, landed at Hobson’s Bay as assisted immigrants.\(^7\) They were emigrating as single men from the same neighbourhood in Derbyshire. Their occupations, like those of most other single men on the ship, were recorded as ‘labourer’, though it is reasonable to assume that both men were experienced in rural work and may have had other occupational skills, as well. Abraham Booth had been born in Pentrich and Edward Argyle in Heage, villages two miles apart in south-east Derbyshire.\(^8\) Booth’s father was most probably a tenant farmer, with the tenancy being carried on in the next generation by his eldest son on a small farm of eighty-eight acres.\(^9\) This part of Derbyshire was at the heart of the industrial revolution, having experienced

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\(^7\) Immigration: Persons on Bounty Ships Arriving to Port Phillip 1839-41, List for Orient, AONSW Reel 2143A.


\(^9\) Alice Booth to Annie Fletcher, 31 Jul. 1888, in possession of Patricia Thomas.
innovations in mining, metallurgy, textiles and transport in the later eighteenth century. Despite this, the district had retained its rural character, with the new sites of industry spread throughout the region. Abraham was the fifth of twelve children of Anne Wagstaffe and Hugh Booth, whose paternal ancestors had lived in the Pentrich area of Derbyshire from at least 1640. Edward Argyle was from a similarly large family, with a long-standing lineage in the area.

Melbourne, when Abraham Booth and Edward Argyle arrived, was a raw new settlement, which had been officially surveyed only three years previously. Its formal grid pattern sat oddly in the landscape, and despite early speculation in town land, the scattered buildings and part-cleared streets must have surprised new arrivals from England. In old age Abraham Booth recalled his emotion on landing in the heat of mid December at Hobson’s Bay, remote from the infant town. The journalist who interviewed Booth in 1897 reported, ‘it was little wonder that when his unthinned blood encountered the unaccustomed discomforts of the unpromising road he murmured somewhat dispondently to himself that he had “come to the wrong shop this time”’. However, he was not deterred for long, as it is clear that both men adjusted quickly to the conditions of the colony.

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12 Ibid.


14 ‘In Early Days…Mr A. Booth’s Recollections’ [part 1], Herald (Melbourne), 25 June 1897.
Immediately on arrival Abraham Booth was employed by a tailor and draper and Edward Argyle as a shepherd, but within a couple of years they were working in their own business.\textsuperscript{15} How they achieved this transition is unclear. There is no evidence to indicate whether they had brought some capital with them, despite their eligibility for an assisted passage. It is more likely that they received assistance and credit from fellow Methodists in the colony, as Tosh has found for poor young men in England in the mid nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{16} In the early 1840s Booth and Argyle opened a butcher’s shop in a small single-storey timber building at the corner of Elizabeth Street and Flinders Lane.\textsuperscript{17} They worked hard to make their business a success. Abraham recalled obtaining his first butcher’s block by felling a tree north of Lonsdale Street and bringing it and a load of firewood back to the shop. He was told that he had broken the law, as the government had reserved all the timber within the township. This was obviously a story of which the old man was proud, and must have told many times.

In the next decade, Booth and Argyle established themselves and built up a diversified business, seizing opportunities in Melbourne and taking up squatting leases in the countryside. In this time they achieved the emigrants’ dream of accumulating wealth and possessing land. They were successful in their butchery business, which they used as a springboard to move into pastoralism. In June 1845 they announced that their butcher’s shop was moving to new premises in Melbourne and that they had set up another butcher’s shop in Collingwood, a growing suburb to the north of the town.\textsuperscript{18} They managed their joint enterprises from Melbourne until

\textsuperscript{15} Letter from Edward Argyle, December 1840 in archives, Royal Historical Society of Victoria. Information supplied by Jenny Böttcher.
\textsuperscript{16} Tosh, A Man’s Place, 73.
\textsuperscript{17} Abraham Booth, ‘Miscellaneous Newspaper Cuttings and Biographical Information about Abraham Booth, 1815-1902’, LTL MS 11834, Box F2157/3; Notes on Family History written by Florence Booth Lunn or Lillian Fletcher; ‘In Early Days: Mr A. Booth’s Recollections’ [part 2], Herald (Melbourne), 2 Jul 1897; ‘A Pioneer Dead’, Argus, 22 May 1902, 6; ‘A Pioneer Pastoralist’, Australasian, 31 May 1902, 1253; Frederick S. Grinton, Pastures New, A Record of Our Pioneers: Station Days in the Kerang-Swan Hill Area (Kerang, Vic.: Kerang New Times, 1970), 2.
\textsuperscript{18} Port Phillip Patriot, 6 June 1845.
1849, when they went to live on a squatting lease at Duck Swamp on the Loddon River in the north of the Port Phillip District. By the early 1850s they had given up the Collingwood shop, but the Melbourne butcher’s shop was being run by Samuel Argyle, Edward’s brother.19

In the early 1850s, Booth and Argyle felt sufficiently confident of their financial futures for each of them to marry. This prudent delaying of marriage until he could support a wife and family was common among middle class men and those aspiring to middle class status.20 Abraham Booth returned to England in 1851, possibly as a result of hearing of his father’s death, which had occurred in November 1850.21 From this time onward, Abraham Booth was sufficiently wealthy to pay cabin fares for himself and his extended family, whenever they sailed to or from England. While there, in mid 1852, he married Edward’s sister, Martha, and returned to Melbourne later in the year with his wife and several members of the Booth, Argyle and Holloway families.22 It appears that these three families were inter-related, though the connections are obscure. In the same year, Edward Argyle married Mary Clark at St James Church, Melbourne.23 Both men and their newly formed families saw a future for themselves in the colony.

19 Port Phillip Separation Merchants’ and Settlers’ Almanac, Diary and Directory (Melbourne: W. Clarke, 1845), 85; The Port Phillip Patriot Almanac & Directory for 1847 (Melbourne: Port Phillip Patriot, 1847), 57, 62; The Squatters’ Directory (Melbourne: Edward Wilson, 1849), 5; Victorian Directory: Melbourne and Vicinity 1851 [no pub. details on fiche], 7, 133; Melbourne Commercial Directory...for the Year 1853 (Melbourne: James Shanley, 1853), 64.
20 Davidoff & Hall, Family Fortunes; Tosh, A Man’s Place.
21 ‘In Early Days...Mr A. Booth’s Recollections’ [part 1], Herald (Melbourne), 25 June 1897; ‘In Early Days: Mr A. Booth’s Recollections’ [part 2], Herald (Melbourne), 2 Jul 1897; death record for Hugh Booth, 3 Nov. 1850 – born 1774 Pentrich, Derby, England, FamilySearch; England, General Register Index, Marriages - June Quarter 1852, Belper, Derbyshire, vol. 7b, f 715.
22 Fanny, arrived 12 Aug. 1852 in PROV, Index of Inward Passenger Lists for British and Foreign Ports 1852-1899; PROV, Unassisted Shipping Index 1852; Shipping Intelligence, Melbourne Herald, 13Aug. 1852.
23 Digger Pioneer Index: Victoria 1836-1888.
In July 1853, Edward Argyle’s relatives, John and Lucy Holloway and their eight children arrived from England. The Holloways came from a farm, at Amington, on the Staffordshire-Warwickshire border, about thirty five miles to the south west of Booth’s and Argyle’s former homes. John Holloway was forty years old, Lucy was forty seven and their children ranged in age from Hannah at nineteen to four year old Samuel. On arrival in Melbourne, John Holloway’s occupation was recorded as a miner, though in the early 1830s, when his first two children had been baptised, he had stated his occupation to be a butcher. The size and style of the Holloway family home in Amington indicates a reasonable degree of affluence and it is possible that John Holloway carried out a variety of rural skills to support his family.

In May 1853, Abraham Booth and Edward Argyle announced the dissolution of their partnership. The licences for the Duck Swamp and the St Agnes runs were transferred to Edward Argyle, who paid Booth for his share of their property. Abraham Booth then linked up in a three-way partnership with John Holloway and his brother, Robert Booth. They purchased the leasehold of a 120,000 acre pastoral run, Tragowell, immediately north of Duck Swamp on the Loddon River in northern Victoria. The next couple of years were difficult for Abraham Booth. In 1854, his wife, Martha, died in childbirth and their infant son, Alfred Argyle Booth, died after ten days. In 1856, Robert Booth chose to withdraw from the partnership, for

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24 North Atlantic, PROV, Inward Passenger Lists: British Ports, fiche 44.
26 Photograph in possession of Barbara Peterson.
30 Digger Pioneer Index: Victoria 1836-1888.
reasons which are not clear.\(^\text{31}\) There are also hints of an estrangement from another brother, Isaac Booth, possibly over money, but the references to it are veiled. A fourth brother, Salathiel Booth, operated in his own right and with Edward Argyle in a number of ventures, after an early start managing the Duck Swamp run.\(^\text{32}\) Abraham Booth’s partnership with John Holloway senior appears to have been a success, for in December 1856 they signed a new agreement which continued until Holloway’s death in 1878.\(^\text{33}\)

This contract cemented a close relationship, which had become a family partnership in August 1856, when Abraham Booth married Hannah Holloway, John and Lucy Holloway’s eldest daughter.\(^\text{34}\) He was forty one years old and she was twenty three. Abraham Booth, John Holloway Senior and George and John Holloway Junior, all worked full-time at Tragowell, raising and selling cattle and horses and developing the physical plant of the run.\(^\text{35}\) They specialised in Durham cattle and were well placed to supply meat to the central Victorian goldfields. They were successful in their partnership and their fortunate location within reasonable distance of the Ballarat mines. With their surplus wealth from this venture it appears that they decided to return permanently to England, leaving Hannah’s brothers to manage the run for the joint partnership.

In 1862, Abraham Booth and John Holloway and their wives and young children sailed to England, leaving George and John Holloway Junior in charge at


\(^{33}\) Indenture Between Abraham Booth...and John Holloway...8 December 1856.

