THE FRENCH IN AUSTRALIA

Ailly PL Stuer

Immigration monograph series 2

THE FRENCH IN AUSTRALIA

Anny PL Stuer

Department of Demography
Institute of Advanced Studies
The Australian National University
Canberra
1982

First published in Australia 1982

Printed in Australia by
SOCPAC printery, Australian National University,
for the Department of Demography

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Stuer, Anny P.L.
The French in Australia.

Bibliography
ISBN 0 909409 15 3

1. French - Australia. I. Australian National University. Dept. of Demography. II. Title. (Series: Australian immigration monograph series; no.2).

994'.00441

Library of Congress No. 81-71136

Distributed by The Australian National University Press
CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA. MIAMI, FLORIDA.
and by The Department of Demography, P.O.Box 4,
Australian National University, Canberra,
Australia 2600.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor Dr.Charles Price for his encouragement and friendly assistance throughout my work and to Dr. Alan W.Martin and Professor W.D.Borrie for their time and advice during Dr. Price's sabbatical leave.

I would also like to thank Jenny Stokes of the Australian Archives Office in Canberra and Mr. Gibbs of the La Trobe Library, Melbourne, for their help in obtaining valuable material. My thanks are also due to the staff of the Menzies Library, Australian National University; the National Library, Canberra; the Mitchell Library, Sydney; the State Archives Offices of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia; and to those Australian and French people who spontaneously provided me with information and references.

I also wish to thank Pat Pyne and Pat Quiggin of the Department of Demography for their availability to discuss technical matters; and those persons who helped me during the latter stages of writing, particularly Margaret Schock, Barbara Addison and Kathie Walker for the typing, Flavia Fernandez for proofreading, Keith Mitchell for the final drawing of the maps and Daphne Broers-Freeman for seeing the work through Press.

Finally I would like to thank my husband Garry for his support and help during this study.

PREFACE

Very slowly Australia is acquiring high quality histories of its immigrant groups: Anny Stuer's survey of the French in Australia is a welcome addition to this, as yet, not very large number.

Many British people find the French an enigma - both in Europe and elsewhere. Dr. Stuer's work does much to clarify things for Australia though, even then, there remains a strange contrast. On the one hand there is the considerable impact of the French nation and culture on Australia, as may be seen in the fears aroused by French explorers at French moves in New Caledonia and the New Hebrides, by French becoming the main foreign language in Australian Schools, by the proliferation of cultural groups such as the Alliance Francaise or of French schools such as those of the Marist brothers: on the other hand is the fact that the French have never settled in Australia in large numbers, nothing like the Germans, Italian, Greeks and Yogoslavs. From 5,000 or so in 1961 - brought in by the gold rushes - numbers of French-born persons dwindled steadily to 2,200 in 1947, and have only recently risen to 6,600 in 1966 and 12,100 in 1976; compared with 285,000 Italian-born persons or 147,000 Yugoslav, this is small indeed.

Though relatively few in number, however, the French made a notable impact - in the goldfields, in winegrowing, in the sciences and arts, in commerce and banking, in social life and entertainment. Sometimes they even formed small colonies - as in Sydney late last century. Mostly, though, they were widely dispersed and scattered, inter-mixed and inter-married considerably and were generally very different from French settlers in Quebec or Louisiana.

The whole story is quite fascinating and Dr.Stuer writes it up clearly and well, at times in an amusing, almost piquant, manner. She is particularly to be congratulated on putting together such an interesting and coherent account from the scattered, and often very meagre, evidence available to her. We are glad to have this volume in our Immigration Series.

Charles Price
February 1982

ABSTRACT

This thesis outlines the course of French immigration and settlement in Australia, concentrating on the years 1788-1947. It also briefly reviews the early explorations of the French navigators along the Australian coast (as witness the French place names) and the recent developments of the period 1947-1976. It uses various statistical and historical materials, both published and unpublished; the former reveal the patterns of immigration and settlement, the latter illustrate these patterns and bring to light both the reasons for the presence of the French in Australia and their contributions to its development.

Although the immigration of French people into Australia has always been relatively small and their settlement scattered, their presence has been noticeable throughout the history of Australia, not only through the French culture and language but in such different areas as farming, winegrowing, science, technology and trade. The friendly relations which France and Australia entertained during the two World wars have also been important in maintaining the French presence in Australia.

The immigration of the French into Australia has usually been one of individuals who came to this part of the world because they had some interest here (land, gold, wool, diffusion of French culture, etc.) and subsequently settled, as individuals rather than as members of ethnic settlements. This limited the number of ethnic communities and organizations, though a few did appear and survive. In spite of their small numbers and scattered settlement, however, the French in Australia have often successfully contributed to the development of many areas, as many were well-qualified and enterprising settlers.

Because of their small numbers, but even more so because of their characteristics and patterns of immigration and settlement, the history of the French in Australia is very different from that of most other immigrant populations.

CONTENTS

		Page
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS		iii
PREFACE		iv
ABSTRACT		v
LIST OF TABLES		ix
LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS		xiii
ABBREVIATIONS		xiv
CHAPTER I :	INTRODUCTION	1
	Aim of Study	1
	Review of Previous Research	4
	Sources	6
	Census and Migration Statistics	6
	Naturalization Records	7
	Description	7
	Representativeness and Coverage	9
	Archival and Library Sources	14
	Informants	14
	Questionnaire	15
	Conclusion	16
CHAPTER II :	PROLOGUE : THE FRENCH OVERSEAS, IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION	17
	French Expansion in the World	17
	Interest in the Southern Lands of the Pacific	19
	French Exploratory Voyages in the Pacific and Place Names in Australia	23
	French Presence in the Pacific in Relation to Australia	34
	Conclusion	38
CHAPTER III :	EARLY FRENCH SETTLERS IN AUSTRALIA, 1788-1851	40
	Convicts and Refugees: 1788-1820	40
	Convicts	41
	Refugees	43
	Free Immigrants: 1820-1851	46
	The "Elite"	52
	Whalers	59
	Winegrowers	61
	Conclusion	65

		Page
CHAPTER IV :	THE GOLD RUSH IN VICTORIA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR FRENCH IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA 1852-1871	67
	French Adventurers on the Victorian Goldfields	67
	To the Goldfields	69
	Life on the Goldfields	73
	End of the Adventure	84
	The Settlers in the Colonies	86
	Professionals	87
	Tradesmen	90
	Salesmen	91
	Farmers	94
	Winegrowers	95
	Conclusion	107
CHAPTER V :	IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT 1872-1891	109
	The French in Sydney - Beginning of Wool Trade	113
	Main Occupation Groups	117
	Skilled and Semi-Skilled Workers	117
	Agriculture	117
	Farmers	117
	Winegrowers	118
	The Cultivated Elite	123
	Men of Science	123
	Teachers	125
	Social Life	128
	Churches	128
	Associations	129
	Entertainments	130
	The Convicts of New Caledonia	131
	Conclusion	136
CHAPTER VI :	CHANGES IN IMMIGRATION PATTERNS 1892-1914	139
	Decline in Settlers' Arrivals and their Characteristics	139
	Social Activities	148
	French Associations and their Representativeness	148
	Churches	149
	Le Courrier Australien	150
	The New Occupational Pattern	154
	Increase in Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers	154
	Farmers	158
	Winegrowers	160
	The Wool Trade	161
	Conclusion	165

		Page
CHAPTER VII :	THE TURBULENT YEARS 1915-1945	167
	The Australian Serviceman in France and the Consequences thereof	167
	Characteristics of the French Population in Australia	173
	Occupations	180
	Progress in French-Australian Trade	184
	Population Distribution and Diffusion of French Culture	187
	French and Australians in World War II	190
	Conclusion	192
CHAPTER VIII :	EPILOGUE: POST-WAR IMMIGRATION TRENDS 1947-1976	193
	Increase in French Arrivals and its Consequences	193
	Motivation for Emigration to Australia	193
	Arrivals, Departures, Settler Losses.	201
	Naturalization	203
	Marriage Patterns and Second-Generation of French-born Persons	206
	Social and Cultural Activities	210
	Adaptation Problems	210
	Cultural Developments	212
	French Economic Interests in Australia	213
	Trade	213
	Investments	213
	Conclusion	215
CHAPTER IX :	CONCLUSION	217
	French Interests in Australia	218
	Immigration	219
	Origin and Settlement	220
	Social Life	222
	Cultural Impact	224
	Occupations	225
	Contribution to Australia	226
	Assimilation - Conclusion	228
APPENDIX I :	French Religious Orders Coming to Australia, in Chronological Order	229
APPENDIX II :	French Associations in Australia, 1976	230
BIBLIOGRAPHY		232

LIST OF TABLES

Table		Page
1.1	Estimate of the coverage of the naturalization records 1848-1891	10
1.2	Proportion of French males naturalized, where information is available: 1891-1911	11
1.3	Naturalization of French-born males: 1921-1947	13
3.1	French arrivals in the United States: 1820-1850	47
3.2	Characteristics of naturalized French males arriving 1829-1851	50
4.1	Nationalities, other than British, on the goldfields and in Victoria: 1854-1871	69
4.2	Age of naturalized French males at arrival: 1852-1871	71
4.3	Sex ratio of the French in Victoria and on the goldfields, compared to other nationalities	71
4.4	Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1852-1871	73
4.5	Distribution of the French on the Victorian goldfields, compared with other foreign and total population (per cent)	74
4.6	Occupations held by persons arriving 1852-57 and becoming naturalized in various periods later	85
4.7	Number of French-born males and females in Australian colonies: 1854-1871	86
4.8	Occupations of French males at the time of their naturalization: 1852-1871	88
5.1	Number of French-born males and females in the Australian colonies: 1871-1891	111
5.2	Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1872-1891	112
5.3	Occupations of French males naturalized between 1872-1891	116

Table		Page
6.1	Proportion of French emigrants by region of settlement and decade: 1851-1925	140
6.2	French-born persons in Australia: 1891-1911	141
6.3	Arrivals of French nationals in Australia: 1902-1914	142
6.4	Ages of French-born males in Australia	142
6.5	Marital status of French-born males and females in Australia: 1891-1911	144
6.6	Distribution of French-born persons in Australia: 1891-1911	146
6.7	Occupations of French males naturalized 1892-1914, compared to previous periods	155
6.8	Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1892-1914	157
6.9	Australia: imports from and exports to France, 1895-1915	163
6.10	Australia: imports from and exports to New Caledonia, 1895-1915	164
7.1	Number of French-born persons in Australia by sex: 1891-1947	170
7.2	Total arrivals and departures of French nationality: 1915-1947	171
7.3	Marriages of French-born in Australia: 1907-1947	172
7.4	Marriages between French and Australians: 1907-1947	172
7.5	Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1915-1946	174
7.6	Total arrivals of French nationality according to country of origin: 1941-1946	175
7.7	Age of the French-born population: 1921-1947	177
7.8	Period of residence of the French: 1911-1947	178
7.9	Naturalization of French-born persons: 1911-1947	179
7.10	Occupational status of French-born persons in Australia: 1921-1947	181

Table		Page
7.11	Occupations of French males naturalized between 1915-1946 compared with males in the workforce, census 1947	183
7.12	Australia: imports from and exports to France, 1915-1947	186
7.13	Distribution of the French-born in Australia, per state by sex, 1921-1947	188
7.14	Distribution of French-born within each state, excluding migratory population: 1921-1947	189
8.1	Settler arrivals of French nationality: 1947-1976	196
8.2	Number of persons born in France per state by sex 1947-1976	197
8.3	Settler arrivals of French-born by age-group, 1967-1971	199
8.4	Age of the French-born population: 1947-1971 (per cent)	200
8.5	Foreign-born populations in Australia: 1947-1976	201
8.6	Yearly average of total arrivals and departures of French nationality: 1915-1976	202
8.7	Arrivals and departures of French by birthplace and nationality, 1959-1976	202
8.8	Estimates of settler arrivals and loss by various birthplaces: 1947-1976	204
8.9a	Citizenship of persons born in France: 1947-1966	205
8.9b	Citizenship of persons born in France: 1966-1971	205
8.10	Marriages of French-born persons in Australia: 1919-1976	205
8.11	Proportions of in-marriages of foreign-born persons in Australia: 1947-1976	207
8.12	Births from French parents: 1919-1976	208
8.13	Confinements from foreign-born parents: 1947-1976	209

Table		Page
8.14	Australia: imports from and exports to France, 1947-1976	214
9.1	Origins of naturalized French males: 1848-1946	221

LIST OF MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS

Maps		Page
Map I	France-Provincial Boundaries	xv
Map II	French Place Names in Australia	29

Illustrations

Map of the goldfields, reproduced from C. Brout, Guide des émigrants aux mines d'or, Paris, 1855	70
French Camp at Ballarat (reproduction from E. Von Guerard)	76
Proclamation (in French) of the French Consul in Melbourne, 3 December 1854	79
Revue Australienne, January 1874	114
First issue of Le Courrier Australien, oldest serving foreign-language newspaper in Australia, 30 April 1892	151

ABBREVIATIONS

N.S.W.	New South Wales
Vic.	Victoria
Qld	Queensland
Tas.	Tasmania
S.A.	South Australia
W.A.	Western Australia
N.T.	Northern Territory
A.C.T.	Australian Capital Territory
A.B.S.	Australian Bureau of Statistics
A.D.B.	Australian Dictionary of Biography
H.R.N.S.W.	Historical Records of New South Wales
H.R.A.	Historical Records of Australia
R.A.H.S.	Royal Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings
V.H.M.	Victorian Historical Magazine
W.A.H.S.	Western Australian Historical Society Journal and Proceedings

Map I: France - Provincial Boundaries

Note: These provinces are the places of origin of French settlers in Australia, as referred to in the text and tables.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Aim of Study

The French presence overseas is more often felt through its cultural representations than through its people. Many countries are familiar with the Alliance Française or with French cuisine and couture, but not many have ever witnessed appreciable numbers of French arriving at their air- or seaports. While other European people have been contributing to the large-scale migrations towards the Americas, Australia and New Zealand, the French, excepting earlier small settlements in Canada, Louisiana and the West Indies, have remained within their borders, contenting themselves with moving to the nearest city or port, most of all to Paris which is much more attractive to them than remote, unknown countries. However, from Paris or from some French port, a few have embarked on a ship taking them to one of these remote countries. Their small number sometimes intrigues the layman who wonders why there are not more French people in his country, suspecting all the same that the French are home-loving, travellers but not emigrants, that they have good food, good wine and a happy life-style, so why would they emigrate? But when it is realized that there are a few French after all, in every country, the other question arises: why do they emigrate at all since they have such good food and wine and a gay life in Paris?

These questions are particularly obvious in Australia: why, in such a large influx of immigrants as Australia has received, are the French so few? And why are there some of them after all? (Four thousand by the turn of the twentieth century and twelve thousand today.) What attracted them to Australia? Did they look for a new homeland? Or did they seek to establish commercial and cultural links? Did they come and go as adventurers, visitors and businessmen, or did they stay and contribute as permanent settlers, like some other ethnic groups? Did they distinguish themselves as a different group or did they bear the same characteristics as other ethnic groups? Did they actually form a group at all?

While it is generally understood and accepted that people emigrate with the intention of improving their economic situation, it is not so generally conceived that other factors may intervene in the decision of a potential emigrant, even if these are not classic push-factors such as religious persecution or political upheaval. The French obviously emigrated more during times of domestic turmoil; however, they rarely reacted to these events with the same intensity and desire to flee their country as did other nationalities. When such reactions did occur, only small numbers were involved, certainly not mass migration. The main exception was the Huguenots, who left in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries because of the pressure organized by the French government which culminated in 1685 with the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. About 250,000 fled to other European countries and to the United States of America.[1] The 1789 Revolution also induced the emigration of 130,000 people, but this was only a temporary move as many eventually returned to France.[2]

Furthermore, during the last two centuries France has had no, or very little, demographic pressure. Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the excess of births over deaths was relatively small because of low natality and large-scale losses of men during wars; from 1914 until 1946, the net reproduction rate was quite often less than unity.[3] As a result, immigration became necessary to avoid economic and social disruption. Until World War I, French immigration kept a relatively free and spontaneous character, except for a few independent organizations which sponsored a small number of immigrants. From 1919 onwards the government played a greater part, signing immigration agreements with other countries as a result of which 2,000,000 foreign workers came to France between 1921 and 1935.[4] France then became one of the main immigration countries in the world, ranking just behind the U.S.A. (although as a proportion of her population, France received more immigrants than the U.S.A. did: 515 for every 100,000 inhabitants in France as against 192 for every 100,000 in the U.S.A.).[5]

---

1. A.J. Grant, The Huguenots, London, 1934, pp. 176, 180.
2. D. Greer, The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution, Cambridge, 1951, pp. 94-96.
3. R. Debré and A. Sauvy, Des Français pour la France, Paris, 1946, pp. 30-31.
4. A. Girard and J. Stoetzel, Français et immigrés, Paris, 1953, pp. 9-11.
5. Debré and Sauvy, op. cit., p. 89.

Because of the country's need for a larger population and its relatively stable political regimes, few citizens wished to emigrate beyond the French borders. Therefore a study of French immigrants abroad or overseas does not hinge on their numbers,which is always comparatively small, or entail great stress on demographic features. Demographic studies reveal the evolution of migrations and characteristics of immigrants such as age, occupation, distribution and period of residence, but they do not by themselves reveal motivations or contributions to the new country. In order to deal with these aspects of French immigration into Australia, this study will cover historical and social matters more generally and refer to a wide range of documents elucidating the reasons for the presence of the French in Australia, their contributions and influence in cultural and economic fields, in exploration, agriculture, science and technology.

The movement of French to Australia roughly follows the movement to the U.S.A., which then brings up the question: why did some come to Australia instead of joining their fellow-countrymen moving to the U.S.A., since it was more costly to travel to the southern seas than across the Atlantic? (The French did not benefit from assisted passages until after World War II.)

Part of the answer lies in the history of France as a great trading and exploring nation. The French had in fact long been attracted to the Southern Continent, as witness the numerous French ships exploring the Australian coast in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, sometimes arousing British fears that the French government intended to colonize. Moreover, when the colony of New South Wales was still only very young, a few French pioneers settled among British officials and convicts: these were a miscellaneous collection of refugees of the 1789 Revolution, convicts, officials, merchants, farmers, whalers and missionaries.

But the first important influx of French immigrants to Australia occurred in the 1850s with the discovery of gold in Victoria, coinciding with a period of economic and political disturbances in France under the dictatorship of Napoléon III.

A second wave of French immigrants arrived in the 1870s and 1880s as a result of the Franco-Prussian war and the subsequent civil war (the Commune), and because of a severe agricultural depression, due partly to the phylloxera which destroyed the vineyards and ruined many French winegrowers who then decided to emigrate to countries favourable to winegrowing.

Industrial unrest in the first decade of the twentieth century, particularly between 1906 and 1909, also resulted in emigration towards Australia.

Then French emigration declined drastically and, apart from a slight rise after World War I, was not to resume until after World War II. The recent post-war period will not be studied in detail: the much greater volume of immigration makes this period much more complex, sufficient to warrant a thesis on its own if done in the same way as for earlier years; furthermore, the post-war period is too close for certain important documentary sources to be available, the naturalization records, for instance. However, as certain pre-war trends and patterns continued into the post-war years, a brief epilogue has been provided for the period 1947-1976.

Although the decision to emigrate was partly influenced by the political and economic situation in France - as the time periods of French emigration indicate - their reasons for moving to Australia have to be sought in a broader political, economic and cultural context, where interactions with England, colonial expansion in the Pacific, attraction of gold, opportunities to use their expertise and urgent need of wool all played a decisive part.

Review of Previous Research

Very little work has been done on the French in Australia. There is no book or thesis devoted entirely to them, though mention must be made of a study of the influence of the French in the early years of the colony of New South Wales,[1] and a sociological study of the Australian image of the French.[2]

In his book, Non-Britishers in Australia, Jens Lyng wrote a few pages on the French, often unfortunately without giving any reference to his sources.[3] A French publication, L'Annuaire français d'Australie[4] (French Directory),

---

1. M. Moran, The Influence of the French in early Australia 1788-1810, B.A. Honours, Macquarie University, 1972.
2. V. Sauran, The Australian Image of the French and France, Ph.D. thesis, University of New South Wales, 1971.
3. Jens Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, Melbourne, 1927, pp. 114-22.
4. Annuaire Français d'Australie, Editions du Courrier Australien, Sydney. The first issue appeared in 1958 and it has been published ever since every year or every second year. The 1961 issue in particular presents "French People in Australia", an article by Jean Miller, pp. 10-21.

sometimes relates the main events in the history of the French in Australia, or one aspect of their history, but here too without any references. W.D. Borrie very briefly refers to the French as follows: "These will not be considered separately in this outline because they never became the nucleus of an expanding minority."[1] Charles Price also refers to them in his Southern Europeans in Australia,[2] but the Southern French represent a very small population among the Southern Europeans in general and are dealt with accordingly.

The main topic involving the study of the French in Australia has been the exploration of the Australian continent. Numerous historians have published work on this, as for instance E. Scott, E. Favenc, P.U. Henn, L.A. Triebel and J.C. Batt, and C. Cornell.[3] But these are all confined to the expeditions themselves and to the political, imperial and scientific forces and circumstances surrounding them; they rarely discuss the general interest of the French people in the Pacific and the immigration of those French families settling there.

A few French writers, when visiting Australia or living here for a certain period, wrote books on Australia in which they inserted a chapter or a few pages about their fellow nationals. The main ones are O. Comettant, G. Crivelli, R. Loubère and J. Villeminot.[4] Several other French writers who will be referred to later, mentioned their meetings with some French people and sometimes gave their opinion about the French immigrant in general, but these comments never amounted to a detailed study. So, apart from exploration and a few popular characters and moments in the history of the French in

---

1. W.D. Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia, Melbourne, 1954, in the chapter "Non-Britishers in Australia", p. 35.

2. Charles A. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, Melbourne, 1963.

3. E. Scott, Terre Napoléon: a History of French Explorers and Projects in Australia, London, 1910. E. Favenc, The Explorers of Australia and their Life Work, Christchurch, 1908; more particularly "Maritime discoveries", Part II, pp. 295-318. P.U. Henn, "French explorers on the West Australian coast", W.A.H.S., Vol. 2, 1934, pp. 1-21. L.A. Triebel and J.C. Batt, French Explorers of Australia, Editions du Courrier Australien, Sydney, 1943. C. Cornell, Questions relating to Nicolas Baudin's Australian Expedition, 1800-1804, Adelaide, 1965.

4. O. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous et des mines d'or, Paris, 1890. G. Crivelli, L'Australie et le Pacifique, Paris, 1923, pp. 185-99. R. Loubère, Australie, cinquième continent, Paris, 1953, pp. 14-15, 159-62. J. Villeminot, L'Australie blanche, Paris, 1954, pp. 151-65.

Australia recounted in scattered books, journals, newspapers and magazines such as the Bulletin,[1] there has been little research done on this topic. Certainly, in such a new and multi-cultural society as Australia's where many ethnic groups have been the subjects of detailed studies, it is time that the French receive more attention; herein lies the origin and purpose of this present study: to trace French presence, immigration and settlement in Australia from the time they explored the Pacific and settled in New South Wales until 1947, with a brief introduction to the next period, 1947 and later.

Sources

This work involved research in many different areas and subjects which rarely offered consistent information. The basic demographic materials used are the censuses, statistical publications and naturalization records. But a large amount of literature in the form of books, unpublished manuscripts and documents, newspapers and archival papers, is also used, partly in its own right and partly to illustrate the demographic patterns and trends emerging from an analysis of the censuses and naturalization records.

Census and Migration Statistics

The colonial censuses up to 1901 gave relatively little information on the French in Australia, even though the French were separately recorded as far back as 1836 (see the 1866 census of South Australia). The amount of data varied at each census and for each colony but was basically limited to sex, marital status and citizenship and sometimes geographical distribution (urban/rural); even these, however, were not complete. Data on occupations, ages, period of residence and so on were either not collected or not analysed. It was not until the first Commonwealth census in 1911 that more consistent and more varied tables appeared, giving data on ages, marital status, occupations, distribution, period of residence, citizenship, etc.

So far as statistics of arrivals and departures are concerned, these were not published until the twentieth century. The Commonwealth Year Book reported arrivals by nationality from 1902 onwards and departures from 1914.

---

1. Anon., "The Australian family: the French", The Bulletin, 28 August 1976.

It was about this time too that the annual Commonwealth publication, Demography Bulletin, began to give information on the demographic characteristics of the Australian population and its components. This series has been used in relation to vital statistics such as marriages by birthplace of bride and groom and confinements by birthplace of parents. The Demography Bulletin also gives details of arrivals by nationality from 1907 and departures from 1914. Finally, the Consolidated Statistics published by the Department of Immigration since 1967 have been used in relation to the settler movement: the settler category was introduced in 1959 to distinguish those who declare they intend to settle permanently from other, less permanent arrivals. Before 1959, arrivals were distinguished between "permanent" (a year or more) and "temporary" (less than a year); the "permanent" category lumped together genuine new settlers, Australian residents returning to Australia after trips abroad of more than a year and long-term visitors (businessmen, students). This did not enable the Department of Immigration to measure the success of its attempts to attract new settlers after World War II. New entry and exit cards were produced, allowing for distinction between settlers, residents and visitors, grouped in the statistics into three main categories: permanent; long-term movement of a year or more (these two together being the equivalent of the former "permanent"); and short-term movement of less than a year (the equivalent of the former "temporary"). Another major alteration in 1959 was the introduction of birthplace as distinct from nationality which was much affected by naturalization.[1]

Naturalization Records

Description. Because of the meagre information provided by the colonial censuses and migration statistics, and the absence of data on origins, date of arrival, age at arrival, settler's occupations and so on, it was decided to create the necessary statistics from the naturalization records. These records have been used for the study of other ethnic groups, notably the Southern Europeans by Charles Price and the Scandinavians by Olavi Koivukangas. The reliability of these records has been demonstrated in these studies as well as their representativeness.[2]

---

1. Charles A. Price, "Some problems of international migration statistics: an Australian case study", Population Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1, July 1965, pp. 17-20.

2. Charles A. Price, The Method and Statistics of 'Southern Europeans in Australia', Canberra 1963, pp. 1-4. O. Koivukangas, Scandinavian immigration and settlement in Australia before World War II, Turku, Finland, 1974, pp. 26-39.

From 1848 until 1903 (when the Commonwealth implemented the constitutional powers given it by the Imperial Act of 1900 to control matters of immigration and nationality), each colony was empowered to grant naturalization to its qualified aliens who wished to become British citizens, under the authority of an Imperial Act of 1848; therefore each colony has a separate series of records. For this study, the application papers and certificates concerning French settlers in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia were examined, the Victorian and South Australian records in the Australian Archives office in Canberra, and the New South Wales records in the Archives Office of New South Wales, Sydney. Those in Queensland, Tasmania and Western Australia have not been consulted, because either numbers were few or the records were very defective. Only twelve certificates of naturalization were issued to French persons in Western Australia between 1871 and 1903;[1] moreover, these are not indexed or classified and provide little information, neither year of arrival nor region of origin. I was advised by the Western Australia Archives officer, when I was in Perth, not to spend time going through all the certificates. As for Tasmania, not only do the records contain relatively little information, but only two certificates were granted between 1881 and 1903.[2] Those in Queensland also lack any information on year of arrival, age and origin. The only relevant characteristics are place of residence and occupation; furthermore, there is no access to the certificates, but only to the butts. So it was also decided not to go to Queensland to collect such defective information, though numbers were much larger: 95 for the years 1880-1895.[3]

Therefore, for the colonial period, the information provided by the naturalization records (724 altogether) actually deals with the French in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia and, more precisely, with the French males only. Females have not been included in the analysis as most wives were included on their husbands' certificates and only twenty-two were naturalized in their own right. However, in 1901 these three States contained 82 per cent of the French population in Australia.

---

1. "Naturalization", Western Australia Statistical Register, 1903, p. 91.
2. "Naturalization", Statistics of Tasmania, 1881-1903. For both Western Australia and Tasmania, statistics on naturalization are not available prior to 1871 and 1881 respectively.
3. "Population: Naturalization", Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland 1885-1895. Prior to 1880 these statistics are not available, and after 1896 they are only available for "Other European".

So far as the Commonwealth period is concerned, the main source was the summary of information on each naturalization application form submitted by every second French settler applying for naturalization, 1904-1946 (there were 1,399 applications for that period); this sample of one in two naturalization application forms was compiled by Charles Price of the Demography Department, Australian National University, when he and his assistants sampled all the Commonwealth naturalization records 1904-1946, varying the sampling fraction according to the size of the immigrant group. Though Dr Price had exhaustively analysed the naturalization records for Southern and Eastern Europeans, he had not analysed the French records - except to sort them very roughly into areas of origin. He was very glad to give me access to them in order to analyse and assess them in the context of French immigration generally. The sampling ratio for the French being high, the possibilities of sampling errors are small; nevertheless, care has been taken not to insist on the significance of small differences.

Generally the naturalization records from the colonial period and the Commonwealth period represent the main source of statistical information and a very helpful elaboration of the material given by the censuses.

Representativeness and Coverage. The next step was to estimate what proportion of the total French population did become naturalized and how well these naturalized persons represent the French population in Australia.

During the nineteenth century, the colonial censuses did not provide any statistics on naturalizations - except for New South Wales and Western Australia in 1891. Therefore, to determine how many of the total French population became naturalized last century, all one could do was to make a rough estimate by comparing the cumulative number of naturalizations granted to French males from 1848 up to the date of the census being examined, say 1871 or 1891, with the total number of French males recorded in that census (since males only were taken into account in the analysis); or, so far as this work is concerned, to compare the cumulative number of naturalized French males in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia with the total number of males in these colonies at any particular census. This does not take into account the mortality and departure of some naturalized French persons, so the real proportion is actually lower than the one obtained. Table 1.1 indicates that in the nineteenth century, a maximum of 15 per cent of the French population became naturalized, and fewer still in their earlier period of settlement.

Table 1.1: Estimate of the coverage of the naturalization records 1848-1891*

Census	Birthplace France	Total number granted naturalization	Coverage per cent
1861	1621	158	9.7
1871	1674	243	14.5
1881	2460	318	12.9
1891	2791	443	15.9

* from the colonies of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia

Source: Censuses of New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, 1861, 1871, 1881, 1891.
Naturalization Records.

By the turn of the century one can make a better estimate, as the 1901 censuses of most colonies and the first Commonwealth census of Australia in 1911 indicate the number of persons of specified birthplaces who had become naturalized British subjects. The proportion of naturalized French males increased from about 15 per cent in 1901 (which is also indicative of the proportion for the nineteenth century) to 54 per cent in 1911 (see Table 1.2). This important increase in the proportion of naturalized persons is largely due to the changes in immigration patterns which occurred during that period. By 1911 the French population had substantially decreased - by about one-third compared to 1891 when the French population was at its peak - and consisted largely of long-term residents. This led to an increase in the proportion of naturalized persons, particularly between 1901 and 1911, as many French applied for naturalization only after a long period of residence (almost 41 per cent of the French males who became naturalized between 1848 and 1946 had been living in Australia for more than twenty years; only 31 per cent were naturalized within ten years of residence and the remaining 28 per cent waited between ten and twenty years).[1]

1. Naturalization Records.

Table 1.2: Proportion of French males naturalized, where information is available: 1891-1911

Census		Birthplace France	British by parentage	Remainder	Naturalized		Unnaturalized	
					No.	%	No.	%
1891	N.S.W.	1585	92	1493	147	9.8	1346	90.2
	W.A.	62	3	59	3	5.1	56	94.9
1901	N.S.W.	1354	101	1253	161	12.8	1092	87.2
	Vic.	633	67	566	106	18.7	460	81.3
	S.A.[a]	155	13	142	20	14.1	122	85.9
	W.A.	170	16	154	17[b]	11.0	137	89.0
	Total	2312	197	2115	304	14.4	1811	85.6
1911	Australia	1973	319	1654	896	54.2	758	45.8

Note: [a] including Northern Territory (figure revised by the 1911 Census of Australia).

[b] This figure is higher than the one indicated by the Statistical Register of Western Australia (i.e. 10 for the period 1871-1901). It includes either naturalized French settlers who came over to Western Australia during the gold-rush from other colonies, or old settlers who became naturalized prior to 1871.

Sources: Censuses of New South Wales and Western Australia, 1891.
Censuses of New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia and Western Australia, 1901.
Census of Australia, 1911.

However, 1911 recorded the highest proportion of naturalized persons in the twentieth century. This was to decrease in the following years, to about 30 per cent (see Table 1.3). The proportions indicated in Table 1.3 were obtained by comparing the "nationality" and "birthplace" statistics given in the censuses since 1921. Here too, the proportions are only approximations because the French citizens taking British citizenship in Australia were not all born in France (some were born in New Caledonia, for instance) while not all persons born in France were French citizens on arrival in Australia: a few were born of British parents living in France and had British nationality by birth, and others were already naturalized British citizens before coming to Australia, when settled in the United Kingdom or some other British colony. Allowing for these anomalies, Table 1.3 suggests that the proportion of naturalized to total French persons at the 1921, 1933 and 1947 censuses was approximately 30 per cent which, including the 1911 census, averages at about 40 per cent for the twentieth century, against only 15 per cent in the nineteenth century.

Even though the estimated coverage of the naturalization records is sometimes small, particularly in the nineteenth century, it nevertheless represents the most stable elements of the French population, as these were sufficiently settled to want to take British citizenship. Their reasons for becoming naturalized, as given on their application forms, were mainly "to settle and have citizen's rights": these represented about 60 per cent of the cases; another 30 per cent became naturalized to benefit from the old age pension - which was another way of indicating that they were settlers. Other reasons were: to acquire land or business; to join the RAAF; to enter the public service; to restore wife's nationality.

In sum, the naturalization records represent the French settlers - as opposed to temporary residents and visitors - and enable one to determine some patterns of French immigration and settlement in Australia, when data are not available in official migration statistics.

Table 1.3: Naturalization of French-born males: 1921-1947

	Birthplace France	Nationality French	Nationality British	Percentage naturalized
1921	1868	1221	647	34.6
1933	1273	924	349	27.4
1947	1077	770	307	28.5

Sources: Census of Australia 1921, 1933, 1947.

Archival and Library Sources

Archival papers were consulted in the Australian Archives and State Archives offices when relevant to French immigration and settlement.

Fieldwork was undertaken in Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide and Perth to search for any documentation on the French and to interview French immigrants or their descendants. I worked in the Mitchell Library in Sydney, the La Trobe Library in Melbourne, the State Library of South Australia in Adelaide and the Battye Library in Perth; in all these libraries I consulted rare books, manuscripts, old and recent newspapers and other documents, in both French and English. The French newspaper Le Courrier Australien, published weekly in Sydney since April 1892 and monthly since October 1973, was most helpful in providing details on the activities of the French in Australia from 1892 until today, although numerous Australian newspapers were consulted too, as later references will show.

The most helpful historical documentation was found in Sydney and Melbourne. In Adelaide, the best information was concerned with winegrowing. In Perth, there was very little not already available in the National Library, and information obtained from people was very limited as the French population in Western Australia has, until recently, been very small. It was partly because of this that I did not visit Queensland and Tasmania; Tasmania always had a very small French population, and Queensland did not seem to offer any substantial material that was not already available in Canberra. Some information on French settlers in these States was obtained by correspondence with the Oxley Library in Brisbane and the State Library of Tasmania, and also through personal contacts.

I should add that while on a visit to my family in France, I spent a little time in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, looking for material on French immigrants in Australia. Relevant and new information was very scarce as most of the literature was available in Australia, or limited to the description of Australia.

Informants

Information was also gathered by writing and talking to those persons who, through their professions, had and have contact with French immigrants or interests. They worked either in French associations, such as the Alliance Française, the Association Franco-Australienne (French-Australian

Association) and the Société de Bienfaisance (Benevolent Society); or in the Departments of Immigration and Education; others were members of the Catholic Church. People working in the fields I was interested in - such as winegrowing and commerce - also helped me with information. Generally speaking, little of the information I obtained came from French immigrants themselves. Admittedly, when I was dealing with a particular French settler, his or her family were usually co-operative and helpful; when it came to more general information, I usually found more help from Australians. The Australians I consulted generally showed more interest and enthusiasm in the study and knew more about the French in Australia than the French did. (However, most organizers of French associations in Australia as well as the French in France were interested.) The French in Australia were often reserved and suspicious, even more so when they received a questionnaire.

In brief, the information obtained from these non-statistical sources was scrappy and scattered, covering many different subjects and areas but seldom revealing a major development (the exploration of Australia by the French is an exception). The problem was to link all these pieces of information together and, having done so, discover whether any major themes emerged. The chapters which follow suggest that, despite the scattered nature of the settlement and the fragmented and scrappy character of the sources, there are indeed some major themes which throw light, not only on the French in Australia, but also on the general topic of immigration and settlement.

Questionnaire

It is appropriate in this introduction to say a few words about my attempted survey or, more precisely, the questionnaire I distributed to French people: 830 questionnaires were mailed to French persons whose names I collected from the Annuaire français d'Australie, and 570 were distributed by French associations and other people who, through their occupations and activities, are regularly involved with French immigrants. Messages were broadcast on the French radio programme (Radio-Australie); notes about the thesis and the questionnaire were printed in several newsletters of French associations and also in the September 1976 issue of the Courrier Australien. Many letters were written and many people were involved. The reason for the questionnaire, at a time when I was still undecided how thoroughly to analyse and write up the post-war years, was to find out about the problems,

hopes and prospects of present-day French immigrants, their reactions to Australia and Australian people. The questionnaire was short, requiring only fifteen or, at the most, thirty minutes to complete, and did not invade personal privacy. However, it aroused suspicion, sometimes antagonism or just plain indifference, though a few did reply properly and helpfully. Despite the effort involved, the rate of non-response was very high, 84 per cent, and because of this, the questionnaire will not be presented in this thesis except as a reference or to support statements based on other evidence.

Conclusion

The present work, then, covers various aspects of French immigration and settlement in Australia, concentrating on the years 1788-1947 in particular, using historical and demographic material, bringing to light the reasons for the presence of the French in Australia and their contributions to its development, which are so far relatively unknown and frequently misunderstood.

CHAPTER II

PROLOGUE: THE FRENCH OVERSEAS, IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION

French Expansion in the World

> "The Frenchman often emigrates on the spur of the moment. With an incredible flexibility, he becomes a 'jack of all trades': he can be a ballet teacher, an actor, a confectioner and most of all a pastry-baker. He has but one idea in mind: to become rich quickly and I do not blame him, to come back to the boulevards to spend his fortune happily. He is so deeply attached to his native country; he loves his fatherland so much that he is like a bee flying from flower to flower to extract a bit of its nectar, but whose fixed idea is to go back to the beehive - he is so light too, and so fond of the buzzing of Paris."[1]

The writer who made this comment after travelling around the world and meeting French people, certainly reflected a true picture of many French immigrants: unstable, homesick, with one goal in mind, going back home. These impressions are confirmed by other writers[2] who have met French people in foreign countries:

> "We are travellers, not emigrants."[3]

> "The Frenchman is the homeloving type who does not show any real curiosity."[4]

> "The Frenchman expatriates himself only for his life's sake, and such a young man who could make for himself an independent and wealthy situation on the other side of the ocean prefers leading a life of deprivation in the town where he was born, struggling to get some minimum material comfort."[5]

> "Good food, a little wine and no uncertainty about employment suffice for the happiness of French people."[6]

---

1. De Beauvoir, Marquis, Voyage autour du monde, Paris, 1878, pp. 324-25.
2. And by the French themselves.
3. Villeminot, Boomerang: L'Australie blanche, p. 153.
4. Crivelli, L'Australie et le Pacifique, p. 185.
5. G. Verschuur, Aux Antipodes: Voyage en Australie, Paris, 1891, p. 121.
6. Abbé Dimmet, "Why the French do not emigrate", Literary Digest, Vol. CXVI, 23 December 1933, pp. 15, 35.