\(^{34}\) Digger Pioneer Index: Victoria 1836-1888; entry for 6 Aug. 1856. Journal of Mr & Mrs Abm Booth.

\(^{35}\) Journal of Mr & Mrs Abm Booth, passim.
Tragowell. In November 1862, John Holloway junior wrote to Abraham and Hannah noting:

I was very glad to hear that you were comfortably settled down in England and that your little ones were so well. I suppose you will never think of coming out to this colony any more... We are not at all surprised to hear that father is rather unsettled I think he will be sure to come out again.  

As John Holloway junior predicted, the senior Holloways did not remain long in England. In June 1863, they returned with Abraham and Hannah Booth and their respective children. There is no further indication of the reason for their decision, but it is likely that after attending to family business in England, they decided their futures lay in Victoria. Before they embarked at Liverpool, the four adults sat for individual oil portraits which they brought back with them and which are hanging in public collections today. This is an interesting expression of their sense of respectability and status, mirroring aristocratic and gentry practice, as well as an indication of their disposable wealth.

A few months after they arrived back in the colony, the Booths and the Holloways settled in Melbourne. They each purchased properties on the borders of Preston and Coburg, on the northern outskirts of the city. Abraham Booth bought a large house, ‘Oakover’ in forty-five acres, on the heights above Merri Creek, with views to Melbourne in the distance. John Holloway senior purchased an eight acre

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36 John Holloway [junior], Letter 19 Nov. 1862, Holloway Family Papers, LTL MS 12623, Box 3448/3.
37 List of Passengers on Istanboul arrived June 1863, PROV, Inward Passengers British Ports, 1863, fiche 217.
38 Abraham and Hannah Boooths portraits are in the Wagga Wagga Regional Museum. Abraham’s portrait is signed Chas Jno Walker, Irvine Street, Liverpool and dated 3/1/63. John and Lucy Holloways’ portraits are in the house museum, Tyntynder, Swan Hill. I did not check the signatures for these two, but they are clearly by the same artist and have identical frames.
property nearby. The Booths and Holloways continued to prosper from their pastoral holdings, which were overseen by Abraham Booth and John Holloway senior, both of whom made regular trips to monitor their investments, while living most of the year near Melbourne. In 1864, in addition to their house and land purchases in Melbourne and their Tragowell holding, Booth and Holloway Senior bought two more pastoral runs, Gobbagombalin and Tooyal, on the north bank of the Murrumbidgee River, in New South Wales, near the town of Wagga Wagga. At the end of the 1870s, Abraham Booth consolidated his wealth on this estate, which was estimated to be nearly 65,000 acres when it was subdivided for closer settlement in 1906.

Religion
Religion was central to the lives of the Booths and Holloways. They were Wesleyan Methodists when they came to the colony and their faith intensified after they settled in Melbourne. In the 1850s at Tragowell, the Booths and Holloways had attended occasional Methodist services in neighbours’ houses, as they had to rely on visiting ministers in this period before churches were built in the district. Their families in England were also Wesleyan Methodists. When Alice reported on her Holloway cousin Ada in 1888, she remarked, ‘she seems a true Wesleyan, in fact they are all more Wes. than “Church” people’.

The Booths and Holloways, as rising middle class families, retained their Wesleyan faith. In England during the nineteenth century Wesleyan Methodism became the faith of segments of the middle classes in particular regions and

41 Alice Booth to Annie Fletcher, 31 Jul. 1888, letter in possession of Patricia Thomas.
localities. In colonial Victoria too, Renate Howe found that Wesleyan Methodists in a sample of three Melbourne suburbs and Ballarat were predominantly of the middle class, with upward mobility taking place within that class, rather than from working class to middle class. Although the Booth’s source of wealth is different to the majority of Howe’s sample, it is clear that they felt comfortable within this milieu.

In 1863 Abraham Booth experienced a personal conversion, which was to remain an important motivation for the rest of his life. Conversions had been a feature of Wesleyan Methodist piety in England from its beginning and the practice had been imported into New South Wales by the 1820s. On 20 December 1863, Abraham Booth received his first quarterly class ticket, admitting him ‘on trial into the Wesleyan Methodist Church in Bro. Kendall’s Class’. Abraham wrote in red ink at right angles across his ticket, ‘Gave myself to Jesus on 26th Oct. 1863 at Pentridge Victoria Under Revd. J.G. Millard [signed] AB’. Walter Phillips notes that most conversions occurred in late adolescence, making Abraham’s experience unusual, but possibly not in the Coburg-Brunswick circuit, which appears to have been an important centre of this form of piety during the second half of the nineteenth century. For the rest of his life Abraham Booth attended weekly class

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when he was in Melbourne. According to Howe, class attendance as the marker of membership was becoming unpopular with a number of other Wesleyan congregations in Victoria during these decades, as it was in England, but not for the adherents of the Coburg church. The Booths and Holloways may well have chosen to live within reach of this church because of its powerful influence on them at a time of major change in their lives and it provided an important focus for their activities and friendships thereafter. Abraham Booth was a trustee of this church for many years, a role identified by Davidoff and Hall as important to middle class men as a sign of responsibility and a public expression of their personal piety.

Other members of both the Booth and Holloway families also experienced personal conversions and dedicated themselves to this form of Wesleyanism. Intense piety and regular church activity was an important feature of their lives. In the 1880s and 1890s Hannah Booth and her daughter Lucy, and possibly Alice, went to weekly class, all family members attended Sunday Church services, some in the morning and others in the evening and some attended Wednesday evening service. The daughters progressively became Sunday School teachers and its importance to them is evident in their long-term commitment, shown, for example, by Annie Booth’s service as a teacher in the Coburg Sabbath School from February 1878 to

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49 Booth family, Oakover Log, LTL MS 11713, Box 18733/8-11; Booth family, Dhulara Diary, Charles Sturt University regional Archives, RWS/118; Annie (Booth) Fletcher correspondence, 1872-1901, in the possession of Patricia Thomas.

50 Booth Family, Oakover Log; Obituary, 'A Pioneer Dead', *Argus*, 22 May 1902, 6; Obituary, 'A Pioneer Pastoralist', *Australasian*, 31 May 1902, 1253.
1885, when she resigned on the eve of her marriage.\textsuperscript{51} Church activities were equally important to family members when they were in the Wagga district and from Dhulura the younger daughters taught in a Sunday School on the Gobbagombalin run.\textsuperscript{52} Linda Wilson has found a similar involvement of women in nonconformist church activities in mid nineteenth century England.\textsuperscript{53}

**Business acumen**

In the early 1840s when Abraham Booth and Edward Argyle set up their butchers’ shop they registered a formal partnership, indicating an understanding of contemporary business practice, whereby two small amounts of capital could be combined to greater effect, within a legally binding agreement on the contribution and duties of the partners.\textsuperscript{54} They almost certainly had learned this from family practice, which was to continue in both England and Australia into the next generation. In *Family Fortunes*, Davidoff and Hall found this to be a common practice of middle class men in the early to mid nineteenth century. This enabled them to achieve independence from the patronage of the gentry and aristocracy and provided a financial foundation for running their own enterprises.\textsuperscript{55} Partnerships were based on trust and an intimate knowledge of the probity of the other partners and were commonly formed among family members, or people known through church or other associations.

Changing partnerships among the males of the Booth, Holloway and Argyle families, predominantly to lease and manage pastoral runs in both Victoria and New

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\textsuperscript{51} Booth family, Oakover Log; Booth family, Dhulura diary; Letters, 24 Apr. 1873, 5 May 1885, 11 Sep 1885 in Annie (Booth) Fletcher correspondence.

\textsuperscript{52} Booth Family, Dhulura Diary.


\textsuperscript{54} J.O. Randall, *Pastoral Settlement in Northern Victoria*, vol. 1, 187-190; ‘In Early Days: The Colony’s Birth: Mr A. Booth’s Recollections...’; *Herald* (Melbourne), 2 Jul. 1897; on their Holloway cousins’ partnership, letter, Alice Booth to her sister Annie 31 July 1888, Annie (Booth) Fletcher correspondence.

\textsuperscript{55} Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 198-211.
South Wales, were a feature of their business practice until the early years of the twentieth century.\footnote{Indenture between Abraham Booth...and John Holloway... December 1856' summarises the conditions of the 3 way contract in August 1853; deaths in 1854 for Martha Booth and Alfred Argyle Booth, Digger – Pioneer Index. Victoria 1836-1888; Frederick S. Grinton, Pastures New A Record of Our Pioneers: Station Days in the Kerang-Swan Hill Area (Kerang, Vic.: Kerang New Times, 1970); Alice M. Cerutty, Tyntyndyer: A Pioneering Homestead and Its Families (Kilmore, Vic.: Lowden Publishing, 1977); Peter Freeman, The Homestead: A Riverina Anthology (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1982), 116-117; Typescript obituary of Jane Holloway, 1934, Holloway Family Papers, LTL MS 2623, Box 3449/5; Billis and Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, 157, 179, 255; Victorian Squatters, 152, 161, 246; The Cyclopedia of Victoria, ed. James Smith, vol. 3, (Melbourne: The Cyclopedia Co., 1905), 435; Obituary of Salathiel Booth, Argus, 2 June 1906, 15; Entry for 31 May 1906, History of Kyneton, Part 2: Compiled from the Files of the "Kyneton Guardian" (Kyneton: Kyneton Guardian, 1935), np; Pastoral Possessions of New South Wales, 423.} John Holloway Senior and his sons, and the Argyles, entered into a number of other partnerships, independent of the Booth-Holloway agreement. In 1873, Abraham Booth became sole owner of Tragowell and sold it to Edward Holloway at the end of the decade.\footnote{Billis & Kenyon, Pastoral Pioneers of Port Phillip, 263; The Cyclopedia of Victoria, vol. 3, 335; Victorian Squatters, 192.} Abraham Booth did not take up any further formal partnerships, but instead relied on agreements with his sons, nephews and a son-in-law. From 1900 he had formal contracts with a number of share farmers, who worked parts of his Murrumbidgee land.\footnote{‘Gobbagomblin Estate’, NSWLA V&P, 1906, vol. 2.}

An important aspect of the contract between Abraham Booth and John Holloway was for the partners to keep records to be available for inspection by the other. Each man fulfilled this differently. Abraham and Hannah Booth, and sometimes other members of the household, maintained a journal from August 1856 until they left Tragowell at the end of 1861.\footnote{Abraham & Hannah Booth, Journal of Mr & Mrs Abm. Booth, Tragowell, Lower Loddon river, Victoria, LTL MS 11834F, Box P2157/3.} This was a diary available for all to read and it tracked the mens’ work on the run and provided an informal record of their increasing prosperity, and occasionally an intimate record of hopes, fears and joys of a growing family; a form of journal Davidoff and Hall found common among their Midlands and East Anglian middle class subjects.\footnote{Davidoff & Hall, Family Fortunes, 202-203.} In contrast, John Holloway senior’s papers contain ledgers, which appear to have been created and maintained
by a clerk experienced in the accounting conventions beginning to become more common in middle class businesses by the mid nineteenth century.

In his business practice, Abraham Booth carried out the precepts of caution and careful husbandry at the heart of middle class Methodism. In 1897 he commented on the care he and Edward Argyle had exercised in the depression of the 1840s; they had prospered by prudent management, had resisted the temptation to over-speculate and had continued their butchery business, the foundation of their prosperity, until the end of the 1840s.61 Booth noted that he had not subsequently changed this cautious approach. He had chosen not to be involved in the property speculation in Melbourne in the 1880s and 1890s, when he had declined offers to subdivide the Oakover land. When just over 62,000 acres of the Gobbagombalin-Tooyal estate was accepted by the New South Wales government under the provisions of its 1904 closer settlement legislation, the executors of Abraham Booth's estate realised 207,560 pounds, a remarkable outcome from modest beginnings.62 This did not include the value of the land retained on Gobbagombalin, nor did it include the Melbourne estate and other assets, which were estimated to be four thousand five hundred pounds in 1902.63

Family

In the journal kept at Tragowell, Abraham recorded his joy on forming a family.64 '1856 Wednesday August 6 Commencement of our Matrimonial felicity at 11 Oclock in the forenoon by Thomas Raston Wesleyan Minister Sandhurst.' This family and its close connection with his new wife's family, the Holloways, was an important central feature of their lives and was to be so for their children. A close-

61 Herald (Melbourne) 25 June 1897.
63 VPRS 7591/P2 Unit 336 File 84/96; VPRS 28/P Unit 1078 File 84/96; VPRS 28/P2 Unit 621 File 84/96. Information supplied by Jenny Böttcher.
64 Journal of Mr & Mrs Abm. Booth.
knit family, domesticity and respectability were key elements of Victorian middle class aspirations.\textsuperscript{65} The family and its home was central to the domestic ideology of the middle class and was intensely important for the Booths.

Initially, the extended family lived together in one house on Tragowell, before Abraham built a second house to which he and Hannah moved, as their own family increased in size.\textsuperscript{66} George Holloway, Hannah’s eldest brother, remembered this first house as a slab hut with a partition, dividing the interior in two. These houses were not remote from the activity of the station, but it is clear from the joint journal that there was a separation of male and female activities relating to work, finance and housekeeping. The journal’s masculine perspective leaves us with a considerable record of the men’s activities and little of the domestic work of Hannah and her mother managing the household, children and servants.

Settled at Oakover in Melbourne with their first three children, John, Annie and Lucy, Hannah and Abraham Booth produced another eight children.\textsuperscript{67} With the exception of the period of their return to England in 1862-1863, the births of the Booth children came at approximately eighteen month intervals. In total Abraham and Hannah had five boys and six girls, all of whom survived into adulthood; nine of them lived into their eighties and the other two, John and George, into their early sixties. All the children attended school in Melbourne, probably a major reason for settling there.

When the two families had set up in Melbourne, John Holloway Senior and Abraham Booth were able to realise the male middle class ideal of domestic

\textsuperscript{65} Davidoff & Hall, \textit{Family Fortunes}; Tosh, \textit{A Man’s Place}.
\textsuperscript{67} Derbyshire Booth Family [genealogical chart], Holloway Family Papers, LTL MS 12623, Box 3448/6.
retirement. Here they achieved a sylvan retreat remote from, but close to the city.\textsuperscript{68} This has been identified by Davidoff and Hall as an influential strand in the advice manuals popular with the middle class in the early decades of the nineteenth century and among a number of the families featured in \textit{Family Fortunes}.\textsuperscript{69} From this time, neither Holloway nor Booth engaged in full-time work. They were able to direct their pastoral enterprises through the junior Holloway males from the early 1860s and later the Booth sons and a son-in-law, John George Fletcher.\textsuperscript{70} Both men and members of their families regularly visited their country properties, and some of the young people lived on them for more extended periods, but the Melbourne houses were the centre of the Booth family enterprise from 1863. Abraham Booth and John Holloway achieved this release from work because of their growing wealth. This was in contrast to the increasing numbers of middle class men in England in the second half of the nineteenth century forced to work away from the home to provide a comfortable living for their families.\textsuperscript{71}

A log maintained from 1884 to 1898 at Coburg and another from 1893 to 1897 at Dhulura, on the north section of the Gobbagombalin estate, provide a long vista of the activities of the Booths, and to a lesser extent, the Holloways, in these two decades.\textsuperscript{72} These journals show us a continuing separation of male and female roles, but also the importance of home for both men and women. We see activities in the family homes, Oakover and Birch Cottage in Melbourne, the homestead on Gobbagombalin and the farmhouse on Dhulura. Each of these houses was a site of middle class consumption with the furnishings and equipment expected by a wealthy

\textsuperscript{68} Davidoff & Hall, \textit{Family Fortunes}, 357-396.
\textsuperscript{69} Davidoff & Hall, \textit{Family Fortunes}, 155-178.
\textsuperscript{71} Tosh, \textit{A Man’s Place}, 79-101.
\textsuperscript{72} Booth Family, Oakover Log, LTL MS 11713, box 18873/8-11; Booth Family, Dhulura Diary, Charles Sturt Regional Archives, RW5/117.
middle class family. Abraham Booth's 1902 will and probate documents provide a
detailed inventory of all of the furnishings in Oakover, clearly demonstrating their
achievement of this ideal. The houses and their surrounding land were important
places for entertaining both family and friends, especially since the Booths did not
take part in public social events such as balls. Church activities and friendships
formed there, respectability, material possessions, new clothes and middle class
rituals, such as arranging for portrait photographs to mark special occasions, were
integral elements of their lives in the 1880s and 1890s.

The Oakover Log is the most informative of the Booth family's open
journals. Its main author was the fourth born child, Alice, who had a keen eye for
telling comment and colour, which was absent from Abraham and Hannah's journal
and from the Dhulura Diary. Ironically, while the other two journals are true logs, the
Oakover Log is an exemplar of the female diary, seen by a number of scholars as a
identifiable genre. Alice's long-term commitment to maintaining the Oakover Log
shows its importance for her. She was the main author from its opening in 1884 until
1894, when she left home to train as a nurse, a vocation abandoned for marriage a
few months later.

From these journals we see the family's interactions with one another, their
activities, acquaintances and friendships revolving around the church and their
homes. At Oakover they entertained and received invitations in return; played

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73 Booth Family, Oakover Log; Booth family, Dhulura Diary; Booth Family, Photograph Album,
Charles Sturt University Regional Archives, RWS/118; Description of Gobagombalin and Dhulura
homestead blocks, NSW Lands Dept., Closer Settlement Estate Files, Gobagombalin Estate File,
SRNSW 10/13754; Abraham Booth Victorian Probate VPRS 7591/P2 Unit 336 File 84/96; VPRS
28/P Unit 1078 File 84/96; VPRS 28/P2 Unit 621 File 84/96; John Holloway Victorian Probate VPRS
7591/P2 Unit 336 File 84/96, VPRS 28/P Unit 1078 File 84/96, VPRS 28/P2 Unit 621 File 84/96. 
Victorian probate data supplied by Jenny Böttcher.

74 For example, Harriet Blodgett, Centuries of Female Days: English Women's Private Diaries (New
Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1988); Patricia Clarke & Dale Spender (eds), Life Lines:
Australian Women's Letters and Diaries, 1788 to 1840 (North Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1992); Robert
A. Fothergill, Private Chronicles: A Study of English Diaries (London: Oxford University Press, 
1974).
croquet and tennis in the grounds, shared meals and went on picnics with a large cast of visitors, friends and extended family, many of whom stayed overnight or longer. Similarly, on the Riverina property, housekeeping, visiting, entertaining in the house and picnics in the grounds and much movement between the Gobbagombalin and Dhulura houses were regular events.

From an early entry in the Oakover Log, we catch glimpses of the younger Booth girls and their female cousins returning to school after vacation. It is possible that the younger girls attended the Methodist Ladies College (MLC), which had opened in 1882. Similarly the boys went to school in Melbourne and at least two of them, attended and graduated from Melbourne University. John, the eldest child was in the first graduating class of Master in Civil Engineering in 1884, after having obtained a Bachelor of Science degree. On his death in 1920 the Field Naturalists’ Club noted that despite being ‘inclined to microscopy, [he] was a versatile scientist.’ In August 1892 Edmund returned to University after the vacation and, later that month, George sat for an evening examination at an undisclosed location. Education of their children was important for Abraham and Hannah Booth, as it was for the middle class generally. Undoubtedly the boys would have received an education to fit them for the expected adult masculine responsibilities of supporting a family, while the girls’ education would have been designed to give them the polite accomplishments of middle class women. There is no sign that Hannah or her daughters resented any aspect of the separation of male and female roles of the nineteenth century patriarchal middle class family.