Also the Frenchman does not learn foreign languages readily, which not only causes problems of assimilation in the country he emigrates to, but also acts as a severe hindrance to efficient trade relations, a point that until recently was often severely criticized.[1]

However, these comments should not lead the reader to the conclusion that the French do not emigrate at all. From as far back as the eleventh century, the French have left their country to live in another one, either as pilgrims, emigrants or colonists, and have left traces of their presence in all continents in many areas. Today, between 1,500,000 and 1,800,000 French citizens are estimated to live abroad; they are registered in 135 consulates in every part of the world.[2] The Crusades were certainly the first example of the French ability to expatriate themselves, and until the nineteenth century there were in fact more instances of emigration than immigration.[3]

There are no emigration statistics published in France before 1853 but the average per year back to the eighteenth century was estimated at between 25,000 and 30,000.[4] France was then the most populated country in Europe, with 26,000,000 people and a birthrate of 32 per thousand.[5] The main migratory movements started in the sixteenth century when the Huguenots, suffering from the pressure exercised by the French government, fled to other European countries and to the U.S.A. This exodus continued in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.[6] When Quebec was declared a French colony, in 1608, a number of French families emigrated there; they are now the ancestors of more than 6,000,000 French Canadians of whom 82 per cent are in Quebec.[7] Louisiana also became a cradle of French civilization as colonists settled there in the eighteenth century, and where the French language is still widely used today.

---

1. See Chapter VI, p. 164, and Chapter VII, p. 185.
2. P. Balta, "Les Français 'de' et 'à' l'étranger", Le Monde, 24-30 June 1976.
3. G. Tapinos, L'Immigration étrangère en France, 1946-73, Paris, 1975, p.2.
4. H. Bunle, "Migratory Movements between France and Foreign Lands", in W.F. Willcox, International Migrations, Vol. 2, New York, 1931, pp. 204-5.
5. Debré and Sauvy, Des Français pour la France, pp. 27-30.
6. Grant, The Huguenots, pp. 176-80.
7. D.G. Gordon, The French Language and National Identity, Paris, 1978, p. 130.

Closer to their own borders, the French, attracted by the prosperity of the country, migrated to Spain in large numbers (about 200,000)[1] at the beginning of the seventeenth century and also played an important role in the development of Egypt in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, mainly as merchants and missionaries.[2]

They also colonized Martinique and Guadeloupe where they developed successful sugar plantations, and established commercial settlements in Senegal, Madagascar, Reunion and in parts of India in the middle of the seventeenth century.[3]

How much further would France have expanded her colonial empire if she had not wasted time and energy in wars? "Glory is the domineering passion of the Kings, but their common and repeated mistake is to look for it on the battlefields, instead of in colonial expansion."[4]

Through her wars against England, France lost most of her colonial empire: the 1763 Treaty of Paris gave to England Canada, the French settlements in India, Senegal and half the Antilles.

Interest in the Southern Lands of the Pacific

On the eve of these war years a French writer tried to communicate his enthusiasm and faith in colonial expansion, and more particularly in the Southern Lands. Charles de Brosses, a lawyer, President of the High Court of Dijon, was also a scholar in the fields of history, geography and linguistics. In 1756 he published his work on the History of the Navigation to the Southern Lands, in five volumes, three of which relate the story of trips undertaken towards these regions. In the two other volumes he explains why and how France should colonize this part of the world. Charles de Brosses was partly motivated by scientific reasons; he was then pursuing the same line as philosophers such as Maupertuis and Buffon who had

---

1. G. Wernlé, "Is France an Emigration Country?", Migration News, No. 6, I.C.M.C., 1958, pp. 12-18.
2. R. Clément, Les Français d'Egypte, Le Caire, 1960.
3. J. Gaillard, L'Expansion française dans le monde, Paris, 1951, pp. 111-43, 207-22.
4. Ch. de Brosses, Histoire des navigations aux terres australes, Paris, 1756, Tome I, p. 5.

aroused scientific interest during the early decades of the century. Maupertuis had already mentioned the exploration of the Austral Lands as a worthwhile scientific investigation but public opinion was not ready to accept this.[1] In 1754 Charles de Brosses urged that the project should be undertaken and wrote his first thesis "On the discoveries made in the Austral Lands; on the utility of extending them and the possibility of forming a colony".[2] He was also motivated by the conviction that a wide colonial expansion was necessary for the glory of France. The Southern Land was the ideal place: not only would it give the prestige but it would also be a source of wealth owing to the trade which would proceed from it. "The greatest, noblest and perhaps most useful enterprise that a sovereign can undertake, the one that would most enable him to illustrate his name for ever, is the discovery of the Austral Lands."[3]

And such discovery had to be undertaken by France: "If there is one nation which must endeavour to repeat such attempts, it certainly is the French nation that must be jealous of her own honour and show her regret to let the glory of a first discovery be taken away from her by foreigners."[4]

By combining scientific achievement and prestige, De Brosses already demonstrated the ambivalent character of French aims regarding the exploration of the southern continent, an ambivalence which was to be evident throughout several expeditions sent to this part of the world.

De Brosses firmly believed that a French navigator, Paulmier de Gonneville, landed on the Austral Lands sixteen years before Magellan. This theory was refuted by several historians who concluded that the place De Gonneville discovered was either Brazil or Madagascar. "He could not be immune to the feelings of national pride in the exploit of Sieur de Gonneville who was alleged to have made the first discovery of the Austral Lands 16 years before the departure of Magellan - probably one of the South Atlantic Islands."[5]

---

1. A.C. Taylor, Le Président de Brosses et l'Australie, Paris, 1937, pp. 37-45.
2. Ibid., p. 55.
3. De Brosses, Histoire des navigations, p. 5.
4. Ibid., pp. 10-11.
5. J.C. Beaglehole, The Journals of Captain Cook on his Voyage of Discovery, Cambridge, 1955, Vol. I, p. lxviii.

E. Marin la Meslée, the promoter of the geographical society in Australasia - founded in 1883 - and a member of the Société de géographie commerciale à Paris, was very sensitive to that kind of "stereotyped remarks"[1] so he endeavoured to prove that there was more in De Gonneville's trip than that straight conclusion. Here is how he relates the story of the voyage:

De Gonneville left Honfleur in Normandy in June 1503 and was assailed by tempests after rounding the Cape of Good Hope. Then he sailed into calm latitudes. Need of water forced him to land as soon as possible. He ran a course southward and after a few days' sail landed on a coast of a large territory. He stayed there for about six months and left on 3 July 1504 with two of the natives, one being the son of the chief Arosca with whom he had resided. He did not see any land on the way back home until 10 October. When the ship came nearer to the French coast, it was attacked by English pirates and lost what it had brought from that country, including all documents.

De Gonneville wrote a report of his voyage, signed by the principal officers of his vessel. Extracts from his declaration were published in 1663 by the bookseller Cramoisy who had received them from a priest named J.B. Paulmier, then Canon of the cathedral church of St Pierre de Lisieux. The family of Sieur de Gonneville had had one authentic copy made from the navigator's declaration. The extracts given by J.B. Paulmier came from that copy which he had addressed in 1663 to Pope Alexander VII under the title "Memorial for the establishment of a Christian Mission in the third part of the world or Terre Australe. Dedicated to His Holiness Pope Alexander VII, by a priest originating from that country".[2]

The priest was the grandson of Essomeric, son of the chief Arosca with whom De Gonneville had resided. De Gonneville had married Essomeric to one of his relatives and had given him his name and fortune at his death as compensation for being unable to keep his promise to Arosca to bring back his son.

---

1. Favenc, The Explorers of Australia, p. 295.
2. Ibid., p. 296.

However incredible the story might sound (the marriage being probably the most dubious fact), Marin la Meslée brings forward several arguments that are worth looking at:

- There is official and documentary evidence of the absolute truth of the marriage.[1]

- Madagascar was already occupied by France in 1642, and had missions flourishing there for over a century. Paulmier would not have asked for a mission to be sent where there were some already.[2] Moreover, there is no record of his voyage found in Madagascar where the Portuguese went three years later.[3] (And by the same token, there is no record found on South American coasts where it is also said he might have landed.)

- The description De Gonneville gave of the people he met is similar to the one given 335 years later by Captain King and Sir George Grey when they visited north-west Australia in 1838. The people were probably of Malay origin, which would explain more easily the marriage between Essomeric and a European woman. Also when dealing with housing, style of life and language, the description is similar. The few differences would be caused by the time interval.[4]

- The discovery of a few paintings and one sculpture in rock further emphasizes La Meslée's theory. He thinks these pieces of art were made by a European Christian because of the white colour of the face, the aureola round it, the types of clothes and because of the European features in the sculpture. The artist would have been Nicolas Le Fèvre, on board with De Gonneville.[5]

- Finally, La Meslée puts forward the existence of maps made by members of the Dieppe School of Hydrography in the first half of the sixteenth century. These maps appear to have been translated from Portuguese but an older one, published in 1536 by Guillaume Le Testu, seems to have been made from De Gonneville's report: his map shows the entrance of several rivers and

---

1. Favenc, The Explorers of Australia, p. 306.
2. Ibid., p. 305.
3. Ibid., p. 304.
4. Ibid., pp. 305-10.
5. Ibid., pp. 310-15.

features which resemble the presently known coast of north-west Australia; the coast on the south and the north-east is prolonged without data and merely indicates a probable extension of land in these directions.[1]

- In most instances, the early voyages of the Dutch or possibly the Portuguese to Western Australia were the results of such accidents as befell De Gonneville: they were carried by storms out of their course to India or the Sunday Islands, and thrown on the west coast of the Australian continent.[2]

Because of all these reasons Marin la Meslée, like Charles de Brosses, believed that the first discovery of the Australian continent was made by the Frenchman De Gonneville.

However well-documented and convincing this demonstration may or may not be to support the reality of the story, De Gonneville's voyage did not initiate direct further exploration. Had anyone been interested enough in checking what De Gonneville had discovered, it would have been with no hope of actualizing the project as Louis XIV was too busy with wars to spare time for expeditions of discovery. And soon after De Brosses' appeal for discovery, France and England engaged themselves in a seven-year war which finally deprived France of the richest part of her overseas colonies.[3] England was then powerful at sea and had also been sensitized by an English version of De Brosses' book, which naturally enough appealed for an expansion of the British Empire.[4]

French Exploratory Voyages in the Pacific and Place Names in Australia

Bougainville, De Brosses' first disciple, tried to get ahead of England by founding a French colony in the Falklands. He reached the islands in February 1764 with a few families repatriated from Canada and based his colony on De Brosses' advice on colonization. But Captain Byron took possession of the islands for the Crown of England as these had been visited in 1690

---

1. Favenc, The Explorers of Australia, pp. 316-17.
2. Ibid., p. 317.
3. See p. 19.
4. J. Callender, Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Terra Australis, Edinburgh, 1766.

by Captain Strong. As the French did not seem to take any notice of it, the English government pushed Spain to use her rights in the Falklands which derived from her possessions in South America. Bougainville had to sell them in 1766 during his second expedition, to Charles de Brosses' greatest disappointment.[1]

Byron was also ordered to make an exploration trip in the Pacific. After him, Commandant Wallis and Captain Carteret discovered Tahiti, Santa Cruz and the Solomon Islands. These expeditions were thus indirectly undertaken because of Bougainville's expedition[2] which had been sent under De Brosses' influence.

Bougainville prepared a second expedition and left in search of the Austral Lands, with the purpose of furthering geographical knowledge and taking possession of them for France "if they can offer useful objects to her trade and navigations".[3] Charles de Brosses kept in contact with Bougainville and members of his crew, giving them more advice and suggestions for the success of the trip.

Bougainville was delayed in his trip, mainly in the Malouines (or Falklands) because of the sale. He arrived in Tahiti in April 1768 (discovered by Wallis ten months earlier), discovered the Samoan Islands in May, then reached the Espiritu Santo of Quiros. When almost reaching the eastern coast of Australia, he was surrounded by such dangers that he did not dare to go any further. He was almost stranded on the Barrier Reef. Running out of provisions and sceptical about what was beyond the Barrier (maybe only a cluster of islands), he was forced to turn north and finally made for Batavia and home. He did not discover Australia, but sailed further south than any other explorer before and proved that El Terra Del Spiritu Santo was east of New Holland. However, Charles de Brosses was not at all happy with the results.[4]

It is agreed that Bougainville's departure stirred the English government into sending an expedition in 1768 with the purpose of discovery:

---

1. Taylor, Le Président de Brosses, pp. 143-46.
2. Ibid., pp. 147-48.
3. J.P. Faivre, L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique 1800-1842, Paris, 1953, p. 65.
4. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 149-56.

James Cook's first voyage.[1] This decision was also due to the theories spread by De Brosses' book and its English version by Callender, and by Dalrymple.[2] Dalrymple and De Brosses had corresponded for six or seven years, exchanging information and views about the continent to be explored.[3] Cook and Banks had taken with them the two authors' books and referred to them during their voyage. And less than twenty years after the publication of Histoire des navigations aux terres australes the two trips of Captain Cook answered all the questions of the president.[4]

Bougainville published the story of his voyage around the world in 1771.[5] He had been the first Frenchman to explore the southern seas and had awoken interest among other explorers who followed his example and set out to explore the fifth continent. The French explorations did not lead to any colonization; scientific discoveries, place names and a few memorials are the only witnesses of their activities in the Southern Hemisphere. The rivalry that existed all along between the French and the English in that part of the world - assuming that the French were genuinely interested in colonizing part of it - did not ruin the relations between English and French captains. Rivalry was at home. At sea existed an international scientific community, exchanging information and accepting each other's discoveries, providing these discoveries were genuine.[6] On the other hand, the brotherhood at sea was always tinted with suspicion, on both sides, which stirred and activated further exploration, resulting in colonization by the English who were victors in this rivalry.

The French place names which appear on the Australian maps today witness the respect that government authorities had for international findings, regardless of their origins. Several of these names were not given by the explorers themselves, but by the following ones as a tribute to their predecessors. Quite a large number have disappeared from the maps or only appear on the local maps. The place names hereunder will be presented

---

1. Taylor, Le Président de Brosses, p. 162.
2. A. Dalrymple, An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, London, 1770.
3. Taylor, op. cit., pp. 156-61.
4. Ibid., p. 170.
5. L. de Bougainville, Voyage autour du monde, Paris, 1771.
6. See Baudin's voyage, p. 30.

in the chronological order of expeditions from 1768, when Bougainville navigated off the north-eastern coast of Australia, almost discovering the eastern coast. Bougainville Reef witnesses his passage.

St Allouarn Islands, a rock islet near Cape Leeuwin, were named after the navigator St Allouarn who anchored there in 1772 when surveying the coast from Cape Leeuwin to Shark Bay. There he took possession of the coast for the King of France. Apparently no notice was taken of his action by the authorities at home, either because he was not the leader of the expedition (Captain Yves Kerguelen was), or because France had no desire of taking formal possession of any part of New Holland.[1]

Bay Marion in Tasmania was named after Marion du Fresne.[2] He and his crew were the first Europeans to reach the island since Tasman in 1642. Marion du Fresne, who was fired by a passion for exploration (he financed the expedition), did not show any interest in conquering the country. Only one little map of Tasmania which Flinders found very accurate resulted from his expedition. In 1972, the bicentenary of the arrival of Marion was celebrated in Hobart and for that occasion a fountain was erected in the Botanical Gardens, "The Antipodean Voyage".[3]

The La Pérouse monument and the suburb of the same name in Sydney are witnesses to the well-known French navigator dispatched in 1785 by Louis XVI who was very keen on exploration:[4] after exploring much of the northern Pacific he arrived via Samoa, Tonga and Norfolk Island in Botany Bay, only a few days after Governor Phillip had landed there to establish the first English settlement. There is a popular saying: "Had La Pérouse arrived a few days earlier, Australia would have been French."[5] He then sailed on into the Pacific again and disappeared, wreckage being discovered in the Santa Cruz Islands nearly forty years later. Mont La Perouse in Tasmania is also named after him.[6]

---

1. Henn, "French Exploration on the West Coast", p. 7.
2. A.E. Martin, Place Names in Victoria and Tasmania, Sydney, 1944, p. 101.
3. Courrier Australien, 21 April 1972.
4. E. Scott, La Pérouse, Sydney, 1913, pp. 41-45.
5. But the visit to Botany Bay was not originally programmed and the French knew nothing of the contemplated settlement of New South Wales by the British. La Pérouse only heard of it in the course of the voyage. See Scott, op. cit., p. 47.
6. Martin, op. cit., p. 99.

A few names appear on the south and west coast of Tasmania as a result of D'Entrecasteaux's expedition in 1791, dispatched in search of La Pérouse. D'Entrecasteaux Channel and Bruny Island were respectively named after the surname and Christian name of the navigator. Recherche Bay was named after the vessel commanded by D'Entrecasteaux and Esperance Port after the other vessel of the expedition commanded by Huon de Kermadec. It is after the latter that Huon Island, Huon River and Huonville were named. Cape Raoul bears the name of a pilot of the expedition.[1] A monument was erected in 1961 to commemorate the discovery in 1792 of Port des Cygnes (Cygnet, Tasmania).[2]

During their exploration the navigators discovered that Tasmania was separated from Australia by a strait, which then helped Bass and Flinders to make their discoveries. After exploring Tasmania they sailed around eastern Australia, left Timor in 1792 and went down the coast of Western Australia. The St Allouarn Islands and D'Entrecasteaux Point (at the southern tip of the west coast) were named by D'Entrecasteaux. As they continued eastward they named Cape Riche after a naturalist, Esperance Bay, the vessel Espérance being the first one to enter the bay. The western part of the archipelago is now known as the Archipelago of the Recherche. Other islands in the archipelago were named Ile du Milieu, Ile de Remarque, Ile de Mondrain; a lieutenant of the expedition left his name to Cape Legrand.[3] (see Map, p. 29).

D'Entrecasteaux' expedition was the last one of the eighteenth century. The French had not achieved any colonization and the British were establishing their settlement in New South Wales. Meanwhile, Bonaparte was ravaging Europe with his wars and had to fight his long-time enemy, the British. When he gave his consent to the Institute of France for sending an expedition to New Holland in 1800 it was thought - by the British authorities - that he wanted to strike a blow at British prestige by colonizing the Australian

---

1. Martin, Place Names in Victoria and Tasmania, pp. 92-3, 95, 98, 103, 105. Franklin Island and Southport were respectively given French names by D'Entrecasteaux: Willaumetz after one of his officers and La Baie des Moules (Mussels Bay).

2. Courrier Australien, 31 March 1961.

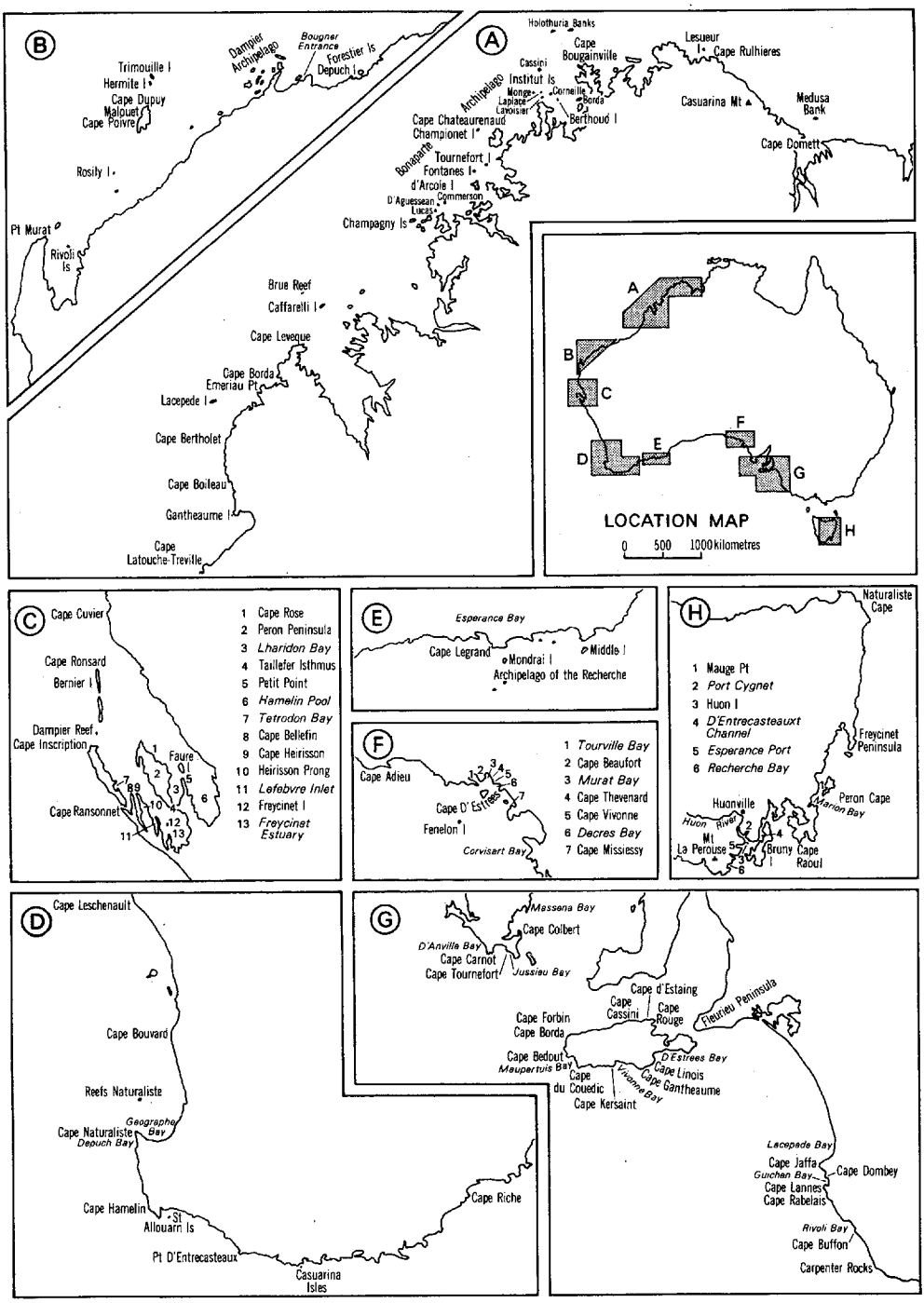
3. Henn, "French Exploration on the West Coast", pp. 8-9. The islands in the Archipelago appear on contemporary maps as follows: Middle Island, Remark Island and Mondrain Island.

continent. However, the official purpose of the expedition was to extend man's knowledge of the earth and more particularly of the still partly unknown southern continent. Nicolas Baudin, the captain of the expedition, was the actual initiator of the voyage.[1] He had distinguished himself by previous scientific explorations in the West Indies, China, the Malay Archipelago, Trinidad and Teneriffe.[2] For the expedition to New Holland he was accompanied by a team of scientists, hydrographers, botanists, zoologists, mineralogists and gardeners. The plans of the expedition were drawn up by the Committee of the Institute which included Laplace, Cuvier and Lacépède. The aim of the voyage was to study the south and east coast of Tasmania - interest revived by Marion du Fresne's visit and D'Entrecasteaux's discoveries - and to explore the southern, western and northern coast of New Holland.

While some historians emphasize that the expedition was undertaken for the sole purpose of scientific discovery,[3] others claim that "French scientists are nonetheless patriotic".[4] Péron, the botanist, who in his journal provides much information about the colony and the few French settlers in it, noted amongst other things the military weakness of the colony in Port Jackson and the presence of Irish prisoners who only wanted to rebel; these factors would enable an easy destruction of Sydney.[5] The scientific results, the only positive results, "had eclipsed a political mission, forgotten doubtless because of the nullity of its consequence".[6] The voyage was very rich in scientific achievement owing to Péron, who had collected and described hundreds of specimens. His account of the Tasmanian aborigines before their extinction by the whites was also of the greatest interest.[7]

---

1. Faivre, L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique, p. 102.
2. A.W. José, "Nicolas Baudin", R.A.H.S., Vol. 20, 1934, pt 6, pp. 337-95.
3. Scott, Terre Napoléon;
   Cornell, Questions relating to Nicolas Baudin.
4. G.A. Woods, Discovery of Australia, London, 1922, pp. 510-11.
5. Faivre, op. cit., pp. 159-60.
6. Ibid., p. 179.
7. F.A. Péron, Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes, Paris, 1807, Tome I, pp. 220-87.



Map II: French Place Names in Australia

Note: Places named by French navigators surveying the Australian coast in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The expedition left the largest impact in terms of place names (see Map, p. 29); these also aroused much suspicion and discussion. Péron and Freycinet were responsible for the mapping of Australia, since Nicolas Baudin had died,[1] and they worked on these maps while Flinders was detained by General Decaen in the Ile de France (now Mauritius) and the French were accused of plagiarism. It is true that many names (about 380 altogether)[2] had been affixed to all kinds of features along the Australian coasts, some of them non-existent or very minor or already discovered and named by Flinders. Péron's atlas in 1808 showed a profusion of French names, widely representing the members of the Bonaparte family and all the eminent French characters of the time. (The French were not acquainted with Flinders' names, except in the case of Kangaroo Island.)[3] In 1814 the publication of Flinders' voyage and, at the same time, political change in France forced Freycinet to revise the previous atlas and a new one was issued in 1817. The main modifications were made on the South Australian coast, mostly discovered by Flinders. Terre Napoléon was wiped off the chart and the names given by Flinders and Grant appeared instead of the French ones.[4] However, some places genuinely discovered by the French had been erased too and it was not until 1913 that some of these were restored through the intervention of the Count of Fleurieu, grandson of the Minister for the Navy during the reign of Napoléon.[5]

The expedition sighted the Western Australian coast in May 1801 and sailed north instead of following the original plans which were to explore

---

1. On 16 September 1803, at Ile de France, on his way to France.
2. J. Miller, "Des origines de la terminologie française dans la géographie australienne", Annuaire français d'Australie, Sydney, 1961, p. 5.
3. Scott, Terre Napoléon, p. 79.
4. Spencer's Gulf for Golfe Bonaparte; St Vincent's Gulf for the Golfe Joséphine; Kangaroo Island for Ile Décrès; Yorke Peninsula for Presqu'île Canbacérès; Investigator Strait for Détroit of Lacépède; Backstairs Passage for Détroit de Colbert, are a few examples. See Scott, op. cit., pp. 70-1, 89.
5. These names are: Bay d'Anville, Cape Carnot, Cape Tournefort, Jussieu Bay, Cape Colbert, Massena Bay, Cape Euler, Cape Rouge and Fleurieu Peninsula, which were inserted on the Admiralty charts affected. See Marine Board Correspondence file 1911 number 811: French nomenclature in South Australian coastal districts, with plans supplied by the Count de Fleurieu, Accession 1369, South Australian Archives.

the southern coast of New Holland.[1] They charted and named various features, including Geographe Bay, Cape Naturaliste, Bernier Island, Cape Cuvier, Hermite Island, Bedout Island, Cape Borda, Champagny Islands, D'Arcole Island, Bonaparte Archipelago, Cassini Island.[2] These names were all given by the vessel Géographe. Meanwhile the other vessel, the Naturaliste, waited for the Géographe at Rottnest Island and some land exploration was undertaken by crew members. Several minor features received French names.[3] They went up to Dirk Hartog Island and named Cape Inscription, because of the plate commemorating the visits of Dirk Hartog in 1616 and Vlamingh in 1697. Further surveys were made and more names were given.[4] Continuing up north they charted Lharidon Bight, Petit Point, Faure Island, Hamelin Pool. In Shark Bay, they named Freycinet Estuary, Peron Peninsula.[5]

The two vessels finally met again in Timor and sailed once more down the Western Australian coast, then towards Tasmania which they sighted in 1802. Their stay and study of the coast left the following names: Mauge Point after the surgeon R. Mauge who was buried there; Monge Bay named after the French mathematician; Naturaliste Cape, Peron Cape, Freycinet Peninsula.[6]

In Tasmania, the ships were separated again. The Naturaliste eventually anchored in Port Jackson, the Géographe went into South Australian waters where they met Flinders at Encounter Bay then sailed where Flinders had been.

After the exploration of the South Australian coast the Géographe sailed to Port Jackson, via Tasmania, with a scurvy-ridden crew. The British government gave them generous hospitality and the two French

---

1. Scott, Terre Napoléon, p. 169.
2. Other names given at the time were: Reef Naturaliste, Depuch Creek, Piquet Point, Point Murat, Rivoli Islands, Depuch Island, Laplace Island, Berthoud Island, Freycinet Island, Lucas Island, Commerson Island, D'Aguesseau Island, Dugueslin Island. See Henn, "French Exploration on the West Coast", p. 12.
3. These were: Duvaldailly (salt pools on Rottnest), Bertholet and Buache, neighbouring islands, Heirisson Prong. See Henn, op. cit., p. 13.
4. Such as Mire Corner, Tetrodon Bay, Refuge Point, Cape Ransonnet, Cape Heirisson, Cape Bellefin, Lefebvre Inlet. See Henn, op. cit., pp. 14-5.
5. Ibid., p. 15.
6. Martin, Place Names in Victoria and Tasmania, pp. 96, 101, 102.

vessels lay at Sydney for nearly six months. A new boat was purchased, the Casuarina, commanded by Freycinet. The Naturaliste sailed back home from King Island, while the Géographe and the Casuarina proceeded west to complete the study of Terre Napoléon.

Numerous names were given during the explorations of the South Australian coast, the main ones being Cape Buffon, Rivoli Bay, Cape Lannes, Cape Dombey, Cape Jaffa, Lacepede Bay, Cape Euler, Jussieu Bay, Cape Carnot, Corvisard Bay, Cape Missiessy, Cape d'Estrees, D'Estrees Bay, Cape Vivonne, Murat Bay, Tourville Bay, Cape Adieu. They also charted Kangaroo Island which still bears many French-named capes and bays: Cassini, Forbin, Borda, Bedout, Couedic, Bouguer, Kersaint, Gantheaume, Linois were capes and the bays were named Maupertuis, Vivonne, D'Estrees.[1]

As they reached the Western Australian coast Freycinet named the capes Gosselin and Hamelin; passing the St Allouarn Islands, Cape Bouvart, Point Peron and Cape Leschenault were charted. North of Shark Bay and along the north-west coast of Australia they named Rosily Island, Capes Poivre and Dupuy, Dampier Archipelago, Cape Latouche-Treville, Gantheaume Point, Point Emeriau, Holothuria Banks, Lesueur Islands, Casuarina Mountain, Cape Domet.[2]

By then, in July 1803, Baudin abandoned exploration and sailed for Mauritius where he died. Scott argues about the precision and value of Baudin's investigations on the north-west coast:

> "There is clear evidence that names were applied to parts which his ship did not investigate with any approach to care... Thus Baudin totally missed Bathurst Island, Melville Island... Instead of definiteness of outline, the French charts presented the world with a bristling array of names affixed to contours which were cloudy and ill-defined, incomplete and inaccurate... The most serious omission of all was the superb natural harbour of Port Darwin, the finest anchorage in northern Australia."[3]

---

1. Other names were: D'Anville Bay, Cape Beaufort, Carpenter Rocks, Cape Colbert, Cape d'Estaing, Fenelon Island, Fleurieu Peninsula, Guichen Bay, Massena Bay, Massillon Island, Cape Rabelais, Cape Rouge, Cape Tournefort. See Cornell, Questions relating to Nicolas Baudin, pp. 59-67.

2. Other names given during this last stage of the voyage were: Capes Pingre, Faugas, Lacroix; Casuarina Islands, Capes Mably, Malouet; Bouguer Entrance, Amphinomes Bank, Point Boileau, Cape Bertholet, Carnot Bay, Cape Leveque, Caffarelli Islands, Brue Reef, Tournefort, Angereau, Championnet, Cape Chateaurenaud, the Institute Islands, Cape Rulhieres, Medusa Bank. See Henn, "French Exploration on the West Coast", pp. 16-17.

3. Scott, Terre Napoléon, p. 170.

The exploratory voyages of the Pacific which started under the initiative of Charles de Brosses and continued during the Revolution and Bonaparte's reign, went on after the Emperor's overthrow. These voyages were official and included the exploration of the Australian coast, particularly the southern and western coast, and usually anchored at Port Jackson.

Dispatched in 1817 for a voyage around the world on the Uranie, Captain de Freycinet reached the Western Australian coast in September 1818 where he completed the astronomical observations that had been started during Baudin's expedition. Cape Rose was named after his wife who had secretly embarked with him. When he anchored in Port Jackson in 1819, Freycinet and members of his crew made excursions into the country.[1] The expedition returned to France in 1820 and in 1822, Duperrey was dispatched on the Coquille to make a thorough investigation of the Pacific. When anchored in Port Jackson, Duperrey and his crew went on an excursion to Bathurst.[2]

In 1825, the Baron de Bougainville (son of the famous French navigator) cruised along the southern coast of Australia in La Thétis and also stopped at Port Jackson. The following year, Dumont d'Urville visited King George Sound and Western Port; in 1828, he sailed to Vanikoro to recognize the relics of La Pérouse's wreckage discovered by Captain Dillon in 1826-27.

The purposes of these expeditions were not only scientific and geographic, but also political and commercial: the navigators' instructions were also to investigate the possibilities of French settlements mainly in the Far East and in the Pacific; the west coast was the main target in Australia.[3]

---

1. One of the members, the artist Jacques Arago, published in 1828 the letters he wrote to a friend during the voyage under the title "Promenade autour du monde". Some of these letters relate to his visit to Sydney and the country around it. See W. and O. Havard, "A Frenchman sees Sydney in 1819", R.A.H.S., Vol. 24, pt 1, pp. 17-42.

2. O. Havard, W.L. Havard, "Some early French visitors to the Blue Mountains and Bathurst", R.A.H.S., Vol. 24, pt 4, pp. 260-90.

3. Faivre, L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique, pp. 255-70.

French Presence in the Pacific in Relation to Australia

All these expeditions had disturbed the British authorities because of their uncertain purposes, not to mention the controversy raised from the mapping of Australia after Baudin's expedition.

Whatever the political climate was like there was always present the desire for scientific knowledge, and there was never any clear evidence of a desire to colonize. "Perhaps the scare of French occupation was, after all, but a phantom, but it was a very substantial phantom to the founders of Australia."[1] Had the French government ever nourished any determined designs on Australia? Did any of their exploration strategies allow room for suspicion on behalf of the British?

Certainly Charles de Brosses had such designs but the government of the time was not to be influenced by De Brosses' wishes. In 1772 when St Allouarn took possession of the coast at Leeuwin, no further action was taken by the government.[2]

As for La Pérouse, he sailed after Cook had discovered and taken possession of the east coast, and stated that he therefore did not have any design in this area: "Mr Cook has done so much that he has left me nothing to do but to admire his works,"[3] confessed the sailor.

The ships that followed were searching for the traces of La Pérouse and when D'Entrecasteaux visited the south-west coast there was plenty of vacant territory there for him, had he wanted to colonize.[4]

Baudin aroused much suspicions but it has not been determined whether he had any order to annex a territory or establish a colony, although he might have had a political mission.[5] When the expedition went to Tasmania the word spread in Port Jackson that the French intended to hoist the tricolour flag. Governor King sent troops who planted the British flag and

---

1. E. Favenc, "The French in Australia", Herald, 31 December 1904 (in Newspaper Cuttings, Vol. 3, p. 154, Mitchell Library).
2. See p. 26.
3. Scott, La Pérouse, p. 76.
4. Favenc, op. cit., p. 154.
5. Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 109-12.

took possession of the land (1803). The incident was qualified as a childish ceremony by Baudin as the French government never had any intention of claiming Van Diemen's Land (Lieutenant Robbins, leader of the troop, acted very solemnly while the French were "quietly charting, catching insects and collecting plants").[1] It was also the fear of a French settlement on the north-west coast of Bass Strait which led to the abortive settlement at Port Phillip in 1803, and the settlement at Port Dalrymple in 1804.[2]

Freycinet's expedition in 1817 also created some doubts when he examined the north-west coast in 1818 as this part was not yet formally claimed by the British Crown. Perhaps the fear that the French would try to take over part of the continent was emphasized by the fact that France had lost most of her colonies to the benefit of the English and the 1814 Treaty of Paris left her with a colonial empire much smaller than in 1763. To think that the French would look for another colonial empire was a fair suspicion which actualized when they started colonizing in North Africa in 1827 and later in the South Pacific.

When the Baron de Bougainville cruised along the southern coast in 1825, then D'Urville in 1826-27, it was again thought that the French were looking for an opportunity to establish a settlement in Australia. It was after these visits that Governor Darling founded a settlement at King George Sound and in 1829 Captain Fremantle took formal possession of that part of New Holland.[3]

This was reported in the Sydney Gazette in the following terms:

> "The French government having determined on forming settlements along the western coast of our vast island, sent formal notice of their intention to the British ministry, who instantly dispatched orders to the Cape of Good Hope for the immediate departure of a man-of-war, with a suitable complement of military to Swan Port, and Captain Stirling himself was sent off with all possible speed."[4]

---

1. Scott, Terre Napoléon, pp. 208-11.
2. C.M.H. Clark, A History of Australia, Melbourne, 1962, Vol. I, pp. 182, 194, 236.
3. Favenc, "The French in Australia", p. 154;
   Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 286.
4. Sydney Gazette, 21 April 1829.

There appears to be little foundation for the opinion that the French had sent any formal notice. Whenever French vessels were seen along the Australian coast or near the Pacific islands, newspapers often reacted very strongly, anticipating some kind of invasion. The following newspaper articles are typical:

> "A French armament consisting of three or four frigates has been sent from France for the purpose of settling down upon some part of this coast; but whether to offer any immediate annoyance to His Majesty's settlement or not does not appear to have been satisfactorily ascertained. Whatever may have been the view of the French government in wishing to form a settlement here, it would be difficult to determine, unless for the purpose of opening a sanctuary for privateers, that might for a time embarrass our commerce in the Seas of India, as they did when in possession of the Mauritius."[1]

There is some doubt about the official character of this expedition as this was in 1814 and the first official voyage since Baudin's was Freycinet's in 1817.

In 1827 there were some concerns about a French expedition in the Society Islands:

> "The immediate object of the expedition is supposed to be the supplanting of the Protestant religion and the establishment of popery instead, together with a political influence over the Islanders to be rendered in the issue subservient to commercial undertakings which there is reason to believe are the ulterior and principal objects in view. The expedition is said to be patronized by the Royal family and Ecclesiastical Dignitaries of France."[2]

Events showed that this time their concerns had some grounds as France established her protectorate over the islands in 1843.