75 16 Apr. 1884, Booth family, Oakover Log.
77 Entry for 19 Apr. 1884, Booth family, Oakover Log; Ernest Scott, A History of the University of Melbourne (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1936) 120; The Victorian Naturalist 37, no. 5 (5 Aug. 1920): 50.
78 Entries for 4 Aug. & 26 Aug. 1892, Booth family, Oakover Log.
We observe the very different lives of the sisters from their brothers. The men too are involved in social activities within the household and church, but their engagement in the male world of commerce, higher education and on the land gave their lives a different focus to the women’s. The separation of the spheres, the gendered roles of males and females and the patriarchal family appear to have been accepted as natural by Hannah and her daughters. There is no hint of any questioning of these values in their surviving correspondence and diaries, though the women were interested in formal and informal female education. Over several years after they had left school, the younger girls attended private art and singing lessons and in December 1895 Hannah, Lucy, Florence and their cousin, Minnie Seward, attended the MLC end of year ceremony, the Oakover diarist reporting, ‘the MLC breakup...took the form of a garden party. Lord Brassey distributed the prizes. The whole affair was very enjoyable’.79 Florie continued on from this party, with two of her female cousins, to ‘the Misses Dare’s School break up’.

The girls and their mother, when not involved in church or school affairs, engaged in a ceaseless round of shopping, visiting, and some household activities. Their public and semi-public activities were consistent with gendered roles and separation of the spheres and would have been bound by known rules and conventions governing middle class women’s movements outside the home.80 The older daughters worked from time to time in an institution, referred to as the ‘Home’. Alice’s short period of nursing appears to have been the only time one of the daughters attempted to develop a career, although they had before them the example of their friend and relative by marriage, Mary Fletcher, who was studying medicine at the University and who visited Oakover regularly.81 Five of the six Booth daughters chose the sanctioned female career of marriage and childbearing.82

79 17 Dec. 1895, Booth family, Oakover Log.
81 Booth family, Oakover Log.
82 Booth family tree, Holloway family, papers.
Members of the family moved between these homes, according to their current responsibilities. The Dhulura Diary records the formation in 1893 of a household of several of the younger Booth sons and daughters. The diary was begun when Dhulara, on the northern part of the family’s Gobbagombalin estate near Wagga Wagga, was being set up at the centre of a farming experiment. The work on the land was shared by the younger single Booth sons, Will and George, overseen by their brother-in-law, J.G. Fletcher, who managed the main property. Emily and Nell, and occasionally Lucy, managed the Dhulura household. When the diary opens they were finishing lining the walls of the maid's bedroom, building a barn, fencing, ploughing, harvesting peas and wheat and bringing sheep over from Gobba. The Dhulura Diary and an accompanying photograph album provide us with good evidence of the material possessions installed in this new house, including a gift of a piano from Hannah Booth. The photographs of picnics in the grounds of the Riverina station indicate the considerable formality of these outings on their own property.

Picnics, both spontaneous and planned for special occasions were a feature of Booth family conviviality. On 19 September 1890, Alice’s sister Lucy took over the diary and provided a lively, detailed description of a picnic arranged on the spur of the moment. She reported, ‘Decided unanimously to devote the day to pleasure’. The picnickers were Lucy, her sister Florence, their Mother Hannah and another identified by the initials A.C.S. They went by various changes of transport to Beaumaris on Port Phillip Bay, about fifteen miles from Melbourne. Lucy lists their picnic supplies, ‘Took ample lunch, consisting of milk, tea, sugar, matches, sandwiches, salmon, herrings, sardines, cakes, gingerbread, vinegar, pepper, contained in two bags’. They sat on the sand among the ti-trees to eat their lunch, gathered heath and orchids and enjoyed reading ‘tit-bits’. Lucy concluded, ‘We think Beaumaris a beautiful spot’.

83 Booth family, Dhulura Diary.
Most Booth family picnics were not spontaneous, but were formal rituals to celebrate fetes and festivities, such as New Year. On 4 January 1896, they held their New Year's picnic in the grounds of Oakover. There were forty people at it, including eleven of their immediate family. They ate sandwiches, cakes, mince pies, jam tarts, biscuits, several different kinds of summer fruit and various soft drinks, played tennis, croquet, rounders and amused themselves with 'French & English singing'. 'Afternoon tea (tea and biscuits only) and tea proper we had served on little tables on the lawn near the pepper, oleander & bunya trees. Carpets were spread on the grass but no tarpaulin was needed. Several assisted in music & singing in the evening. Bella & Lizzie's singing was much appreciated. All our visitors left before ten; the picnic pronounced a great success'.

As early as 1856, the Booths and Holloways had employed domestic servants, a key indicator of middle class status, but also a mixed blessing; a minor but recurrent theme in the family journals over several decades. The Holloway family ledgers of the early 1860s at Tragowell recorded wages paid to cooks, maids and governesses. These indicate a high servant turnover, with female employees generally moving on after a few months, a problem in both England and the Australian colonies and still a matter of concern for the Booths in the 1880s and 1890s.84 The opening entries in the 'Oakover Log' in April 1884, lamented the absence of servants and recorded the older daughters' efforts to recruit some new domestic staff.

Routine events form the backbone of lives but special events such as birth, marriage and death and a family's response to these life cycle crises, provide an additional insight into the relationships and values of that family. The Booths, over

the long period for which there are extant records, recorded a number of instances of these critical moments. Here I highlight particularly intense examples of Booth family members’ responses to each of these critical moments. The routine daily activities documented in the Booth diaries provide us with a perspective on the texture of the lives of the Booths over two decades. Observing the family’s reaction to major crises and celebrations gives us a depth of understanding of their culture and values. Major events such as weddings and death, formal family rituals and another trip to England were important events outside the routine. It is through their reports that we view and sense the emotional charge of these special occasions and how they responded to them.

In the journal maintained on their Tragowell run on the Loddon River, Abraham recorded his mixed emotions of joy at the birth of his children and concern for the welfare of Hannah and the babies. On Thursday 2 July 1857 Abraham noted ‘this Morning my Dear Hannah was taken ill & I went for Dct. King whom arrived abot [sic] Oclock & at ¼ past 3 my Dear Wife was delivered of a SON & is now doing very well’. The baby, John, was weak and sickly over the next fortnight, during which the doctor called several times, before Abraham was able to report a fortnight later that the baby was getting better.

The next two children of Hannah and Abraham were girls and were greeted with the same mix of elation and anxiety. On Friday 13 May 1859 Abraham recorded the birth of Annie, ‘My dear Hannah has been poorly all day. It was in the evening at PM 6.55 delivered of a nice little Daughter [underlined five times] her 2 [sic] born, but awful to say we sent for Dct. King he was not at home & in consequence of irregularity after birth, we had very great doubts about her – but by sending for Mrs Bax which Kindly consented to come at about 11 Oclock was pronounced safe from above cause – had Donald in the Stable to go to Swan Hill for the other Dct. viz Bromill, but did not go [as it would be] too late when he could get here’. The next
day he was able to report ‘am glad to say Mrs Booth and baby going on very well’. Their third child, Lucy, was born on Saturday 9 February 1861 twenty five minutes before the Doctor had arrived. Mother and child were both fine, ‘all right and doing well’. Hannah’s recovery this time was probably quicker than on the two previous occasions, for two days later Abraham noted that Hannah had been up for about five hours. Abraham Booth’s interest and joy in the births of his first son and first two daughters show him to have been a man of sensibility formed in the first half of the nineteenth century, when these masculine transports of delight over his children were more common than later in the century.85

Weddings were another life-stage ritual in which the family fully participated and derived emotional satisfaction from the experience. In May 1885 Annie, the eldest daughter, married John George Fletcher to whom she had been engaged for five years.86 He was the colonial-born son of English immigrants from Unsworth in Lancashire. The Fletchers had run a dairy farm in the Heidleberg district when they first settled in the colony, but were now living at Pascoe Vale, four miles from Coburg. In addition, they had purchased a pastoral lease in the Cobar district of New South Wales. John George had been a Sunday School teacher at Coburg Methodist Church, before going to Cobar to work on the family’s run.87 Annie and John George had met through the Coburg church. The Oakover Log portrays a sense of excitement and anticipation in the days preceding the wedding, reporting presents arriving, family members sitting for portrait photographs and gathering greenery to decorate the church and the house. The wedding took place in the church and the wedding party and sixty three guests returned to Oakover for the wedding breakfast and supper. Alice noted that despite having a marquee for the wedding breakfast, the rooms in the house had been over-crowded with the number of people who had stayed on for supper.

85 Tosh, A Man’s Place, 79-101.
86 Florence Booth Lunn, Family History, in possession of Barbara Peterson.
87 G.B. Wilson to Annie Fletcher, 11 Sep. 1885, Annie (Booth) Fletcher correspondence.
As so often happens at such occasions of heightened emotions, there were problems. The church decorations and the marriage service were most satisfactory. John George was attended by his brother Henry and the Booth boys and Annie by her five sisters. Alice remarked, 'Everything in the church, which was prettily decorated by loving hands, went off splendidly, with the exception of our being rather too late'. Some hitches though occurred at the reception. Alice noted, 'Our bride & bridegroom left in great haste to catch the 4.25 train to Ballarat & missed it'. The next day Alice elliptically reported, ‘there are & have been many regrets regarding yesterday’s doings, which are useless...Criticisms regarding the breakfast etc. are frequent, true but unpleasant’. Fortunately, her veiled air of mystery is explained in a letter Hannah Booth sent the next day to Annie.\(^8^8\) The trouble with the food was not the quantity, for there was much left over. The problems arose from inadequate direction of the waiters in serving the food. Hannah added that in Annie and John George’s rush to depart they managed to leave behind a dress and a pair of boots. Also Hannah told Annie that Abraham had forgotten to give them their present of a Bible when they had arrived back from the church. It was quite clearly a flustered and emotional occasion played out in front of a large number of guests.