However, in 1828 there was some relief in reporting the failure of the Roman Catholic expedition with respect to the Sandwich Islands. "They were hoping to insinuate themselves and eventually render abortive the labours of the Protestant missionaries who have been very successful in converting numbers to pure Christianity."[3]

It was actually the missionary activities of the Roman Catholics that partly initiated French expansion in the Pacific and justified government

---

1. Sydney Gazette, 13 August 1814.
2. Sydney Gazette, 10 August 1827.
3. Sydney Gazette, 25 June 1828.

intervention to protect their missionaries. But the prospective construction of a Panama Canal also attracted the French in the late thirties, seeking Pacific bases to expand French commerce: the French whaling industry was reviving and numerous expeditions were sent to the southern seas. In order to protect her interests - whaling and missions - and perhaps also because of her jealousy of Great Britain who had acquired the former French colonies in 1763 and in 1814,[1] the French hoisted the French flag in the Marquesas in 1842 and in Tahiti in 1843, which did not please the citizens of Sydney.[2] A small group of French settlers had formed a settlement in Akaroa, New Zealand, in 1840 but the British had forestalled them in taking formal possession of it.[3] The French continued their expansion in the Pacific by colonizing New Caledonia in 1853 and used the island as a penal settlement, apparently influenced by the example that members of the Baudin expedition had witnessed in Botany Bay.[4] The colonization of New Caledonia again worried British people as to French intentions. Napoléon I had been suspected in the early days of British colonization in Australia; now Napoléon III was suspected. John Dunmore Lang was convinced that the emperor was coveting the wealth of Australia: "The colonial empire of Britain had never suffered such a blow as when Napoléon had taken possession of New Caledonia... one of the principal keys of the Pacific from which he will at any time be able to command our whole line of coast."[5]

He particularly dreaded such an invasion as he believed in another war between France and England, during which France would strike all the possessions of England at once and more obviously Australia. Fearing that the Australians would then be tempted by French leadership - probably because of the number of Irish who had been influenced by the 1789 French Revolution - he advocated an Australian policy independent of the mother country.[6] His fears did not actualize, even though a few years later, in

---

1. J.M. Ward, British Policy in the South Pacific, Sydney, 1948, pp. 119-21.
2. Ibid., p. 138.
3. Anon., Akaroa and Banks Peninsula 1840-1940, Akaroa, 1940, pp. 68-94.
4. Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 157.
5. J.D. Lang, Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia, Sydney, 1857, pp. 143, 147.
6. Ibid., pp. 148-49.

1868, a Frenchman felt moved to write a book dedicated to Napoléon III, "Of the Possibility of a Vast Colonization in Oceania".[1] He claimed that France was perhaps more colonizing than any other nation and that it was the Royalty who restrained France from developing her colonizing genius. He suggested that the tricolour flag be hoisted in Borneo, New Guinea and in north-western Australia as these regions were still largely unknown and waited for French investigation. He developed a huge project for penetrating the country, then developing its resources and even introducing the natives to the benefits of French civilization.[2] This plan, which certainly revealed the chimeric character of the writer, was tinted with naivety and vain grandeur. Any hope of actualizing Gandin's proposal was dashed two years later, as France was at war, this time against the Prussians.

In 1871, the French colonies were weak and scattered; Jules Ferry stressed the imperious political and economic necessity of colonization for France[3] and undertook a vast colonization programme, operating mainly in Africa.

Conclusion

France had let escape every opportunity to colonize any part of Australia. French navigators and scientists had played their part in the discovery but politicians had not been able to, or did not intend to, take possession of the places discovered by their navigators. However, their presence along the Australian coast definitely accelerated the British takeover. Reciprocally, the presence of the British in the Pacific induced the French government to send out expeditions, a manifestation of their constant rivalry, but it was that rivalry at home which prevented the French from developing any colonial project in Australia and at the same time forced the English to think of protecting their vulnerable settlement in the

---

1. A. Gandin, De la possibilité d'une vaste colonisation dans l'Océanie, Paris, 1868.
2. Ibid., pp. 204-25.
3. S.H. Roberts, History of French Colonial Policy, London, 1929, Vol. I, p. 18.

colony of New South Wales.[1] This vulnerability made them suspicious of every French movement along the coast.

At sea, rivalry was generally tinted with courtesy and a new scientific spirit[2] which helped exploring and discovering places and respected the rival's discoveries. The map of Australia reminds us of all the navigators who belonged to this international scientific community, regardless of national rivalry at home.

Later on, when French interests represented by Catholic missions and whaling necessitated or justified the need for a few bases in the Pacific, France took over parts of what is now known as French Polynesia and New Caledonia. The annexation of New Caledonia made them look at the New Hebrides as another possible area of expansion, and meant new relations with Australia.

The publicity born from the exploratory voyages (journals, travel books and sailors' tales) and from the annexations of Pacific islands made at least some French people aware of Australia and of their opportunities in another Anglo-Saxon society; hence the arrival in Australia of a number of French adventurers and settlers.

---

1. Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 93.
2. Ibid., p. 57.

CHAPTER III

EARLY FRENCH SETTLERS IN AUSTRALIA 1788-1851

During this period, or pre-gold rush era, very few French people came to Australia. One cannot speak of French immigration, but only of settlement of individuals. They were among the small non-British minority and assimilated very well in the simply stratified British society composed of convicts and a few settlers of good social position.[1]

Because of the nature of the material available and the reasons for French presence, it is useful to divide the years 1788 to 1851 into two periods. French settlers in the colony of New South Wales up till 1820 have been traced back through biographical data and manuscripts only. The political events in France (the 1789 Revolution) explain their presence in Australia, but did not originate any large-scale immigration. Therefore, these early settlers can only be treated as individual cases, not as illustrations of a general pattern of immigration. From the 1820s onwards, other factors - mainly pull factors - influenced the decision of the French to emigrate to Australia; these later settlers can be followed not only through historical and biographical data but also through naturalization records. These records give more general information on the settlers and allow some estimate of the number of French in Australia from the late 1820s until the gold rush. Prior to this period, there were no statistics available.

Convicts and Refugees: 1788-1820

During these years the main groups concerned were convicts and refugees. French and English histories had for centuries been interwoven through

---

1. For other non-British immigrants see such works as Koivukangas, Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia; Borrie, Italians and Germans in Australia; Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia.

invasions and long-lasting wars which resulted in the gain or loss of parts of the country or colonies and also in cultural and linguistic influences. The exploratory voyages had also extended the relations between the two countries and the 1789 Revolution brought to England thousands of French refugees, some of whom eventually went to Australia.

While these French made their way to England, then to Australia, a play entitled "The Emigrés to the Austral Lands" (Les Emigrés aux terres australes) was being performed in Paris in November and December 1792. Since La Pérouse's disappearance, there was interest shown by some French people in Botany Bay, Port Jackson and the convict colony in the Southern Hemisphere. As French émigrés, before the Reign of Terror were plotting abroad to destroy the work of the Revolution, the author, Gamas, suggested deportation to get rid of these treacherous people. This one-act piece presented the émigrés faced with organizing their new lives in the Austral Lands.[1]

Convicts

However, deportation only affected those French who wandered in London for no more reason than curiosity or adventure and sometimes ended up resorting to dishonesty or slight offences, which at the end of the eighteenth century were heavily punished by deportation to Australia. Those who were simply prisoners-of-war were sometimes also sent along with the convicts, for practical purposes.

Peter Paris was probably the first Frenchman arrested in London to be transported to New South Wales on the First Fleet. He escaped with La Pérouse's crew who took pity on him near Sydney in 1788, and apparently died with them in the shipwreck.[2]

James Larra, whose origin is uncertain, was most probably a French Jew who went to live in England, stole a tankard worth £5 and was sentenced to

---

1. E. Scott, "The first Australian play", Argus, 23 February 1918.
2. E. Blosseville, Histoire des colonisations pénales de l'Angleterre dans l'Australie, Paris, 1831, p. 134.

death. His sentence was commuted to transportation, and he arrived with the Second Fleet in 1790.[1]

Morand was another convict, victim of a noble enterprise. "His only crime was in associating himself with the Bank of England without having an account there": he had decided to destroy England, France's rival, by means of finance instead of arms. Assisted by an Irishman he counterfeited the notes of the Bank but was arrested before achieving his goal. He escaped the death penalty but was condemned to transportation.[2]

Duriault and Landrien, natives of Nantes, were British prisoners-of-war; claiming to be experts in the production of wine they were sent to Botany Bay in 1800 to start growing vines.[3] Their failure as winegrowers and subsequent adventures will be described later (see p. 62).

Margarot, a Scot of French origin, was deported in 1794 convicted of the crime of sedition, considered as a public offence.[4]

Once they had served their sentence, these convicts resumed an active and honest life. Morand was a clockmaker and goldsmith and had plans for becoming one of the wealthiest proprietors of the colony.[5] Duriault and Landrien were for a while employed at making wine. James Larra was one of the first to be pardoned[6] and had thereafter a most colourful career in the colony. He married the widow of a convict in 1794, obtained his first grant

---

1. Péron, Voyage de découvertes, Vol. I, pp. 407-8. Even though Péron introduces J. Larra as a French Jew, there is some uncertainty about his nationality; the A.D.B. (Vol. 2, p. 86) states he was a descendant of an illustrious Spanish-Jewish family. An inquiry was made in France about the name Larra but did not result in any definite information (see G.J.F. Bergman, Documents relating to the Larra, Mitchell Library, A6956, p. 6). However, Péron met him and talked to him. It is very probable that, even though a descendant from a Spanish family, he was born in France.

2. Péron, op. cit., pp. 409-11.

3. Acting Governor King to Duke of Portland, 10 March 1801, H.R.A., I, 3, p. 6. See also Moran, The Influence of the French in Early Australia, pp. 38-50.

4. Under Secretary King to Lieutenant Governor Grose, 14 February 1794, H.R.A., I, 1, p. 463. See also Moran, op. cit.

5. Péron, op. cit., p. 411.

6. G.J.F. Bergman, "James Larra, the commercial Nabob of Parramatta", Australian Jewish Historical Society, Vol. 5, pt 3, 1960, p. 102.

of land in 1797, ventured into the liquor trade in 1798, and opened an inn in Parramatta, The Freemason's Arms, in 1800. (This was where Péron and other members of the Baudin expedition stayed in 1802.) He had convicts working for him, three of them being French, one an excellent cook from Paris. Commercial operations greatly enriched him, his other activities included being the first newspaper agent in Australia, a wheat and animal food merchant and a sergeant-major in the Loyal Parramatta Association. He was granted more land in 1804 and 1809.

By this time he was one of the most prosperous landowners in the colony, highly regarded by British authorities. His decline and fall, however, was near at hand. After his wife died he remarried in 1813, but Phoebe Waldron, his second wife, died the following year giving rise to many rumours about the cause of her death. Eventually, Larra was tried for murder but though acquitted, suffered a serious blow to his reputation and his so far successful career. At the age of 68 he married a young English actress; her exigencies led to his final ruin. In 1821 he went bankrupt and died in 1839, aged 90, at Parramatta. He had been one of the most successful personalities in the commercial life of the colony during the first two decades of the settlement.[1]

Refugees

While convicts were serving their sentences and embarking on careers as freedmen, a different category of French settler was arriving in the colony of New South Wales: these were the refugees of the 1789 Revolution who had fled from France during the Reign of Terror; approximately 130,000[2] went to neighbouring countries such as Belgium, Italy, Switzerland and England, many from the Channel regions (Normandy and Brittany) because of easy access. From there the majority continued their route to America, but a few decided to go to Australia. Why Australia rather than America, closer and richer in opportunities? A few became interested in Australia after the organized refugee settlement at Gallipolis on the banks of the Ohio failed miserably,[3]

---

1. Bergman, "James Larra", pp. 97-126.
2. Greer, The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution, p. 20.
3. M.L. Hansen, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1945, p. 58.

thus inducing the French to turn their attention to other countries such as the colony of New South Wales. Others were influenced by their English contacts and became interested in British colonial efforts in the Antipodes.

A few even seemed to have found some attraction in the remoteness of Australia, as for instance Gabriel Louis Marie Huon de Kerilliau. He fled to England, enlisted as a private in the army, joined the 102nd Regiment of which John Macarthur was the Captain and reached Sydney in 1794. It was not until seventy-five years after his death in 1829 that his real identity as a member of the Bourbon family was revealed through a document which had been found and authenticated.

Huon was discharged from the New South Wales Corps in 1807[1] and employed by Macarthur as tutor of his children.[2] He was granted several farms among which were 400 acres at Narellan in 1810 and a ticket of occupation for 3,000 acres near Bungonia in 1823.[3] In 1825, he bought about 1,000 acres of land in the Campbelltown district at Fairfield, and with his family developed a sheep station, working hard and often living frugally. He had married Louisa Le Sage[4] in 1800 and had at least four children. He built up a little collection of books which he obtained from visitors arriving on French vessels. His second son Jean-François left for France on one of these vessels, to pursue his education.[5]

As a pastoral farmer he succeeded and later on handed his holding over to his son and went to live on the South Coast. He stayed there, at Corrundaroo, until 1829 when he disappeared mysteriously. Apparently, he lost his way when undertaking a journey on foot through densely timbered and wild country. His initials were later found carved on a tree in one of the Shoalhaven gullies.

---

1. W. Windham to Governor Bligh, 18 December 1806, H.R.A., I, 6, p. 55.
2. Life of James Macarthur, by himself, February 1865, Macarthur Papers, Vol. 32, p. 150, Mitchell Library A2928.
3. G.P. Walsh, "Huon de Kerilliau", A.D.B., Vol. I, p. 573.
4. Louisa Le Sage was a convicted girl from Paris, arrested in England for theft. Both she and her husband were concerned about covering up her background.
5. A. Monk, "Huon de Kerilliau, Gabriel L.M.", Papers, 1821-1890, Mitchell Library A3189. For French vessels in Sydney, see Chap. II, p. 33.

Huon exercised a great influence on the pastoral industry of the country, working with John Macarthur. There have now been nine or ten Australian-born generations descending from him; they were among the early pioneer families in the Southern Riverina and in the Albury districts.[1]

It is in the cotton industry that Le Chevalier De Clambe, indirectly a refugee of the Revolution, tried to launch some experiments. He had lived in Pondicherry, India, as a captain when it was still a French possession. When the British took over, De Clambe refused to return to France because of the Revolution and entered the military service of one of the native princes. He then settled on some land in Madras, returned to Europe and finally came to New South Wales in 1801.[2] He was given a grant of 100 acres at Castle Hill in February 1802, and soon was at the head of coffee and cotton plantations. To Péron, Baudin's botanist, he remarked: "Either I deceive myself or in a little time I shall have created for this colony two branches of commerce and exportation equally valuable. This is the only way I can pay off my debt to the people who welcomed me during hard times."[3]

But the founder died and so did the cotton industry, at least until a small revival in Queensland in the 1860s and another in very recent years.

Both these pioneers were members of the small upper class in the colony. De Clambe was invited to dances at the house of the Governor[4] while Huon de Kerilliau was held in high esteem by most of the early governors and regularly visited Government House.[5] He also taught French at Parramatta.[6] The importance of the French language and culture was already being felt in Australia, because in Europe, and more particularly in England, French was the language of the cultivated classes and the diplomatic language. Anyone who had functions in government was obliged to have a good command of the

---

1. Anon., "An old Australian Family. Six Generations of Australians", Town and Country Journal, Sydney, 17 July 1907, p. 27.
2. J.H. Watson, "Australia as a Cotton-growing Country", King and Empire, 15 January 1923, in Papers 1804-1923, Clambe, Verricourt, Chevalier de, Mitchell Library MSS 1030.
3. Péron, Voyage de découvertes, Vol. I, pp. 430-32.
4. H. Bertie, "Famous Visitors to Australia", The Home, March 1926, p. 64, and Sydney Gazette, 10 June 1804.
5. Walsh, A.D.B., Vol. I, p. 573.
6. J.P. McGuanne, "Early Schools of Australia", R.A.H.S., Vol. 2, 1906-7, pt 3, p. 75.

French language. Furthermore, there was some prestige attached to having a French education or at least a French tutor or governess. These social values were naturally "exported" by British politicians and officers in Australia, where early French teachers had an opportunity to use their skills. In 1814, classes for beginners and advanced students were opened in Kent Street, Sydney,[1] so initiating the practice whereby French was taught in most Australian schools as the principal modern language.

Free Immigrants: 1820-1851

Nearly two decades elapsed without any more French settlers arriving in Australia (or at least, none that can be traced).[2] The Napoleonic wars mobilized all men, virtually preventing any kind of emigration; though this resumed under the following governments as the French community was tired of heavy taxation and military conscription.[3] Furthermore, in the 1830s, the industrial revolution seriously hit the average skilled French worker - an artisan, not a factory worker - who was unable to compete with modernization,

---

1. Sydney Gazette, 31 December 1814.

2. It is worth noting the arrivals of Lieutenant Foveaux in 1792, and Francis Baraillier in 1800. Foveaux, who quickly gained promotion and wealth in the colony of New South Wales (see B.H. Fletcher, "Foveaux", A.D.B., Vol. I, pp. 407-8), was born in England in 1767. His father being French, he is sometimes referred to as a French settler even though his upbringing was British. (See Extracts from the Register of the Ampthill Parish Church, Foveaux Family, Mitchell Library, Doc. 1716.) Because of his English education, this study omits him from its chronicle of French settlers.

   Baraillier, an engineer and explorer, was French-born and at the age of 20, was employed by the British when they captured Toulon at the request of the counter-revolutionary municipality in 1793. He came to Australia with King in 1800 and was employed as an architect (he designed the orphan asylum at Parramatta, the citadel of Fort Phillip and the Royal George, the first ship built in Sydney). He soon made a name as an explorer, his most important journey being an attempt to cross the Blue Mountains; however he did not reach the Great Dividing Range. After an argument with King, Baraillier was given leave and exercised a successful military career in other parts of the world. (See V. Parsons, "Baraillier", A.D.B., Vol. I, pp. 61-2, and Péron, Voyage de découvertes, p. 394.)

3. Willcox, International Migrations, Vol. I, p. 105.

an inability partly due to shortage of credit facilities. Their economic survival was then threatened and they blamed the government and its finances for their hard times. With the advent of industrialization there developed an underpaid or unemployed industrial proletariat, living a precarious existence in crowded and unsanitary conditions.[1] A significant number of arrivals from France was recorded in the United States in the late 1830s and the late 1840s (see Table 3.1), with a peak of 20,040 in 1847 (poor wheat and potato crops had caused hunger, affected industry and degenerated in social unrest).[2]

Table 3.1: French arrivals in the United States: 1820-1850

Year	Number	Average per year
1820-30	8,868	806
1831-35	17,766	3,553
1836-40	27,809	5,562
1841-45	23,674	4,735
1846-50	53,588	10,718

Source: Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, 1910, Washington, 1911, pp. 14-24.

Such statistics are not available for Australia but a small migration directed itself to Australia, as indicated by the colonial censuses and naturalization records. These last provide name, origin, age, profession and place of residence, and therefore allow broader comments and conclusions than can the biographical and historical material on a few case studies.

Seventy-two naturalized French male settlers arrived in Australia before the gold rush, and the data given in the colonial censuses suggest

1. E. Dolléans, Histoire du mouvement ouvrier, 1830-1871, Paris, 1948, pp. 17-29.

2. H. Sée, Histoire économique de la France, Paris, 1951, Vol. 2, pp. 142-51.

that the number of French who had arrived in Australia was between 500 and 600.[1]

While the social and economic events in France had originated an appreciable emigration to the United States, they were not the main reasons for the emigration of French people to Australia. Because of their small number, it is less useful directly to link their presence with push factors than to look first at the pull factors which made them decide in favour of Australia instead of America. Some of those who left from England in the 1820s most probably became acquainted with the system of free grants of land then in vogue; certainly there were a number of farmers among those who arrived in the colonies (see Table 3.2). Also the growth of French activity in the Pacific in the 1830s and 1840s - such as whaling and missions which in turn led to colonization of some islands and trade with them - was responsible for the presence of certain members of the French population in Australia. Had it not been for these circumstances the French would have been fewer still.

The majority of naturalized male settlers were young - 72.2 per cent between 15 and 29 - and came mostly from Aquitaine in the south-west of France, or from the north, that is Normandy and North Province (see Table 3.2), traditional areas of emigration at the time.[2]

---

1. The 1866 South Australian Census reports 65 arrivals between 1836 and 1850. For this period, 9 French males were naturalized in South Australia, or 13.8 per cent of the arrivals. By transferring this proportion to the two other colonies, we obtain $\frac{72 \times 100}{13.8} = 522$ French people in the three colonies (or 363 in N.S.W.; 94 in Vic.; 65 in S.A.) which is a very plausible figure considering that in 1861, out of 2,119 people, 1,250 were in Victoria as a result of the gold rush, 690 in N.S.W. because of more emigration from France and from Victoria.

2. Regions of origin are an interesting and relevant part of a study such as this. Parisians did not emigrate at the same time as Basques, or Provençaux, nor for the same reasons. It was difficult to decide on a subdivision pattern that would be flexible enough to fit each time period. Historians, geographers, politicians and inhabitants do not always agree on the borders of provinces, which borders have changed throughout the centuries. However, this study deals with settlers arriving after 1789, when most borders had virtually settled to what they are now. Departments, administrative subdivisions set up after the Revolution, would have been an easy subdivision (usually the origin is indicated by the department on the naturalization records) but they are too numerous to be meaningful in this study. Regions, such as North, or South-East, would have also been an easy way of reference, but these are too big as they encompass provinces of different character. Finally it was decided to keep to the old term "province" because of

These regions offered transport means to those who wished to emigrate, owing to the number of ports such as Calais and Boulogne in the north, Le Havre and Cherbourg in Normandy and Bordeaux in Aquitaine. The south-west is the oldest emigration area in France, with the Basques in particular who since the fourteenth century have been migrating to all continents, and provided a regular number of pioneers, mainly to South America.[1] Its shipping and agricultural activities had made of Aquitaine one of the richest areas in France, but under the July Monarchy (1830-1848) it went into a period of decadence because of the continental blocus and competition. Aquitaine became poor, its rural industries disappeared, creating a proletariat and originating emigration.[2]

Normandy also has a long tradition of seafaring and emigration; many emigrants and adventurers were "Normands". Industrialization affected this region, as well as the north, and increased unemployment and poverty.[3] The proximity of these two regions to England accentuated the possibility that these emigrants might go to Australia: many travellers who could not sail from France went to England where there were regular and frequent services to America.[4] Once in England, some of them would have become acquainted with the opportunities in Australia, such as free grants of land, and decided to sail there instead.

Very few settled in South Australia or Tasmania, the majority staying in Sydney or venturing into the outback.

According to the type of cases illustrating their presence, the pattern of French population closely followed the one in the colony, that is, in the 1820s, persons who were or had been convicts (Larra, Morand), a few settlers

---

its familiarity - one is more familiar with Brittany than Finistère or West of France - and to show the relevant provinces grouped by region: this facilitates the location for the reader and will give a clear picture of the movements from France to Australia and the changes occurring throughout the years.

1. E. Granger, La France, son visage, son peuple, ses ressources, Paris, 1947, pp. 204-5.

2. C.H. Pouthas, La Population française pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle, Paris, 1956, pp. 214-15.

3. Ibid., pp. 206-9.

4. Willcox, International Migrations, Vol. I, pp. 108-9.

Table 3.2: Characteristics of naturalized French males arriving 1829-1851

Origins[a]		Destination		Age		Occupations[b]	
North	5	N.S.W.	50	0-14	7	Agriculture	14
Normandy	6	Vic.	13	15-29	53	Commerce	13
Total North	11	S.A.	9	30-49	12	Tradesmen	11
Brittany	2					Professionals	5
South-West	15					Seamen	4
South-East	4					Miners	4
North-East	3					Labourers	2
Paris	3					Not stated	19
Centre-Auvergne	2						
France not stated	30						
French Possessions	1						
Other Countries	1						
TOTAL	72	TOTAL	72	TOTAL	72	TOTAL	72

Note: [a] for details on origins, see p. 48-9. Regions are used here because of small numbers.
[b] as indicated when naturalized. For occupation classification, see p. 51.

Source: Naturalization Records.

The following groups have been chosen, according to the given definitions:

PROFESSIONAL	:	teachers, engineers, medical doctors, clergymen, technicians, etc.
ADMINISTRATIVE	:	directors, managers, employers ---
CLERICAL WORKERS	:	clerks, book-keepers
COMMERCE	:	salesmen, merchants, shopowners...
AGRICULTURE	:	farmers, graziers, orchardists, vignerons, gardeners agricultural labourers
MINERS	:	miners, gold-diggers
TRANSPORT	:	drivers, ...
TRADESMEN	:	skilled tradesmen and artisans (carpenters, bakers, tailors, etc. ---)
SERVICE	:	cooks, waiters, servants, hairdressers, launderers, etc. ---
SEAMEN	:	seamen, sailors, fishermen
LABOURERS	:	general labourers, unskilled workers
TIMBER WORKERS	:	timber cutters, sleeper cutters, charcoal burners
NOT STATED		

of good social position (De Kerilliau), ex-officials and very few free immigrants, the latter increasing in the 1830s and 1840s.[1]

The similarity between the social status of the French and British in Australia emphasizes that the former came to Australia largely because of their connections with British people who were recruiting or sending certain categories of settlers.

The "Elite"

Nicolas Rossi, of Corsican origin, came out as an official in 1825, appointed police magistrate by the British government after a military career with the British Army. After the Corsicans rebelled against the French government in 1793 and obtained assistance from British troops,[2] Rossi joined one of the Anglo-Corsican regiments and served for about 28 years in military and civil capacities in different parts of the world. From 1825 to 1834 he was the principal superintendent of the New South Wales police, then retired because of poor health.

During his office, Rossi actively engaged in the suppression of bushrangers: he captured eighteen bushrangers and civilians, increased surveillance, chased convicts, strengthened the police force. He was very much appreciated by his peers who commented: "We have no wish to disparage former administrators but really the Constabulary Department promises to closely imitate the police of France, which is acknowledged as infinitely excelling that of our boasted metropolis." After he retired, he went to live on his 2,500-acre property on the Wollondilly River, near Goulburn, which he was granted in 1828 and later increased to about 14,000 acres. He spent the rest of his life sheep-breeding and farming. "Rossiville", the name of the property, soon became known for its generous hospitality, its wines and its distinguished guests. Rossi was for some time uncertain about his nationality. Was he still French? Or owing to his services in the British Army and his position of superintendent of police in New South Wales, was he a British subject? He therefore applied for Letters of Denization, under the Act of 1834, and received them in November 1844.[3] Rossi also

---

1. S.H. Roberts, Squatting Age in Australia, Melbourne, 1935, pp. 64-65.
2. George III accepted the crown of Corsica which he kept until 1796 when the British left the island.
3. Letters of Denization, 1834-1847, NCS-ND/1, Colonial Secretary, State Archives of N.S.W.

took part in local affairs. In 1848, he was chairman of a meeting convened to support the construction of the railway in Goulburn and was a trustee of St Saviour's Church of England. He died at "Rossiville", aged 74, in 1851. His estate became the property of his son, Francis Robert Lewis, until 1890 when it was bought by the government for the purpose of an insane asylum. Protests deviated the project, and in 1908 the government sold "Rossiville" which has since then been subdivided and sold.[1]

Also a former officer in the British Army was Captain Wood, whose wife, Marie de Gouges, was French, daughter of an officer of the Royal Guard in the court of Louis XVI, who had fled to England during the Revolution. Back in France, he became General de Gouges, in the service of Napoleon, then was sent as governor of Guiana in Cayenne. Marie was then seventeen and on her way back to France met Captain Wood in Guadeloupe. They married ten days later, on 29 December 1808. Captain Wood retired from the army in 1824, and with Marie emigrated to Tasmania in 1826, taking a grant of 2,000 acres at Snakebanks. They increased their property, named Hawkridge, to 5,400 acres. Marie de Gouges brought up a large family, who have descendants in Victoria and Tasmania, and died in 1854 aged 63.[2]

She is the only known case of a French settler in Tasmania in the nineteenth century, although a number of convicts there gave France as their native place, the best-known being C.H.T. Constantini, born in Paris, who was an artist and flourished from the 1820s to the 1850s.[3]

Among the first free immigrants was also a Frenchwoman who arrived in New South Wales in 1826 with her children from French Flanders, with a substantial amount of money (£6,000 sterling), which enabled her to build up an estate.[4] She is well-known as the first woman to have been naturalized or denized, and her application for Letters of Denization set the local authorities a problem. Her application started in 1830, as she wanted to

---

1. S.A. Thornton, Rossi, First Police Magistrate: principal superintendent of police of N.S.W. 1824-1834, Mitchell Library, MSS 1564.

2. M.L. Whitfield, De Gouges Family, 1964, Mitchell Library, Doc. 916. (The story of the family was written by Minnie Wood, daughter of Captain Wood and Marie de Gouges).

3. W.L. Brown, August 1977, personal communication.

4. Goderich to Bourke, 30 December 1831, Despatches to Governor of N.S.W., January-December 1831, pp. 617-9, Mitchell Library, A 1268.

leave her children in the full possession of her property, but still did not have any answer two years and three months later. She decided to make a personal application in England - but as she was embarking, was given a letter, the official reply to her application. Because it was too late to cancel her trip she sailed to England and asked for compensation, in the form of land, for all the unnecessary expenses she had to incur because of an administrative delay.[1] She was finally granted the Letters of Denization in 1836.[2] Unfortunately, nothing more is known about this very energetic, determined woman and her family.

The naturalization records indicate an appreciable number of salesmen and merchants (see Table 3.2) because they came from coastal regions where maritime commerce and other commercial activities were or had been prominent. They became involved in the commercial and business life of the colony and stood out as very enterprising pioneers who looked after the interests of the community at large.

After living and travelling in different parts of the world, Prosper de Mestre settled in Sydney in 1818 as an importer.[3] Like other free immigrants he was granted land in 1823 and in 1829 respectively at Bargo and near Berry, on the Shoalhaven River. However, his main interests were business and his functions included: director of the Bank of New South

---

1. J. Rens to Ed. Stanley, 1 January 1834, Despatches to Governor of N.S.W., January-December 1834, pp. 524-5, Mitchell Library, A 1271.

2. Letters of Denization, 1834-47, NCS-ND/1, State Archives of N.S.W. Two more French settlers were denized during this period: Messrs Chrétien and Millon, both in 1842, bringing to four - with Rens and Rossi - the number of French people being granted Letters of Denization out of a total of 16 for this period.

3. De Mestre's origin is a very particular one which deserves being reported. Prosper de Mestre is officially known as the son of André de Mestre, Baron de Fortisson and his wife Mme Julie de Saint-Laurent. After the Revolution, the baron and his wife fled to Switzerland where Madame met the Duke of Kent (father-to-be of Queen Victoria) and soon became his mistress. They lived together for years, first in Gibraltar then Quebec, Martinique, Halifax, England and Belgium, until the duke was forced to marry royally to ensure an heir to the throne of England (see McKenzie Porter, Overture to Victoria, Toronto, 1961). Prosper was apparently born of their relationship and brought up by his grandmother in Martinique. He was sent to Philadelphia, U.S.A., for his education until 1812, and from then went to China, Mauritius, India and Australia. He was naturalized by Special Act of Parliament (6 Geo. IV No. 17) on 30 August 1825 and was the second person to be naturalized in Australia.

Wales in 1826-42, director of several companies including the Marine Assurance Company in the 1830s and founder of the Mutual Fire Insurance Company of Sydney in 1840. He was also interested in shipping and whaling which he began in the 1820s. In 1825 he was elected to the committee of the Agricultural Society of New South Wales, and in 1836 joined the committee in opposition to the proposed national school system. He died at Terara after a short illness on 14 September 1844. From his marriage to Mary Hum Black in 1821 he had at least five children who still have descendants in Australia today.[1]

Other prominent business personalities at the time were the Joubert brothers, Didier and Jules. Didier arrived first in 1837, from Charente, north of Bordeaux, and established himself as a wine and spirits merchant. Jules arrived in 1839 but soon left on the French corvette Aube for New Zealand, as an interpreter. The orders of the captain of the ship were to take possession of New Zealand for the French government, which was an unsuccessful operation,[2] and Jules Joubert returned to Sydney. In 1841, he was appointed Chancellor at the French Consulate which had opened two years previously, being the first foreign consulate in the colony. A French Ambassador, Count Sebastiani, was already carrying out his duties in 1838[3] and M. Faramond was appointed Consul in 1839.[4] The latter was invited to every meeting and social function in town and was also a generous host to French visitors.[5] Because of his political ideas - he was a strong Orleanist - Joubert resigned in 1848 and went to South Australia where rich copper deposits had been discovered at Burra and Kapunda. He invested in city lands, construction of warehouses and offices but struck financial trouble. As gold was discovered in Victoria Joubert joined the diggers. Once on the goldfields, he decided he would make a better fortune by building rather than by gold-digging, so he built the government quarters. In 1853, he chartered two ships for New Caledonia, for the purpose of taking

---

1. Information provided by one of his descendants - Dr N. De Mestre, Canberra. G.P. Walsh searched for the biography of Prosper de Mestre (see A.D.B., Vol. I, p. 305).
2. See Chap. II, p. 37.
3. Letter of Lord Glenelg to Gipps, Despatches to Governor of N.S.W., July-December 1838, p. 117, Mitchell Library, A 1278.
4. Courrier Australien, 18 January 1946.
5. E. Delessert, Souvenirs d'un voyage à Sydney, Paris, 1847, pp. 108-9.

possession of the islands, then travelled to Madagascar, back to New Zealand and New Caledonia, and returned to Sydney in 1855, where he decided to settle. He had been buying land in Hunter's Hill for several years, and this area later became known as the French village, owing to the number of stone houses built there by Joubert and his artisans whom he had brought from Lombardy under special contract.[1] He and his brother petitioned for the incorporation of Hunter's Hill, which became a municipality in 1861 with Jules Joubert elected first mayor. Jules also started the Lane Cove ferry service and initiated the construction of bridges to link Hunter's Hill with Sydney. In 1867 he was appointed secretary of the Agricultural Society of New South Wales and successfully fulfilled this position. In 1878, he was deputed to go to France to the Exposition Universelle with the purpose of preparing for the Sydney and Melbourne Exhibitions. He then became known for his successful organization of exhibitions, in Adelaide, Perth, Christchurch and Calcutta and in Tasmania. He also built the Alexandra Theatre in Melbourne but went bankrupt in 1887. He died in 1907 in Melbourne and was survived by eight sons and two daughters.[2]

Also very business-minded, though less of a financial expert, was Jean Emile de Bouillon Serisier, descendant of the Count de Bouillon who was guillotined during the 1789 Revolution. A native of Bordeaux, he was the son of a shipping broker and soon went to sea. In 1839, aged fifteen, he arrived in Sydney where he had to stay, because of ill-health. After his recovery he worked with M. Michel Despointes, a French wine merchant who had just arrived in the colony.[3] In 1847, they decided to go inland and went first to Wellington, then to Old Dubbo, the convict station, and finally settled on the site of the future town of Dubbo, to open a general store.[4]

---

1. Although Hunter's Hill is known for its stone houses, a few timber houses were also erected there. These had been bought by a certain M. Bordier, a French resident in Sydney, at the Paris Industrial Exhibition in 1854. M. Bordier had hired three Prussian carpenters to put them up (see M. Anderson, "The story of Hunter's Hill", R.A.H.S., Vol. 12, 1926, pt 3, pp. 156-57).

2. J. Joubert, Shavings and Scrapes in Many Parts, Hobart, 1894, pp. 4, 35, 37, 39, 52, 53, 68, 76-9, 83; and M. Rutledge, "Joubert", A.D.B., Vol. 4, pp. 493-94.

3. Naturalization Certificates, 1849-76, NCS-ND/2, State Archives of N.S.W.

4. Amelin, "Early Settlers in Australia, Jean Emile de Bouillon Serisier", Annuaire français d'Australie, 1971-2, pp. 12-13.

Serisier organized the move which led to the establishment of the township, opened a food store, the first business in Dubbo, and in 1850 became postmaster, a position which he held for fourteen years.[1] His store served as a post office and was open from 9 a.m. to 8 p.m.

During his lifetime in Dubbo, he was also involved in several movements for the improvement of the township. At a meeting in December 1856 he pointed out the need for a school, on the National Education System. With others, he collected funds for this purpose and the school was opened in 1858 with Serisier as secretary. Serisier also became active in the preparation for building a Catholic church; in May 1870 a building erected as a school and a temporary church was opened. When the Agricultural and Horticultural Society was founded in 1872 Serisier became a committeeman. He had some good reason for being so as he had previously launched himself in farming by buying 4,000 acres of land nine miles from Dubbo. Here he carried out extensive farming operations, including the formation of a vineyard, one of the most extensive of the time in New South Wales. In 1858, when running his store, he married Margaret Humphreys and later had nine children. On his death, on a visit to France in 1881, he left many descendants, some of them also involved in the administrative life of Dubbo; his son John Emile, for example, born in 1861, was in an agency business, then in a sawmilling business and was appointed secretary of the Dubbo Hospital. Daisy Marie Consolation, Jean Emile's daughter, married the Count Charles de Wrobleski, the founder of the French paper Le Courrier Australien (1892).
Errol B. Serisier, born in Dubbo in 1892, grandson of Jean Emile, acted as managing clerk for three solicitors, then specialized as a land advocate in west and central New South Wales, and served on the committees of most public bodies in Dubbo. He was also elected Mayor of Dubbo in 1937. His brother Leroy practised law in Gilgandra for forty-nine years. He had four sons, two being solicitors.[2]

---

1. A. Vivienne, Scrapbooks re Dubbo, 1845-1972, Mitchell Library, MSS 2661. In this document are several photographs of Dubbo in the early days, showing Serisier, his store, etc.

2. Amelin, "Early Settlers in Australia", p. 13;
and J. James, History of Dubbo, 1817-1946, Mitchell Library, MSS 748, pp. 103-5.

The last free French immigrant who left a name and records in the history of the New South Wales colony was a most versatile and enterprising character, Count Gabriel de Milhau, exiled from France after the 1848 Revolution. The discontented French community revolted and seized power in 1848, forming a republican government. Count Gabriel de Milhau fled to England and reached New South Wales the following year, with his wife and two companions with whom he had formed a partnership: Monsieur Chauffert, a Frenchman, and Monsieur Bordier, a Swiss. Their decision to come to Australia could have been influenced by Milhau's English wife, Marion Adcock.

While Bordier was gaining experience in a sheep station, Milhau and Chauffert acquired their own land and cattle. They were among the first to take a trip to the Darling Downs, a 1,400-mile round trip. In March 1850 they purchased Ramornie Station, near Copmanhurst on the Clarence River, with 1,800 head of cattle. It was a real expedition for them to move up there as they had a 40-ton schooner to load their luggage and 6,000 housebricks. The French Consulate raised its flag to honour them when they passed Miller's Point. After a rough trip, they arrived in April 1850 and spent a long time improving their station. In 1851 they built their own boiling-down works at Ramornie to boil some of their cattle and collect the fat into casks; they made a substantial profit this way, even though the meat was wasted. Nevertheless, they were not quite successful settlers and as gold was discovered and the sheep station threatened with an acute shortage of labour they preferred selling their property. Milhau went gold-digging in the Tamworth district, rocked a gold cradle in the Peel River and was reckoned a "lucky" digger. When he returned to Sydney where he had left his wife during his wanderings he built two large sandstone houses, Paraza and Mirilbah, still to be seen today in Hunter's Hill. In 1862 he was mayor of this suburb, then was appointed postal inspector in the colonial post office. He inspected about 100 post offices in the colony, covering 3,000 miles on horseback (he had received considerable tuition and experience in horsemanship in his native Castres in the south-west of France), dealing with every novelty that came in: telegraph, money order, postal note. He retired in 1888 after twenty years of service and died in 1893. One place has been named after him, Frenchman's Gully, west of Grafton. His daughter Emily had two children who died recently, leaving no descendant.[1]

---

1. D.J. Rowe, Count Gabriel de Milhau, 1819-1893, Mitchell Library Doc. 840, 9 July 1965.

Like the very first French pioneers in Australia, people like the Joubert brothers, Serisier and Milhau belonged to the minority elite of the colony of New South Wales. Their dynamism and interest in the life of the community at large showed their ability to assimilate very well in their new social environment, while always being aware of representing French culture.