Death of any family member was a time of sadness, but a fading illness and the demise of a loved parent and grandparent was an emotional time for all in the household. In 1890 the Booths were deeply grieved by the death of their grandmother, Lucy Holloway. She had moved into Oakover Lodge from Birch cottage in 1887, when she felt she could no longer manage in her own house.\(^8^9\) She was ninety five years old in 1890 and on 27 June Alice recorded in the Oakover Log that her grandma was not well. She continued fading through July and died on Tuesday 5 August 1890.

\(^{8^8}\) Hannah Booth to Annie Fletcher 8 May 1885, ibid.
\(^{8^9}\) Hannah Booth to Annie Fletcher, 10 May 1887, ibid.
Grandma died at twenty five minutes past three this morning. Last evening at seven O’clock when we were nearly all in her room after prayers, she was taken very ill, we think it was haemorrhage. We sent for the doctor at once & for Father from class & telegraphed Uncle Seward & Uncle Edward. We all knew she was dying, we stayed with her until the very last, and just before dawn she passed away very, very quietly.

Despite having reported the previous day that Grandma had not recognised Miss Kean, one of her regular visitors, Alice concluded, ‘We think she was conscious to the last, she seemed to suffer no pain’. The hastily summoned family members arrived quickly from Wagga, northern and central Victoria and Lucy Holloway was buried the following day, after prayers in the house and a funeral service at the church. In the Oakover Log Alice recorded, ‘this has been such a sad, sad day’.

**Kinship**

Davidoff and Hall noted the role of a wider kin network surrounding the middle class nuclear family.\(^9\)\(^0\) As we have seen with Abraham Booth and his partners in their business dealings, kin were an important part of their web of relationships, as was the encouragement of relatives in England to join them in the colony. Until at least the early years of the twentieth century, the Booths kept in touch with kin outside Australia chiefly through letters to England, and to Abraham’s brother William, who had emigrated to Pennsylvania.\(^9\)\(^1\) In addition, the Booths and their relatives were able to move backwards and forwards between England and the colonies, made possible by their material success, but also indicating a continued desire to maintain contact. Abraham Booth returned to England three times and his wife, Hannah, twice.

In 1888, when Abraham and Hannah were in England, we are fortunate in having a detailed account from Alice who accompanied them.\(^9\)\(^2\) Alice wrote to her

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\(^9\)\(^0\) Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 353-356.
\(^9\)\(^1\) Journal of Mr & Mrs Abm. Booth; Booth Family, Oakover Log.
\(^9\)\(^2\) ‘In Early Days: The Colony’s Birth: Mr A. Booth’s Recollections…’, *Herald* (Melbourne), 25 Jun. & 2 Jul. 1897; Alice Booth to Annie Fletcher, 31 Jul 1888, Annie (Booth) Fletcher correspondence.
sister Annie from England and, like her diary entries, her letter provides us with an insight into her reactions to the relatives she is meeting for the first time. Her letter is all about the relatives, their appearance and personalities, indicating that visiting family, rather than seeing the sights of England, was the prime objective of the trip. They spent most of their time at Lane End, Pentrich, with Abraham’s eldest brother, Ferdinand and his wife Rebecca, an elderly couple in their late seventies, living on a farm of eighty-eight acres. Alice told Annie that that Abraham had bought Ferdinand and Rebecca a small chamber organ because they had been ‘so good to us’. Alice hinted that this generous gift was something that Ferdinand and his wife would have been unable to buy for themselves, noting ‘as farmers they have had rather a hard time of it’. The gift was an appropriate one, as Rebecca both sang and played, and Uncle Ferdinand sang in the church choir. Alice reported that the gift brought tears to Rebecca’s eyes.

The Booths travelled on to Lichfield, where they visited Hannah’s Uncle Samuel Holloway and family, who appear to have been living more affluent lives than the Ferdinand Booths. Only the youngest son, Cecil, was still living at home. The others were working away from Lichfield, two of them as partners in an unspecified business. Alice described these cousins to Annie and expressed surprise at the more relaxed approach of her English cousins to the formality she was used to in the colonies. ‘It seems very strange to call cousins by their Christian names but they expect us to use it. I called Geo. Mr Holloway & he retaliated by calling me Miss Alice’. This difference in address indicates that Australian middle class colonists, or at least those from Melbourne, had developed or retained, a formality foreign to their English relatives.

Meeting these Holloways was an enjoyable experience for Alice, as they reminded her of her deceased Holloway relatives, her Grandfather, John Holloway

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93 GB Census 1881, FamilySearch.
and her Aunt Lucy. Alice relished the warm welcome and company of Uncle Samuel and remarked how like his father, John Holloway Senior, he was. She was also impressed with Ada: ‘Ada is very nice & so good. She has such style & distinction. She reminds me of the Miss Waughs in looks & yet there is something of Aunt Lucy in her, our Aunt Lucy. I mean I think they would pass for sisters.’ She summed up her response by saying, ‘Being here with Holloways brings back Auntie and Grandpa so much, it is so nice to be here’.

In May 1898, fifty-eight years after Abraham Booth had arrived in Melbourne, the last entry in the Oakover Log noted that Cecil Holloway, whom Alice had first met in Lichfield, had sailed into Port Phillip Bay on his way to Sydney. Cecil Holloway and his brother Samuel had come out to Victoria in 1888 with the Booths and had worked for some time on the Murrumbidgee property. Cecil had returned to England to see his ailing mother and had returned to the colonies after she died.

The picture which emerges of the ties in the Booth-Holloway kin network is of a warm, loving family, maintaining links within the colony and across the world. Like the Australian Booths, Uncle William Booth, who had been in Pennsylvania in the 1880s, had returned to England where he died in 1899. Alice’s reaction to English cousinly manners indicates a minor divergence of culture between the English and Australian relatives, but it would appear that the differences were small and that their loving relationship and shared value systems kept their ties intact.

94 ‘The Family of Holloway’, in possession of Barbara Peterson; Booth Family, Dhulura Diary; Passenger Index for the Orient, Dec. 1888, PROV, Unassisted Shipping Index, 1852-1899.
95 1880 United States Census, FamilySearch; Note at the end of vol. 1, Booth family, Oakover Diary; Death Record 1 Sep. 1899, British Isles, FamilySearch.
Conclusion

Religious faith, prosperity, material success, careful stewardship of their assets and generosity within their extended family were integral to the fabric of the Booths' lives and values. Wesleyan Methodism was the linchpin, providing the parents and children with a strong sense of personal identity and membership in the local community. In the twentieth century, links with kin in Australia would eventually become stronger than connections with England, but for the Booths and Holloways the long persistence of close ties with their English family members and the movements back and forward between the home country and the colony were important elements in their identity. Similarly, their close links and social activities with their extended family and friends in Melbourne, Victoria and New South Wales were important for the young Booths as they grew up and formed new families. This analysis of the culture and values of the Booth family demonstrates how a series of similar in-depth case studies, combined with other evidence, will allow us to move to a deeper understanding of the culture and values of colonists in Australia in the nineteenth century. They should help develop our knowledge of the complexity of the society and its networks and take us beyond the myths and stereotypes of Australian nationalism.\footnote{I intend this to be my next research project.}
Chapter Nine ‘Everything is English – purely English – or an imitation of England’\(^1\): the Transmission of Culture Between England and Australia

English immigrants coming to eastern Australia between 1815 and 1860 were motivated by a desire to improve their material circumstances. This was as true for working class immigrants as it was for the middle class and the younger sons of gentry. It had been the main driver for those who had left England for other places from the early seventeenth century and continued to be so in the nineteenth century.\(^2\) From the end of the Napoleonic wars the southern hemisphere lands claimed by Britain were added to the list of possible destinations. Many people would have a variety of reasons for emigrating but future financial success in the colonies was a dream which overcame problems of distance and the prospect of the immature, disordered frontier societies in the antipodes.

Land was an attraction for single men and for families possessing sufficient capital to acquire it and to manage the cash flow required to cushion the delayed returns from pastoral and agricultural investment. In these decades, the labouring classes were not attracted to the Australian colonies to run small farms, for British government policy had deliberately priced land at a rate too high for them to achieve this. Until the passing of the Selection Acts to break up the big estates in the 1860s, the working class and lower middle class people who wanted a self-sufficient, rural lifestyle had to pursue this goal in the United States, where very different policies operated to make land available for small farms.\(^3\)

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\(^1\) William Cussons Nawton, Diary 1852-53, LTL MS 10251, Box 2 797/1.


Land was a symbol of wealth and high status in Britain and continued to hold this value for English immigrants in the Australian colonies. Men with some capital, and with health and confidence in their own physical prowess, quickly over-ran the British government’s boundaries of orderly settlement. They rushed to grab lands for themselves, to raise stock to sell to fresh waves of immigrants and to produce wool for the British textile market. In the 1830s the term ‘squatter’ changed from a term of opprobrium directed at people, usually ex-convicts, illegally camped on small parcels of land, to a term of approval for wealthier adventurers who appropriated vast acreages of pastoral land for themselves as a right. These men, because of their social respectability, however avaricious their actions, were able to win concessions from government for their land-taking. Land was also a commodity which was given a monetary value by the British invaders and could be a generator of wealth due to the operation of supply and demand in a laissez-faire market. Well-placed town and country land was much prized and was integral to the social status and wealth of the owners in the new society, as it had been in the old.

Middle class immigrants whose major capital was in their education and training in the gentlemanly professions, or those with more capital who were not attracted to a rural life on the colonial frontier, were also motivated to come to eastern Australia. They believed that the new colonial societies had the potential to provide them with a better standard of living than they could achieve in the crowded professional occupations in England. In many instances, they were escaping the uncertainties of fluctuating economic conditions in England, and came largely from regions of declining economic opportunity. Emigration to New South Wales and Victoria was an alternative to a move to London, the midlands or the north, regions in England where the economy was growing.

Working class English people were looking for full employment and better wages. In the 1830s and early 1840s most emigrated with the knowledge that they
would work for an employer; others with skills in demand and an ability to manage their own business might have planned from the outset to set themselves up independently. For the more active among the poorer assisted immigrants, particularly from the declining agricultural regions of southern England in the 1830s, and East Anglia from the late 1840s, the prospect of avoiding pauperism and the clutches of the new Poor Law were strong motivators. In the 1850s, assisted immigrants almost certainly saw further options in working independently on the gold fields, as well as the prospect of working for an employer.

Self-funded immigrants during the gold rush decade of the 1850s came from most classes of English society, with the exception of the poorest. Probably few from the aristocracy and gentry came as immigrants, but some arrived as curious travellers to view the chaotic societies thrown up by the influx of so many people in such a short time. The gold rushes, and the attendant growth in population, encouraged middle and working class single men and families to leave England for eastern Australia. These immigrants contributed to an increased mobility within and between colonies and other parts of the new world, with each announcement of opportunities in another location.

Some English immigrants undoubtedly came out to eastern Australia in the hope of improving their health, particularly those seeking a cure in the warmer climate from tuberculosis and other respiratory problems. Some, like Biddulph Henning, did recover and went on to long fulfilled lives in the colonies, but many others died early, as Michael Hill warned his father in 1854.4 Robert Lowe in the 1840s emigrated to New South Wales because of a gloomy prognosis about his eyesight. He aimed to make his fortune in the law while his eyes held up and returned to England to a distinguished career in politics, after having made a political

debut in the colony. Undoubtedly, in each decade some of the English immigrant men came seeking adventure in the rough life of the frontier and the prospect of making a fortune through hard physical labour and luck. For others the idea of living on the frontier of settlement, whether on an isolated pastoral holding or on the gold fields proved to be repugnant as soon as they saw the reality, shorn of its romantic illusions; others thrived under these conditions.

The motives of the English immigrants to eastern Australia were similar to those of many of the English immigrants to the United States at the same time. However, differences in the two destinations, and immigrants' general appreciation of these factors, show a degree of selectivity in the choice of destination. The US attracted those emigrant families with modest capital determined to live out a self-sufficient rural lifestyle, not possible for them in the Australian colonies in these decades. These were conservative people aiming to reproduce an Arcadian dream in their new country. At the other end of the spectrum of occupational possibilities, the United States was a magnet for those wanting to work in the growing industrial sectors of the economy, escaping the volatile conditions in industrialising England. These people were less likely to come to the Australian colonies because of the under-developed state of their industries, unless they made a conscious decision to change occupation.

Apart from these differences, it appears that the motives and the range of people attracted to the eastern Australian colonies and the United States over the period 1815 to 1860 was remarkably similar. My early questions about the relative conservatism, or risk-taking, of the two immigrant streams have not been borne out by the evidence. The choice of destination for many appears to have been a matter of chance. More awareness of north America, and particularly the United States, as an emigrant destination, due to the long history of emigration there, determined the greater flow of immigrants there. Once a member of a family or of a circle of friends paved the way, chains of immigrants tended to follow them, but this was not inevitable. It was not uncommon for families to have some relatives in north America, while others emigrated to the Australian colonies. Abraham Booth had a brother in the United States, while he emigrated to Melbourne, to be followed by two other brothers and other members of his family and friends.\textsuperscript{7}

The social engineering of the recruitment and selection of the assisted immigrants, with its careful balancing of married couples and of single men and women, was subverted by the self-funded immigrants, among whom many more single men than single women came from England. This was also the case among the English immigrants to the United States in these same decades. In the social construction of respectability operating in nineteenth century Britain, women travelling alone were suspected of sexual immorality. Men could travel on their own with impunity, but women needed to emigrate in family groups, or under the quasi-protection established on the well-run assisted immigrant ships or under some other chaperonage arrangements.\textsuperscript{8} There are glimpses of single English women voyaging on their own, such as Rachel Henning, but they were cushioned by the proprieties of

\textsuperscript{7} Chapter Eight.
cabin class and the companionship of fellow female cabin passengers. The attraction of land in colonial eastern Australia to English men of the middle and gentry classes encouraged the emigration of many more single men than women in the 1830s and the lure of gold in the 1850s further skewed the sex ratio imbalance among English immigrants.

Single men emigrated to build up their finances to enable them eventually to support a wife and a family in a manner acceptable to their class, or to achieve a higher status in the colonies than they could aspire to in England. Single women who emigrated also hoped to earn an income in the colonies prior to making a suitable marriage. Neither might necessarily realise this aim but it was a major motivator for both single males and single females. Families emigrated to improve their income and provide opportunities for their children in the new societies. Overwhelmingly the ethos among the English immigrants in New South Wales and Victoria was capitalist, accepting of a market economy and oriented towards acquiring more wealth than they believed they could in England, regardless of their class. They came bearing other values as well, but their dominant motivation was material success.

For many immigrants there was a significant discrepancy between hope and the reality of their lives in the colonies. Not all achieved an improvement in their ability to generate income and increase their standard of living. The high rate of insolvency in the economic depression of the early 1840s showed that many middle class men had significantly over estimated their ability to meet their borrowings, when drought, a diminished demand for livestock, the recall of loans to England and reduction in the of price wool, all combined to forced many into liquidation. The effects of this can be seen in individual biographies of men such as Hannibal Macarthur and A. B. Spark, in the newspapers and in the Select Committees and
legislation of the New South Wales Legislative Council. Others did not suffer as spectacularly, but found their expectations of increased wealth in the colonies were not met. After its boom in the early 1850s, the Victorian economy went into a decline and in 1861 the Legislative Assembly had to set up an inquiry into the increasing cases of insolvency.

Similarly, among immigrants of the working class, full employment at good wages, or the independence sought by many, was not achieved by all and poverty and poor living conditions, particularly in the cities, became matters of public concern. In Sydney in the second half of the 1850s, W.S. Jevons was able to find much evidence of poverty and overcrowding among the poor in his social survey conducted after the manner of the *Morning Chronicle* enquiries in England. In New South Wales high levels of unemployment in the late 1850s forced the Legislative Assembly to set up an inquiry into the problem. In Melbourne, and on the declining Victorian goldfields, many of the working class immigrants lived in deprived and difficult circumstances.

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10 Select Committee on Insolvency; Report...Proceedings...Evidence and Appendix, Victoria, Parliamentary Papers, 1861/62, D14, vol. 2.


Notwithstanding the disappointed hopes of some immigrants, all English immigrants brought to the colonies their culture and values. These ideas and attitudes could be seen as British, as well as English. Much that was central to the aspirations of the English immigrants was shared by the majority of the respectable working class and middle class immigrants from each of the countries of the United Kingdom. There were undoubtedly differences of region and class, but there was a common set of core values in the cultural baggage of many English immigrants in eastern Australia.

These values were intertwined with one another to make up the moral world of individuals, families and the community. Income and property were key to the English immigrants' aspirations; from this flowed their identity, class position and ability to form and maintain a family. Work and investments were important ingredients in achieving and maintaining these material goals. Family, the household and kinship were also central to most immigrants' ideals and hopes for the future. Respectability was an essential marker for many in both the middle class and the working class; its opposite - disorder, chaos, slovenliness and uncouth behaviour - were matters for concern in their contacts in the colonies. Religion was vital for many, and for English immigrants, membership of particular denominations gave them a vehicle for expressing identification with establishment values or their dissidence from them. Community and neighbourhood were important elements for most people, certainly for those whose personal communications have survived.

A common feature of many immigrant letters, particularly in the first few months after arrival, was a detailed discussion of prices and wages. The lag between actual experience and the communication of economic fluctuations in the colonies to England, made the reporting of prices and wages to family and friends a topic of interest. As we saw in Chapter Four, over-inflated estimates of prices and wages in the colony were among several grievances of the skilled tradesmen who had arrived
as assisted immigrants in the early 1830s. It was a matter of primary importance to
the immigrants, as their standard of living had been a major factor in their decision to
emigrate. It was possibly of real interest to the recipients of their letters in judging
whether their correspondents had made a wise move and whether others might
follow them. As early as 1819, Mary Wild, wife of the Adjutant in the 48th
Regiment, reported to her sister on the plentiful supplies of local produce, fresh fruit,
vegetables and meat, all at reasonable prices.14 On the other hand, she noted that
goods imported from Europe were expensive. When Henry and Clarinda Parkes
arrived in Sydney in 1839 they had just a few shillings left. They found that prices
for provisions and board were so expensive that Henry was forced to take a country
labourer’s job to provide shelter and supplies, while they settled into the life of the
colony.15 By the time he had screwed up the courage to tell his family in England of
the depressing start to their new life, he had found employment in Sydney and was
able to inform them of the current rate of wages and prices with the authority of an
old hand.

Work, investments and the acquisition of material possessions were
intimately bound up in the immigrants’ calculations of prices and wages and the
standard of living which they could achieve and maintain. Few of the immigrants
were able to live leisured lives, living off the proceeds of capital, as the wealthy in
England were able to do. In the colonies, settlement had been too recent; the
infrastructure was still raw and required hard physical and mental effort to develop
the comforts and returns to which the English immigrants aspired. Not all
immigrants understood this. The problems of the working class Davenport family in
colonial eastern Australia seem to be largely attributable to Sarah’s husband’s
fecklessness and disinclination to work in any job not directly connected with his

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14 Extract of letter from Mary Wild to Bess Cox, 1 April 1819, Lifelines: Australian Women's Letters and Diaries, 1788-1840, eds Patricia Clarke & Dale Spender (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 1992), 94-96.
trade of cabinet-making.\textsuperscript{16} He even refused to work at rough bush carpentry when they were living in primitive conditions in the Albury district. She, on the contrary, was a feisty battler and worked hard at paid employment as a domestic servant, and on the goldfields, to increase the family’s cash income. Like a number of families in the 1840s, and increasingly in the 1850s, the Davenports were highly mobile in their search for work and an income on which to live in the market economy of the colonial societies. They moved from Sydney to Melbourne, via a sojourn in Albury and the Ovens River district, and then to the goldfields, finally settling in northern Victoria.