Whalers

Not so "elitist" were the ships' deserters who landed in Sydney or Hobart. These were mainly whalers trying to escape harsh living conditions during their long sea voyages, then charged with desertion and/or bad conduct and sentenced to hard labour for several days.[1] The French, namely the Basques, were the first whalers in the world, starting in the northern seas in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries[2] and entering the southern seas in the 1830s. These desertions partly caused the French government to send expeditions to the Pacific in the 1830s in order to check and control the problem.[3] The whalers mainly operated in New Zealand and Tasmania;[4] their arrivals were regularly reported in Hobart in 1840, loaded with sperm oil, barrels of black oil and bundles of whalebones.[5] They were also seen along the southern coast of Australia, as far west as the Leeuwin, with American whalers.[6] (The industry in France had been renovated by Americans and both co-operated, having common equipment in Le Havre, Normandy).[7] There was even a little French community of whalers near Esperance - a "gang shore".[8] Their presence along the southern coast was also reported by local newspapers such

---

1. Hobart Town Courier; the issues of January and February 1840 report several of these cases.
2. W.J. Dakin, Whalemen Adventurers, Sydney, 1934, p. 28; and P. Budker, Whales and Whaling, London, 1958, p. 92.
3. Faivre, L'Expansion française, pp. 406-9.
4. Dakin, op. cit., p. 52; and Anon., Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, p. 110.
5. Hobart Town Courier, 28 January 1840.
6. Dakin, op. cit., p. 54.
7. Dr Thiercelin, Journal d'un baleinier, Paris, 1866, Vol. I, pp. 187-88
8. Dakin, op. cit., pp. 53-54 No further information is available on this community. Dakin says there were several of this kind.

as the Inquirer in Western Australia and the Adelaide Examiner in South Australia.[1] One incident marked the history of French whaling in Australian waters when a whaler was seized by the Customs in South Australia for "breaking the law related to the Customs trade and navigation and for exercising the privileges of a British ship while she had not been given the privileges". The whaler, Ville de Bordeaux, had been abandoned in Port Jackson by its crew because of excessive damage suffered during a whaling trip; it was sold and bought by Didier Joubert. The ship was repaired and manned with an English crew, then carried on a coastal trade in several parts of Australia.[2] Joubert addressed a complaint to the French government and thanks to the intervention of the King's ambassador in London, the affair was laid before the Lords of the Treasury, and finally the government of South Australia was ordered to restore the captured vessel. M. Joubert asked for reparations as the vessel had been damaged while exposed to the climate, and he eventually received an indemnity of £4,000 in 1845.[3]

How many French whalers stayed in Australia is not known, but many more than the number shown by the naturalization certificates. More than a quarter of these certificates do not indicate occupations, and considering that the majority of French settlers in Australia came from those regions where seafaring, and especially whaling, was an important activity, we can assume that some of these occupations were seamen. "Once in a while," says a French visitor to Sydney in 1846, "a seaman deserting some ship comes and presents himself to the consul and asks for some help."[4] Two of them, both named Louis, left some records of their desertions. One was discovered by Jules Joubert, under a rock at the entrance of the Lane Cove River, when he was almost a centenarian. Louis had run away from a whaler, and purchased a water frontage at Miller's Point where he resided in a bark hut, working on the wharves and on board ships in the harbour. During a drinking spree he

---

1. Inquirer, 30 June 1841; 20 October 1841. These references were sent to me by the secretary of the Royal Historical Society of Western Australia.
   Adelaide Examiner, 15 October 1842. This reference was given by the staff of the South Australian Library (Newspapers Section).
2. Miscellaneous Papers relative to the seizure of the Ville de Bordeaux, 1836-42, Papers of the Secretary's Office, GRG 24, Accession 1052, South Australia Archives.
3. Anon., "The Ville de Bordeaux", Register, 26 July 1845.
4. Delessert, Souvenirs d'un voyage à Sydney, pp. 109-10.

sold his property for a bottle of rum and ended up in misery, living off the sale of oysters. Jules Joubert took care of him and French Louis died in sobriety a year later.[1]

Overdrinking also decided the destiny of another whaler, but in his case it turned out for the best. An officer on a French whaler which came to Western Australia in 1834, Charles Louis Langoulant went ashore for a spree, and the ship left without him. He first earned his living fishing and sailing. In 1842 he married Mary Ann King, who had arrived in this colony in 1829, and set up their house in Wellington Street, Perth. Charles Louis went into lime-burning, droving and breeding horses; he also had a bullock wagon which drove Benedictine monks to New Norcia where they arrived in 1846.[2] He also tried his luck on the Bendigo goldfields in Victoria for eight years. He had twelve children, and the descendants now form a prominent family in Western Australia.

> "The children and grandchildren were mostly very clever, especially at mathematics. There were a number of school teachers, university graduates and an Oxford Doctor of Philosophy... Arts and crafts (china painting and embroidery) were also skills inherited from the French family."[3]

Clyde Langoulant, the Crown Solicitor of Western Australia, and Allen Langoulant, a cartoonist on the Daily News, are both great-grandchildren of Charles Louis. All the above information was provided by his granddaughter, Mrs Cummings.

Winegrowers

The French presence was also noticeable in what was to become an important Australian industry, i.e. winegrowing. French winegrowers were only very few but nevertheless contributed to the launching of a new culture in Australia, through technical advice and personal assistance. Governor Phillip had planted three acres of vineyards in 1791, and promising results within the next ten years led François Péron (the botanist of Baudin's expedition, 1800-04) to comment in 1802: "New Holland will apparently enable

---

1. Joubert, Shavings and Scrapes, pp. 71-72.
2. This was a Spanish Mission, headed by Mgr Salvado; he had recruited a few French religious who followed him to Australia. See Mgr R. Salvado, Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie, Paris, 1854, pp. 92-96, p. 111.
3. Mrs Cummings, February and March 1977, personal communications.

England to stop buying wine from Spain, Portugal and France - French winegrowers said that the success of the vine was unquestionable".[1] Were these French winegrowers Messieurs Landrien and Girault whom England sent in 1800 as prisoners-of-war to meet the young colony's need for technical assistance? Most probably, as these two men are the only ones mentioned in historical documents. However, if they thought the success of the vine was unquestionable, their qualifications were certainly dubious. They were expected to "cultivate the vine and make wine not only for the Crown, but for promoting it on the part of individuals". They were to be paid £60 a year each, for a term of three years.[2] The first experiments were not successful, the vines were all blighted,[3] and two years later still no satisfying result was obtained. In 1804 they were finally asked to resign as they knew very little of the business. "They attempted last year to make wine from some of the best grapes that could be collected, but it turned out so bad that I shall not trouble your Lordship with the sample I intended sending."[4] One went back to England, the other one stayed another year as he had made some good cider from peaches.

However, in 1803 a less direct assistance but a more efficient one appeared in the Sydney Gazette, which published a method of preparing a piece of land for the purpose of forming a vineyard, translated from the French.[5]

The reputation of the French as winegrowers and winemakers had attracted British visitors who wanted to learn about French winemaking techniques, the most famous visitor being John Macarthur, who during his exile wandered through the South of France with two of his sons. In 1817 he came back to Australia with lots of French grapes such as Gouais, Pineau Gris, Muscat Noir and Frontignac, and planted vines at his property at Camden.[6] In 1827 his vintage totalled 20,000 gallons,[7] quite a remarkable

---

1. Péron, Voyage de découvertes, Tome II, p. 411.
2. Acting Governor King to the Duke of Portland, 10 March 1801, H.R.A., I, 3, p. 6.
3. Ibid., 1 March 1802, p. 405.
4. Governor King to Lord Hobart, 1 March 1804, H.R.N.S.W., 5, pp. 317-18.
5. Anon., Method of preparing a piece of land for the purpose of forming a vineyard, Sydney Gazette, 5 March 1803, 12 March 1803.
6. W. Macarthur, "On the Culture of the Vine, Fermentation and the Management of the wine in the cellar", in A. Simon, The Wines, Vineyards and Vignerons in Australia, London, 1966, Appendix I, pp. 135-36.
7. K. Slessor, "The grapes are growing", The Story of Australian Wine, Sydney, 1963, p. '8'.

progress, but not to impress James Busby, who in 1830 wrote:

> "Had New South Wales been settled by a colony from France, or any other country, whose climate is favourable to the growth of the vine, we should at this day have seen few corn-fields without their neighbouring vineyards. The poorest farmer and his meanest servants would daily have regaled their palates and invigorated their bodies with this first of the blessings which nature bestows upon the more genial climates of the earth."[1]

Before migrating to Australia, James Busby acquainted himself with the cultivation of the vines in France for the purpose of winegrowing and winemaking. In 1825 he undertook a long study trip in Spain and France, selecting cuttings in each vineyard. He came back to Australia with seventy-four French varieties (and seventeen Spanish).[2] The result of his investigations relating to the possibility of developing a wine industry in New South Wales was a conviction that "it could become a staple article of export to which the colonists of New South Wales might be indebted for their future prosperity".[3] From then on, vines were cultivated with increasing success in the colony.

Didier Joubert brought out vines from the Médoc District in 1838.[4]

In 1842 a French winegrower from Burgundy, M. Bertheau, came to Sydney and undertook the management of a vineyard for the late Sir John Jamieson at Regentville, N.S.W., then for Mr Fisher at North Richmond. In 1845 he purchased some land and planted his own vineyard, but struck financial hardship. After living in South Australia for nine years and in Victoria for three years he settled in Queensland as a businessman, manufacturing aerated waters and cordials. However, he also manufactured liquors and

---

1. J. Busby, Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards in New South Wales, Sydney, 1830, p. 8.
2. Loubère, L'Australie, cinquième continent, p. 182.
3. J. Busby, A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine, Australia, 1825, p. XVIII.
4. L. Ducharme, Journal of a Political Exile in Australia, Sydney, 1944, p. 42.

received three first class awards for their excellence, two certificates and one medal at the International Exhibition held in Sydney in 1879.[1]

In the late 1830s, the cultivation of wine started in South Australia. In 1838 the first cuttings were planted in the hills south of Adelaide. The late Mr Reynell, who started the now important wine-producing area Reynella, imported some of the best varieties of wine grapes from Sydney, which grapes had been brought over by James Busby in 1831, mainly from France.[2] In 1842, Sir Samuel Davenport came to South Australia after studying vine culture in the South of France, which helped him and other colonists in the cultivation of the vine.[3] In 1847 Monsieur T. Aubert, the first French wine-maker in South Australia, established himself in Salisbury to start cultivating the vines on his property Sans Souci (no worry).[4]

The first vineyard in the Geelong district, Victoria, was planted by a Frenchman, Frederick Brequet,[5] and by a Swiss, Louis Pettavel, at Pellock's Ford in 1842. At the first exhibition of the Victoria Horticultural Society on 16 March 1850, M. Brequet and M. Amiet (another Swiss) received a first prize for burgundy and claret and a second prize for champagne. At the second exhibition, in October, they won one gold and three silver medals for red and white wines.[6]

---

1. W.F. Morrison, The Aldine History of Queensland, Sydney, 1888, in Appendix - Biographical Sketches (no page number).
   Mr Bertheau came with two of his brothers. In 1846 he married and had six children. Two of them went to New Caledonia and studied sugar growing; back in Queensland they grew sugar cane and had big sugar plantations and numerous sugar mills. The Colonial Sugar Refinery eventually bought out most of the local mills and forced people out of business.
   For all the above information I am indebted to Mrs Mary Craven, Canberra, great-granddaughter of M. Bertheau.

2. T. Harry, Some of our Local Manufactures, Adelaide, 1884, p. 48.

3. R. Cockburn, Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia, Adelaide, 1925, Vol. I, p. 78.

4. Information given by Mr K. Burrow and Mrs E.M. Yelland, Adelaide. See E.M. Yelland, Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia, Adelaide, 1970, p. 205.

5. L.J. Peel, Viticulture at Geelong and Lilydale, V.H.M., Vol. 36, Pt 4, 1965, p. 157.

6. "Garryowen", Chronicles of early Melbourne, 1835 to 1852, Melbourne, 1888, pp. 430-31.

French winegrowers were still only very few by the eve of the gold rush as Australia had not yet attracted a substantial number of French people; however, their assistance, obtained in and from France, and their own personal experiments in Australia had definitely contributed to the start of the vine culture.

Conclusion

In half a century of history, the French appeared in all the ranks of British society, as convicts, landowners, officials, merchants, whalers and winegrowers. They figured in the early beginnings of the pastoral and wine industries and were important contributors to the development of new towns such as Parramatta and Dubbo. They had their consulate, founded a French headquarters in Hunter's Hill where representatives of their own church, in the persons of the Marist Fathers, had established a procure named Villa Maria, a meeting point for all the French missionaries in the Pacific.[1] The importance held by French language and culture in Europe in general, and in England in particular, was already felt in the same way in Australia, and a few French settlers took care to spread their culture by teaching French and other social graces like dancing.[2]

The dynamism of these early French pioneers made them successful settlers whose presence was not just an adventure but a result of interactions occurring between France and England at the time. The French in Australia had in several instances intended to sail from England to America, but with the British trying to encourage free immigration to Australia, a few went there instead, to exploit the obvious opportunities for them: they could be granted land; start a business in importing French goods, especially wine; grow vines; teach French. These opportunities were available because of the popularity enjoyed by such things among British people. Also a few were in Australia to remain in close contact with their interests in the Pacific: missions, colonies, and whaling. Therefore the

---

1. A. Doyle, The Story of the Marist Brothers in Australia 1872-1972, Drummoyne, 1972, p. 8. Also see Ch. II, pp. 36-37.

2. Advertisement in the Sydney Gazette, 14 April 1825. In the Sydney Morning Herald, 2 August 1843, a German settler advertised some French classes. It must have been more advantageous for him to teach French than German.

presence of the French prior to the gold rush was essentially motivated by personal or national interests, and was not only influenced by the push factors which caused most French who emigrated then to go to the U.S.A.

Were all these signs of a French presence and activity heralds of the development of a French community in New South Wales and in Australia in general, or were they just the results of some individual efforts that would bear no fruitful effects in encouraging more French emigration to the southern continent? In the 1850s new developments in France and in Australia brought a substantial number of French people to Australia, which would allow more general interpretations on their presence.

CHAPTER IV

THE GOLD RUSH IN VICTORIA AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR FRENCH IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT IN AUSTRALIA 1852-1871

French Adventurers on the Victorian Goldfields

The economic and political events which gave rise to republicanism and the 1848 Revolution opened an era of emigration which culminated in 1851, when Louis Napoléon Bonaparte seized power and killed republicanism for nearly twenty years, at least at the government level. French socialists and republicans were bitterly disappointed; the failure of the 1848 Revolution had killed their dream of national grandeur. Twenty-seven thousand people were sued or arrested,[1] mainly workers, tradesmen, artisans, that is, those who revolted against the living conditions imposed on them by the regime. Defeated economically and politically, a considerable number of French people left their country. Eighteen-fifty-one recorded a peak emigration in the nineteenth century when 20,126 went to the United States alone,[2] (also because of the discovery of gold in California), a few to South America, Australia, and others to the French colonies, or approximately 25,000 a year during the decade 1851-60.[3]

Living conditions under the Second Empire did not improve as Louis Napoléon had led people to hope. The working day was still twelve hours in the provinces and eleven hours in Paris (not including the time spent to go to work which sometimes amounted to several hours). Wages had increased by 30 per cent but the cost of living had risen by at least 45 per cent.[4] The

---

1. E. Dolléans, G. Dehove, Histoire du travail en France, Paris, 1953, Vol. I, p. 252.
2. Willcox, International Migrations, Vol. I, p. 109.
3. Bunle, "Migratory Movements between France and foreign Lands", p. 207.
4. Dolléans, Dehove, op. cit., pp. 286-90.

situation was further aggravated when the price of cereals rose because of bad wheat crops in 1853, 1854 and 1855, resulting in a scarcity of grains, thus of bread during the 1855-56 winter. A second and third bread crisis ensued in 1861-62 and 1867-68. The increasing cost of bread meant reduced purchase of industrial goods which led to more unemployment and industrial trouble.[1]

Crop failures occurred in the vineyards too: Oidium appeared in 1849 and drastically reduced the yield of wine. From 1840 to 1850, an average crop in France had been 880 million gallons. It was reduced in 1854 to 220 million gallons.[2]

Farmers were also seriously affected by the price of land which had risen by 255 per cent in thirty years, causing a rural exodus: 650,000 people left the land between 1861 and 1865.[3]

In 1860, a treaty of free trade was signed between France and England. This treaty, by forcing manufacturers into strong competition, led to crises, bankruptcies and mechanization. It also meant industrial concentration. Workshops and small factories closed down, creating more unemployment.

Another scourge hit the French economy in the following years: the dearth of cotton caused by the Secession War in America. Several cotton mills had to close down, increasing industrial concentration; the other aspect of the crisis was the decline of exports to America of luxury products such as china or silk.[4]

Many small businessmen, manufacturers and artisans, as well as farmers and labourers, were definitely hit by the conditions of the decade, and a substantial number decided to start a new life in other parts of the world, where people became rich quickly and easily: California or Victoria.

---

1. L.G. Duveau, La vie ouvrière en France sous le Second Empire, Paris, 1946, pp. 329-31.
2. H. de Castella, John Bull's Vineyard, Melbourne, 1886, p. 137.
3. T. Zeldin, France, Ambitions, Love, Politics, 1848-1945, Oxford, 1973, Vol. I, pp. 172-74.
4. Duveau, op. cit., pp. 115-21.

To the Goldfields

To those who seriously believed the little green booklets abounding in all European stores, Victoria appeared more attractive than California: these claimed that California, when compared with Victoria, whether it was fertility of the soil, climate or natural resources, was only a very puny and paltry discovery.[1] A guide for emigrants to the gold mines was also published, presenting Victoria as a delightful and attractive place to live: food was abundant, peace was reigning (as opposed to California), the climate was mild and healthy, the people were all honest and hard workers. The book even had an English-French lexicon at the end, and a map of the goldfields (photo, p. 70). The writer explained how to arrange the trip and even advised those going to leave from Liverpool or London so that they might learn some English before arrival.[2]

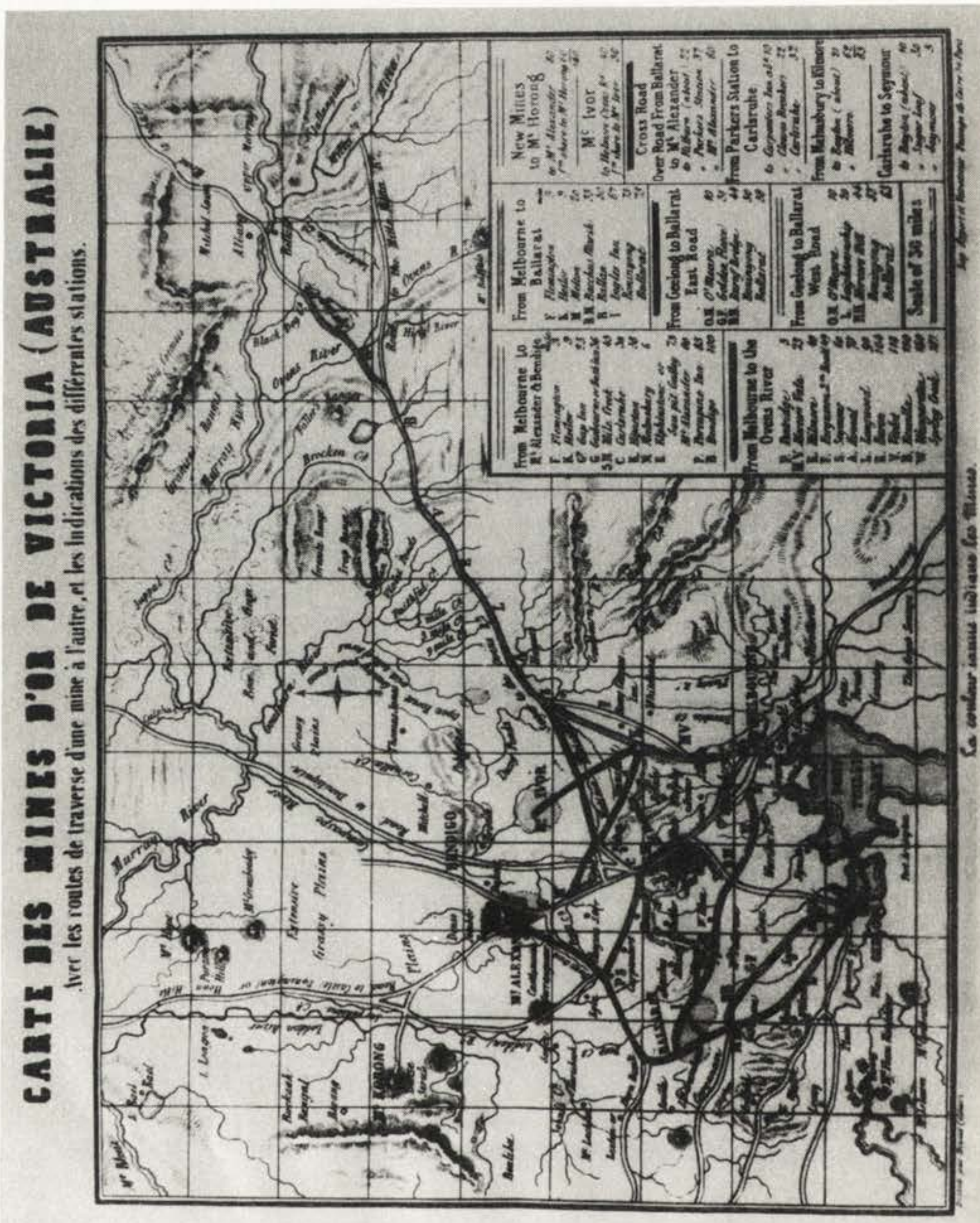
With all this encouragement, a substantial number of French joined the crowd of diggers in Victoria: this was the beginning of a regular migratory trend to Australia. Nevertheless, compared to other migrant groups, numbers were relatively small: Frenchmen were in a minority in Victoria, and on the goldfields, though the census officials considered them sufficiently important to record them separately (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1: Nationalities, other than British, on the goldfields and in Victoria: 1854-1871

Origin/Race		French	German	Other European	U.S.A.	China	Other country
1854	G.F.	398	1,651	1,216	1,600	1,969	369
	Vic.	909	3,955	2,373	2,908	2,341	406
1857	G.F.	905	4,761	3,536	1,817	23,623	248
	Vic.	1,426	7,934	4,976	2,950	25,424	417
1861	G.F.	811	6,159	4,848	1,491	23,733	231
	Vic.	1,250	10,418	6,938	2,554	24,732	406
1871	G.F.	488	4,193	3,285	969	16,135	144
	Vic.	1,170	9,264	6,206	2,423	17,857	315

Source: Colonial Censuses of Victoria, 1854, 1857, 1861, 1871.

1. A. Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur en Australie, Paris, 1859, p. 49.
2. C. Brout, Guide des émigrants aux mines d'or, Paris, 1855, pp. 6-25.


CARTE DES MINES D'OR DE VICTORIA (AUSTRALIE)
Avec les routes de traverse d'une mine à l'autre, et les indications des différentes stations.
From Melbourne to Mt Alexander & Bendigo
From Melbourne to Ballarat
New Mines to Mt Korong
Mt Ivor
Cross Road
Over Road From Ballarat to Mt Alexander
From Parkers Station to Carlsruhe
From Geelong to Ballarat East Road
From Geelong to Ballarat West Road
From Kalnabury to Kilmore
From Melbourne to the Ovens River
Carlsruhe to Seymour
Scale of 30 miles
BENDIGO
Extensive Grassy Plains
Murray River
Ovens River
La couleur jaune indique les Mines.

While the total European population on the goldfields reached its maximum in 1861, the French reached theirs in 1857, both on the goldfields and in the colony.

Shipping lists of vessels sailing from French ports to Melbourne suggest that most immigrants were young, single men. Naturalization records indicate that over 60 per cent of the French males who arrived between 1852 and 1871 and subsequently became naturalized were aged between 15 and 29 (see Table 4.2).

Table 4.2: Age of naturalized French males at arrival: 1852-1871

Age groups	Numbers	Percentage
0-14 yrs	33	7.5
15-29 yrs	266	60.4
30-49 yrs	133	30.2
50 yrs and over	5	1.1
Not stated	3	0.7
TOTAL	440	99.9

Source: Naturalization Records.

The number of women was much smaller than the number of men even though it was among the French - and the Germans - that the female ratio was the highest (see Table 4.3).

Table 4.3: Sex ratio of the French in Victoria and on the goldfields, compared to other nationalities

Origin/Race		French			German	Other European	U.S.A.	China
		Males	Females	Ratio*	Ratio*	Ratio*	Ratio*	Ratio*
1857	G.F.	777	128	16	17	3	6	0
	Vic.	1,190	236	19	25	5	13	-
1861	G.F.	702	109	15	20	3	10	-
	Vic.	1,026	224	21	28	5	15	-
1871	G.F.	391	97	24	29	7	27	-
	Vic.	857	313	36	35	9	36	-

Note: * = females per 100 males

Source: Colonial Censuses of Victoria, 1857, 1861, 1871.

The origins of these emigrants differed slightly from the pre-gold rush period. While Aquitaine was still the most important source of migrants, other provinces of emigration were noticeable, especially Brittany, Paris and Alsace-Lorraine (see Table 4.4).[1] The shipping lists from French ports to Melbourne show a majority of boats leaving from Bordeaux which means that residents of Aquitaine had easy access to means of transport, though if there had been much demand from northern areas, shipowners would presumably have supplied ships to northern ports. It was the stagnant conditions of agriculture and industry in the south-west of France during the second half of the nineteenth century which incited departures to other areas of France, or overseas.[2] Brittany was noticeable as a region of emigration, partly because of its poor resources and high natality and partly because of the bread crisis which severely hit the province.[3] Paris was prominent, probably because it had been directly affected by the political upheavals and many of its republicans and tradesmen left. Alsace had a high birth-rate and population density which gave rise to emigration, mainly towards the Parisian region but also overseas; many people also left the rural areas of Lorraine.

Life on the Goldfields

During the 1850s and 1860s, two-thirds of those who lived in Victoria were on the goldfields (see Table 4.1), mainly located in Maryborough, Ballarat, Sandhurst and Castlemaine (see Table 4.5); by 1871 only 40 per cent of the French population in Victoria were still on the goldfields.

The highest concentration of French generally appears on the goldfields where other foreigners were also concentrated, except in Maryborough where over one-third of the French were in 1861, against 17 per cent for other foreigners. Even though their number was very small compared with other nationalities, they were nevertheless noticed as they seemed to associate with their fellow men: several hundreds of foreigners, chiefly French, were

---

1. However, looking at the table by regions it appears that all rural regions provided a relatively large number of settlers, compared to the city of Paris. Thus emigration during this period was largely a rural emigration.

2. Pouthas, La Population française, p. 215.

3. Ibid., p. 210.

Table 4.4: Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1852-1871

Province	Numbers	Percentage
Nord	15	3.4
Picardy	8	1.8
Normandy	18	4.1
Total North of France	41	9.3
Brittany (West of France)	48	10.9
Charente-Poitou	4	0.9
Aquitaine-South Pyrenees	60	13.6
Total South-West	64	14.5
Mediterranean France*	27	6.1
Rhone Valley	17	3.9
Savoy-Dauphiné	9	2.0
Total South-East	53	12.0
Burgundy	14	3.2
Franche-Comté	12	2.7
Champagne-Ardennes	4	0.9
Alsace-Lorraine	28	6.4
Total North-East	58	13.2
Paris	28	6.4
Loire districts	13	3.0
Centre Auvergne	4	0.9
France: not stated	110	25.0
French possessions	16	3.6
Other countries	5	1.1
TOTAL:	440	99.9

Note: * Provence, Corsica, Languedoc-Roussillon

Source: Naturalization Records

Table 4.5: Distribution of the French on the Victorian gold-fields, compared with other foreign and total population (per cent)

	1857			1861			1871		
	French	Other Foreign	Total	French	Other Foreign	Total	French	Other Foreign	Total
Ararat	-	-	-	4.5	4.8	4.6	8.4	8.5	7.2
Avoca	24.9	16.2	21.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Ballarat	24.2	28.6	28.0	15.9	21.6	26.8	27.4	22.9	35.0
Beechworth	14.7	17.5	11.0	10.1	15.8	10.2	10.4	18.3	10.0
Castlemaine	20.7	19.0	18.4	19.7	25.1	19.1	16.6	16.4	14.2
Gippsland	-	-	-	-	-	-	2.0	4.8	2.0
Maryborough	-	-	-	34.4	17.6	21.0	20.3	14.3	13.3
Sandhurst	13.0	18.0	19.1	15.3	15.1	18.1	14.7	14.7	18.2
St. Andrews	0.4	0.1	0.3	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other places	1.9	0.6	2.1	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers	905	34,890	169,980	811	37,273	228,181	488	25,214	270,428

Source: Censuses of Victoria, 1857, 1861, 1871.

located by themselves in a locality thirty miles from Ballarat.[1] A sketch drawn by an artist in 1853 shows a French camp, on Black Hill, Ballarat, with the names of the people occupying the tents[2] (see photo, p. 76). Also near Ballarat was a place named after a French miner, Frenchman's Lead.[3] It is interesting to note that there was some solidarity among the French on the goldfields as this was one of the rare examples of such manifestations in the history of the French in Australia.

Literature on the French gold-diggers is not abundant; fortunately one of them wrote about the life on the goldfields, giving us some insight into this nomadic, adventurous society. Because of his Lettres d'un mineur en Australie,[4] Fauchery became well-known. Humorous and naive, this book "teaches you the practical philosophy of cheerfulness in every page";[5] "one would in vain look for an illustration of Melbourne, during that period, described in such a vigorous way by an Englishman or an Australian".[6]

Antoine Fauchery sailed from London on the Emily, with 160 emigrants, on 23 July 1852. He was known in France as an adventurer and Bohemian, but also as a man of letters. He arrived in Melbourne on 18 October and lived in the loft of a house, sharing the room with five other men and having to pay £5 a week. Accommodation problems were very acute during this period. Even though good wages were offered for jobs such as bricklayers, painters, locksmiths... and French cooks (500 francs per week in the Black Bull Hotel),[7] Antoine decided to go to the goldfields. Before engaging himself in this life of adventure and uncertainties, he visited a French priest in Heidelberg, l'Abbé Bourgeois, who gave him a little advice and some information on the country.[8] Then he went on to Ballarat - his first

---

1. W. Westgarth, Victoria and the Australian Gold-miners in 1857, London, 1857, p. 205.
2. E. Von Guerard, Ballarat Ansichten chronologisch zusammengefasst, 1853-1854, La Trobe Library H 12526, sketch No. 7.
3. T. McCombie, Australian Sketches, London, 1861, p. 192.
4. A. Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur en Australie.
5. Anon., "French Writers of Australia", Argus, 11 November 1857.
6. A. Chisholm, "Sur les ondes", Courrier Australien, 31 March 1972.
7. Fauchery, op. cit., p. 82.
8. Ibid., pp. 1-119.

impressions were rather unpleasant (as they had been when he arrived in Melbourne). He met two Frenchmen and they decided to work together. They bought a minimum of tools and food (for £8, "a trifle that we can find in five minutes under a stone")[1] and started digging. Antoine never made any big discovery, and after twenty-two months of hard work said goodbye to his colleagues, sold his tools and went back to Melbourne. All he had was £60.

Fauchery had only met one lucky French digger on the fields, a certain Antoine too, formerly a sailor under the British flag. In less than three weeks, he and his two associates found 126 lbs of gold but he spent his share in drinking. He then discovered another 30 lbs in the first hole he dug in a new area. Altogether he found 130 lbs of gold, worth over £9,000.[2]

Another miner whose red nose and broken voice announced quite obviously that he did not belong to the teetotaller society, was a former French sailor from Brittany, named Joseph. He was known as a good experienced miner in Beechworth, knowing the ground very well, and especially the washing system. But he could not use his skills properly as he was indulging more and more in drinking, and had to spend most of his time recovering from his sprees instead of digging.[3]

Drinking large quantities of alcohol seemed to be the usual way to celebrate a discovery: when four other French diggers hit a remarkably pure eight-pound nugget on the banks of the Turon, they sold it for 16,000 francs, surrounded themselves with champagne, got drunk, fought and the next morning they had nothing left.[4]

A. Fauchery summarized his impressions about French diggers in general with these few words: "I will not say anything about my compatriots, except for the fact they talk too loud, develop indefinitely burlesque theories, waste a considerable amount of time in discussing insignificant details... and make very little fortune."[5]

---

1. Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur, p. 146.
2. Ibid., pp. 194-98.
3. C. Eberlé, Reminiscences of Charles Eberlé, 1854-1864, La Trobe Library, MS. 7569.
4. A.C. de la Carrière, Voyage aux pays aurifères, Paris, 1861, p. 48.
5. Fauchery, op. cit., p. 241.

This statement is confirmed by other witnesses: "On the goldfields, they are active, restless, change habits, remember little of their nationality... and do not associate as much as the other nationalities with their countrymen."[1]

Even though they were restless and big talkers, they played little part in the Eureka Stockade. Some of them joined meetings, showed their revolutionary beliefs by hoisting revolutionary flags - these were the Red Republicans, hoping to see Australia a Republic before long,[2] but they never attained large numbers or became involved in any serious insurrections. They had their own meetings, as in Monsieur Villain's tent in Black Hill, the rendez-vous for the French Republicans, where they would deliver exciting speeches usually ending in fights (Monsieur Villain had been sentenced by default after 2 December 1851, for being one of the chiefs of the "Mouvement Populaire" in 1848).[3] But no French appeared in the list of people arrested, killed and wounded during the Eureka Stockade.[4] However, the French Consul, Count Moreton de Chabrillan, probably fearing some French intervention in the Eureka Stockade as he must have been aware of the presence of French Republicans, issued a proclamation to the French on 3 December 1854, recommending them "to abstain from any manifestation that would aim at disregarding the authority of the Queen's representatives in the colony of Victoria. They should not forget they are in a country friendly to France, and the first duty of a foreigner is to respect the authority of the country that offers him hospitality" (see photo, p. 79).[5] According to a novel, the historical value of which may be dubious, one Frenchman did forget and was accused of murder: he had killed a policeman while resisting arrest in one of the rebellions. "I didn't mean to kill him," he said to Count de Chabrillan, "but the blade of that devil of a knife of mine was too long." Came the reply, "If you are sentenced to death, which is more than probable, try to have the courage to use it [your knife] for yourself, to save me the

---

1. A. Jacobs, L'Océanie Nouvelle, Paris, 1861, p. 48.
2. N. Keesing, Gold Fever, Sydney, 1967, p. 210.
3. Eberlé, Reminiscences.
4. R. Carboni, The Eureka Stockade, Australia Sunny Book Press, 1942, p. 114.
5. W.T. Withers, History of Ballarat, Ballarat, 1887, p. 73.

Le Consul de France

Aux Francais Residant

DANS LA COLONIE DE VICTORIA.

Au milieu des troubles qui agitent les mines de Ballaarat, le Consul de France croit devoir recommander a ses compatriotes de s'abstenir de toute manifestation qui aurait pour but de meconnaitre *l'autorite des representants de la Reine dans la* Colonie de Victoria.

Ils ne doivent pas oublier qu'ils sont dans un pays ami de la France, et que le premier devoir d'un etranger est de respecter l'autorite du pays qui lui donne l'hospitalite.

Si les Français ont des plaintes ou des reclamations a adresser au Gouvernement Colonial ils peuvent les transmettre en toute confiance au Consul de France qui saura leur faire rendre justice.

Fait au Consulat de France, le 3 Decembre, 1854.

COMTE DE MORETON DE CHABRILLON.

BY AUTHORITY JOHN FERRIS, GOVERNMENT PRINTER, MELBOURNE.

shame of seeing a Frenchman on the gibbet." The next day, they found the prisoner dead. He had written a note: "... I am sorry that I ever left my country, deserted my ship, and what for? To run after that b..., good luck, of whom I never saw anything, save the claws, and those only at a distance..."[1]

Antoine Fauchery did not see anything of the Stockade. He was in Melbourne at the time, trying a new way of making a living. He had attempted to board a ship for Peru where gold had been discovered, but no room was left. Confronted by the increasing English influence in Melbourne, he felt lonely and sorry for himself and for the other foreigners who had no home wherein to meet. So he decided to open a café. With his £60, he bought a French billiard table, a few chairs and tables, cups and plates and rented a tiny place in a dark street. His house became the "cornerstone" for all foreigners: traders, captains, artists, consuls (except the French Consul!) and many compatriots. His business was successful until a financial crisis hit Melbourne in 1855-6, forcing him to sell everything... and back he went to the goldfields. There he became a grocer and a storekeeper in order to make enough money to return to France. He was able to start his business owing to the help of two French friends in Melbourne, who had established themselves as wine sellers and grocers. They lent Antoine Fauchery some groceries to start with.[2] He first made good profits but then had to meet the competition from all the other traders. "Most people in a hurry to make a fortune had lost this blind confidence in the mines. Now they were speculating on anything but mining."[3] Gold-buyers, storekeepers, and more especially sly-grog shops, made the most money.[4] One day Fauchery sold out again and left the goldfields for the second time.

He returned to France in 1856 and learnt there the new art of photography. He also published his first letters in the Moniteur. At the request of the "Society of Men and Letters", the French government commissioned him to return to Australia and the Far East to study and reproduce by pen and camera the features of these countries.[5] His arrival

---

1. C. Haldane, Daughter of Paris: the Life Story of Céleste Mogador, Comtesse Lionel de Moreton de Chabrillan, London, 1961, pp. 156-57.
2. Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur, pp. 221-37.
3. Ibid., p. 245.
4. Joubert, Shavings and Scrapes, p. 52.
5. H.S. William, Re- A. Fauchery, La Trobe Library, MS 9331.

was announced in the Argus in glowing terms: "... an artist... who has brought with him some of the most admirably executive-photographic portraits we have yet seen..."[1] He journeyed again to the goldfields, but instead of a spade and a bucket he was carrying a camera, tripods, a portable darkroom, glass plates, chemicals for the preparation on the spot of the wet sensitive photographic plates.[2] The photographs he took on the goldfields and, later on, of the Victorian landscape and architecture and of colonial celebrities made him famous in Australia. His progress was reported in the news.[3] In August 1858, he published the first album of a series of ten entitled "Sun Pictures of Victoria".[4] Only one is still known to exist, in the La Trobe Library.

An unlucky digger and businessman but a talented artist: this is how Antoine Fauchery appeared in Victoria. And a Bohemian himself, he had appreciated the Bohemian and carefree life of the goldfields.

"Men abandoned by God and by men" were the words of a French writer for the miners in Australia.[5] Luck was not often with them, but surely "with the summer of Naples and the winter of Palermo, which means eight sunny months and four rainy ones, life under a tent made of canvas and flanked with a huge chimney is as comfortable as life in the houses of the big cities in Europe, less expensive than in Paris and much healthier than in London."[6]

And they were not abandoned from God: l'Abbé Bourgeois was there to take care of their souls and to assist miners - like Fauchery - before they went on to the goldfields; he also offered to give a course in religion during Lent to meet the wish of several of his countrymen.[7] There were actually a substantial number of French priests in Australia at the time, as

---

1. Anon., "Parisian Celebrities", Argus, 2 January 1858.
2. William, Re- A. Fauchery.
3. Anon., "Photographs of the Houses of Parliament", Argus, 3 June 1858.
4. Anon., "Sun Pictures of Victoria", Argus, 13 August 1858.
5. Eberlé, Reminiscences.
6. Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur, pp. 246-7.
7. Anon., "Avis aux Français", Argus, 21 February 1856.

indicated by the naturalization records, but these rarely became involved with French people.[1]

French miners were not abandoned by men either. Indeed, they were entertained by French and Italian artists who performed in lyrical or dramatic plays.[2] A French singer, Emile Coulon, a bass, performed in a concert in Ballarat on 11 May 1855.[3] Mademoiselle Aurélia Dimier, the "première danseuse" from the Grand Opera of Paris, was engaged at the Royal Theatre in Melbourne, in September 1855. She made her debut in front of a crowded audience and achieved the most triumphant success.[4] A "Grand Ball and Supper" was given at the Hotel de Paris, Great Western, on 18 November 1858.[5]

Sport was also an entertainment, even more so for the French when one ex-Man-of-War's man challenged a very popular English pugilist, a certain Matt Hardy, and beat him.[6]

They still kept in touch with the rest of the world as a local newspaper, the Courier of the Mines, occasionally gave a résumé in French of the news received from Europe by mail, "for the benefit of the Latin population of Australia unacquainted with the English language".[7] Certainly this had been requested by some French people.

The French Consul, arriving in Melbourne in 1854, also tried to be helpful and generous towards the subjects of his country. Scion of a noble family but ruined because of gambling, Lionel de Moreton de Chabrillan never seemed to be able to live up to his status. Certainly his marriage in France to Céleste Mogador did not improve his reputation. "A woman of great celebrity but small virtue, shunned by Melbourne society"[8] or a devoted wife, it is difficult to decide. In her life story her marriage with the Count

---

1. The manuscripts of Father T.J. Linane: Early Catholic Priests in Australia (MS 8238) and Catholic Priests in Australia (MS 8443), both in the La Trobe Library, show a large number of French priests and their missionary works in Australia.
2. Eberlé, Reminiscences.
3. Anon., "Concert at Ballarat", Argus, 16 May 1855.
4. Argus, 24 September 1855; 16, 18, 22 October 1855.
5. Ararat Advertiser, 12 November 1858.
6. J.A. Graham, Early Creswick, Melbourne, 1942, p. 273.
7. Argus, 8 May 1857. (However, the Courier of the Mines and Bendigo Daily News was a very short-lived paper, from July 1856 to May 1857).
8. H. de Castella, John Bull's Vineyard, p. 22.

appears more like a harmonious, sincere union than a scandalous match. But marrying a "commoner" might have awakened Lionel to the problems of the French workers in Victoria. Within three days of his arrival, he was besieged by Frenchmen asking to be repatriated. As the French government would not pay their expenses, the Count put his hand in his pocket to help the most desperate ones.[1] He also organized a few social functions such as the celebration of Napoléon's birthday, for which he gave a "grand entertainment" at the Criterion Hotel on 15 August 1855.[2] The next day he organized a big ball (1,500 tickets were sold) to celebrate the cordial alliance between France and England during the Crimean War. The funds raised at this ball through a lottery (a new feature introduced by Chabrillan) were to be remitted to the French Minister of War for the wounded and invalids of the French army of the Crimea. £1,000 was collected and the ball was a great success.[3]

After a sudden illness the Count died on 29 November 1858, at the age of forty. His funeral was attended by several hundreds of diggers.[4] His wife was then in Paris, trying to find a publisher for her book[5] in order to alleviate the Count's financial troubles. This novel also aroused diverse criticisms: "A story of Australian life, or rather of Australian death... it is a very proper work".[6] "A book full of guile, disparagement of a land and people she had not known".[7] The introduction to the English version is certainly laudatory: "First novel about the Australian gold rush, intensely interesting document, usefully supplementing Antoine Fauchery's fascinating Lettres d'un mineur".[8]

---

1. Haldane, Daughter of Paris, p. 150.
2. Argus, 16 August 1855.
3. Argus, 18 August 1855.
4. Haldane, op. cit., p. 195.
5. C. de Chabrillan, Les voleurs d'or, Melbourne, 1857.
6. Anon., "French writers of Australia", Argus, 11 November 1857.
7. H. de Castella, John Bull's Vineyard, p. 23.
8. A.R. Chisholm, in C. de Chabrillan, Gold Robbers, Melbourne, 1970, p. viii.

End of the Adventure

The episode of the French on the goldfields is interesting insofar as it reveals attitudes and characteristics not to be seen again in the history of the French in Australia. The circumstances naturally lent themselves to this. The general picture of the French on the goldfields is a rather lively and familial one, almost like a little Paris in Victoria. Despite observations made by other French saying that the French do not get together,[1] several documents prove on the contrary that there was some solidarity among them: they had a camp where a few Republicans indulged themselves in eloquent speeches and debates; they enjoyed drinking, attended balls and concerts, worked in little parties of three or four; they tried to get their French column in a local paper, could see a French priest for comfort and advice, or even the French Consul, the most original and congenial consul, and when in financial strife, they could rely on other French friends and meet them all in a French café in Melbourne. It could be that they were not interested in the institutions of the country and did not try to understand its jurisdiction,[2] but how many were in those days of adventure?

Gold-digging was an adventure, a temporary one, and the French gave up sooner than many other Europeans as they realized that it was becoming too much of a non-profitable occupation. They did not all go back to France; instead they persisted in trying to obtain some positive results from their new environment; since they were not making a fortune on the goldfields they tried their hands and abilities in other occupations. Table 4.6 shows what occupations were followed by the French who arrived during the peak years of the gold rush, that is between 1852 and 1857, presumably with the intention of gold-digging, then shifted to another occupation as indicated on the naturalization records. From this table it appears that most ex-diggers became tradesmen, or engaged themselves in agricultural and commercial activities, or else were in service industries. By the time they became naturalized most of them had left the goldfields, as only 40 per cent of the French in Victoria were still on the goldfields in 1871.

---

1. See p. 78.
2. Eberlé, Reminiscences.

Table 4.6: Occupations held by persons arriving 1852-57[a] and becoming naturalized in various periods later

	1852-57	1858-71	1872-91	1892-1914	Later	Total	Percentage
Tradesmen	9	24	7	7	-	47	19.6
Agriculture	3	23	11	3	4	44	18.3
farmers	1	8	8	1	-	18	
farm labourers	-	1	-	-	2	3	
vignerons	-	6	2	1	-	9	
gardeners	2	8	1	1	2	14	
Commerce	21	12	2	3	-	38	15.8
Miners/ Gold-diggers	1	8	4	10[b]	4	27	11.3
Service	5	13	2	1	-	21	8.8
Professionals	4	9	-	1	-	14	5.8
Labourers	-	1	1	2	6	10	4.2
Gentlemen	3	-	2	-	2	7	2.9
Seamen	1	1	-	-	4	6	2.5
Clerks	-	1	1	-	-	2	0.8
Transport	-	-	-	-	2	2	0.8
Not stated	7	12	1	-	2	22	9.2
TOTAL:	54	104	31	27	24	240	100.0

Notes: [a] Presumably as gold-diggers.

[b] The relatively large number of miners appearing on the records between 1892 and 1914 were all old settlers who probably put down the last occupation they were engaged in before retiring.

Source: Naturalization Records.

The Settlers in the Colonies

While emigration from France had slowed down noticeably in the mid-1850s and 1860s,[1] the 1861 and 1871 colonial censuses indicate a small increase in the total French population, distributed in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and South Australia, which emphasizes that the gold rush had initiated an emigration to Australia which lasted beyond its peak years (see Table 4.7).

Table 4.7: Number of French-born males and females in Australian colonies: 1854-1871

		1854	1857	1861	1871
New South Wales	M	*	*	517	724
	F	*	*	173	167
Victoria	M)	909	1173	1026	857
	F)		235	224	313
Queensland	M	*	*	38	156
	F	*	*	18	32
South Australia	M	*	*	78	93
	F	*	*	45	69
Total	M	*	*	1659	1830
	F	*	*	460	581
TOTAL:		*	*	2219	2411

Note: * = not available.

Sources: Censuses of Victoria, 1854, 1857, 1861, 1871.
Censuses of New South Wales, 1861, 1871.
Census of South Australia, 1871.
Census of Queensland, 1901.

Towards the late 1850s and early 1860s, a number of French - diggers, travellers and settlers - had already gone back to France and would have acted

1. This is indicated by the number of people emigrating to the U.S.A. - 1851-55: 57,020; 1856-60: 19,518; 1861-65: 14,017; 1866-70: 21,969. See Reports of Immigration Commission 1910, Vol. 3, pp. 14-24.

as informants on Australia. Furthermore, a substantial amount of literature about Australia was published in Paris: these books[1] were usually optimistic and enthusiastic and doubtless awoke the curiosity of a few. It was certainly the influential positions of most informants which decided people other than tradesmen and salesmen to travel to Australia.

Professionals

At least 10 per cent of those who arrived and became naturalized in this period were professionals, a number being engineers and medical doctors (see Table 4.8). The careers of two such men - one engineer and one medical doctor - are given for purposes of illustration.

Eugene Nicolle from Normandy distinguished himself as a pioneer of the frozen meat industry, but is also responsible for other inventions: he figures largely in the patent records of the Australian colonies.[2] Trained as a mechanical engineer, he had already shown his abilities in France when at the age of nineteen he made the nicollithographic machine which solved the problem of mechanical inking. The machine went to England and Nicolle was sent there to work it. He came back to France to learn English and in 1846 returned to England and was employed in a major factory in Birmingham. In 1852 or 1853 he decided to visit Australia. During the long six-month voyage, Nicolle created a self-inking litho-machine and published a weekly paper, The Tropical Times.[3] He did not stay in Melbourne, because he did not like it, but proceeded to Sydney where he was told there was no chance for him, which he did not believe.

---

1. Delessert, Souvenirs d'un voyage à Sydney;
Brout, Guide des émigrants aux mines d'or;
De Chabrillan, Les voleurs d'or;
Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur;
De la Carrière, Voyage aux pays aurifères;
Jacobs, L'Océanie Nouvelle;
H. de Castella, Souvenirs d'un squatter français en Australie, Paris, 1861, published in Melbourne in 1882 under the title Les Squatters australiens.

2. N. Selfe, "A Pioneer Refrigerating Engineer", Ice and Refrigeration, April 1899, p. 298.

3. One copy is held in the Mitchell Library. See S.E.E. Nicolle, Nicolle Papers, 1851-1910, Vol. 2, 1946, Mitchell Library A2751.
Nicolle's date of arrival was, according to the naturalization records 1852; however, shipping records indicate 1853.

Table 4.8: Occupations of French males at the time of their naturalization: 1852-1871

	Total		Ex-diggers*		Others	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tradesmen	40	18.2	33	20.9	7	11.3
Commerce	39	17.7	33	20.9	6	9.7
Agriculture	34	15.5	26	16.4	8	12.9
farmers	14		9		5	
labourers	2		1		1	
winegrowers	8		6		2	
gardeners	10		10		-	
Service	23	10.4	18	11.4	5	8.1
Professionals	22	10.0	13	8.2	9	14.5
Miners	7	3.2	6	3.8	1	1.6
Gold-diggers	5	2.3	3	1.9	2	3.2
Seamen	5	2.3	2	1.3	3	4.8
Labourers	2	0.9	1	0.6	1	1.6
Clerical	1	0.4	1	0.6	-	-
Transport	1	0.4	-	-	1	1.6
Gentlemen	6	2.7	3	1.9	3	4.8
Sub-total	185	84.0	139	87.9	46	74.1
Not stated	35	15.9	19	12.0	16	25.8
TOTAL:	220	99.9	158	99.9	62	99.9

Note: * Those who arrived between 1852 and 1857 and became naturalized between 1852 and 1871.

Source: Naturalization Records.

Nicolle visited P.N. Russel and Son and met Mr Strong, the person he had succeeded in the Birmingham works. He became manager there for several years, then set up his own business at Circular Quay.

He designed and supervised the erection of the sawmills for Wilkinson and Co. and installed the vertical saw system for the first time in the colony. He was also a keen photographer and made his own sensitized plates.

Nicolle became mainly known as a refrigeration engineer, holding several patents for ice-making and experimenting with the freezing of meat for exportation by ship. In 1863, using a purely chemical system involving liquefied ammonia, he reached a temperature of 98° below freezing inside a refrigeration machine. American importations were stopped, supplies were sent to the northern parts of Queensland and works were erected at Brisbane.[1] Nicolle met T.S. Mort and they went on working together, Mort providing the capital and Nicolle the skill. He then developed plans for shipping frozen meat, constructing seven different apparatuses involving four different principles based on heat exchange systems. However he failed to develop a machine ideally suited to ships, as his last apparatus installed on the Northam in 1877 proved to be a failure, resulting in a high financial loss. His pioneering efforts in developing heat exchange systems nevertheless had applications in other refrigeration machines, for domestic and industrial use.[2]

A sketch of meat-preserving apparatus and a drawing of a patented revolving freezer can be seen in the Mitchell Library.[3]

In 1878, Nicolle retired from business and visited England with his wife. In 1879 he returned to Australia to live at Lake Illawarra where he died in 1909.

Among the medical doctors who came to Australia in this period was Dr Duret, a graduate from the University of Paris. He arrived in Melbourne in 1869 and first practised in Spring Street, and soon became known as "the French doctor in Spring Street". He then moved to Albert Park where he was one of the earliest settlers, in Ferrars Street. He was known for his

---

1. Anon., "A Pioneer of our Frozen Meat Industry", The Sydney Mail, 28 September 1910, p. 28.
2. A. Barnard, Visions and Profits, Melbourne, 1961, pp. 180-207.
3. Nicolle, Nicolle Papers.

professional skill and amiability. In 1888, he left Australia to retire to the South of France with his wife and two daughters, not without arranging for another French doctor to take over his practice at Albert Park: Dr Crivelli, graduate from the Medical School of Paris, specialist in surgery and gynecology, who was to have descendants in Australia until today.[1]

Tradesmen

The majority of French settlers in the period 1852-1871 consisted of tradesmen, salesmen and farmers, as these had been directly affected by the economic events in France. A substantial proportion of them went first to the goldfields, and as Table 4.6 indicates, necessity or persistence made them resume their original occupation and settle. The small number of labourers found in naturalization records during this period is not because labourers were unaffected by the troubles in France and therefore did not emigrate. On the contrary. The reason is that French labourers settling in Australia often found attractive opportunities in certain occupations, mainly in the catering business, which encouraged them to become skilled cooks or bakers. Being a tradesman or a cook soon became a more prosperous occupation than gold-digging. Diggers needed food, sometimes accommodation, and liked drinking, so the opportunities were there to set up a successful business which some French seized. French cooks were already in favour in those days; they were offered high wages, such as 500 francs a week;[2] bakers were also popular, as indicated by the naturalization records. Monsieur and Madame Féraud from Antibes, Provence, owned the restaurant and bakery named Lafayette in Ballarat. Most customers were French, mainly from the south. (The chef, Monsieur Fontau, was formerly a hunter in Africa.) They built up a prosperous business until violent storms caused floods in Ballarat and serious damage to the restaurant. M. Féraud then experienced financial hardship and his business started to decline. He became involved in hazardous mining enterprises, lost money and finally had to surrender his property to his creditor. Monsieur Eberlé took over the business and engaged a French worker, Clotte, from Bordeaux, who had first worked on the goldfields. Clotte was not the best colleague to have in the

1. Anon., "A Group of Frenchmen", Table Talk, 15 March 1895, p. 3.
2. Fauchery, Lettres d'un mineur, p. 82.

concern, as he could not read or write and spoke very little English. Eberlé became ill and Clotte employed another worker. Both were bad businessmen and Clotte went back to the mines. Another Frenchman, Lafarge, from Gascony (south-west of France), offered to be Eberlé's associate, but because of his terrible reputation, the latter refused. Eberlé described him as "an adventurer of the worst kind, having given a try to all sorts of occupations: a fan of Rousset Boulbon in California; a smuggler on the Rio Grande; a boatman in Port Phillip; a baker in Ballarat; now a carter. He was causing trouble everywhere. However, owing to his position in a French masonic group which was not very scrupulous in the choice of members, he had a certain influence that enabled him to live well, doing nothing." He eventually fooled Eberlé and robbed him.[1]

Salesmen

Many French became involved in the business of trading, partly because there was a lot of money to be made there[2] but also because they were originally storekeepers or shop owners in France. Fauchery had temporarily become a grocer but had to face much competition.[3] The brandy and claret trade had also attracted several French[4] who owned the "grog shops" and hotels, e.g. Edouard Adet and Gustave Curcier who left Bordeaux in 1851 on a ship they had chartered themselves and loaded with products, mainly brandy, it being a favourite drink among Englishmen. They formed a company in Melbourne in 1856, Curcier Adet & Co., and became prosperous. The company still exists today.[5] The Billiet family came to Melbourne around 1866 and opened a wine-selling store in the Royal Arcade. Their business prospered as by 1875 they owned two retail stores and one wholesale store, despite the

---

1. Eberlé, Reminiscences.
   No trace has been found of this masonic group.
2. Joubert, Shavings and Scrapes, p. 52.
3. See p. 80.
4. Westgarth, Victoria and the Australian Gold-miners, p. 59;
   Jacobs, L'Océanie Nouvelle, p. 48.
5. Anon., "History of Curcier Adet & Co. Pty Ltd", Courrier Australien, November 1976;
   Wine and Spirit News and The Australian Vigneron, Vol. 27, 25 March 1916.
   Adet and Curcier both settled in Australia, Adet as a Consul for France, and Curcier set up a shipping house in Bordeaux with branches in the islands and Australian capital cities.

difficulties they had in attracting the English to wine.[1] Another wine depot in Swanston Street, Melbourne, was owned by Count Alinant de Dollon, vice-president of the Horticultural Society in the 1860s. He sold wine made from grapes he grew or bought himself.[2]

In his guide for French emigrants to the goldfields, the author recommended the Bendigo Hotel, owned by the Frenchman, Lauridon, as a good place to meet other French people.[3] "The hotel consisted of a two-storied wooden mansion, with a considerable courtyard surrounded by stabling and other out-houses and a great assortment of small bedrooms - so large a number that we enjoyed the luxury of a room to each individual."[4] In Chiltern, Monsieur Pron had built the Washington Hotel. A convinced republican, M. Pron had fought during the 'Coup d'Etat' in 1851 and had been arrested. He fled to New South Wales where he worked as a woodcutter, then came to the mines in Victoria and after a few lucky enterprises built the hotel.[5] In Beechworth, the Hotel de Paris belonged to M. Ambroise Grandjuix, from Central France, and a public house, surrounded by a big garden and vines in the Bullarock Ranges, was M. Fléchoir's property.

Called Captain Fléchoir - even though he had only been a non-commissioned officer in Africa - M. Fléchoir was an engineer from Strasbourg. With the help of a French joiner from Franche-Comté, he had created everything with the natural resources of the country. The furniture in the hotel was all colonial work; his wine came from his vines; his vegetables came from his garden and his provision of water came from several little ponds he had dug in a creek. Everything was so prettily arranged that the municipality of Ballarat offered to buy his property to make a botanical garden.[6]

---

1. Michel Billiet to his cousins in France, 13 August 1873 and 15 June 1875. Letters written by Michel Billiet of Chasse (France)... Item 4 and 5, D.5773/1, South Australia Archives.
2. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", V.H.M., Vol. 19, pp. 154-56.
3. Brout, Guide des émigrants, p. 57.
4. Westgarth, Victoria and the Australian Gold-miners, p. 243.
5. Eberlé, Reminiscences.
6. Ibid.

While French merchants found it profitable to sell wine and brandy, mainly in Victoria where the goldfields provided a "thirsty clientele", they also launched other luxury products on the market, such as millinery and drapes; a number of naturalized males during this period were importers of French goods: most were in Sydney, but one French lady and her husband boldly ventured on to the goldfields to open a millinery store, and "intimated to the ladies that the department was under her exclusive personal superintendence and invited an early inspection of the newest fashions just imported".[1]

The annexation of New Caledonia, in 1853, initiated mercantile activities between Australia and the islands which had resulted in an increase of exports from Sydney to provide for the needs of the white settlers in New Caledonia. This trade was largely operated by French merchants who settled in Sydney. The best-known was Monsieur Vial d'Aram who owned three vessels: Maria, La Julie, Sydney, sailing under the French flag. The main exports from the colony of New South Wales were staples, tobacco, building materials, sheep, cattle, coal, clothes. The imports from New Caledonia were mainly sandal-wood, copra, nacre and coral, much of which was re-shipped towards China. The articles exported to New Caledonia did not always originate from Australia, but rather from France, England and the U.S.A. In this sense Sydney was a redistributing centre vital to New Caledonia.[2] Monsieur Vial d'Aram once requested permission to ship wool at Moreton Bay for Port Jackson when his ships were calling in this place, returning from New Caledonia, since part of that wool eventually reached France through England. However, vessels sailing under foreign flags were not entitled to trade coastwise in the colony and permission was not granted.[3]

Direct trade with France hardly existed during those years. France already purchased wool produced in Australia but the commercial transactions were done with England.[4]

---

1. Advertisement in Ararat Advertiser, 9 June 1863.
2. G. Cordier-Rossiaud, Relations économiques entre Sydney et la Nouvelle Calédonie 1844-1860, Paris, 1957, pp. 54-78.
3. Attorney-General, Special Bundles 1836-1876, Vol. I, pp. 479-81, N.S.W. Archives, 9/2697A.
4. M. Levasseur, Les forces productives de l'Australasie britannique, Lille, 1886, pp. 260-61.

Farmers

"Gold attracts the pioneers, land keeps them there. This saying applies to the French farmers, who represented an important part of the French settlers in Australia (Table 4.8). Like tradesmen and shopkeepers, the people of the land had left France for economic reasons, and soon discovered that the soil and the climate of Australia lent themselves to prosperous farming and winegrowing. Though there were more farmers than winegrowers, records are more numerous for the latter group, probably because of the curiosity and novelty linked to the development of winegrowing.

But even farmers had to experiment to be able to cope with local conditions. M. Reymond and M. Nicolas came to Australia in 1857, joined the gold-diggers and eventually became pioneer farmers in the Forbes district. M. Reymond, born in 1834, was a university graduate and taught in a French university for three years, then applied for leave of absence, and landed in Melbourne in 1857. For four years he tried his luck at gold-digging at Chiltern with another Frenchman, Auguste Nicolas. The latter had first tried California, which he entered in 1854, two years after he left France. His hectic voyage lasted two years, during which he almost died, as a result of an explosion on board ship. Unlucky on the Californian goldfields, he heard of the Victorian ones and sailed for Melbourne. He soon went back to France and met his partner-to-be, Monsieur Reymond. Together they headed for Australia in 1857. Instead of starting a business as they had planned, they went to the mines and followed along the Lachlan in the Forbes district, as gold was discovered there.

Eventually they started their business. First they established a saw-milling plant on the bank of the river, and worked it for many years. Then they moved into farming: in 1866, M. Reymond grew wheat in the Forbes district, being the first man to do so. Contrary to expectations, it was a great success and others in the district followed his example. In 1870, he and Nicolas erected flour mills.[1] They also established two model farms along the bank of the Lachlan. As Reymond was concerned with the lack of water in Forbes, he suggested the installation of a weir across the river. The Mayor was interested in the project and obtained a grant from the government which enabled the local authority to complete it.

---

1. Cash and account books of these flour mills are in the Mitchell Library - Nicolas and Reymond: Cash and accounts books 1866-1893, concerned with timber and flour milling business at Forbes, N.S.W., MSS 1060.

M. Reymond also tried his skills in fruit-drying but only on a small scale, and in winegrowing in 1866. He also became involved in the administrative life of Forbes, being an alderman for several years and Mayor in 1883-84. He represented Forbes in the State Parliament and was a member for the constituency from 1895 to 1903. He died in 1918.[1] Both Reymond and Nicolas are regarded as pioneers of the Forbes district and helped other French settlers to find their way to Forbes, as indicated by the naturalization records which show a number of French in Forbes, working mainly in agriculture.

Winegrowers

While M. Reymond had tried winegrowing as an extra farming activity, other French settlers dedicated themselves completely to winegrowing and the winemaking industry. In the 1850s, the industry was still in its early stages of development and a few French had witnessed its beginnings[2] in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia. The entry of Germans into winemaking in South Australia - such as Gramp (Orlando) and Seppelt - had definitely launched the wine industry in that State; its wines were praised at the 1854 Paris Exhibition.[3] However, until the 1850s New South Wales was the principal grape-growing colony, where Germans had also contributed.[4] With the influx of people during the gold rushes, Victoria saw its own wine industry developing rapidly and successfully until the end of the century when the phylloxera pest destroyed several vineyards. While the Germans were mainly responsible for the development of the South Australian wine industry, the French were more noticeable in Victoria as it was in this State that they were concentrated.

Victoria had 1,138 acres of vineyards in 1860-61,[5] and a substantial part had been cultivated by French winegrowers who had originally come to Victoria in search of gold. Interestingly enough, they all established

---

1. Country Promotion League, "In the Good Old Days", Immigration and Land Settlement, Forbes, October 1922, p. 14.
2. See Chap. III, pp. 61-65.
3. R.H.K., "Wine Industry", Australian Encyclopedia, Sydney, 1965, Vol. 9, p. 334.
4. Anon., "Germans in Australia", op. cit., Vol. 4, p. 285.
5. H.E.L., "Viticulture", Australian Encyclopedia, Sydney, 1925, Vol. 2, p. 626.

their vineyards in different areas of Victoria, which reveals how French immigrants outside the goldfields were strongly individualistic, as one could have expected some solidarity in this kind of enterprise.

James (Jacques) Bladier, from the South of France, chose Bendigo to plant his six-acre vineyard. He first rented the property from Joseph Anderson Panton - Melbourne's Senior Police Magistrate - then bought it for £1,000 on long terms. Bladier was an enterprising goods merchant. He planted twenty-five acres of cabbages which he crated and sent over to Tasmania and Sydney. Owing to his income (£700 in one season), he took up more land and planted more vines. He was at first successful, but then struck financial troubles, and the vendor had to resume his vineyard. Bendigo did produce a wide range of excellent wines. The acreage grew, increasing from 38½ acres in 1859 to 120 in 1861 and to 489 in 1869.[1] Phylloxera devastated this promising area in 1887 and it never really recovered.

It was in the north-east of Victoria that Camille Réau commenced wine-growing in the 1860s; he had arrived in Victoria in 1854 and was one of the first settlers in the area, known as the Rutherglen Vineyards. His vineyard, called the Tuileries (after the famous French building in Paris), covered thirty acres.[2]

Meanwhile, the British authorities were trying to attract more French winegrowers, as the following letter sent by a certain Monsieur Guestier to William Macarthur in 1857 indicates:

> "It has been a matter of regret to me to have been unable to accomplish the commission you gave me for immigrants and the more I see of this country, the less I think it is possible to find eligible parties, if any even of any sort, to go and seek fortune elsewhere. This country between its system of public works and drafts for the army from the elite of the population is in want of hands, and will certainly for a long time be in the same situation... As far as vine plants or vines go, if you think I can be of use, or for seeds, ... you may rest assured I will do my best..."[3]

---

1. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", p. 160.
2. J. Flehr, "The history of the wine industry in the north-east of Victoria", North-Eastern Historical Society, Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 5, June 1967, p. 1.
3. Letter from M. Guestier to William Macarthur, 1 September 1857, Macarthur Papers, Vol. 40, p. 518, Mitchell Library, A2936.

A newspaper article also indicated that a number of French "acquainted with the cultivation of vines have just been engaged in different departments of France to go to Australia where the cultivation of the vines of Burgundy and Bordeaux has perfectly succeeded".[1] However, there are no documents showing those who arrived under this engagement after 1858. Monsieur P. Terrier is the only one known to have come directly engaged by a company in Sydney in 1855, to import vine stocks into Australia. Born in the famous winegrowing province of Burgundy, he was employed by Jas. Doyle who considered Terrier a first-class expert who largely contributed to the good names of the Kaludah wines. He then worked with Mr W.C. Green in Allandale.[2] In 1869 he bought a little property, St Helen Vineyard, near Newcastle, and made a vineyard and an orchard from virgin land. He also built his own house. Soon he was making 100 gallons of wine per acre and by 1880 more than 700 gallons per acre. He went back to France for a holiday, praising Australia for its wealth, its climate, its freedom.[3]

This kind of publicity would have had more effect than an advertisement or a recruiting letter, but it was not until later in the century that a few French went back to France and communicated their experience and the possibility of winegrowing, which would have encouraged winegrowers to come to Australia. As Charles Price noted:

> "It is not enough to simply link poverty in the old Europe with high standards of living in the new world. Need of information about the new world is a necessary stage of progression and herepersonal idiosyncrasies and all manner of accidents and incidents are relevant and influential."[4]

In the 1850s and 1860s, Australia was still only known to the large public in France as the country of gold, and while they would have travelled all the way tc Australia to dig gold, it was very unlikely that they would have done so for the sole purpose of winegrowing - as the letter and the lack of response to the recruitment indicate - unless a friend or acquaintance who had lived in Australia told them personally that there were real opportunities in this field.

---

1. Argus, 18 March 1858.
2. H.M. Mackenzie, Among the Pastoralists, Maitland, 1896-7, p. 95.
3. H. Bonnard, La Nouvelle-Galles du Sud en 1881, Bordeaux, 1882, pp. 16-17.
4. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p. 133.

Fortunately there were some winegrowers among the French gold-diggers and these became the main contributors to the development of winegrowing in Victoria.

Chateau Tahbilk in the Goulburn Valley, the only important vineyard remaining in that area today,[1] originated from a Frenchman's work, Ludovic Marie. Arriving from Bordeaux, but a native of Paris, with a collection of goods to start a business in Melbourne, he journeyed to the goldfields at Ballarat, Castlemaine, McIvor and Whroo and ran a ferry service across the Goulburn River at Murchison. (His license was issued on 30 August 1855 from the Colonial Secretary's office in Melbourne.) In 1859 Marie went to the Indigo rush at Chiltern. He is said to have been the first to use steam machinery.[2]

Meanwhile he was appointed manager of Chateau Tahbilk, the owner being Mr Hugh Glass, one of the richest men in Australia. By then Marie was a well-known figure in the area. He started his vigneron's career by planting table grapes in the garden of his homestead. This happened to be a success and he then experimented with cuttings of wine grapes.[3]

Marie became keen on cultivating vines and making wine on the banks of the Goulburn, and he convinced Mr Hugh Glass and other people that the area was excellent for viticulture. He then thought of forming the Goulburn Vineyard Proprietary Co.: on 16 January 1860 he wrote to Mr Horne, an English poet who had left a literary career in London to make his fortune in Australia: "I shall commence to lay out the ground tomorrow in blocks of 20 acres and let each of them by contract to clear for the plough." He signed himself manager of the GVC.[4] The company was formed on 16 March 1860 and Horne was the secretary.[5] They considered purchasing another estate (Noorilim Estate) to develop as vineyards but it fell through because of the death of the owner. A new company was formed named Tahbilk Vineyard Proprietary - with a capital of £25,000 - and on 1 August 1860 they took over

---

1. R.H.K.,"Wine Industry", Australian Encyclopedia, Sydney, 1965, Vol. 9, p. 332.
2. E.M. Heddle, Story of a Vineyard. Chateau Tahbilk, Melbourne, 1960, pp. 14-15.
3. L. Evans, Australia and New Zealand Complete Book of Wine, Sydney, 1973, p. 69.
4. Heddle, op. cit., p. 18.
5. Ibid., pp. 18-19.

the 640 acres of the Tahbilk purchased from Hugh Glass. By the end of 1860, 150 acres had been cleared under Marie's directions and sixty-five acres planted. The land was formerly covered with gums and patches of honeysuckle. A large number of men employed were French and Italians.[1] Most likely these French were former diggers too.

Marie left Tahbilk in 1862. Mr Bear, another member of the company, took over the work, and he progressively bought out the other shareholders.[2]

The Great Western district, one of the most famous sparkling wine centres of Australia today, was also developed by French settlers, the Blampied-Trouette family. Jean-Pierre Trouette, as an experienced vigneron from the south-west of France, noticed the resemblance of the Great Western district to that of his native country of Gers and saw the possibility of producing grapes.[3] Furthermore, the climate was good and there was little chance of storms destroying the vines. He eventually obtained the freehold of a block of about twenty acres and in 1861[4] he planted half an acre in partnership with his brother-in-law, Emile Blampied. Emile Blampied and his sister Anne-Marie now belong to the history of early Victorian winegrowing. Fired by the tale of gold, they secretly left Lorraine in 1852, arrived in Victoria in 1853 and went to Beechworth. There they went into business, transporting supplies to gold-miners.[5] Mlle Blampied met Jean-Pierre Trouette, who already had an interesting migrant career: he had been to Montevideo, Uruguay and South America where he spent three years. In 1852 he went to South Australia and worked there for six months in the Burra Burra

---

1. Heddle, Story of a Vineyard, p. 27.

2. Evans, Australia and New Zealand Complete Book of Wine, p. 69.

3. J. Ludbrook, "Frenchmen played a part in pioneering Australian wines", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce, No. 258, August 1967, p. 30.

4. There is some confusion as to when J.P. Trouette started planting vines. M.F. Trouette's scrapbook says in 1861, but four acres. Some more recent publications say 1863 (see J. Ludbrook). But at the Melbourne Intercolonial Exhibition of 1870, wines of the Trouette and Blampied 1867 vintage were made from vines four to nine years old (see F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", p. 165), which meant the first wines were made in 1858. 1858 was when they bought the small property for growing fruits and vegetables. M. Trouette might have planted his first half-acre of vines then; and his four acres in 1861 as it is said in M.F. Trouette's scrapbook.

5. Evans, op. cit., p. 24;
also J. Ludbrook, op. cit., p. 30.

Copper Mines. The gold rush attracted him to Victoria and he went to Forest Creek, then on to Ovens and Beechworth. He married Mlle Blampied and in 1858 they moved to a gold-mining centre called Great Western with Emile.[1] Like most others, they were unlucky as diggers, and thought of earning their living in a different way.

Jean-Pierre Trouette bought a small property between Ararat and Stawell. It originally belonged to another Frenchman, M. Durand.[2] M. Trouette started growing vegetables and fruits which he sold in Lamplough, Redbank and Landsborough. From growing vegetables to growing vines, there was but a small step, even easier to take as M. Trouette had some experience. The Trouettes and the Blampieds (Emile had married Louise Metzger, the daughter of an Alsatian miner of Beechworth[3] who also became a winegrower) were going to form a successful and enterprising team, but Jean-Pierre Trouette was the outstanding character.

In 1861 (or 1864) he planted four acres; in 1865 three acres; in 1866 seven acres. He became known as a vigneron in 1867 as his wines were favoured by the judges at the Melbourne Exhibition. By that time he had about 50,000 vines and 2,000 fruit trees. He had not intended to make wine that year as he had sold the best of his grapes - so his wines were made from inferior fruits. He also had every disadvantage that year: his casks were new, his cellarage was limited and not in the best condition; his general aptitude for the trade was far from perfect. Also his wine was not mature, being only six months old when sent to the Exhibition. But he expected his 1867 vintage to be much superior in quality and quantity.[4] Indeed, later in the year a sample of his new wines received praise for its "excellent body and bouquet".[5] His success as a vigneron increased steadily: his vineyard was often praised by the press, as were his wines,[6]

---

1. Great Western and Trouette Family, from M.F. Trouette's Scrapbook, "A", La Trobe Library, pp. 1-2 (typescript).
2. Croems, "St Peter's Vineyard, Great Western", Ararat Advertiser, 2 July 1867, p. 3.
3. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", p. 165.
4. Anon., "Local and General News", Ararat Advertiser, 19 February 1867, p. 2.
5. Anon., "Local and General News", Ararat Advertiser, 12 November 1867, p. 2.
6. Ararat Advertiser, 9 June 1863, 21 May 1867, 2 July 1867, 12 November 1867, 25 December 1868.

which were even recommended for use in hospitals.[1] In 1883, he and Blampied gained a gold medal for white wine and a first class certificate for red wine.[2] "At his house, the visitor is fairly dazzled with the display of cups and medals of silver and bronze won in France, Vienna, America and the sister colonies and our own districts".[3]

Jean-Pierre Trouette died in 1885, aged fifty-two. Not only had he been a successful winegrower, but he had also taken an active part in all movements for the advancement of the district. He was a Commissioner of the Peace for many years and Shire Councillor for twelve years. He acted as Council President for a certain period but he objected to being re-elected. He was also a Commissioner of the Wimmera Water Trust.[4]

As a person, he was esteemed by others who always found him most helpful and ready to assist them by his advice. His example as a vigneron was followed by other miners or newcomers.[5] His hospitality was unbounded and at his harvest of the grape people from the whole district would flock to his house. It was a very famous harvest, reported by several writers in complimentary terms (Hubert de Castella among them).

Here are a few excerpts from a description of the 1878 harvest:

> "Those who were present in the afternoon were regaled with an excellent cup of tea by Mme. Trouette. Shortly after tea, relays of visitors came in whose numbers were increased materially by the arrival of the half-past seven train from Ararat and the half-past nine from Stawell... At eight o'clock, dancing was commenced and was kept up with slight variations until about eight o'clock yesterday morning, the final dance taking place so as to allow the guests time to catch the 8.30 a.m. train to Stawell... These usually opened sides [of the room over the cellar] were closed with a wealth of greenery, while above and around festoons and garlands gave a festive appearance to the massive beams and pillars of solid box... Card room, smoke rooms, music rooms and wine rooms opened from the hall on all sides... More substantial refreshment was available to all on visiting the large kitchen... As the night

---

1. Ararat Advertiser, 25 December 1868.
2. Ludbrook, "Frenchmen played a part", p. 30.
3. Great Western and Trouette Family, p. 2.
4. Anon., "The late Mr Trouette", Pleasant Creek Advertiser, 28 November 1885.
5. Three brothers, Joseph, Michel and Blaise Ruyer arrived in Victoria between 1855-57, from Alsace-Lorraine, and went into winegrowing (see naturalization records).