The Paines and the Marks were another mobile working class family who moved several times in the 1840s and 1850s.\textsuperscript{17} Lucy Ann Paine and her husband John Marks lived and worked for their first couple of years in Sydney after their arrival in 1849. In this period John worked the long and unsocial hours of a baker. They then moved to work as employees on a pastoral run at Kameruka on the south coast of New South Wales. Meanwhile, Lucy Ann’s brother, Charles, who had emigrated with them, spent some time in New South Wales working as a butcher; he then took a job on ships plying between England, India and Australia, before eventually settling in New South Wales. Their brothers Edward and William followed in 1854 and 1857, respectively.

The Marks and Paine men all turned their hands to a variety of labouring jobs, including stints at the goldfields, finally settling on small farms in the Mudgee district of New South Wales. Lucy Ann carried out a full range of domestic duties, while producing eleven children between 1850 and 1871.\textsuperscript{18} In 1859, just five years

\textsuperscript{16} Extract of Sarah Davenport’s reminiscences 1840-early 1850s, \textit{No Place for a Nervous Lady: Voices from the Australian Bush}, ed. Lucy Frost (St Lucia, Qld.: University of Queensland Press, 1995), 197-221.

\textsuperscript{17} Paine and Marks families, \textit{Bring Plenty of Pickles}, ed. Gerry Tomlinson (Waddesdon, Bucks.: Gerry Tomlinson, 1986).

\textsuperscript{18} Ibid., 87-105.
Chapter Nine

after he had arrived in the colony, Lucy’s brother, Mark Paine, provided his parents with an account of his accumulated property and income from his farm, including a detailed statement of his estimated financial position. In the second generation, Lucy Ann and John Mark’s first born son wrote to his uncle Mark, who had returned to England, telling him of his own success and prosperity in farming and investment.

Work, earnings and investments were also major preoccupations of middle class men, such as the Gerards and Kitsons and their sister’s family, left behind in Somerset. Their correspondence is full of meticulously detailed concerns about current finances, future prospects, income from his work as a doctor and the likely return on their capital. Similarly, Alfred Joyce’s letters to his parents about his farming and grazing business in central Victoria provide detailed accounts of his work and financial progress. As we have seen in Chapter Seven, in the gold rush years of the 1850s English immigrants were driven by a desire to acquire wealth quickly, but most had to work exceptionally hard in primitive conditions to make a reasonable income. For many, their desire for independence from an employer was accompanied by the reality of heavy physical labour and substandard accommodation. The idle and the feckless fell by the wayside, for life in the colonies made getting an income as competitive a business as it was in England.

Single women emigrating without family needed to find paid work. A working class woman, such as Isabella Gibson in the mid 1830s in Sydney, was employed for her skills in needlework, but was also expected to perform domestic duties for her employers. Many single middle class English women found it

19 3 Dec. 1859, ibid., 64-68.
20 13 Nov. 1892, ibid. 74-76.
21 Bellamy family, Letters received from relatives in Australia and England, 1829-1890, ML MSS 6705.
22 Letters 1851-64, Alfred Joyce, A Homestead History (Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1949), 139-211.
23 Isabella Gibson, Letter to her Sister, Helen Gibson, from Sydney, 19 Jun. 1834, ML Doc 1416.
necessary to work as governesses or lady’s companions to enable them to maintain a veneer of respectability, poised awkwardly between the servants and an employer who might be of a class inferior to their own. Wealthier single English middle class women migrating as part of an extended family group, such as the Henning sisters, were able to avoid the social stigma of putting themselves forward for paid work, because of the capital underpinning the family’s economy. We also catch glimpses of middle class women, such as Sarah Louise Felton, who actively assisted their husbands in their paid work.

Marriage and the family were at the heart of English immigrants’ quest for an increased income and improved standard of living. The family was central to the construction and meaning of life for most people in nineteenth century England. There has been considerable research on the ideology of the family in Victorian Britain, its elevation of the ideals of domesticity, the withdrawal of women from the economic sphere and the consequent burden on men to provide an adequate income to support their wives and their increasing numbers of offspring. Patriarchy and strictly defined gender roles were fundamental elements of the family in England. These values of marriage, family, domesticity and patriarchy were brought to eastern

---

Australia in the nineteenth century by English immigrants and can be seen at work in their lives in the colonies.\textsuperscript{28}

Many English immigrants came to the eastern Australian colonies as a single nuclear family of a married couple, with or without children, and others formed individual family units when they married in the colonies. However, chain migration and the migration of extended families of adult siblings meant that many families were able to set up a dense network of relationships beyond the nuclear family with their kinfolk. Abraham Booth and Edward Argyle each became the patriarch of his own large nuclear family and of a network of kin in Victoria and New South Wales. Extended families could also treat one another badly, as in the case of the Davenports, and others lost contact with one another when they were in separated localities and not able to set up a regular written correspondence.

Questions of order and disorder in society and in personal relationships in nineteenth century England were never entirely resolved, but a dominant ideology of respectability grew out of the evangelical revival and the increasing dominance of middle class ideology.\textsuperscript{29} The letters and diaries of English immigrants in eastern Australia, and the colonial newspapers, show their acute consciousness of respectability, order and disorder and of class. In the first decades of free


immigration, it was the convicts and emancipists who posed a problem for newly arrived English immigrants. This anxiety then transferred to the unruly and pauper elements of the working class free immigrants, though they continued to keep former convicts in wary view. In the 1850s, in Melbourne, and on the gold fields in both colonies, where men and families of the working and middle classes were thrown together in primitive conditions and in close proximity, many of the respectable working and middle class immigrants were troubled by the excessive drinking of alcohol and the domestic arguments and violence they were forced to witness. Somehow, out of these unpromising challenges to the respectable, there was sufficient compensation for many in their material success and in their family and community activities for them to settle comfortably into colonial society. The life story of many immigrants whose letters and diaries have survived, like the Booths, Joyces, Marks and Paines, is one of growing fulfillment, after initial feelings of dislocation and disorientation.

Religion was important to many of the English immigrants, as it was for many in the society from which they had emigrated. Not all in England or the eastern Australian colonies regularly attended church and other public religious services. Disinclination or the lack of opportunity in the growing cities of industrialising England were factors behind low attendance levels of sections of the population. In the remote country regions of the colonies, the lack of churches and clergy were contributing factors to a possible decline of church attendance. The Kameruka District of New South Wales in the early 1850s was too sparsely populated for there to be a church for Lucy Ann and John Marks to attend or to have their infants baptised, similar to the experience of the Booths in the Loddon district.

of Victoria in the same decade. However, many of the English immigrants in eastern Australia were involved in establishing churches of various denominations for public worship, whenever there were enough of them to make the erection of a church viable, as their letters, diaries and reminiscences indicate. The physical presence of still-used and redundant nineteenth century churches in the towns and the countryside in eastern Australia stand mute witness to the desire of many immigrants to have a place for communal worship.

Individual spirituality and family worship were integral to the lives of many of the English immigrants in New South Wales and Victoria. These elements of their culture show up in letters and diaries, especially in the writing of those who had been gripped by particular revivals and enthusiastic sects, but also in routine reports of daily activities. So far historians of religion in Australia have paid little attention to lay piety, preferring to study various aspects of institutional history and clerical biography. On the other side of the intellectual divide were those people who had made a conscious decision to reject Christianity and organised religion. I have found only one explicit statement of this, but there must have been others, as religious scepticism was growing in England in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. In 1866 Edward Grainger told his mother that he had not been to church for over eight years, noting, 'it would be hypocrisy in me to go and join in a worship whose fundamental principles I knew at heart that I entirely disagreed with'.

Churches were an important focus of community for many people in the colonial societies, including Grainger’s wife and children, who left him at home when they went off to church and Sunday school. For the Booths and many other

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31 Lucy Ann Mark to parents, September 1852, Bring Plenty of Pickles, 26.
immigrants the church provided them with both spiritual and community support. Many immigrants also participated in other local communal activities associated with schools and voluntary societies, such as lodges, literary societies and agricultural societies. Early establishment of subscription, and later free libraries and Mechanics Institutes and Schools of Arts show how so many of the respectable institutions of nineteenth century England were replicated in the colonies. Of course, there were grog shops and other places of rough association but these were also present in the England the immigrants had left. It is noteworthy that universities were established in Sydney and Melbourne in the 1850s through the action of a number of civic minded men. This enabled more of the local youth to receive a complete education without having to return to England, opening opportunities for higher education and training locally to enable many more of the colonial youth to aspire to professional occupations. This was, of course, restricted to men for several more decades. Some intrepid women, such as Mary Fletcher, sister-in-law to the Booths who was enrolled in Medicine in Melbourne in the 1890s, began to break down these gendered barriers towards the end of the century.

Some English immigrant men were involved in colonial politics, along with the local born and immigrants from the other countries of the United Kingdom. The broadening of the franchise from the 1850s was a response to the successful agitation of radical liberals, such as Henry Parkes and his associates in Sydney from the 1840s.

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onward.\textsuperscript{37} For many years the majority of colonial politicians in both New South Wales and Victoria were immigrants. At the local level many English immigrants served in local government and other institutions involved in the provision of local amenities. Hannah Booth's brother, Edward Holloway, was a Justice of the Peace in central Victoria for many years, as well as being a long-time delegate to the Victorian Wesleyan annual conference, responsibilities he combined with his primary occupation of running a grazing property.\textsuperscript{38} Edward Argyle's son, Stanley Seymour Argyle, who was born in Victoria in 1867, qualified as a medical practitioner, practised in Melbourne and took an active role in medical and local politics and later colonial politics; he became premier of Victoria in 1932, ninety-two years after his father had landed in Melbourne as an assisted immigrant.\textsuperscript{39}

The immigrants did not entirely replicate English institutions in the colonies, but they experimented with variants of them to arrive at a working civil order which was very different at the end of the nineteenth century from the beach-head settlement on Sydney Cove at the beginning. The waves of immigrants and their children were responsible for these developments. English immigrants made their substantial contribution to the formation of colonial Victoria and New South Wales, along with the other immigrants from Britain and Ireland and smaller numbers from other places. This replication of English or British society in the colonies was made possible through the dispossession of the Indigenous inhabitants. Very few immigrants were conscious-stricken about this, as they justified their presence and use of the land by their belief in the superiority of their culture. English immigrants carried with them unconscious adherence to the public consensus in England on


\textsuperscript{38} \textit{The Cyclopedia of Victoria}, vol. 3, ed. James Smith (Melbourne: Cyclopedia Company, 1905), 335.