> wore on Messieurs the vine-dressers sang the songs of their fatherlands... When a hearty breakfast had been dispatched a number of the guests assembled at the head of the large hall proposed 'Health and prosperity to the proprietors of St Peter's and their families'..."[1]

Monsieur and Madame Trouette had two children, Marie-Françoise and Nicolas. They both worked in the family enterprise (Marie-Françoise had been to a ladies' college). The year after Jean-Pierre Trouette's death, Nicolas was accidentally killed (2 March 1886) by being suffocated with carbonic acid gas in a vat while attempting to rescue a workman - David Simpson - overcome by the fumes in the vat he was cleaning. Marie-Françoise unsuccessfully tried to rescue the victims. Her act of courage was brought to the notice of the Royal Humane Society and she received a bronze medal.[2]

After a series of bad seasons and crop failures, St Peter's was sold in 1897. Mme Trouette died in 1906, at the age of 80; her daughter Marie-Françoise had established a small vineyard, "The Hermitage", which was her home for thirty years.[3] She died in 1927. All the members of the Trouette family lie buried in the Great Western cemetery.[4]

These French winegrowers had been mainly concerned with the production of wine. However, it was not enough to produce the wines; they had to be drunk, and if possible by Australians themselves who so far were mainly used to drinking either tea or whisky and other potent spirits. Marketing and distribution became obvious problems, partly due to the hostility to colonial wines[5] and to the strong competition of whisky and tea. Hubert de Castella[6] was the first winegrower to fight strongly against this

---

1. The Vendange at St Peter's Vineyard, from M.F. Trouette's Scrapbook (B), pp. 1-2 (from the Stawell Chronicle, 2 May 1878).
2. Great Western and Trouette Family, p. 3.
3. Ibid.
4. Ludbrook, "Frenchmen played a part", p.30.
5. H. de Castella, Notes d'un vigneron australien, Melbourne, 1882, p. 63.
6. Hubert de Castella was Swiss by birth and often referred to as a Swiss in literature. However, he became a naturalized French citizen in 1848 in order to join the French army instead of a Swiss regiment. "My education was French and I liked France, so I decided to apply for naturalization letters" (see H. de Castella, Les Squatters australiens, Melbourne, 1882, p. 7). His skill and knowledge in winegrowing were obtained mainly in France also.

hostility and try to popularize wine as an everyday drink, taken with meals - which would also be a remedy for alcoholism, then common in Australia (mainly on the goldfields).[1]

This opinion was confirmed by M. de Charnay, a scientific French traveller, who visited Australia in 1860 and was Hubert de Castella's guest. He declared:

> "It behoves the Australians to show by their example the esteem they have for their products. They must use them themselves; they must leave off in part tea, which they abuse, and the alcohols which pervert their taste; in a word, they must show by drinking them that their own wines are good."[2]

Once at a banquet held at M. and Mme Trouette's on Queen Victoria's birthday, M. Hubert de Castella raised a toast to the vineyard:

> "To the Australian Vine, to the Vine which gives prosperity, to the Vine which makes men sober and kind, which engenders sociability, which employs most hands, which is the greatest comfort to the rural families; to the cultivation of the Vine, best of all to develop a new country."[3]

This enthusiastic settler came to Australia in 1854 with the intention of engaging in pastoral pursuits, attracted by the letters of praise that his brother Paul had sent him. Paul had been in Victoria since 1849 and took over Yering cattle station: this had half an acre of vines under cultivation owing to the care of a Frenchman from Burgundy,[4] which half an acre eventually led to the formation of a large vineyard. Paul added 100 acres to it, called the property Lilydale after his wife Elizabeth and when Hubert arrived, was already producing promising wines. The cultivation of vines was facilitated and improved owing to newly-invented tools sent from Bordeaux by M. Guestier.[5]

In 1857 or 1858, Hubert returned to Europe and wrote a book, published in Paris, Souvenirs d'un squatter,[6] in which he described the easy-going and successful life of the Australians and above all of the station-owners. He

---

1. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous, p. 302.
2. Anon., "Mr Dyer's offer to the Victorian Government", The Australian Vigneron and Fruit-Growers' Journal, Vol. 8, 1 June 1897, p. 19.
3. H. de Castella, John Bull's Vineyard, pp. 78-79.
4. H. de Castella, Notes d'un vigneron australien, p. 7.
5. H. de Castella, Les Squatters australiens, p. 195. For M. Guestier, see p. 96.
6. See p. 87.

also showed his admiration for the Australian scenery and the variety of birds and plants.

In 1862, he came back to Victoria with the idea of buying a sheep station. "Unfortunately sheep were dear, and my brother's wines... in good demand."[1] In 1858 Colonel Anderson, father of Elizabeth, had selected the best cuttings of vines from Château-Lafitte and other famous vineyards for Paul de Castella. These were planted in Yerinberg with success. Many vignerons of the area were then supplied with cuttings from these vines.[2] In 1861, Paul had been offered a 100-guinea gold cup for the best Victorian vineyard.[3] Eventually Hubert decided to follow in the steps of his brother. He bought part of the Yering station, planted the St Hubert vineyard and by 1875 had increased his area under cultivation to 250 acres.[4]

In 1865 he married Alice Frances Jenkins of Bombala, N.S.W., and had ten children.[5] The eldest, François, was educated at Xavier College, then was sent to the Academy of Natural Science at Fribourg and Lausanne University, Switzerland. His purpose was to apply his knowledge to the Victorian vineyards on his return; he also went to Champagne to study winemaking in that area.[6]

Hubert de Castella and his colleagues had to go through a few years of disillusion, adaptation and hardship. Disillusion arose because their first successes, won on a small scale, made them so enthusiastic that naturally enough they started making wines in much bigger quantities - and soon ran into complex problems concerning equipment and organization. Adaptation was a problem because of the differences in temperatures between Europe and Victoria. Favoured by a variety of temperatures, Victoria produced the light wines of France and Germany and also the rich wines of the warm latitudes. But that too required much attention and some wines were wasted because of mistakes in temperature controls during fermentation. Hardship

---

1. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", pp. 148-49.
2. Anon., "The Lilydale Vineyards", The Australasian, 18 June 1887, p. 1162.
3. H. de Castella, Notes d'un vigneron australien, p. 10.
4. H. de Castella, John Bull's Vineyard, p. 15.
5. K.A.R. Horn, "De Castella", A.D.B., Vol. 3, p. 368.
6. R.T., "The De Castellas", The Australasian Post, 6 October 1949, p. 9.

occurred because they had difficulties selling their wines,[1] although they produced magnificent white wines and dry reds, kept in oak casks (in the traditional French way) and stored in their 2,000-square-metre stone cellars.[2]

De Castella wanted to create a wine trade because the rents of cellars, the wages of cellarmen and other general expenses were disproportionate to the limited sales. Further, because of the disaster to French wines as a consequence of phylloxera, he saw the possibility of developing a good company manufacture of champagne.[3] The St Hubert's Vineyard Co. was formed in about 1875 but it was not successful as the directors were apathetic. In the end, he and M.Andrew Rowan, his partner, took over St Hubert's from the company, and opened a cellar in Melbourne with M. Rowan in charge of the sales. This was the beginning of an era of prosperity for St Hubert's and the prejudice against colonial wines progressively disappeared.[4]

His wines were presented at the Vienna Exhibition in 1873 and were the source of an incident with the French who refused at first to admit some Hermitages as being produced in Victoria. They said these wines were French wines of high class, sent back from Australia. This created something of a scandal. De Castella had sent samples himself, and assured they had been produced in Victoria as they were definitely stronger than French wines.[5] The jury then revised its opinion... and a diploma of honour was granted to the colony of Victoria for "securing a far larger percentage of higher class rewards than fell to the share of any other country".[6]

De Castella also won the Grand Prix (a gold and silver trophy, valued at £1,000) at the International Exhibition of Melbourne, in 1881. This was offered by the Emperor Wilhelm I of Germany for the best exhibit of colonial origin.[7]

---

1. H. de Castella, Notes d'un vigneron australien, pp. 44-63.
2. Anon., "The St Hubert's Vineyards", The Australasian, 25 June 1887, p. 1210.
3. H. de Castella, Proposal for the Establishment of a Company for the Extension and Working of the St Hubert Vineyard , La Trobe Library, MS 9437.
4. H. de Castella, Notes d'un vigneron australien, p. 17.
5. H. de Castella, Proposal for the Establishment of a Company .
6. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", p. 161.
7. H. de Castella, Notes d'un vigneron australien, pp. 18-22.

A few years later, around 1887, Hubert de Castella went out of winegrowing and returned to Switzerland. However, he remained in touch with Australian viticulture and placed several parcels of Australian wines.[1] In 1889, he was a Commissioner for Victoria at the Paris International Exhibition where the Yering wines won a grand prix, the only one awarded for wines in the Southern Hemisphere.[2]

He came back to Australia in 1906 and died in 1907 at his residence, Chartersville, Ivanhoe.[3]

The vineyards of Lilydale, Yering and Yeringberg went out of production in the 1920s, because of the growth of dairying and later on the sprawl of the metropolis, and because of spring frosts and neglect of manuring. The vineyards also produced a small harvest compared to the other new and large vineyards.[4] (Recently there has been a revival of winegrowing in this area.)

However, for over sixty years Yering greatly contributed to the Victorian wine industry. Australian wine received its solemn consecration at the Centenary Exhibition in Paris in 1889 when thirty-five winegrowers from Victoria submitted samples of their red and white wines and had considerable success.[5]

In New South Wales, the French contribution was much smaller and, except for P. Terrier whom we met earlier,[6] winegrowing was undertaken as a by-product of farming by pioneers who were constantly experimenting, like M. Serisier[7] in Dubbo and M. Reymond[8] in Forbes. M. Serisier's vineyard was one of the most extensive of the time (in the late 1860s) in New South Wales: 50,000 vines were planted on an area of forty acres, the Emulga Vineyard.

---

1. Anon., The Australian Vigneron and Fruit-Growers' Journal, Vol. 17, 31 December 1906.
2. Peel, "Viticulture at Geelong and Lilydale", p. 170.
3. Anon., "Death of Mr Hubert de Castella", Argus, 31 October 1907.
4. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", pp. 153-54.
5. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous, p. 303.
6. See p. 97.
7. See Chap. III, p. 57.
8. See p. 95.

Serisier had the second largest cellar in the colony, storing up to 11,000 gallons of wine whose quality was appreciated by connoisseurs.[1]

Because the Germans and the English winegrowers have succeeded in maintaining their names through the generations - such as Penfold, Seppelt, Lindeman, Hardy, etc. - they are usually given the credit for the development of winegrowing in Australia, but because they were more numerous and emigrated with their families they were more likely to secure a name that would survive for generations. Unfortunately, the French enterprises were often individual ones which were forgotten when their contributors left (Bladier; Marie) or died (Blampied-Trouette), and today it is generally unknown that the French played a role in the development of the wine industry.

However, back in the 1870s, it was clear that the French were successfully contributing to this industry and the fact was publicized in France by pioneers such as de Castella and Terrier who went back for a holiday, thus informing potential emigrants and encouraging their countrymen to join them or to establish vineyards of their own. This kind of publicity would have been all the more welcome after the phylloxera pest destroyed large winegrowing areas and ruined many winegrowers after 1875.

Conclusion

In 1871, the French population in Australia amounted to 2,500, the bulk of whom had arrived during the gold rushes. Because the gold rushes coincided with Louis Napoléon's takeover, and with poor economic and social conditions, it is difficult to ascertain which factor was most prominent in their decision to emigrate: the attraction of gold or difficult living conditions. The quick and relatively numerous arrivals of French during these years altered the composition of the French population; this until the eve of the gold rushes consisted mainly of middle- to upper-class people,[2] while in the fifties and sixties, Frenchmen were mainly engaged in trade, craft and farming. Giving up gold-digging rather early, they provided for the needs of the other diggers instead and settled as bakers, grocers and wine and brandy merchants. Others exploited the land to grow crops and

---

1. James, History of Dubbo, p. 103.
2. See Chap. III.

vines and became successful contributors to the development of farming and winegrowing, even though their small number prevented them from becoming the leaders in the wine industry.

Some of the settlers were definitely influential in talking their fellow-countrymen into coming to Australia: A. Nicolas came back to Melbourne with his partner M. Reymond and eventually settled in Forbes where they helped other French immigrants to settle; P. Terrier, H. de Castella and A. Fauchery praised Australia when in France; G. Curcier set up a shipping house in Bordeaux with branches in Australian cities, and doubtless encouraged potential emigrants to go to Australia as he was a personal example of success (furthermore as he was in the wine business, he would have mentioned the possibility of winegrowing). Even though these cases did not form the links of a chain migration, nor originate any large-scale group settlement, they nevertheless assured a regular if small stream of French arrivals in Australia, not only of farmers, tradesmen and merchants but of highly qualified persons as well.

CHAPTER V

IMMIGRATION AND SETTLEMENT 1872-1891

While gold was becoming scarcer and scarcer, and attracting fewer and fewer immigrants, events of a dramatic magnitude happened in France, resulting in a new phase of emigration towards overseas countries: the 1870 Franco-Prussian War, which imposed a severe defeat on France; the 1871 Commune, a revolt of the Parisian proletariat, including the unemployed and those living in miserable conditions, and of the small bourgeoisie, victims of the industrial revolution. Repression was harsh and thousands were arrested and deported to New Caledonia.[1] Moreover, the provinces were affected by a severe agricultural depression, mainly because of a large influx of cheap wheat and meat from the United States, and because of the outbreak of phylloxera which since its first appearance in 1865 had destroyed thousands of acres of vineyards and ruined their owners. Wine production fell from 83 million hectolitres in 1875 to 70 million in 1879 and down to 24 million in 1889. Furthermore, in 1882, the Union Générale Bank crashed; thousands of farmers and rural investors had committed their savings to this bank. The agricultural depression affected the city where the demand for goods was reduced, thereby creating a depression in industry.[2]

These circumstances induced many Frenchmen to emigrate: 15,829 arrivals were recorded in overseas countries in 1872,[3] the United States, Argentina and Algeria being the main recipients. This year also recorded the highest number of arrivals in Australia since 1854 - according to the naturalization records, as there were no official statistics on arrivals in Australia until 1902 - which increased even more in the following years to then remain stable until the late 1880s. As in the 1850s, the repercussion of events in France was less directly felt in Australia than in the

---

1. J. Bruhat, J. Dautry, E. Tersen, La Commune de 1871, Paris, 1970.
2. J.P.T. Bury, France 1814-1940, London, 1948, p. 170; and Sée, Histoire économique de la France, pp. 320-21.
3. Willcox, International Migrations, Vol. I, p. 109.

United States where the maximum of arrivals was recorded in 1873 (14,798)[1] but only in 1878 in Australia; which indicates that emigration to the United States was more spontaneous than to Australia, certainly because of the lack of sufficient informants and assistance from former settlers in Australia.[2] However, the French population increased from 2,411 in 1871 to 3,553 in 1881 and to 4,261 in 1891, which represented the peak of French emigration to Australia. These figures only include the French born in France; if we include those born in French dependencies, the French population in Australia reached 4,526 in 1891.

Also similar to the previous decades, French immigrants were very young on arrival - 53.1 per cent between 15 and 29 and 36.7 per cent between 30 and 49;[3] however the number of female immigrants increased, bringing up the sex ratio from 34 in 1871 to 40 in 1891, excluding migratory populations (see Table 5.1).[4]

---

1. Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, p. 31.
2. As mentioned in Chap. IV, p.86-7, informants did exist and publicize or encourage French people to emigrate to Australia. However, they were too few to provoke large-scale emigration. Furthermore, the U.S.A. always had the advantage of being closer.
3. Naturalization Records.
4. Migratory populations usually consisted of males aboard ships anchored in ports on census nights; crews were counted in the censuses, in the migratory category, as different from urban and rural.

Table 5.1: Number of French-born males and females in the Australian colonies: 1871-1891

Colony		1871 With Migratory	1871 Without Migratory	1881 With Migratory	1881 Without Migratory	1891 With Migratory	1891 Without Migratory
N.S.W.	M	724	631	1,205	1,077	1,585	1,153
	F	167	167	292	292	445	445
Vic.	M	857	857	1,042	1,042	898	898
	F	313	313	292	292	384	384
Qld	M	156	156	261	261	309	309
	F	32	32	79	79	91	91
S.A.	M	93	87	213	192	308	139
	F	69	69	80	80	92	92
W.A.	M	-	-	21	21	62	62
	F	-	-	9	9	10	10
Tas.	M	-	-	28	28	53	53
	F	-	-	31	31	24	24
Total	M	1,830	1,731	2,770	2,621	3,215	2,614
	F	581	581	783	783	1,046	1,046
Grand Total		2,411	2,312	3,553	3,404	4,261	3,660
Sex Ratio*		32	34	28	30	33	40

Note: * = females per 100 males.

Sources: Censuses N.S.W., Vic., Qld, S.A., W.A., Tas.

The origins of these settlers partly reflect the events which struck France in the early 1870s; however Brittany, not directly affected by these events, but poor and overpopulated (see p. 72), provided the largest contingent of emigrants to Australia, closely followed by Paris which had suffered from the Prussian siege and the Commune. Inhabitants from winegrowing regions such as Mediterranean France, the Rhone Valley, Aquitaine and Alsace also emigrated in relatively large numbers because of the effects of phylloxera. The North department provided a substantial number of French

settlers too because of the economic interests these people had in Australia (see Table 5.2). These immigrants were no longer solely attracted to Victoria where until 1871 they were largely concentrated, but also to New South Wales.

Table 5.2: Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1872-1891

	Numbers	Percentage
North	39	5.7
Picardy	13	1.9
Normandy	31	4.6
Total North of France	83	12.2
Brittany (West of France)	111	16.4
Charente-Poitou	16	2.3
Aquitaine-South Pyrenees	44	6.5
Total South-West	60	8.8
Mediterranean France	73	10.8
Rhone Valley	34	5.0
Savoy-Dauphiné	9	1.3
Total South-East	116	17.1
Burgundy	8	1.2
Franche-Comté	1	0.1
Champagne-Ardennes	10	1.5
Alsace-Lorraine	39	5.7
Total North-East	58	8.5
Paris	100	14.7
Loire districts	13	1.9
Centre-Auvergne	16	2.4
France not stated	69	10.2
French possessions	41	6.1
Other countries	11	1.6
TOTAL:	678	99.9

Source: Naturalization Records.

The French in Sydney - Beginning of Wool Trade

Several factors contributed to their choice of New South Wales instead of Victoria: a number of influential French people had lived there and had succeeded in setting up a French headquarters at Hunter's Hill.[1] Even though this area was confined to a certain elite - and to French religious orders - it represented a haven for the newly-arrived immigrant or for the settler in strife.

Also Sydney offered work opportunities less available in other parts of Australia, notably in wool-buying and commerce with French possessions in the Pacific. Since France had extended her colonial empire in the Pacific (New Caledonia and French Polynesia), several ships called at Australian ports on their way to these dependencies. These trade activities gave birth to a short-lived French newspaper edited in Sydney from January to April 1874, La Revue Australienne (see photo, p. 114). This journal aimed at informing the French in Australia, as well as the Australians, on the resources available in New Caledonia (which sometimes suffered from the distance and indifference from France),[2] and reported the movements of the French ships. These ships mostly left from Nantes, St Malo and Le Havre (respectively in Brittany and Normandy) and most probably took passengers for Australia since these areas provided a relatively large number of emigrants (see Table 5.2).

In terms of trade, wool-buying became the main element as wool consumption in France had doubled between 1869 and 1900; exports of woollen goods between 1869 and 1907 had increased from 9 million kilograms to 37 million kilograms; but the number of sheep was decreasing, first because of the diminishing area of land available for grazing, then because of the competition from new countries, such as Argentina and Australia, which provided more and more wool to industrial countries in Europe.[3] France thus sent wool-buyers to Australia who opened French offices in Melbourne and Sydney. Leroux was the first company, sending Emile Dervillée and Emile Odon to Sydney who respectively arrived in 1876 and 1880. Other companies

---

1. See Chap.III: the Joubert brothers, Count de Milhau; the Marist Fathers and Brothers.
2. H. Bonnard, Revue Australienne, January 1874, p. 3.
3. Sée, Histoire économique de la France, pp. 302, 317.

No. 2. JANVIER, 1874.

Revue Australienne:

JOURNAL DES INTERETS FRANÇAIS

EN

AUSTRALIE, NOUVELLE CALEDONIE,
NOUVELLE ZELANDE,
FIJI, TAHITI, POLYNESIE.

SYDNEY:

NOUVELLE GALLES DU SUD—AUSTRALIE

founding wool-trading houses were Masurel Fils, H. Caulliez, H. Mathon-Bertrand.[1] These businessmen came mainly from the North of France and from Champagne, where textile industries were important, and joined the Hunter's Hill people, forming the kernel of the French colony. They were more numerous than the naturalization records indicate, because many wool-buyers did not become naturalized as they were sent out for a few years by their firm and then went back to France: only 10 per cent of the naturalized males were salesmen or merchants and 3.5 per cent had administrative and clerical positions (Table 5.3), and these were not all involved in French trade.

But commercial exchanges were still at an embryonic stage between France and Australia during those years, partly because there was little direct relation with France - nearly everything went through the London market - and partly because imports from Australia were not balanced by exports to Australia, thus creating a one-way trade. As her needs for wool kept increasing, France decided to improve her position by penetrating the Australian market, and participated in the Sydney and Melbourne exhibitions in 1879-80 and 1880-81,[2] to advertise her products. In 1881 a French bank, the Comptoir National d'Escompte (now affiliated to the Banque Nationale de Paris) opened offices in Sydney and Melbourne to assist wool transactions,[3] and in 1882 the Messageries Maritimes Lines were inaugurated, leasing a wharf in Sydney in 1883. Only then did a direct and more important exchange start operating between the two countries. The ships sailed thirteen times a year from Marseille to Australia via the Suez Canal, Seychelles, Réunion, Mauritius, Adelaide, Melbourne, Sydney, then on to New Caledonia.[4] The final step towards the development of trade between the two countries was the foundation in Sydney of a French Chamber of Commerce in 1899, which has since developed branches in other capital cities. All these episodes were decisive in enabling more efficient ways of importing wool and hides and exporting French products directly. France mainly exported "luxury products" such as

---

1. P.D., "La laine et les Français d'Australie", Courrier Australien, 3 September 1943, p. 28.

2. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous, pp. 54, 336-37.

3. In Sydney the bank had its office where Australia Square is now, then moved to Wynyard Street where it stayed for forty-five years. In 1958 the new premises were in Castlereagh Street and a second agency was opened, now in Bond Street. Agencies were created in Brisbane in 1965, and in Perth in 1969 (see Courrier Australien, 19 November 1971).

4. M. La Meslée, L'Australie nouvelle, Paris, 1883, p. ix.

Table 5.3: Occupations of French males naturalized between 1872-1891

	Numbers	Percentage
Agriculture	38	19.0
farmers	27	13.5
winegrowers	11	5.5
Tradesmen	38	19.0
Service	29	14.5
Professional	22	11.0
Commerce	20	10.0
Seamen	16	8.0
Labourers	11	5.5
Miners	8	4.0
Transport	5	2.5
Administrative	4	2.0
Clerical	3	1.5
Timber workers	3	1.5
Others	2	1.0
Not stated	1	0.5
TOTAL:	200	100.0

Source: Naturalization Records.

made-up cottons, cashmeres and silks; liquors (cognac), Burgundy wines, champagne; leather, hats and furnishing material.[1] In the other fields she had to compete with Germany and England who could certainly impose themselves on the market much better than the French could.[2]

Importing more than exporting was the problem confronting the French throughout the years, a problem that became more crucial as trade became more important, mainly after World War I.

1. La Meslée, L'Australie nouvelle, p. ix.
2. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous, pp. 332-34.

The development of commerce with France and the French colonies meant more occupations for people living off port activities or the sea: 8 per cent of the naturalized males during this period were in this occupation (see Table 5.3).

Main Occupation Groups

While wool-buyers and other businessmen formed the most noticeable group of French people in Australia, the majority of settlers were in skilled and semi-skilled positions (such as tradesmen and service workers) and in agriculture. Compared with the period 1852-71, the main difference was an increase in service workers and labourers, of about 8 per cent, mainly those who revolted against the government in 1871.

Skilled and Semi-Skilled Workers

Records about tradesmen and service workers are almost non-existent and only the naturalization records give some indication about these settlers.

Among tradesmen were mainly bootmakers: three young brothers aged twelve, seventeen and twenty came from Normandy and settled in Adelaide,[1] but there were also bakers, tailors, painters and carpenters. Cooks, hairdressers and restaurant keepers were the main occupations held by those in service, certainly because of the popularity usually enjoyed by French cuisine and fashion overseas.

Agriculture

Farmers. One family of farmers, the Dubarrys, left some records of their settlement in Australia and are a good example of those migrating at this time. Fleeing German-occupied Alsace, they arrived in Melbourne in April 1872, spent a couple of weeks in Ballarat and hit a stone of auriferous quartz which had 50 ounces of pure gold. This discovery and other smaller ones enabled them to put a deposit on a 300-hectare farm in the Geelong area. In 1873 they had successful crops and a good orchard and were planning on paying off their farm in five years: "In a few years, we will eat the income

---

1. Naturalization Certificates of South Australia.

in our beloved Alsace, if by that time, the Germans have been expelled from it."[1]

According to Lyng, it was towards the end of the century that a French horticulturist brought out the asparagus plant from France and cultivated it in Geelong, apparently financed by the French Bank in Melbourne.[2]

Winegrowers. Farmers were more numerous than winegrowers but, as in the 1850s and 1860s, the latter had distinguished themselves and left more documents and records. While only 5.5 per cent were actual winegrowers, 10 per cent of all naturalized French males were involved in the wine business, that is, winegrowers, winemakers, wine experts, wine dealers, cellarmen, etc. South Australia and New South Wales were by now becoming as attractive to the French winegrowers as Victoria had been in the previous decades, and winegrowing was becoming a family business. The largest family involved was the Gellys, in South Australia. The eldest son, Joseph Charles, arrived aged twenty-seven and was followed by his mother, four sisters and one brother in 1884.[3] Born in Roussillon, the famous winegrowing area in the South of France which was badly struck by phylloxera, they were all vignerons, except the mother who was a cook. They settled at Beaumont, near Adelaide, where two other French winegrowers from the same French region had also settled: these were M. Le Mazouan and his sister (or wife?). This is an example of a very small chain migration, worthwhile noting as it is one of few such chains, that is, people coming from the same region, following a friend or relative's example, and settling in the same area.

---

1. A. Dubarry, "Voyages: l'Alsace-Lorraine en Australie", Musée des familles, Paris, 1873, Vol. 40, pp. 113, 313. Because of the fantastic, almost heroic aspect of the story - the family was shipwrecked in September 1871 and walked down to Melbourne, facing all kinds of perils and dangers - its truth is dubious. If, however, the Dubarrys emigrated to Australia and became involved in farming, why were they presented in such an incredible background? Was it some sort of publicity for Australia, trying to induce adventurers to come over, or was it just a fantastic story aiming at showing off the lives of exiled people from Alsace-Lorraine? See Price, Southern Europeans, pp. 128-29, reporting heroic cases of immigrants, aimed at impressing their "folk back home".

2. Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, p. 120.

3. Naturalization Certificates of South Australia.

In 1885 one of the Gellys daughters, Philomena, aged seventeen, married another French winegrower who later became a prominent figure in the South Australian wine industry, Edmond Mazure. Mazure was a friend of Philomena's brother; they actually came to Australia together. Edmond had been trained as a winemaker in France, then went to Spain, and after travelling around the world reached Australia in 1882, aged twenty-one. He first worked with Samuel Davenport and they were among the first to grow olive trees and make olive oil. Then he went to Auldana, owned by Sir Josiah Symon, and became the manager of the winery. During this period Auldana was famous for its St Henri claret (named after Mazure's son Henri), which won several medals in Australia, London and Paris.[1] French ships used to take supplies of that wine for the crew and the passengers.[2]

> "The continental naiveté and ingenuity of this Frenchman provided for the protection of his harvest as well as the quality of his vintage, and in 1903 his neighbours must have been at first puzzled, then startled, to find Auldana equipped with windmills whirling kerosene tins on their vanes, inside which loose marbles kept up a racketing din - successfully reckoned to frighten the sparrows, wattle birds and starlings that swarmed the vineyards during the fruit ripening season. With the removals of the tins at the end of harvest time, part of the thanksgiving might well have been reserved for the return of peace, quiet and birds to the sunny slopes!"[3]

Auldana also specialized in sparkling wines made under the direction of a Frenchman named Duray.[4]

Mazure eventually started his own business in 1909 at Magill, and named his property La Pérouse. He only had about twenty acres, and started with two stables in which he installed shaking tables. Later he built the property "Romalo" (now called Seaview).[5] "His business was the result of all his personal efforts," said his daughter.

E. Mazure was known for his knowledge as a wine expert and for being helpful in describing his methods to other winegrowers.[6] He increased his

---

1. Mrs Fraser's personal account, in an interview, 1976. Mrs Fraser is Mr Mazure's daughter.
2. J. Ludbrook, Hurtle Walker of "Romalo", 24 July 1964, p. 5.
3. E. Keane, The Penfold Story, Sydney, 1951, p. 53.
4. Ludbrook, op. cit., p.6.
5. Ibid.
6. Adelaide "Observer", "What Mr Mazure has achieved", Wine and Spirit News and Australian Vigneron, Vol. 26, 25 March 1915, pp. 120-21.

knowledge when going on a trip to Europe in 1908, sent by the South Australian government as a commissioner to the Franco-British Exhibition in London.[1]

E. Mazure also appeared to be an inventor when he demonstrated his patent for a corking machine in 1894; a grooved needle being screwed on to the plunger made corking easier because of no resistance, the air being driven through the groove in the needle. The cork was driven perfectly home and there was no need to cut off the top before capsuling or waxing. And the cork did not rise.[2] He was also one of the first to introduce yeast into the making of wine in South Australia, and became known as the founder of champagne-making at Magill. Edmond Mazure decided to retire in 1921-22 and his business was bought by a New South Wales company. He retired to Victor Harbour and died there in 1939.

Messrs Frère, father and son, also had a family winegrowing business. M. Léo Frère arrived from Barbézieux, Charente, as a wine expert in 1874 and went to the Murray Valley vineyard at Albury, N.S.W., owned by Mr Fallon, the largest grower and winemaker in Albury. M. Frère later bought his own vineyard while still working with Mr Fallon. He planted St Hilaire vineyard - three acres - with a view to developing the champagne industry. He applied the experience he had had in France to local conditions, but temperature problems forced him to give up the enterprise and he went in for sweet wines - reds, whites and muscats - which became successful.[3] He sent some wine to the Colonial and Indian Exhibition and was asked for an additional supply.[4] In 1906, his vineyard covered 110 acres. The management of the vineyard passed into his son's hands, George, at the beginning of the twentieth century.

M. L. Frère and his son both conducted experiments dealing with wine-making techniques. In March 1897, a consignment of colonial timbers was sent to him by the Department of Agriculture to be tried as to their

---

1. Anon., "Mr Mazure in Europe", Wine and Spirit News and Australian Vigneron, Vol. 20, 25 January 1909, pp. 22-23.
2. Anon., "Mr Mazure's Patent Corking Machine", The Australian Vigneron and Fruit-Grower's Journal, Vol. 5, 2 July 1894, pp. 52-53.
3. Anon., "St Hilaire Vineyard, Albury", Wine and Spirit News and Australian Vigneron", Vol. 20, 25 April 1909, p. 61.
4. Anon., "The Albury's Vineyards", Australasian, 21 May 1887, p. 970.

suitability for casks for storing wine. He made a series of experiments and wrote a valuable report, but unfortunately his results did not bring out the colonial timbers in a favourable light for the purpose mentioned above.[1] For several years, his son conducted experiments in vineyard manuring, which gave very good results and increased the natural yield by more than four.[2]

A still familiar name came to join the list of winegrowers in 1883: John Alfred Joubert, most certainly a relative of the Joubert brothers, Didier and Jules, as he was from the same region in France.[3]

Like M. Frère who came out as a wine expert, other French experts came to Australia, directly employed by large wineries to help improve winemaking methods. The best-known were actually employed by wineries formerly launched by French winegrowers in the 1860s.

For example, Chateau Tahbilk, started by Ludovic Marie,[4] came under the management of François de Coueslant.[5] Under his management the vineyard produced some successful wines which were awarded two bronze medals at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in London in 1886, and an award of honour in Melbourne at the Centennial International Exhibition in 1888.[6] De Coueslant is said to have erected the tower which is featured on the label of Tahbilk wines.[7] In 1889 he left and was replaced by W. Wilson, who appointed Joseph Gassies, a French oenologist. By 1893 the vineyard was producing large quantities of wine and brandy of such quality that samples sent to Paris by Gassies drew praising reports from the Moniteur Vinicole de Paris: "Your brandy is of good quality, it has finesse, aroma..."[8] However the vineyard, struck by phylloxera, went into a period of depression until 1929 when Hubert de Castella's son, François,[9] recommended manuring and

---

1. L. Frère, "Report on Colonial Timbers for Wine Casks", Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales, Vol. x, Pt 7, July 1899, pp. 1260-62.
2. Anon., "Experiments in Manuring", Wine and Spirit News and Australian Vigneron, Vol. 20, 25 April 1909, p. 162.
3. Naturalization Records, New South Wales.
4. See Chap. IV, pp. 98-99.
5. Heddle, Story of a Vineyard, pp. 29-30.
6. Ibid., p. 45.
7. Evans, Australia and New Zealand, p. 69.
8. Heddle, op. cit., p. 49.
9. See Chap. IV, p.104.

irrigation. The reputation of the vineyard was re-established in 1947, and in 1968 the estate covered 2,800 acres including 100 acres of vines, yielding 40,000 gallons of wine per year.[1]

The Great Western district, where the Blampied-Trouette family had created the first vineyard,[2] became one of the most famous sparkling wine centres in Australia owing to the contribution of French experts. Hans Irvine, Great Western's main vigneron, brought out from France Charles Pierlot, a fully qualified expert from Champagne, and a team of French technicians.[3] Pierlot formerly worked for the famous champagne house of Pommery. In Great Western, he worked in a specially fitted laboratory for fermentation and analysed every sample received. The cellar had an array of appliances equal to any of the best champagne cellars of France.[4] Champagne-type bottles had to be imported from France as they were not manufactured in Australia. While Pierlot was in charge of the laboratory Julien Grellet, another Frenchman, was manager of the vineyards.[5] After Pierlot came three more French experts to these vineyards: MM. Bernot, Thomas and Boucher. In 1918 Seppelt and Sons bought the vineyard,[6] which they still own today, successfully marketing their "champagne".

By 1891, vines covered over 41,000 acres of land in the whole of Australia, against 17,000 acres in 1871.[7] Victoria was by far the largest winegrowing state and also produced the most famous wines, of an internationally recognized quality.

During this period, Australian wines were honoured several times in Europe: in 1873 in Vienna, when Victoria was awarded a diploma of honour;[8] in 1882 in Bordeaux where a universal exhibition of wines was organized by

---

1. Heddle, Story of a Vineyard, pp. 50-54.
2. See Chap. IV, pp. 99-102.
3. A. Simon, The Wines, Vineyards and Vignerons of Australia, London, 1966, p. 21.
4. Anon., "Mr Hans Irvine's vineyard", Leader Melbourne, 4 February 1905, p. 36; 11 February 1905, p. 35.
5. Ludbrook, "Frenchmen played a part", p. 31.
6. Courrier Australien, 20 October 1972. In 1972 Seppelt owned 263 hectares of vines, yielding 1,500,000 bottles.
7. H.E.L., "Viticulture", p. 627.
8. F. de Castella, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", p. 161.

the Société Philomatique and Australia won sixteen gold and twenty-nine silver medals.[1] (Victoria alone won nine gold and twelve silver ones.)[2] During that exhibition "the Commissioners, received everywhere with perfect bienveillance (friendliness), were shown and explained all that could be of interest to them or of advantage to their new country".[3] In 1889 great success was obtained at the Paris International Exhibition, where the Yering wines in particular won a grand prix, the only one for the Southern Hemisphere.[4]

While Frenchmen did not actually own large vineyards, nor invest huge capital in them, they had nevertheless contributed to the successful development of Australian winemaking with their skills, expertise and equipment in every winegrowing state: in the Great Western district, Tahbilk, Bendigo, Rutherglen and Lilydale in Victoria; in Forbes, Dubbo, Newcastle and Albury in New South Wales and near Adelaide in South Australia.

The Cultivated Elite

Winegrowing was not the only branch in which French experts used their professional skills. At least 11 percent of naturalized male settlers were in the professional category, while there were other professional men who did not become naturalized (rather different from farmers and tradesmen who wanted to buy land, or a business, and needed British citizenship to do so). These people too became prominent owing to their work in arts and science. A few illustrations follow.

Men of Science

The Count of Castelnau Consul General for France in Melbourne, was an active member of the Zoological and Acclimatization Society of Victoria, and of the Entomological Society of New South Wales.[5] He travelled much in Eastern Australia and produced about ninety books on geography, paleontology

---

1. Ludbrook, "Frenchmen played a part", p. 33.
2. H. de Castella, John Bull's Vineyard, p. 106.
3. Ibid.
4. Peel, "Viticulture at Geelong and Lilydale", p. 170.
5. Argus, 5 February 1880.

and anthropology, mammals, birds, reptiles, etc. He published an article on the Australian Coleoptera, published in the Royal Society of Victoria, and several papers on Australian fishes in Melbourne, Sydney and Paris; as such, he was recognized by naturalists as an authority.[1]

Another Frenchman well known in geographical circles was M. Marin la Meslée, who came to Australia as Castlenau's private secretary and travelled with him to Sydney, Brisbane and the Darling Downs.[2] He became active in promoting the Geographical Society of Australia, being one of its founders and the first honorary secretary. In 1884, he organized the first Australian geographical conference in Melbourne and, together with A.C. MacDonald, edited the Society's Proceedings. He wrote a book on his impressions of Australia, L'Australie nouvelle, and became a propagandist for Australia in France. He and his British wife were drowned in a yachting accident in Sydney Harbour in 1893.[3]

As in the 1850s and 1860s, medical doctors came to Australia, such as Dr Crivelli who replaced Dr Duret[4] in January 1887 and married his (Dr Duret's) youngest daughter the same year.[5] He conducted his own private hospital at St Vincent's Place and was known for being one of the most progressive practitioners in Victoria, contributing some valuable papers to the Australian Medical Congress, the Victorian Medical Journal and the Intercolonial Medical Journal of Australasia.[6] He later returned to France but three of his seven children still live in Australia.[7]

In 1888, visiting doctors came to Australia as agents for the famous Louis Pasteur, with a vaccine from the Pasteur Institute of Paris against Cumberland disease. The scientific proof of the identity of the disease with anthrax was given at the request of the Chief Inspector of Stock of

---

1. G.P. Whitley, A.D.B., Vol. 5, p. 65.
2. La Meslée, L'Australie nouvelle, pp. 30-199. M. la Meslée was also the supporter of the theory that Australia was discovered by a French navigator; see Chap. II, pp. 21-23.
3. R. Ward, A.D.B., Vol. 5, p. 210.
4. See Chap. IV, pp. 89-90.
5. Anon, "A group of Frenchmen", Table Talk, 15 March 1895, p. 3.
6. Anon., "Dr Crivelli", Cyclopedia of Victoria, I, Melbourne, 1903, p. 441.
7. R.G. Crivelli, 1977, personal communication.

New South Wales, by Drs Loir and Germont in a report, May 1888. The vaccination gave successful results.[1]

Drs Loir and Germont had another mission to accomplish, to attempt the extermination of rabbits with a chicken cholera process discovered by Pasteur. The latter had heard of the Rabbit Nuisance Act which offered £25,000 to anyone who discovered a process of exterminating rabbits without harming domestic animals, and offered to solve the problem. Rodd Island had been selected to carry out preliminary experiments and organize the erection of necessary buildings. Talks went on for fifteen months when the government issued an unfavourable report on the use of Pasteur's methods, fearing that the process would kill other species, and the team went back to France.[2] Fences and traps were the only means of keeping down the number of animals until myxomatosis was introduced in the 1950s.

Teachers

It was mostly in teaching that professional people worked, as the study of the French language and the knowledge of certain arts were related to the principles of a good upper-class English education. French teachers had been in Australia since the beginning of the colony of New South Wales, but came in larger numbers towards the end of the nineteenth century as Australia became better known to the public in France, largely from the evidence of former settlers and travellers. The need for teachers in general and the prestige attached to French culture assured them a successful career.

It was after attending a conference on Australia at the Geographical Society in Paris in 1881 that Madame Mouchette, her husband, and her sister Mademoiselle Lyon decided to come to Australia. Madame Mouchette first opened classes for drawing and painting, her field in France. In 1885, after her husband's death (he had been appointed temporary chancellor at the French Consulate), she and her sister bought the property of Oberwyl in St Kilda, Melbourne. Owing to their good administration, the quality of their staff (including several French teachers) and their curriculum and methods based on French patterns, the school became very well-known and

---

1. A. Loir, "Pasteur's Vaccine for Cumberland Disease", Australia Medical Pamphlets, Vol. 174, No. 3344, Sydney, 1890.
2. D.R.W., "An Incident in the Life of Pasteur", Courrier Australien, 26 December 1947.

exclusive, receiving young ladies from prosperous Victorian families. A kindergarten was opened too, through which Madame Mouchette was hoping to succeed in having all the younger generations in Australia speaking French![1]

French education was also given by members of religious orders, such as the Marist Brothers who came to Australia in 1872 to open the first Marist Brothers' school; they were called by Archbishop Polding to fulfil the wishes of Archdeacon MacEnroe, who was director of Catholic education in New South Wales until 1868. The order of the Marist Brothers was founded by M. Champagnat in 1817 and had sent missionaries to the Pacific Islands as early as 1836, as co-adjutors to the Marist Fathers. In 1845, these missionaries established a procure for their Pacific missions in Hunter's Hill, Sydney, named Villa Maria,[2] and received a licence to use St Patrick's Church in 1868.[3] Because of the bad reputation of the Catholic schools and the hostility shown to them,[4] the Marist Brothers had to face much criticism and suspicion regarding their teaching qualifications when they opened their first school, St Patrick's, on 8 April 1872. After a long period of trial, the Brothers became recognized for the high quality of their teaching and their schools became objects of envy.[5] By then more schools had been opened: St Benedictine's, Parramatta; a "superior school"; a night school. A high school was opened on 18 January 1875[6] which had an immediate success as it was the only middle-class secondary school for Catholic boys until the

---

1. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous, pp. 210-16. Madame Mouchette and her sister left for South Australia in 1892; the reasons are not known. They could have struck financial problems following the crisis that hit Victoria in 1892. She continued teaching in Adelaide, while her sister wrote novels under the name of Noël Aimir: Vers la lumière, in 1910; La Devadassi in 1911. (The Black Pearl, published in 1911 by G. Robertson, is the English version of Vers la lumière.)

2. Doyle, The story of the Marist Brothers, pp. 8, 11. Even though the Marist Order was a French foundation, and quite a few of the missionaries were French, there were also Marist Brothers and Fathers from other countries. The French Marist Brothers numbered about thirty (see Doyle, op. cit., p. 469).

3. R.P. Aerts, "Présence religieuse française en Australie", Amitiés catholiques françaises, October 1969, No. 74, p. 34.

4. P. O'Farrell, The Catholic Church in Australia: a short history 1788-1967, Sydney, 1968, pp. 105-7.

5. Doyle, op. cit., pp. 70, 113, 115.

6. Ibid., p. 104.

turn of the century when new secondary establishments began to appear.[1] The Brothers became known throughout the country as worthy teachers and were asked to open schools in the other colonies, but they were not in sufficient numbers to do so.[2] However, later in the century, the Order was established in other colonies: first in Kilmore, Victoria in 1893, and two months later in Bendigo;[3] in South Australia in 1897 with a primary school at Port Adelaide[4] and a secondary school at Semaphore;[5] in Maitland in 1897 when they took the direction of the Sacred Heart College[6] and in Western Australia with Ildephonsus College.[7] They also took care of St Vincent's, Westmead, in 1886, a house for unfortunate and destitute boys who served their apprenticeship there.[8]

"The work of the Brothers has grown to include (in 1972) the three provinces of Sydney, Melbourne and New Zealand, embracing over 100 schools and 39,000 pupils taught by nearly 1,000 Marist Brothers."[9] The foundation is now Australianized.

Many other French religious orders came to Australia in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (see Appendix I), but more often as missionaries than as teachers, except the Christian School Brothers who arrived in 1906. Those who came to promote Catholic education did so within the Australian society. As such they succeeded and so too did lay French educators whose education principles have since last century enjoyed a good reputation in Australia.

---

1. R. Fogarty, Catholic education in Australia, 1806-1950, Melbourne, 1959, pp. 326-27.
2. Doyle, The story of the Marist Brothers, p. 169.
3. Ibid., pp. 388, 394.
4. Ibid., p. 411.
5. Ibid., p. 420.
6. Ibid., p. 427.
7. Ibid., p. 455.
8. Ibid., p. 403.
9. Ibid., p. 622.

Social Life

Churches

Records on the activities of the French within the Catholic Church are very scarce, and this would indicate that religious allegiance was not an important factor in the everyday life of the French settlers. However, one must not forget that many of the French immigrants were Republicans, Communards and a few intellectuals, that is, those who usually have anti-clerical opinions. It certainly was a dead cause for the French priests in Australia to try to bring their flock together. Therefore the Catholic Church did not contribute to the unity of the French in Australia or involve any activity that would have preserved the French language or customs. This certainly contrasts with the part played by French priests in Quebec in the eighteenth century, who were largely responsible for maintaining French identity and encouraging large families.[1] However motivations were different as the French settlers were in conquered territory, trying to develop the New France. In Australia, there was no such manifestation and Hunter's Hill was certainly the only place where a few French families would meet each other on Sundays after attending services celebrated by French priests. Since 1879, mass was also celebrated beside the grave of Father Receveur at Botany Bay: Father Receveur was a Franciscan missionary, Chaplain on the Astrolabe of La Pérouse's expedition, who died at Botany Bay and was buried there. His grave is near La Pérouse's monument and a number of religious ceremonies have been celebrated there.[2]

French priests were generally involved with their missionary works rather than with the scattered French population and often worked in the Australian wilderness, such as l'Abbé Félix Schurr. He came to Armidale in 1871 from Alsace-Lorraine, and started a mission which lasted for nearly thirty years in the Richmond area. He used to carry an organ with him while patrolling the Richmond river and entertained the dwellers with music and songs. He visited a lot of lonely homes, taught children religion, music and languages and helped every tramp he met on the roads. He even encouraged

---

1. Gaillard, L'Expansion française, pp. 186-92.
2. J.C. Kelly, "Père Louis Receveur, O.F.M. A man of genius and letters", The Crusader, June 1933, pp. 35-38.

farmers to commence the growing of sugar-cane; he financed their early efforts, one does not know how, and soon saw sugar-cane growing in the area. He thus became known as the founder of the cane-growing industry on the Richmond.[1]

Associations

The reunion of some French people was made possible owing to the creation of French associations, but these were still very rare. The French Club, or "Société française de Victoria", was founded in 1884 by those French who had come to represent their products at the Melbourne Exhibition (see p.115) and settled in the colony. These and other settlers decided to found such an association in order to gather the French residing in Melbourne as well as Francophones and Francophiles: Canadians, Mauritians, Belgians, Swiss, Polish and Australians. This association also had an emergency fund for those in need. Besides its social activities, the club aimed at establishing friendly links between the two countries and propagating a good French name, which had suffered a bad reputation from the presence of convicts escaped from New Caledonia (a further section will deal with this subject). The club prospered and numbered 500 full members and 150 honorary members in 1890.[2]

The same year, the first Alliance Française in Australia was opened in Melbourne, owing to the initiatives of Madame Mouchette and Mademoiselle Lyon.[3] Details about its activities during that period are not numerous, but most probably the Alliance was a very select club, where ladies and gentlemen would meet and converse in French, read the famous classic writers and organize entertainments; these certainly seem to have been the main activities in the following years.[4]

These two associations were the only ones then to offer any rendez-vous for the growing French population.

---

1. "The Abbé Félix Schurr: the unusual story of a pioneer priest who started the sugar industry in New South Wales", Mitchell Library Doc. 2216 (Richmond River Historical Society files).
2. Comettant, Au pays des kangourous, pp. 54-58.
3. Courrier Australien, 3 July 1970.
4. The Courrier Australien regularly reported the activities of the Alliance Française from 1892 onwards.

Entertainments

Entertainments by French artists were not frequent either during those years: except for the great tragedian, Madame Sarah Bernhart who toured Australia from 26 May to 10 August 1891,[1] there were very few outstanding French artists visiting or living in Australia. The only one who left records of his career is Léon Caron. A pupil of the Conservatoire of Paris, he went to America in 1872 where he successfully produced some of his compositions, and in 1876 decided to emigrate to Australia. He made his debut as a violinist at the Opera House in Melbourne and achieved a pronounced success. He became a member of the Opera orchestra, then the conductor of Madame Camilla Urso's orchestra, who was a well-known violinist in Australia; the Urso-Caron concerts were very popular. Léon Caron won the prize for the cantata "Victoria" that he wrote for the opening of the Melbourne International Exhibition in 1880. During that exhibition, he organized the "grandest orchestra for promenade concerts that has ever been listened to in the Southern Hemisphere".[2] In 1889 he directed the Montagu-Turner Opera Company in Sydney. When the troupe disbanded, he formed an opera company for Miss Emilie Melville.[3] For seventeen years he was the conductor of the Princess Theatre orchestra in Melbourne.[4] He left Australia in 1900.[5] His daughter Irma also became an artist: she was a violinist, a ballet dancer and a soprano. After a few years spent in France and Germany, she returned to Australia in 1913 and went on the vaudeville stage. In 1915 she toured with a concert company of her own, presenting "Opera in costume".[6]

It appears from the scarcity of entertainments and entertainers that French social life was rather quiet, quieter than during the gold rush. Nevertheless, the French population had reached its peak in 1891. Because of the diversity of origins and occupations, because of the lack of chain migration and group settlement - except on a very small scale, as in Hunter's Hill - it was difficult to organize committees, meetings, etc. However, steps were to be taken in the next decade in order to promote some social life for the French and familiarize the Australians with French culture, so far known to only a small minority.

---

1. Courrier Australien, 21 June 1957.
2. H.R.M.Humphreys, Men of the Time in Australia - Victorian Series, Melbourne, 1882, pp. xxv-xxvi.
3. Table Talk, 18 April 1889, p. 6.
4. Table Talk, 20 October 1889.
5. Australasian Stage Annual, 1900, p. 56.
6. Footlight Star, No. 1, March 1919, p. 24.

The Convicts from New Caledonia

Earlier, mention was made that the French Club in Victoria was concerned to improve the reputation of the French which had suffered from the presence of escaped convicts from New Caledonia. During the thirty-three years (1864 to 1897) that France sent convicts to her penal settlement, there had been great indignation, mixed with fear, in Australia. Indignation already reigned when France acquired New Caledonia in 1853, much to the disappointment of British authorities in Australia:

> "Although we were the first to discover New Caledonia, we were slow in appropriating our fortune. Probably the island was not deemed worthy of colonization by ancestors who had found a continent not a week's sail to the westward. At all events, we left it in lordly fashion as a savoury picking for the Frenchmen."[1]

But what was to become more irritating was the establishment of a penal settlement on the islands, in 1864. While Australians were very shocked to see such a development so close to their borders, the French had actually nourished this project after observing the English penal settlement in New South Wales, during Baudin's stay in Port Jackson.[2] The failures in Guiana, the only French penal settlement at the time, led the French government to choose New Caledonia instead,[3] and three successive laws brought over to New Caledonia three groups of convicts:

The 30 May 1854 Law applied to all criminals sentenced to hard labour (transportation) and sent to Guiana, then to New Caledonia from 1864.[4]

The 23 March 1872 Law applied to the prisoners of the Commune, or political convicts (deportation). Three thousand nine hundred were deported to New Caledonia.[5]

---

1. M.N.F. Marshall, "Convict Life in New Caledonia", The Illustrated Sydney News, 14 August 1886, pp. 12-13.
2. Faivre, L'Expansion française, p. 157. Also Chap. II, p. 28.
3. A. Bernard, L'Archipel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1894, p. 402.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid., p. 395.
   G. Pisier, in his Les déportés de la Commune à l'île des Pins, Paris, 1971, p. 7, reports 4,500.

The 27 May 1885 Law established relegation, which aimed at ridding the Metropole for ever of her habitual criminals; between 2,000 and 3,500 were sentenced under this law.[1]

The total figure of convicts sent to New Caledonia was around 20,000.[2]

Each of these laws carried specific rules which in some way or other affected and upset Australians. Those sentenced to deportation - the political convicts - were considered as communists and awoke fear. When the news spread that the French government would pardon these political prisoners, in 1876, the authorities in New South Wales and New Zealand were panic-stricken, fearing that 600 "communists" would come to their shores. Each colony was concerned and, since they had no law against the influx of political refugees, they decided to write a remonstrance.[3] The French Consul was contacted and he promised to take measures that would keep the communists away from Australia.[4] Even though later on another French Consul protested that these were "only political prisoners, all had a trade and a faultless behaviour... while a lot of Australian miners in New Caledonia are not at all qualified, drink too much and make troubles with the natives",[5] Sir Henry Parkes presented a Bill entitled "A Bill to Make Provisions Against the Influx of Certain Foreign Criminals into New South Wales".[6] In July 1879 the Bill was read a second time, but was not passed and would have been useless since a general amnesty granted by the French government in 1880 ended all the problems, all the deportees returning to France, except a few who settled in New Caledonia.[7]

---

1. Bernard, L'Archipel de la Nouvelle Calédonie, pp. 398-99,indicates 2,000. Union Agricole Calédonienne, Notice sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1900, p. 68, gives 3,320 men and 450 women.

2. Bernard gives a figure of 18,000 in 1894 (see op. cit., p. 403). 20,000 is the figure given by V. Thompson and R. Adloff, The French Pacific Islands: French Polynesia and New Caledonia, Berkeley, 1971, p. 241. Less reliable sources indicate up to 40,000.

3. Telegram from Colonial Secretary, N.S.W. to Colonial Secretary, New Zealand, 16 August 1876, "Influx of convicts to New-Caledonia", Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, 1878-79, Vol. 2, p. 110.

4. Extract from a despatch from His Excellency the Governor to the Earl of Carnarvon dated 25 August 1876, "Influx of convicts...", op. cit., pp. 112-13.

5. The Consul General of France to Governor Sir Hercules Robinson, 31 January 1878, "Influx of convicts...", op. cit., p. 116.

6. "Foreign Criminals Influx Prevention Bill", Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, New South Wales, 1878-79, Vol. 1, pp. 566, 583, 636-7, 873.

7. Bernard, op. cit., p. 397.

However the other categories of convicts were also harassing British authorities. Each criminal sentenced to transportation for less than eight years had to stay in New Caledonia, after serving his sentence, for a period equal to the duration of his condemnation. Then he was free to go. If he was sentenced for more than eight years, he was to remain in New Caledonia perpetually.[1] So among those who ended up in Australia were two groups: first were the expirees who could choose the country of their choice, except France or a French colony, and who usually landed in Australia. Australian authorities had not much power against these, as they had been liberated. Second were the escapees, persons whom Australia had to send back to New Caledonia, sometimes at her own expense. These escapes became easier as more vessels were coming to New Caledonian and Australian shores, as a result of trade between the two countries. The Australian authorities became increasingly annoyed to see the French expirees, whom they could not charge with having escaped, and the escapees landing on their shores.

> "We have recently had good reason to look with annoyance upon our extraordinary neighbours. But France shows no sign of altering her policy of transportation for our convenience and the probability is that we shall never be free from occasional visitors of dubious reputation."[2]

The French government did take measures when escapes occurred, but these were only short-term measures that were soon relaxed and escapes happened again.[3] A French visitor to New Caledonia qualified the expirees as even worse than the convicts: they would steal, drink and fight and, sooner or later, be arrested and convicted again.[4] In 1884, 8 per cent of the expirees were sentenced again.[5] There was some ground then for the Australians to look at the arrival of these people - escapees or expirees - with uneasiness and dissatisfaction.

Queensland and New South Wales received the greatest numbers of escapees, because of their relative proximity to New Caledonia, but it is

---

1. Bernard, L'Archipel de la Nouvelle Calédonie, p. 402.
2. Marshall, "Convict Life in New Caledonia", p. 13.
3. Pisier, Les déportés de la Commune, pp. 24-26.
4. M.A. Legrand, Au pays des Canaques, Paris, 1893, pp. 20-24; and Bernard, op. cit., p. 426.
5. Bernard, op. cit., p. 427.

difficult to know how many of these unwanted visitors Australia received and sometimes sent back; information is scattered and often influenced by fear and distrust; for instance, 600 convicts were announced as arriving in New Zealand in 1876[1] but actually eleven only arrived at Auckland early in 1880.[2] Likewise, 1,200 were reported in the colony of New South Wales in 1891, "all equally dangerous members of the community",[3] which number contrasted with the report given by the detective, M. Rochaix, who estimated the number of ex-convicts at about 700 or 800.[4] None were reported in South Australia but Victoria numbered a few: 33 in 1883, 80 in 1885 and 47 in 1887. Several of them had been convicted for burglary and store robberies, but the Chief Commissioner of Police said that these French convicts were no more troublesome than men of the same class who frequently arrived from Western Australia as expirees.[5] Some of them were reported to be employed on vineyards. For the five years ending 30 June 1891, 57 escapees were arrested in Queensland.[6]

During all those years, correspondence was exchanged between the Australian and French authorities, the former asking for better control over the prisoners, the latter answering that they did their best and kept increasing safety measures, but could not do anything to stop expirees going where they wished. It was up to the Australian authorities to act accordingly if their presence was annoying.[7] However, France asked for the participation of British authorities by handing the convicts they arrested back to French authorities. Quite often, after a long, dangerous trip in an

---

1. See p. 132.
2. C. Lack, "The problem of the French escapees from New Caledonia", Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1955, p. 1058.
3. E.W. Fosberry to H. Parkes, 21 April 1891, Parkes Correspondence, Vol. 13, p. 226, Mitchell Library A883.
4. Police Department - District Correspondence Files 1852-1900: Report from Detective Rochaix, February 1893, Collection of Official Correspondence for the Police Departments of Australian States Concerning Escaped French Convicts from New Caledonia in Australia, Victoria State Archives.
5. Ibid.
6. Lack, "The problem of French escapees", p. 1048; from Queensland Votes and Proceedings, 1891, Vol. 2, p. 77.
7. Letter from M. Freycinet to Lord Lyons, 5 November 1880, Transportation of convicts to New Caledonia, 1876-1904..., New South Wales Colonial Secretary, Special Bundles, New South Wales Archives, 4/960-1.

open boat, when they had suffered from hunger and sunburn, the escapees were caught by the Australians and were handed over to the New Caledonian authorities.

> "As a rule, the convicts landed on these shores [Queensland] penniless, half-starved and often unable to speak a word of English. Under such circumstances, it was almost impossible to pass themselves off as anything else than convicts from New Caledonia, and as the Queensland police kept a very vigilant lookout for such characters, there was little chance of ultimate freedom... No doubt a certain percentage of the few who reached our colonies remained here, and resorted to dishonest methods of living, but it was felt by many that our police exceeded their duty when they hunted up men whose original offences were trivial, and who showed a disposition to become honest citizens... The writer knew convicts who struck the mainland unobserved, and made their way into the bush, where they became station hands, or fell into the ways of the nomadic swagmen, and no particular notice was taken of them. Sometimes, too, they discovered friends of their own nationality, and were helped to successfully disguise themselves and their objects, and if they were found settled down, they were not interfered with. But when they were unlucky enough to put into any large town, they mostly went to the bad, or were caught and sent back..."[1]

But apparently the New Caledonian officers sometimes refused to apply for the extradition of these convicts. In 1881 another Bill was introduced, in the Queensland Parliament this time: "The Criminals Expulsion Bill" provided for the deportation of persons illegally at charge, including even pardoned convicts and expirees. Finally the Bill was disallowed by the Imperial authorities, because of its severity.[2]

Tension and friction then rose to a climax when it was known that the French were debating the Recidivist Bill:

"If it passes, it cannot but be considered by these colonies as an unfriendly act towards them on the part of the French government."[3]

---

1. "Island Exile", "Convicts from New Caledonia, Daring Dashes for Freedom", Cummins and Campbell's Monthly Magazine, November 1945, p. 15. Other escape stories pp. 25, 27, and in W.G. Burchett, Pacific Treasure Island: New Caledonia, Melbourne, 1942, pp. 102-3; pp. 114-8.

2. Lack, "The problem of French escapees", pp. 1051-54.

3. Telegram from Colonial Secretary of New South Wales to Premier of Victoria, 6 May 1884, "Deportation of French Convicts to New Caledonia", Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly, N.S.W., 1883-84, Vol. 9, pt 1, p. 186.

The Recidivist Bill passed, but was only applied for a few years as it was soon realized by the French government that the arrival of these habitual criminals was a disaster for the colony,[1] that they were totally incapable of contributing to any kind of work, and simply retarded the possibilities of development of the colony. Finally when it was realized by the French government that the whole programme was an economic failure, the penal settlement closed its doors in 1897, much to the relief of the Australian people. Not only did the Australians suffer from this episode, the French in Australia did too, as it left them with a bad reputation and embarrassed them considerably.

The end of this thirty-year-long episode did not mean the end of all problems dealing with New Caledonia. Once transportation ended, New Caledonia suffered from a shortage of labour, which was compensated for by recruiting Japanese labourers, and "white Australians" resented the presence of so many Asians on a nearby coast. This resentment was to last for several decades, as during the inter-war period Tonkinese and Javanese were called to work in New Caledonia's mines and plantations.[2]

It is also argued that some imperialistically-minded Australians objected to the presence of the French in the Pacific as an "obstacle to transforming the South Pacific into a 'mare nostrum'"[3] with New Caledonia's rich mineral deposits.

Finally, Nouméa was for a long time considered as the "Pacific Haven of Vice", which also affected the reputation of the French in Australia.[4]

Conclusion

In many ways the presence of the French in Australia in the years 1872-1891 presented similarities with that of the fifties and the sixties. The majority of the settlers were young; they were engaged in the same occupation groups, i.e. tradesmen, farmers, salesmen and professionals, but they no longer came for gold and concentrated more in New South Wales. Because the

---

1. Bernard, L'Archipel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, p. 400.
2. Thompson and Adloff, The French Pacific Islands, p. 342; and Crivelli, L'Australie et le Pacifique, pp. 217-18.
3. Thompson and Adloff, op. cit., p. 342.
4. Ibid., p. 341.

French population had almost doubled during these twenty years without the strong attraction of a pull factor - gold - the other reasons for their presence became more obvious: commercial, professional and cultural factors played an important role in their decision to settle in Australia. France's increasingly urgent need for wool and the growth of her trade relations with New Caledonia brought French woolbuyers and merchants to eastern Australia. Conversely, with an ever-growing population in the colonies, many with children needing education, the necessity for teachers became more acute, French teachers being definitely wanted to educate young Australians according to the principles of a good English education, these principles including the teaching of French language and culture. Not only lay educators came, but religious ones too - the Marist Brothers in particular - who opened prosperous schools enjoying a good reputation. Finally the development of winegrowing necessitated more people than just winegrowers; it also required experts in grape-growing and winemaking in order to cope with problems arising from large-scale production. In short, the French came to Australia to use their expertise, in teaching and winegrowing as well as in medicine and science in general.

While these categories, woolbuyers, merchants and professionals, formed the educated, cultivated elite, the majority of the French in Australia were in lower status occupations such as tradesmen, farmers and people in service industries; this gave the French a very ambiguous reputation, especially aggravated by the presence of escaped convicts from New Caledonia.[1]

The increase of the French population was not accompanied by any development of group settlement - except, on a small scale, in Hunter's Hill which progressively became known as the French headquarters because a number of influential French people were living there. This rendered difficult any ethnic-group activities. But there were small beginnings of French activities, nevertheless. In Melbourne, there had been a very timid start with the creation of a French club, which attracted an appreciable number of French-speaking people, and with the opening of the first Alliance Française. By the last decade of the nineteenth century, then, the French formed a smallish population in Australia, only about one-tenth that of the Germans and one-fourth that of the Scandinavians. Despite their relatively small numbers, however, these French persons were quite noticeable and, in some

---

1. Crivelli, L'Australie et le Pacifique, p. 186.

occupations, outstanding. There is no doubt that they were engaged in a variety of activities which reflected their ability to settle in a foreign country and contribute to its development, therefore weakening the cliché that the French are only travellers, and not emigrants.[1]

---

1. See Chap. II, p. 17.

CHAPTER VI

CHANGES IN IMMIGRATION PATTERNS 1892-1914

Decline in Settlers' Arrivals and their Characteristics

The period 1892-1914 did not show any major change in the history of French settlers in Australia. It did, however, reveal some changes in the nature of French immigration and represents a bridge between preceding developments and the turbulent war and inter-war period. In 1891, the French had numerically reached a peak, 4,261, which was not achieved again until after World War II. The decline of the French population, which paralleled the decline of more important ethnic groups such as the Germans and the Scandinavians, was due to a combination of factors occurring both in France and in Australia. In Australia, the economic depression after 1891 virtually stopped the immigration process; in France, the birthrate was declining from 26 per thousand in 1861-70 to 18.7 per thousand in 1912.[1] Furthermore, many of the farmers, ruined by the agricultural crisis and phylloxera during the previous decades, emigrated to the new French colonies, in North Africa particularly, between 1891 and 1900; as a result the overseas countries, mainly America, were attracting relatively fewer French immigrants (see Table 6.1). Emigration to the colonies soon dropped, however, and by the turn of the century French emigrants were going mainly to other European countries. The proportion going overseas remained stable but the number was lower than in previous decades, and this decrease was also felt in Australia (see Table 6.2).

---

1. Bury, France, 1814-1940, p. 222.

Table 6.1: Proportion of French emigrants by region of settlement and decade: 1851-1925

Destination	1851-60	1861-70	1871-80	1881-90	1891-1900	1901-10	1911-20	1921-25
Overseas	44.4	40.6	39.4	45.1	35.0	36.0	37.4	26.3
Colonies	27.8	19.8	18.1	16.8	30.0	10.1	13.1	28.7
Europe	27.8	39.6	42.5	38.1	35.0	53.9	49.5	35.0
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers	251,000	177,000	353,000	472,000	286,000	445,000	331,000	188,000

Source: Bunle, "Migratory movements between France and foreign lands", pp. 207,210.

Table 6.2: French-born persons in Australia: 1891-1911

	1891	1901	1911
Males	3,215	2,618	1,973
Females	1,046	974	903
Persons	4,261	3,592[c]	2,876
(Migratory)[a]	(601)	(477)	(172)
Sex Ratio[b]	33	37	46
Without Migratory	40	45	50

[a] Migratory: male population on ships anchored in ports on census night.

[b] Sex Ratio: females per 100 males.

[c] The total should be 3,597: 5 males from Corsica have not been included in the total for France in Victoria. However, the figure 3,592 is used in other tables throughout the census.

Source: Colonial Censuses, 1891, 1901.
Census of Australia, 1911.

Naturalization records show a decrease of settler arrivals of approximately 25 per cent compared with the previous period; but total arrivals of French persons increased by the turn of the century, mainly because transport facilities were easier and more plentiful and the temporary movement of business and tourism was greater. From 1902 onwards, the Commonwealth Government published statistics of different nationalities arriving in Australia. In all, about 19,000 French nationals arrived in Australia between 1902 and 1914 (see Table 6.3), but there were clearly many departures because the census population showed a decrease. In 1914, when statistics of departures by nationalities were published, 1,610 departures were recorded against 1,260 arrivals, which could be in part indicative of the movement of previous years, though in that particular year many Frenchmen left Australia as they were called back to France to join the army.

Table 6.3: Arrivals of French nationals in Australia: 1902-1914

	Total	Average/year
1902-1905	5,879	1,470
1906-1910	7,604	1,521
1911-1914	5,155	1,289
Total	18,638	1,434

Source: Commonwealth Year Book 1902-14.

The period of residence of the French in 1911 and their age are also indicators of a decline in settler arrivals: more than half (53.3 per cent)[1] had been in Australia for twenty years and longer and were aged over fifty: this contrasts with the fact that hardly 7 per cent were over fifty at arrival (see Table 6.4). The increase in the number of older men,[2] which could indicate a greater propensity for family emigration, was accompanied by an increase of the female ratio, from 40 in 1891 to 50 in 1911 (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.4: Ages of French-born males in Australia

	Age at arrival 1892-1914 (of those later naturalized)	Age at census 1911 (of those in the census)
0-14 yrs	5.7	1.6
15-29 yrs	50.3	15.4
30-49 yrs	37.3	30.8
50 yrs & over	6.7	51.9
Not stated	0.0	0.3
Total	100.0	100.0
Numbers	581	1973

Source: Naturalization Records; Census of Australia, 1911.

1. Period of residence/birthplace, Census of Australia, 1911.

2. Men were older at arrival during the period 1892-1914 than during the previous decades: only 0.7 per cent were over fifty at arrival between 1872 and 1891 - see Naturalization Records.

The marital status, for which incomplete data are available for 1891 and 1901, and complete data for the 1911 census, generally indicates a higher percentage of single men than women and consequently a lower percentage of married men than married women; except in 1911 when the French population, still predominantly male, was aging and not being replaced, the number of widows had increased to over 20 per cent, leaving a slightly smaller percentage of married women than men (see Table 6.5).

Whom did the single French immigrants marry? Because of the character of French immigration, i.e. mainly a movement of individuals unconnected with large settlement groups, marriages between French partners were rare: only 15.1 per cent of the French men married French women and only 28.3 per cent of the women married French men.[1] While this implies a high proportion of intermarriage, usually linked with ability to assimilate,[2] in the longer term it weakened the French ethnic and cultural impact in Australia, because of the small number of children born of French marriages and brought up in a French tradition and speaking French. The second generation of French-born was very small indeed - an average of 25 children per year were born of French mothers between 1907 and 1914[3] - and soon "blended in" the Australian population. In these conditions, a French group could only be maintained by regular arrivals, but arrivals were less numerous than departures during this period.

In this sense, the French were not a strong ethnic group: until the turn of the century the French had definitely showed pioneering abilities and contributed to the development and enrichment of several branches of Australian life. But these contributions benefited only society as a whole; they did not increase the chances of the French surviving or growing as an ethnic group. Perhaps, if they had felt more strongly about ethnic identification and survival, they might - even though few in numbers - have done more to strengthen ethnic identity, encourage ethnic activities and

---

1. Relative birthplaces of bridegroom and bride, Demography Bulletins, 1907-1914.

2. C.A. Price and J. Zubrzycki, "The use of inter-marriage statistics as an index of assimilation", Population Studies, Vol. 16, pt 1, July 1962, pp. 58-69.

3. Confinements: relative birthplaces of parents, Demography Bulletins, 1907-1914.
The number of children was obtained by multiplying the number of confinements by 101 to allow for multiple births.

Table 6.5: Marital status of French-born males and females in Australia: 1891-1911

		Never married		Married		Divorced		Widowed		Not stated		Total	
		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
1891	N.S.W.	53.2	27.0	41.1	58.9	0.1	0.2	5.3	13.7	0.3	0.2	1,585	445
	Tas.	56.6	29.1	35.8	50.0	1.9	-	5.7	20.8	-	-	53	24
1901	N.S.W.	46.9	28.0	44.0	54.0	0.7	-	8.0	18.0	0.4	-	1,354	433
	Tas.[a]	40.0	38.5	50.0	42.3	-	-	10.0	19.2	-	-	30	26
1911	Aust.	39.6	29.8	50.5	48.8	0.7	0.3	9.0	20.8	0.2	0.2	1,973	903

[a] Includes 10 French persons born in French dependencies.

Source: Colonial Censuses, N.S.W., Tas., 1891, 1901.
Census of Australia, 1911.

traditions and sponsor further immigrants. They did not feel like that: the French came to Australia "to do their own thing", not to reproduce a French colony within a host society. Most of them came with a personal purpose: to get some land, or sperm oil, or gold, or wool; to sell their own products; to use their expertise; to represent their culture, a very important factor in an English society. But they did not come as a persecuted or deprived group trying to create "La France" in a new country (as they did in Quebec for example),[1] or as chain immigrants bent on bringing out numerous friends and relatives who together might recreate the old family and regional customs. Those who came on the whole showed little interest in getting together, clustering or attending and supporting associations.

The analysis of the naturalization records supports this: there are about as many different residences as there are naturalized people. New South Wales was the main state of residence for the French but few lived in the same neighbourhood. Even Hunter's Hill, a historical French village, based on the efforts of the Joubert brothers and De Milhau who built French-style houses there, or Forbes, known as having attracted a few French settlers, were unrepresentative of the French in Australia; they became famous only because a few outstanding French individuals lived there. In both cases, arrivals were far apart and the group small and select; Hunter's Hill in particular was a very select group of woolbuyers, most of whom eventually went back to France, and of members of French religious orders who were more involved with Australians than with French.

The pattern of distribution by state remained almost the same as previously, with half the French population living in New South Wales, mainly as a result of trade activities, a quarter in Victoria and a small population in each of the other states (see Table 6.6). Victoria lost relatively more of its French population, partly because the depression of the nineties affected Victoria more than the other colonies, and partly because of the attraction of Western Australia with the discovery of gold in Kalgoorlie and Coolgardie; this followed the pattern of moves among the general population. The sharp decrease in South Australia recorded in the 1901 census was due to the removal from the census count of an appreciable number of people classified in 1891 as "migratory", i.e. crews and passengers who happened to

---

1. See Chap. V, p. 128.

Table 6.6: Distribution of French-born persons in Australia: 1891-1911

	1891				1901				1911				Loss 1891-1911
	Urban	Rural	Migratory	Total	Urban	Rural	Migratory	Total	Urban	Rural	Migratory	Total	Total
N.S.W.	959	639	432	2,030	1,055	355	387	1,787[c]	803	494	50	1,347	- 33.6%
Vic.	791	483	-	(1,274)[b]	528	325	72	925	407	241	86	734	- 42.4%
Qld	-	-	-	400	-	-	-	364	82	248	3	333	- 16.8%
S.A.[a]	115	116	169	400	132	75	18	225[b]	98	58	10	166	- 58.5%
W.A.	22	50	-	72	-	-	-	254	82	150	22	254	+ 352.8%
Tas.	32	45	-	77	19	37	-	56[b]	13	24	1	38	- 50.6%
N.T.	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	4	
TOTAL			601	4,253 (4,261)			477	3,611 (3,592)	1,485	1,219	172	2,876	- 32.4%

[a] Includes Northern Territory.

[b] In 1911 the Government Statistician revised the Colonial Censuses and obtained new figures which were more accurate than those published by the Colonial Censuses. The following corrections were made:
- in 1891, Victoria had a French population of 1,282 (instead of 1,274);
- in 1901, South Australia had a French population of 216 (instead of 225) and Tasmania 46 (instead of 56).
However for this Table it is necessary to use the Colonial Censuses as distribution figures are based on them. The total figure in brackets for 1891 and 1901 represents the figure published by the 1911 Census of Australia.

[c] The total should be 1,797. However 1,787 is the figure consistently used in the other tables of the 1901 NSW Census.

Source: Colonial Censuses 1891, 1901 for each Colony. Census of Australia, 1911.

be in Australian ports at the time of the census. The same explanation applies to New South Wales in 1891 and 1901.

Information on the rural-urban distribution reveals the changing pattern of French settlement in Australia. Though information on distribution is not available for all colonies and the terms rural/urban did not always encompass areas of similar sizes, the general pattern which emerges from Table 6.6 is one of a decreasing rural population parallel to an urban increase. This followed the general pattern of distribution in Australia, only more pronounced. By 1911, more than half of the total French population (54.9 per cent) was living in urban areas, most of them in New South Wales and Victoria. This markedly contrasted with the distribution of the total Australian population, and with other ethnic groups such as the Scandinavians and Southern Europeans who were still predominantly living in rural areas (about 60 per cent rural and 40 per cent urban)[1].

It is interesting to note that the concentration of the French in the urban areas of New South Wales and Victoria, that is mainly in Sydney and Melbourne, did not even promote any sense of solidarity among them. Had they wished to or tried, they could have, easily enough, developed activities which would have strengthened their ethnic identity. On the contrary, most pioneer biographies have so far shown that nearly every settler had a story of his own, not linked with another Frenchman.

1. Koivukangas, Scandinavian Immigration, p. 290.
Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, pp. 153-54.

Social Activities

French Associations and their Representativeness

All these factors, marriages within the same nationality, group settlements, influence and strength of ethnic associations, played an important role among Germans and later on among Greeks, Italians, Eastern Europeans and others. These not only kept alive the sense of belonging to a nation, and encouraged continual immigration, but also made Australians aware of their presence, their influence and contributions. On the other hand, the French were almost imperceptible, slipping in to achieve their own personal goals without worrying about the achievements of the French migrants as a community among the host society. Of course there were exceptions - earlier passages have revealed a number of persons who tried to promote a good name for the French, to spread French culture, to awaken some incentives among the French settlers. But the general attitude was usually indifference, even towards setting up some project to their own advantage, as one settler complained about.[1] In these circumstances it was hard for the few exceptions, who wished to re-create some French atmosphere in Australia by organizing associations, to attract French members. However, during the period 1892-1914 several French associations did come into being. After its first effort in Melbourne, the Alliance Française opened several branches: in Sydney in 1895; in Adelaide in 1910; in Perth in 1911. The activities of the Alliance were invariably the same during those days: organizing French dinners, producing French plays, collecting a library, having conversation classes, celebrating the Fourteenth of July, etc...,[2] but usually the members were educated, middle-class people. Because of the type of society and activities found there, the Alliances did not become a gathering centre for the average immigrant, therefore making it very difficult to create a popular French ethnic group as there were very few other places where the French could meet each other. On the other hand, the aim of the Alliance Française was (and still is) to broadcast French culture in other countries - through teaching French and organizing cultural activities - not so much to deal with immigrants. Nevertheless, however small and select the membership, the

---

1. Courrier Australien, 3 December 1892. The project was about setting up a French Chamber of Commerce. It actualized in 1899 only.

2. These activities were regularly reported in the French paper.

Alliance Française gave its members an opportunity to discover and study certain aspects of French culture otherwise unavailable to them. With this aim in mind, another association opened during this period: the Cercle Littéraire Français (French Literary Circle) in Sydney in 1896, where books were read and discussed in groups.[1] Obviously this circle did not attract a wide French public either. As a result, more adequate and popular associations meeting the needs of the immigrants were created in the next century.

One society was founded in Sydney in 1892 to help French persons in need: the Société de Bienfaisance under the initiative of the French Consul, M. Verleye. By 1905 this society had distributed 75,000 francs to destitute French persons.[2] No record about any specific poor French settler has been found, though it would be interesting to know how some immigrants reached the poverty line in a period for which records on successful and well-off settlers only are available.