\textsuperscript{39} ADB, vol. 7, 92-94.
progress and the racial hierarchy on which this superiority was believed to rest.\textsuperscript{40} Many of the English immigrants in south eastern Australia wrote dismissively of the appearance and culture of the Aborigines they encountered. English immigrants’ sense of superiority also led them to be critical, in similar terms, of the Irish immigrants. The transfer of English people, along with those of the other countries of the United Kingdom introduced settlers who colonised the continent. They brought their own culture so that the colonial societies in eastern Australia seemed English, or British, but set in an alien landscape. Working out an Australian identity for the children and later descendents of the English immigrants would be a complex matter over several generations and may not yet be complete.

Appendix Calculation of Sample Intervals for Assisted Immigrant Groups, 1837-1860

I have collected data on the assisted immigrants to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District over the period from 1837 to 1860 using a systematic random sample.\(^1\) Rea and Parker demonstrate how to carry out a systematic random sample, explain how sampling theory provides a technique 'to make generalizations about a population based on a scientifically selected subset of that population' and how to calculate the size of the sample to make it a true representation of the whole population from which it is drawn.\(^2\) If the sampling is carried out correctly, it is possible to derive a sample which will approximate a normal distribution, with the sample's mean close to the true population mean and with a standard error smaller than the standard deviation of the whole population.\(^3\)

As in any sampling technique, it is necessary to choose a sample of a size which will achieve an acceptable degree of accuracy.\(^4\) To determine the size for my sample I used statistics of assisted immigrants to New South Wales and Victoria compiled by Robert J. Shultz and Robin F. Haines to calculate estimates of sampling intervals.\(^5\)

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\(^2\) Ibid., 107.
\(^3\) Ibid., 115.
\(^4\) Ibid., 125-139.
Assisted Immigrant Numbers to Eastern Australia 1836-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.S.W.</th>
<th>Port Phillip/Victoria</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1836-1842</td>
<td>37,237</td>
<td>11,652</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843-1847</td>
<td>3,223</td>
<td>1,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848-1851</td>
<td>18,183</td>
<td>15,766</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1852-1860</td>
<td>58,038</td>
<td>85,412</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>116,681</td>
<td>114,255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Although English immigrants are the prime focus of my research, I chose to sample immigrants from all parts of the United Kingdom to be able to assess similarities and difference between these people. From Robin F. Haines, the percentage breakdown of the UK immigrants’ country of origin is:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.S.W. 1837-50</th>
<th>Port Phillip 1839-50</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1848-60</th>
<th>Victoria 1848-51, 1855-56</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>England/Wales</td>
<td>33.9</td>
<td>37.5</td>
<td>49.5</td>
<td>51.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Scotland</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td>17.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ireland</td>
<td>54.3</td>
<td>48.2</td>
<td>39.1</td>
<td>31.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>0.3</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>0.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, Table 2.4, 31.

According to Robert Shultz, the relative proportions of the civil status of the immigrants to N.S.W. and Victoria 1837 to 1850 are as follows:-

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Adult Males 35%</th>
<th>Adult Females 38%</th>
<th>Male Children 14%</th>
<th>Female Children 13%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Adults</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>Single Adults 53%</td>
<td>Widowed Adults 1%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Shultz, ‘The Assisted Immigrants, 1837-1850’, vol. 1, 26
As these proportions accord with government policy on the desirable mix of immigrants, it is reasonable to assume that these proportions continued from 1851 to 1860.

Estimated Proportions of the Assisted Immigrants 1836-1860 (using Shultz’s proportions)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N.S.W. 1836-1860</th>
<th>Victoria 1839-1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult males</td>
<td>40,838</td>
<td>39,989</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult females</td>
<td>44,339</td>
<td>43,417</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male children</td>
<td>16,335</td>
<td>15,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female children</td>
<td>15,169</td>
<td>14,853</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>116,681</td>
<td>114,255</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

To estimate the number of migrating groups I relied on calculations based on Shultz’s proportions above, assuming married males to be travelling with married females as a couple, that all children would be travelling in a group, that orphans were fourteen years or older (technically single adults) and that some of the single adults would be travelling in a group (estimated to be two percent of single adult males and single adult females).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Estimate of Migrating Groups</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1836-1860</th>
<th>Victoria 1839-1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Married Males (Couples)</td>
<td>(46% of 40,838)</td>
<td>(46% of 39,989)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Males</td>
<td>(53% of 40,838)</td>
<td>(53% of 39,989)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single Females</td>
<td>(53% of 44,339)</td>
<td>(53% of 43,417)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed Males</td>
<td>(1% of 40,838)</td>
<td>(1% of 39,989)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed Females</td>
<td>(1% of 44,339)</td>
<td>(1% of 43,417)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>64,779</td>
<td>63,434</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Discount by 2% for single</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adults in groups</td>
<td>63,483</td>
<td>62,165</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As I had no data on which I could estimate the average size of migrating groups, I decided to sample at the group level for what would be a good sample at the individual level. For a 95% level of confidence and a 3% confidence interval, the sample size for individuals using the formula provided by Rea and Parker to correct for potential bias in samples in small populations.\(^6\)

Formula for small populations

\[
n = \frac{Z^2_{\alpha}(.25)N}{Z^2_{\alpha}(.25) + (N - 1)C^2_{p}}
\]

Rea & Parker’s calculation on sample size for population of 2,500

\[
n = \frac{(1.96)^2(.25)(2,500)}{(1.96)^2(.25) + 2,499(.03)^2}
\]

\[
= \frac{(3.84)(.25)(2,500)}{(3.84)(.25) + (2,499)(.0009)}
\]

\[
= \frac{2,408}{.9604 + 2.249}
\]

\[
= 749
\]

Calculations to Establish Sample Intervals for Assisted Immigrant Groups to NSW and Victoria 1837-1860

**NSW 1837-1860**

\[
n = \frac{(1.96)^2(.25)(63.483)}{(1.96)^2(.25) + 63.482(.03)^2}
\]

\[
= \frac{(3.84)(.25)(63.483)}{(3.84)(.25) + 63.481(.0009)}
\]

\[
= 60,943.68
\]

\[
0.96 + (63,481 \times .0009)
\]

\[
= 60,943.68
\]

\[
0.96 + 57.1329
\]

\[
= 60,943.68
\]

\[
58.0929
\]

\[
= 1049.07
\]

\[
= 1049
\]

Rounded to whole number

**Victoria 1839-1860**

\[
n = \frac{(1.96)^2(.25)(62,165)}{(1.96)^2(.25) + 62,164(.03)^2}
\]

\[
= \frac{(3.84)(.25)(62,165)}{(3.84)(.25) + 62,164(.0009)}
\]

\[
= 59,678.4
\]

\[
0.96 + (62,164 \times .0009)
\]

\[
= 59,678.4
\]

\[
0.96 + 55.9476
\]

\[
= 59,678.4
\]

\[
56,9076
\]

\[
= 1048.69
\]

\[
= 1049
\]

Rounded to whole number

---

This reveals the sample size should be 1,049 individuals to both Port Jackson and Victoria. To calculate the sample interval divide the total population by the desired sample size.

\[
\begin{array}{c|c|c|c|c|c|c}
& \text{N.S.W.} & \text{Victoria} & \text{N.S.W.} & \text{Victoria} \\
\hline
1836-1860 & 63,483 & 62,165 & 1,049 & 1,049 \\
= 60.50 & = 59.26 & & & \\
\end{array}
\]

For New South Wales the sample interval for individuals should be every 60.5 individual and for Victoria it should be every 59.60 individual. I have rounded both to every sixtieth interval. However, as I decided to sample the group at the interval suitable for an individual sample, I have sampled every sixtieth immigrating group to both places, recording all members of the group and their relationship. As a result I have derived the following results of 2,510 individuals in 1,123 groups to Port Jackson/New South Wales from 1837 to 1860 and 2,227 individuals in 990 groups to the Port Phillip District/Victoria from 1839 to 1860.

Table Appendix 1.1 Sample Results – Assistant Immigrants to New South Wales and Port Phillip District, 1837-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Individuals</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>Sydney 1837-1845</th>
<th>Sydney 1839-1844</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
<th>PPD 1839-1844</th>
<th>Total 1839-1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adult Males</td>
<td>336</td>
<td>539</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>518</td>
<td>628</td>
<td>1,503</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adult Females</td>
<td>351</td>
<td>635</td>
<td>986</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>847</td>
<td>967</td>
<td>1,953</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male Children</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>214</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>286</td>
<td>328</td>
<td>661</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female Children</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>316</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>271</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>620</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>932</td>
<td>1,578</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>1,922</td>
<td>2,227</td>
<td>4,737</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table Appendix 1.2 Sample Results – Assisted Immigrant Groups to New South Wales and Port Phillip District, 1837-1860

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1837-1860</th>
<th>N.S.W. 1837-1860</th>
<th>P.P.D. 1839-1860</th>
<th>P.P.D. 1839-1860</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Migrant-Group composition</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single males: no family</td>
<td>284</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>117</td>
<td>12%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single: females: no family</td>
<td>304</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>359</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male migrant-group heads: adult females</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2%</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>5%</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female migrant-group heads: adult males</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: no children</td>
<td>128</td>
<td>11%</td>
<td>131</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Couples: with children</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>246</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total no. groups</td>
<td>1,123</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>990</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of immigrants in samples</td>
<td>2,510</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,227</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Bibliography

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