Churches

The Church was still not playing any role in regrouping the French even though French priests were actively engaged in their missionary work. The very best example of dedication to the people of the country he was sent to, was given by Mgr Gsell, who became a prominent figure in the Christian world. Born in Alsace in 1872, ordained priest in Rome in 1896, he was sent with the contingent of Sacred Heart Fathers to Papua New Guinea and the Gilbert Islands, but once in Sydney was asked to stay and enrolled in the professional body for three years. He taught theology at the School of the Sacred Heart missionaries. In 1900 he was sent to Yule Island, and in 1906 he was nominated Apostolic Administrator of the territory surrounding Port Darwin, and chose Bathurst Island in 1911 to found his mission.[3] There he became familiar with the tribal marital laws: a man was given a "mother-in-law" in his early years and all the daughters she gave birth to were to become his wives. One of these girls once left her tribe in order to live in the mission. Her husband came to fetch her. She came back, for protection,

---

1. Courrier Australien, 10 October 1896.
2. Ibid., 25 June 1892; 19 August 1905.
3. H. Dupeyrat, "Epilogue", in G. Gsell, The Bishop with 150 Wives, London, 1955, pp. 163-75.

wounded in the leg by a spear thrown at her as a punishment. Father Gsell was faced with a delicate situation as he knew she had challenged the tribal laws and risked death. When the men of the tribe came to get the girl back Father Gsell, instead of preaching to them, showed them all sorts of objects that attracted the natives: mirrors, colours, tobacco, blankets, a pipe... and offered them these objects in exchange for the girl... they accepted. Father Gsell baptised the girl Martina. She was his "first wife". More and more girls, women, and even men who did not want to keep some of their wives, came to see him. He "bought" about 150 women - thus his title of "Bishop with 150 wives", but he never sold them: if a man wanted to marry one of these women with her consent, then Father Gsell would marry them.[1]

In 1930 he was made Bishop of Darwin and stayed there until 1950. He received the Order of the British Empire in 1935, and the Cross of the Légion d'Honneur in 1952.[2] He died on 11 July 1960, at Randwick, where he had retired.[3]

Le Courrier Australien

The most successful French cultural project undertaken in Australia by the end of the nineteenth century was the French newspaper: Le Courrier Australien. Its success explains why it is now the oldest surviving foreign-language paper. The first issue came out on 30 April 1892 and a copy is still available in the Mitchell Library, Sydney (see photo, p. 151). It was not the first foreign-language paper, the first one being German - nor was it the first French paper, but the others had had a very short life: in 1858, Le Journal de Melbourne, of which only three issues were published, the last one on 11 December of that year; in 1874 the Revue Australienne, mentioned earlier, and its successor the Océanien, both printed for trade purposes.[4]

---

1. Gsell, The Bishop with 150 Wives, pp. 80-106.
2. Courrier Australien, 8 February 1952.
3. Ibid., 15 July 1960.
4. M. Gilson and J. Zubrzycki, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1840-1964, Canberra, 1967, p. 15.

1ère ANNÉE, No. 1. — Prix du Numero - Three Pence. — SAMEDI, 30 AVRIL, 1892.

Courrier Australien

ABONNEMENTS.
Un An - 10 Shillings
Six Mois - 5 Shillings
Trois Mois 3 Shillings
ETRANGER—
Affranchissement en plus

JOURNAL COSMOPOLITAIN DU SAMEDI.

Politique, Litterature, Sciences, Beaux Arts, Commerce, Mode, etc.

Bureaux de la Direction—
2 HUNTER STREET.
SYDNEY.
G. P. O. Box 1424

IMPORTANT.

The course of French lessons advertised will commence shortly. Owing to this delay we are anxious to give to those interested more time to send in their subscriptions. In so doing we thereby avoid the inconvenience of an incomplete course to those who have been delayed.

MESSAGERIES MARITIMES.

SYDNEY TO LONDON.
Overland from Marseilles, via Paris.

[illegible]

LA NEW-YORK
COMPAGNIE D'ASSURANCES SUR LA VIE
établie en 1845.

[illegible]

JOSIAH [illegible],
Directeur Général pour l'Australasie,
BOND STREET CHAMBERS,
Corner Bond et George Streets, Sydney.

Courrier Australien.

SYDNEY, 30 Avril, 1892.

L'idée n'est pas neuve de fonder à Sydney un journal français; d'autres que nous l'ont eue. On se rappelle "l'Océanien". Son rédacteur qui ne manquait ni d'énergie ni de talent entreprit la rude besogne d'écrire un journal pour un petit groupe de lecteurs. C'était une tentative louable, mais fatalement destinée à avorter.

Il disparut donc de la circulation sans bruit, comme un malade épuisé, pour tomber dans le domaine de l'oubli. Le souvenir qui en reste suffit cependant pour donner aux fondateurs du "Courrier Australien" que nous publions aujourd'hui, avec l'expérience du passé, la confiance dans l'avenir.

Nous sommes moins exclusifs et nous nous adressons, non seulement à nos compatriotes, mais aussi à la jeunesse Australienne et à tous ceux qui veulent apprendre cette belle langue française adoptée par la Diplomatie et qui tend à devenir un jour l'idiôme international des transactions commerciales.

Voici notre programme que nous nous efforcerons de rendre aussi intéressant que varié:

Nouvelles politiques et commerciales, Nouveautés littéraires, scientifiques et artistiques, Instruction et dernier mot de la Mode.

Il ne faut donc pas que l'on s'attende à voir le "Courrier Australien" arborer un drapeau de parti, émettre des idées subversives, publier des articles incendiaires ni même flatter telle opinion ou blâmer ensuite telle autre; non! Nous n'avons pas la prétention de renverser l'ordre des choses établies; et puisque nous écrivons pour tous, sans distinction de nationalité, notre seule ambition est de faire une feuille d'information, d'instruction et de récréation.

Dans nos résumés des journaux, nous agirons par conséquent avec la plus entière impartialité et nos lecteurs peuvent être assurés que si nous en commentons les extraits, nous conserverons ce caractère d'indépendance qui doit être et sera toujours notre règle invariable. Nous n'en ouvrirons pas moins l'entrée de nos colonnes à ceux de nos lecteurs qui désireraient répandre leurs idées personnelles, nous nous bornerons dans ce cas à leur en laisser toute la responsabilité.

[illegible]

AVANCE AUSTRALIA!
La Rédaction en chef,
[illegible]

UN AUDACIEUX MARI.

PAR PAUL [illegible]

[illegible]

The founder of the Courrier Australien was a Polish émigré, M. de Wrobleski, who was very interested in France and French culture, particularly as he had married the daughter of Jean de Bouillon Serisier, the French pioneer in the Dubbo district.[1] De Wrobleski dedicated all his spare time to the Courrier, with the aim of acquainting readers with literature, science, fine arts, trade, fashion, etc. A great part of the Courrier was devoted to encouraging an interest in French language studies and literature, with the co-operation of the Alliance Française of Sydney.[2]

> "No education is considered complete anywhere which does not include French as one of its principal elements; no person can travel outside the purely English-speaking world and wish to secure the entry into cultivated society who is not able to converse in French."[3]

So the Courrier decided to help towards the acquisition of the language and introduced a course in phonetics, starting 11 June 1892.

The Courrier addressed itself to a wider public than the Alliance did. Besides fostering an interest in French language and literature, it gave information about events in France and about immigrants in Australia, reporting their arrivals and life events; it also advertised French goods, so revealing to the reader the presence of a French restaurant, hairdresser, pastry-shop, nursery, and so on. It also gave a regular report on trade between France and Australia, and New Caledonia and Australia, usually denouncing it as too one-sided. Articles on New Caledonia were also written, sometimes criticizing the penal system and the bad name this gave French settlers in Australia, who quite often were asked if they came from New Caledonia.[4] The end of deportation to New Caledonia had not put an end to all problems (see Chap. V., p. 136) and hostility and bitterness were still shown against the French who sometimes had to face the most unpleasant comments.[5]

---

1. See Chap. III, pp. 56-57.
2. Anon., "Fifty Years", Le Courrier Australien, 3 September 1943. Other issues on the history of the paper are: 11 September 1953; 4 May 1962; 28 April 1972.
3. As quoted in the Courrier Australien, 7 May 1892.
4. Courrier Australien, 21 May 1892.
5. An article in the Courrier Australien, 1 January 1898, reported the words "drunkard and cruel" used by a local paper to qualify the French who doubtless were upset by that kind of remark.

The visits of French celebrities were also reported and here mention should be made of Monsieur Sestier, representing the Brothers Lumière: M. Sestier projected one of the first motion pictures in Australia, on 26 September 1896, with a French-made camera.[1] One of the spectators was Alfred Périer, an enthusiastic French photographer. Périer had joined the staff of the Baker and Rouse photographic store in 1892 and was to remain in photography for 70 years. He had migrated as a young boy with his family, in 1884. His father being a teacher, Alfred had easy access to all the main circles and events of the community. He was a pioneer member of the Photographic Society of New South Wales, a member of the Mosman Camera Club, the Microscopical Society of New South Wales and the Australian Amateur Cine Society. He also represented Kodak at Mt Kosciusko in the pioneering days on the snowfields, witnessed the first Sydney experiments in radiography, operated the first daylight film tank and the first amateur movie camera to load 16 mm film on safety base (1923), and admired the first demonstration of lenticular Kodakcolor in 1928.[2]

When entertainers, artists, athletes and scientists were coming to Australia, the Courrier announced them and wrote about their performances: M. Leysalle, sculptor, in 1892;[3] M. H. Kowalski, pianist, in 1897;[4] M. Paul Duffaut, singer, and Mme Antonia Dolorès, cantatrice, in 1914;[5] M. Lesna, a champion cyclist who came in 1897 to compete against Australian cyclists in Melbourne;[6] M. Guillaux who gave some demonstrations in his plane in Newcastle in May 1914;[7] M. Guillaux also accomplished the first mail flight on 16 July 1914, covering 931 kilometres in nine hours and fifteen minutes, between Sydney and Melbourne. The flight was the longest

---

1. Courrier Australien, 3 October 1896.
2. K. Burke, "I was there", Australia Popular Photography, May 1962, pp. 30-33.
3. Courrier Australien, 7 January 1893.
4. Ibid., 27 February 1897.
5. Ibid., 5 June 1914; 14 August 1914.
6. Ibid., 23 January 1897.
7. Ibid., 1 May 1914; 8 May 1914.

one in the Southern Hemisphere and also the longest air mail flight in the world at the time.[1] Besides being of interest, this newspaper definitely provides the researcher with details and activities otherwise hard to uncover.

The Courrier apparently encountered difficulties, as witness the letter written by its founder: "... We are sorry to learn that certain rumours concerning this paper have been circulated, affecting its existence..."[2]

The publisher changed a few times, the main one being M. Léon Magrin who took over from M. Wrobleski for a few months, then again from the turn of the century until 1940. During the war, the newspaper became the Weekly Journal of the Free French Movement in Australasia. It then came under the direction of M. Albert Sourdin, and nowadays his son Jean Pierre manages it. Though the Courrier basically has the same original goal, it has become more varied in its content, partly because of the number of associations that have been created over the years, therefore bringing more news about activities and events, partly because of the increase of the French population, and partly because of the introduction of a variety of interesting articles dealing with French and Australian history, politics and the like. Today, the Courrier has about 7,000 subscribers, both French and other nationals.

The New Occupational Pattern

Increase of Unskilled and Semi-Skilled Workers

Cultural associations and projects had been created owing to the initiative of a few individuals who believed in promoting the French language and culture in general. Here they stood out sharply against the general lack of commitment and interest of the French population. Not only their individualism but their occupations kept most French away from these associations: the majority were unskilled and semi-skilled workers (which contrasts with the earlier occupational pattern of the French in Australia: highly skilled tradesmen, landowners and professionals, see Table 6.7) and

---

1. Anon., "M. Guillaux's Exploit", Sydney Morning Herald, 20 July 1914, and "Maurice Guillaux", Australian Broadcasting Commission, French Language Scripts, 1953?, Mitchell Library. The first plane to be seen in Australia, in 1911, was also piloted by a Frenchman, M. Cuignet. See Lyng, Non-Britishers in Australia, p. 121.

2. Anon., "Fifty Years", Courrier Australien, 3 September 1943.

these would not usually mix with the kind of people who joined those associations.

French settlers were now mainly in service industries, that is, working as cooks, laundrymen, waiters, hairdressers, though some were just general labourers. One of the cooks, M. Galland, became the chef of the Governor of Queensland, Lord Lamington, in 1899, then was part of the suite who followed the Duke of York, the future King George V, to New Zealand in 1901.[1]

Table 6.7: Occupations of French males naturalized 1892-1914 compared to previous periods

	1892-1914		1872-1891		1852-1871	
	Nos.	%	Nos.	%	Nos.	%
Service	181	20.6	29	14.5	23	10.4
Labourers	159	18.1	11	5.5	2	0.9
Tradesmen	122	13.9	38	19.0	40	18.2
Agriculture	85	9.6	38	19.0	34	15.5
farmers*	71	8.1	27	13.5	24	10.9
labourers					2	0.9
winegrowers	14	1.5	11	5.5	8	3.6
Miners	79	9.0	8	4.0	12	5.5
Commerce	68	7.7	20	10.0	39	17.7
Professionals	61	7.0	22	11.0	22	10.0
Seamen	54	6.1	16	8.0	5	2.3
Transport	20	2.3	5	2.5	1	0.4
Administrative	19	2.2	4	2.0	-	-
Clerical	7	0.8	3	1.5	1	0.4
Timber workers	6	0.8	-	-	-	-
Gentlemen	7	0.7	2	-	6	2.7
Others	11	1.2	-	1.0	-	-
Not stated	-	-	1	0.5	35	15.9
TOTAL:	879	100.0	200	100.0	220	99.9

* = including gardeners.

Source: Naturalization Records.

1. Courrier Australien, 13 July 1934.

The change in the occupational pattern of the French settlers mainly reflected the push factors behind their migration: half of those naturalized between 1892 and 1914 had arrived after the Commune of 1871, mostly poor labourers and workers (see Chap. V, p. 109); furthermore, a period of industrial unrest at the beginning of the twentieth century had mainly affected workers in the building and food industries, postmen, electricians and others who went on strike.[1] Those living in winegrowing regions were seriously hit by an over-production crisis at the time: winegrowers had planted too many vines to reconstitute the vineyards devastated by phylloxera; furthermore, improper methods had been used to make wines with fewer grapes;[2] the result was a dramatic drop in the price of wine on the market which affected growers and dealers all over France; the Midi (south-east) was the most distressed area with winegrowers selling their wine at cost or below for five years out of seven (1901-1907). Many vineyard owners went into bankruptcy, and unemployment soared not only in the country but also in the cities, where commercial and industrial activities had almost reached a standstill. Labourers were the most affected and unemployment went up to 90 per cent in some winegrowing communes.[3] Winegrowing regions, followed by Paris, provided the highest number of settlers in Australia for this period (see Table 6.8), mainly labourers and people in services, which increased the number of people in these categories.

The proportion of tradesmen decreased during this period relative to those in services and labourers. Also there were more miners, who increased to up to 9 per cent of the naturalized males, partly because a number of miners who arrived during the gold rush only became naturalized at a very old age and reported the occupation they had before retirement (see Chap. IV, p. 85), and partly because of mining activities in Western Australia. There is not much evidence about the activities of French miners in the goldfields of Western Australia, except that census statistics show the French population increasing from 72 to 254 between the 1891 and 1901 censuses and, contrary to

---

1. Bury, France 1814-1940, p. 212.
2. J. Chastenet, Histoire de la Troisième République, Paris, 1957, Vol. 4, p. 17.
3. C.K. Warner, The Winegrowers of France and the Government since 1875, New York, 1960, pp. 17-24.

Table 6.8: Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1892-1914

	Numbers	Percentage
North	29	5.0
Picardy	13	2.2
Normandy	22	3.8
Total North of France	64	11.0
Brittany (West of France)	49	8.4
Charente-Poitou	12	2.1
Aquitaine, South Pyrenees	39	6.7
Total South-West	51	8.8
Mediterranean France	78	13.4
Rhone Valley	26	4.5
Savoy-Dauphiné	17	2.9
Total South-East	121	20.8
Burgundy	13	2.2
Franche-Comté	13	2.2
Champagne-Ardennes	11	1.9
Alsace-Lorraine	43	7.4
Total North-East	80	13.7
Paris	105	18.1
Loire districts	12	2.1
Centre Auvergne	6	1.0
France not stated	30	5.2
French possessions	53	9.1
Other countries	10	1.7
TOTAL:	581	99.9

Source: Naturalization Records.

the other states, it did not decline during the following years. A few French investors showed interest by buying leases as a result of publicity made by prospectors from Coolgardie.[1] Such purchases were happily celebrated with hundreds of bottles of French champagne. A party of prospectors bought ten cases for their friends at £15.00 a case the day they sold a Broad Arrow mine to a French doctor.[2] A few French adventurers were reported on the goldfields.[3] Gus Luck, whom the writer claims as a pioneer personality, was a former legionnaire, and came to Australia for "reasons that need not be inquired into". His past gave him the reputation of a cameleer. He set out on an exploring expedition with Carnegie and three camels that took them north of Queen Victoria Springs. Carnegie named one hill there Mount Luck, after his mate Luck[4] (probably Luc originally).

The substantial increase in these three categories - services, labourers and miners - when added to the tradesmen accounted for over 60 per cent of the naturalized males. This resulted in a serious decrease in the proportion of other groups who until the turn of the century were relatively important, that is, farmers, salesmen and professionals; these now totalled only 26.3 per cent of the naturalized males (against 40 per cent for the period 1872-91).

Farmers

The greatest drop was in the farmers' group as agriculture in general was progressing in France, going through a period of prosperity from 1896 onwards,[5] and therefore not many farmers left France during this period. However, these conditions did not stop a few pioneers from opening up new lands in Australia, mainly in Western Australia and Queensland. A few careers are outlined below as illustrations.

---

1. G. Blainey, The Rush that never ended, Melbourne, 1963, p. 187. J. Bastin, "The Western Australian Goldfields 1892-1900. Their Investors and their Grievances", Historical Studies, Vol. 6, 1953-55, p. 283.
2. Blainey, op. cit., p. 190.
3. F.K. Crowley, Australia's Western Third, London, 1960, p. 118.
4. M.J. Uren, Glint of Gold, Melbourne, 1948, pp. 154-55.
5. Sée, Histoire économique de la France, pp. 321-22.

M. Pierre Bellanger was an outstanding pioneer in Western Australia. A graduate of the Sorbonne in arts and law, he emigrated to Australia for health reasons in 1899, decided to take up farming and bought an orchard at Newcastle, near Toodyay. He lived there for a short period and soon returned to England (his wife's native country) and France, but only to come back to Western Australia in 1906, with his younger brother, André. They worked together for two years, at their orchard and vineyard. Early in 1908 Pierre sold his property to his brother and went to look for land around Albany. He acquired 4,000 acres in the Nornalup district in 1909, in heavily forested virgin country, fifty-six miles west of Denmark. For several years the main link with civilization was by sea to Albany, and in summer months only. Pierre Bellanger interested himself mainly in dairying and grazing. He died in 1945 and was buried near his homestead; the property is still in the hands of the family. There is a beach named after M. Bellanger. A very popular tourist industry has grown in this area and government reserves have helped to maintain the original forests.[1]

It was in Queensland that M. Tournouer faced the hardships of a new country from the early age of seven. His family arrived in Queensland in 1900 to raise cattle.

> "I have worked cattle all my life, worked my way up as inside head stockman, horsebreaker, drover in charge, then station manager of large cattle stations carrying some 40,000 cattle on areas of 2,600 and 4,000 square miles. Finally I married my dear wife, Elizabeth Shepherd of Milroy Station and after some years purchased our own station property of only 250 square miles and proceeded to breed zebu cattle which later we called Brahman as requested by the American Brahman Breeders' Association, and with my friend Mr K.J.A., we founded the Australian Zebu Society, which later we changed the name to the Australian Brahman Breeders' Association."

M. Tournouer met very few French people and had very little opportunity to speak French, so "can you wonder I forgot most of my French".[2]

An interesting Frenchman in New South Wales at this time was Paul Wenz. After travelling to South America, New Zealand and most of Australia, he decided in 1892 to settle in Australia, in the vicinity of Forbes, as other

---

1. This biographical note was written in 1977 by Pierre Bellanger's son, of the Western Australian Historical Society.

2. M. Tournouer, February 1977, personal communication. I am indebted to Mr Huon, Atherton, Qld, for introducing M. Tournouer.

French farmers had done. Before buying Nanima, a sheep station, he also worked himself up the hard way, starting as a jackaroo. The environment inspired him to become a writer, not a great writer, but a storyteller. His Diary of a New Chum, the only book he wrote in English, tells about his experiences in his new life, in a lively and humorous way. Most books were Australian tales, addressed to the French reader.[1]

That some emigrated even in prosperous times stresses that the French were capable of emigrating without being influenced by exterior push factors except their own desire to live in a totally new environment. In this regard, the French may be considered more genuine migrants than most other nationalities who have migrated in larger numbers but often because of necessity or under pressure.

Winegrowers

While some farmers had taken up property, winegrowers seemed unable to do so. Despite the fact that the over-production crisis incited many to leave France, only 1.5 per cent of the naturalized males were winegrowers. One reason may have been the lack of capital, but another was the consolidation of the industry in Australia, with established firms with expensive equipment and plant playing a leading part. Experts, winemakers and managers were employed by these firms and the French, instead of being independent winegrowers, went into these occupations, such as Frank Jaunay, whose vineyards had been destroyed by phylloxera. He first worked in the Great Western winery, then was appointed manager of the Chateau Tanunda winery and distillery in South Australia. He and his family lived there for three or four years and experienced a whole series of catastrophes - illness and accidents - which ended with Jaunay losing his position as the owners decided they did not need a manager any longer. He then ran the Scenic Hotel at Henley Beach for four years, serving meals on Sundays, and finally took up work as an accountant. He died in 1912.[2]

---

1. A.R. Chisholm, "Centenaire de P. Wenz", Annuaire Français d'Australie, 1969, p. 9; and E. Wolff, "Paul Wenz and Australia", Courrier Australien, 20 June 1947, 27 June 1947. His other books are: Sous la Croix du Sud; Contes australiens; Choses d'hier; Le pays de leurs pères; L'Homme du soleil couchant; L'Echarde.

2. G.H. Henderson, A Memoire of the Jaunay Family, Adelaide, February 1969 (manuscript obtained through Mr K. Burrow, Adelaide). G.H. Henderson, née Jaunay, is Mr Frank's Jaunay's daughter.

During the same period, two French experts were engaged by the government: M. Raymond Dubois, as the superintendent of the Viticultural College at Rutherglen, in 1898;[1] he had invented a wine cooler;[2] and M. Adrien Jean Despeissis as a viticulturist in New South Wales, then in Western Australia as a wine and fruit expert.[3] Both had studied at the Montpellier School of Viticulture.

From then onwards, except for the occasional vigneron, the French who became engaged in the wine industry were mainly experts, managers of wineries, wine merchants, cellarmen, etc. Even though they participated and helped in the development of this branch, they did not forge any illustrious name which could have reminded us of their contributions.

The Wool Trade

The decrease in the group of naturalized professionals did not reflect the increasing trade and cultural activities that had been occurring during this period: with the availability of transport, most professionals now came to fulfil their contracts, then left without becoming naturalized, which is indicated by the Courrier Australien, reporting the arrival of numerous visitors or short-term settlers; such immigrants in the nineteenth century had often stayed for long periods and become citizens.

The increasing trade between France and Australia brought over to Australia a number of commercial agents and technicians, who do not appear in the naturalization records. This trade, originating from the need for wool in France, eventually led to the opening of a French Bank, the creation of French maritime lines and, in 1899, the French Chamber of Commerce, which published a bulletin from 1902 onwards.[4] More French firms established wool-buying agencies in Australia: Gosset; Picard, Goulot fils; Wenz and Co.; Wattinne; Bossut and fils; Alph. Six; Ed. Six; St Schwarz and Co.; Lorthivois frères; Anselme Dewavrin and fils.[5] The latter still exists and

---

1. Anon., "M. Raymond Dubois", Weekly Times, 18 June 1898; Leader, 18 June 1898.
2. The Scientific Australasian, 20 March 1899.
3. J. Sykes Battye (ed.), "A.J. Despeissis, M.R.C.A.", The Cyclopedia of Western Australia, Perth, 1912-1913, pp. 442-43.
4. See Chap. V, p. 113-15.
5. Courrier Australien, 25 September 1897.

was founded in Australia by M. Lamerand. He and other woolbuyers such as Messrs Playoust, Dekyvère, Martel, Moreau, pioneers of Franco-Australian trade relations, worked very actively in this trade[1] and also founded well-known families in Australia.[2] M. Playoust was the first president of the Chamber of Commerce. These families formed the main kernel of French life in Sydney and had a great influence in economic circles.[3]

The beginning of the activities of the Chamber of Commerce was a series of struggles, all aiming at solving the same problem: the deficit of French trade in Australia. Table 6.9 shows how this trade operated to the advantage of Australia. France needed large quantities of wool and sheepskins. Other relatively important imports were copper and silver ore. These goods had, at the time, the same preferential tariffs as applied to products imported into France from the French colonies. As these goods were considered essential to the needs of the country, no import duty was imposed on them. But, regarding French goods to Australia, they were highly taxed, because of the preferential customs tariff introduced in London in 1907 by the ministers of the Dominions. Goods of French origin were liable to import duties varying between 25 and 80 per cent, and Australia hardly manufactured any of these articles. They were mainly cream-of-tartar and tartaric acid; apparel and textiles (woollens, silks); drugs and chemicals; spirits and wines; jewellery, machinery, pipes, tiles, vehicles. In 1913, the Chamber of Commerce requested the Minister of Trade to re-examine the possibility of an agreement between France and Australia for the purpose of protecting French interests in this part of the world, but no decision was reached until 1936.[4]

---

1. G. Bader, "History of the French Chamber of Commerce in Australia", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce, April 1956, p. 11.
2. The "Playoust Homes" owner is a descendant of the French woolbuyer.
3. Loubère, Australie, cinquième continent, p. 15.
4. Bader, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

Table 6.9: Australia: imports from and exports to France, 1895-1915

	Imports in £	Percentage of total Australian imports	Exports in £	Percentage of total Australian exports	Imports/exports percentage
1895-99	1,956,498	1.3	13,362,735	6.9	14.6
1900-04	2,374,255	1.2	13,857,676	5.7	17.1
1905-09	2,349,713	1.0	31,097,984	9.9	7.6
1910-13	2,315,407	0.8	34,438,344	11.3	6.7
1914-15	237,627	0.4	1,279,513	2.2	18.6
1895-1915	9,233,500	1.0	94,036,252	8.5	9.8

Source: Overseas Trade 1903-1915.

In New Caledonia trade with Australia presented the same characteristics, that is, more imports than exports, which was less surprising as New Caledonia was only in the first stages of development and was completely dependent on importations for food staples (flour, sugar, rice, potatoes, oils, tobacco), and machinery. New Caledonia exported mainly skin hides, maize and copra.[1] Nevertheless, her deficit was not as large as France's.

Table 6.10: Australia: imports from and exports to New Caledonia, 1895-1915

Year	Imports in £	Exports in £	Imports/exports %
1895-99	203,055	678,594	29.9
1900-04	119,044	777,052	15.3
1905-09	167,394	592,589	28.2
1910-13	159,427	565,950	28.2
1914-15	37,490	160,728	23.3
1895-1915	686,410	2,774,913	24.7

Source: Overseas Trade 1903-1915.

Certainly the Preferential Tariff Customs exercised a strain on French trade, but later evidence showed that this was not the only cause of the deficit. Germany and Belgium had a much more balanced trade with Australia, and had the French been able to represent their products more efficiently, such a deficit would not have existed.

> "It is sad to admit such a situation, but the consuls too rarely take care of the interests they are supposed to represent. These gentlemen know Cicero and Virgil and I congratulate them for that, but would not a deeper knowledge of English benefit more the country?"[2]

The Courrier also attacked the French policy: "It is mostly our fault if we stay behind in the competition for trade with Australia. We buy much more than Germany and we sell much less than Germany. Our efforts only concentrate on the introduction of a small number of articles, such as wines

1. Overseas Trade, 1903-1915.

2. Verschuur, Aux Antipodes, pp. 120-21.

and spirits (and Australia progresses in making her own; furthermore, Australians prefer beer and whisky)...". The Courrier wished competent traders came to Australia and developed better opportunities for the French trade.[1] It was towards solving these problems that French businessmen were going to work in the following decades.

Conclusion

Because of the larger amount of statistical data available since the turn of the century, the position of the French in Australia appears more clearly and can be better defined. Only two decades after they had reached a peak, not only numerically but also qualitatively (owing to the diversity and efficiency of their contribution), the French appeared in a rather fragile situation: scattered in many different places, marrying outside their nationality, securing only a very small second generation of French-born, furthermore decreasing in numbers, they did not stand out as a prominent or even significant ethnic group. Not only because of these characteristics, but also and mainly because they showed very little interest in organizing social activities that would keep alive their traditions and customs and secure some unity between them. This is rather surprising in the light of the lifestyle in France which indicates a high propensity for gathering and organizing social functions whether in their community or outside, as in Paris where thousands of persons from rural areas have migrated and subsequently gathered in clubs and associations in order to meet their fellows and celebrate their traditions. In Australia, such a sense of belonging did not seem to exist; the only manifestations of French social life were on a purely cultural basis and could have happened even without the presence of French immigrants, because of the supremacy of French culture and language in those days. These manifestations were mainly concerned with Australian people and did not bring the French together. In that regard the French were in a fragile position because a well-organized and vital ethnic social group could have made up for their small numbers; instead they lived independently from each other.

Their other weakness was the change in their occupation pattern. While until the turn of the century they formed a rather well-qualified population,

---

1. Courrier Australien, 12 January 1901.

noticeable by their contribution in diverse areas, by the eve of World War I the majority were in lower-skilled occupations, in service industries, and in general labouring - which again made them less outstanding. This was partly offset by the group of woolbuyers, mainly concentrated in Sydney, who became quite well-known, some of them founding prosperous families in Australia. They succeeded in keeping alive the reality of French presence in Australia (even though they were not representative of the French in general) mainly because of their dealings with a wide Australian public.

In 1914, the outbreak of World War I stopped all trade activities and initiated a new kind of relationship between the two countries born from brotherhood on the battlefields and help given by the Australians. Until then, the Australians' knowledge of the French was limited to the French they had met in Australia, sometimes associated with the convicts escaped from New Caledonia, or with the well-educated elite of Hunter's Hill and the Alliance Française. Because of the relatively small number of French, scattered in so many different places, it was difficult for the Australians to meet them as a people and to discover a different culture through them. Therefore, the unfortunate circumstances in which some Australians - the Diggers - were going to discover France were nevertheless destined to alter the Australian image of the French and develop an awareness of their presence.

CHAPTER VII

THE TURBULENT YEARS 1915-1945

The Australian Servicemen in France and the Consequences thereof

It was through such dramatic circumstances as World War I and World War II that French and Australians developed the first important contacts with each other. After the Gallipoli Campaign where French and Australians for the first time fought together against the enemy, Australian soldiers were dispatched to France from 1916 to 1918. Altogether 331,781 were sent, of whom 59,342 were killed, 152,171 wounded and 4,084 made prisoners; the casualty rate was the highest in any British force.[1] They particularly distinguished themselves in Pozières, Villers-Bretonneux, St Quentin and Amiens. Their life in the trenches and battlefields is related in the work of W.L. Gammage who studied the diaries and letters of the soldiers.[2]

Help was also given from Australia owing to the creation of the French-Australian League, located in Sydney, which from 1917 until 1921 raised money and sent gifts to war-devastated areas. These gifts included books, blankets, woollens, garments, furniture, and kitchen utensils. Mademoiselle Soubeyran was the secretary of the League.[3] She was asked to go to France and supervise the distribution of the goods; when she came back in 1918, she gave conferences and collected more funds. After the Armistice, she went back to France to the devastated areas where she was able to donate sixteen million francs.[4] The Mitchell Library holds a document containing

---

1. C.E.W. Bean, Anzac to Amiens, Canberra, 1961, p. 532.

2. W.L. Gammage, The Broken Years, Vol. 2, Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1970.

3. Mlle Soubeyran arrived in Australia towards the end of the nineteenth century as a teacher. In association with a British lady, she opened a college for young ladies in Kambala which had a very good reputation and received the squatters' daughters from New South Wales and Queensland. She dedicated herself to her profession for twenty years until World War I. See Courrier Australien, 26 January 1934.

4. French-Australian League, Mitchell Library, MSS 717.

photographs, pictures, programmes, letters, etc., relating to the activities of the League during the war, in France and in Australia. The Alliance Française also contributed with funds and taught French to Australian soldiers getting ready to join the battle.[1] The British Red Cross also helped the French Red Cross, even from such remote towns as Kalgoorlie.[2]

The relations between France and Australia during World War I are commemorated by monuments in both countries: in Australia, the Archibald Memorial, in Hyde Park, Sydney, which was inaugurated in 1932; the Monument to Immortality built in the grounds of the French Embassy, Canberra, in 1961. In France, memorials were built in Villers-Bretonneux, unveiled on 1 July 1938;[3] in Pozières, Sailly-Le-Sec and Mont St Quentin. A memorial tablet to Australian soldiers was placed in the cathedral of Amiens.[4] An Australian flag was presented at the Hôtel de Ville in Amiens, by the Imperial League of Australia's sailors' and soldiers' womenfolk. The presentation was made as a tribute from the womenfolk of the sailors and soldiers of Australia to the women of France.[5]

Several devastated towns and villages were adopted by cities in Australia: Pozières by Brisbane, Villers-Bretonneux by Melbourne, Poilcourt by Sydney and Dernancourt by Adelaide;[6] and a few places in Australia were named after the battlefields in France: Verdun, Peronne, Pozieres, Vimy and Clermont.[7]

The Australian vocabulary became enriched with a few Franco-Australian words, created by the Diggers: these words were usually the result of an Australian pronunciation of a French word, such as plonk (vin blanc) for white

---

1. Anon, "Les activités françaises en Australie Occidentale", Courrier Australien, 3 September 1943.
2. Programme of Evening in Aid of the French Red Cross Society promoted by the Kalgoorlie Branch of the British Red Cross Society, Battye Library, PR 3395.
3. Details related to the building and unveiling of the Villers-Bretonneux memorial are in Australian Archives, CRS A663, 100/1/108: Villers-Bretonneux Australian National Memorial, 1921-1940, with attachments A-G.
4. Australian Archives, CRS A457, 508/28: Memorial Tablet - Amiens Cathedral, 1920-1921.
5. Australian Archives, CRS A457, 508/47: Flag for Amiens, 1921.
6. Australian Archives, CRS A457, C 213/2 pt III: Villers-Bretonneux, 1920-1921; pt IV: Pozières, 1921-1922.
7. Miller, "Des origines de la terminologie française", p. 7.

wine; von blinked for inebriated; toot sweet (tout de suite) for straight away; buckoo bombardy (beaucoup bombardé) for badly torn or broken; cafevec (café avec) for black coffee with cognac; comme si, comme sa (comme-ci, comme-ça) for so-so; demain for tomorrow; camarade for fellow, etc.[1] Besides this strictly "linguistic" aspect, the diffusion of French culture in Australia progressed very quickly during the following years, because of the interest now shown by thousands of Australians who had personally been in contact with France and its people.

Some soldiers married French women and settled in France but the majority came back to Australia with their French wives or fiancees. On the other hand, a few military nurses married French soldiers. One might have suspected the existence of some associations of Diggers' French wives but no archives or document were available on this topic.[2] However, the presence of these women would have also contributed to awakening interest in France and French culture among the general public, as a Frenchwoman whose Australian husband was a war hero would have been better known and had more contact with Australian people than a French couple, or even a mixed couple where the husband had not accomplished feats of bravery.

French wives were also responsible for the increase of the French population at the 1921 census, otherwise declining from 1891 until 1947. Table 7.1 shows a considerable decline in the number of French males which in itself increased the female ratio. For the first time, in 1933, women outnumbered men and continued to do so until 1947, as World War II also affected the pattern of the French population, the men being called back to join the army. The decrease in the male population was not only due to departures but to a high percentage of old men at the 1911 census who by 1947 were dead and not replaced by the few arrivals. Because of the heavy war casualties, the number of young males was drastically reduced and this affected the number of potential emigrants. Arrivals of French males in Australia were down between 1922 and 1947 compared with previous years, and departures were relatively high; the net gain was therefore very small, even less than the net gain of females for that period (see Table 7.2).

---

1. W.H. Downing, Digger dialects: a Collection of Slang Phrases used by the Australian Soldiers on Active Service, Melbourne, 1919.

2. G. Blin, President of the French and Free French Ex-Servicemen and Women Associations, 1 August 1977, personal communication.

Table 7.1: Number of French-born persons in Australia by sex: 1891-1947*

	1891	1901	1911	1921	1933	1947
Males	3215	2627	1973	1868	1273	1077
Females	1046	984	903	1387	1314	1138
Total	4261	3611	2876	3255	2587	2215
(Migratory)	(601)	(477)	(172)	(220)	(69)	(131)
Sex Ratio	33	37	46	74	103	106
Without Migratory	40	45	50	83	109	120

Note : * Even though this chapter covers the period 1915-1945, the 1947 census figures are used here since there has been very little change or increase in immigration between 1945 and 1947.

Source: Censuses of the Colonies and Commonwealth of Australia, 1891-1947.

Few in-marriages[1] was an inevitable consequence of this situation which became more and more obvious throughout the years: there were to be fewer in-marriages still in the 1930s and 1940s, when small gain of French males meant few spouses available, than in 1919-1921 when French women married more often out of their nationality, namely Australian men as a result of the war. The proportion of in-marriages declined from about 10 per cent to just over 1 per cent between 1919 and 1947 (see Table 7.3).

French brides and bridegrooms mostly married an Australian-born partner, with a higher percentage among bridegrooms than brides. The period directly following World War I shows an increase in the number of women marrying Australian men, but this figure does not cover all the marriages that occurred because of the war; some married in France and did not appear in the Australian statistics. It is interesting to note that even with more French women marrying Australian men than before, there were fewer of them than French men (see Table 7.4). French women married many Europeans, particularly English men.

1. In-marriages: between partners of the same nationality.
Inter-marriages: between partners of different nationalities.

Table 7.2: Total arrivals and departures of French nationality: 1915-1947

Calendar Year	Arrivals			Departures			Net Gain		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
1915-18	1,635	778	2,413	1,424	429	1,853	211	349	560
1919-21	1,547	952	2,499	965	541	1,506	582	411	993
1922-28	2,395	1,957	4,352	2,305	1,699	4,004	90	258	348
1929-33	1,681	1,419	3,100	1,691	1,444	3,135	-10	-25	-35
1934-39	1,739	1,808	3,547	1,718	1,732	3,450	21	76	97
Total 1915-39	8,997	6,914	15,911	8,103	5,845	13,948	894	1,069	1,963
1940	140	166	306	171	155	326	-31	11	-20
1941*	-	-	288	-	-	199	-	-	89
1942*	-	-	204	-	-	107	-	-	97
1943*	-	-	186	-	-	147	-	-	39
1944-47	1,028	1,186	2,214	980	1,113	2,093	48	73	121
Total 1915-47			19,109			16,820			2,289

Note : * Not available by sex.

Source: Overseas Arrivals and Departures by Nationality, Commonwealth Year Book, Demography Bulletins, 1915-1947.

Table 7.3: Marriages of French-born in Australia: 1907-1947

Year	(1) Bridegroom	(2) Bride	(3) Both French	3/1*	3/2*
1907-18	307	170	37	12.0	21.8
1919-21	75	73	8	10.7	11.0
1922-33	263	214	19	7.2	8.9
1934-47	226	247	3	1.3	1.2
Total 1907-47	871	704	67	7.7	9.5

Note: * $3/_1$ = Both French as a proportion of Total Males;

$3/_2$ = Both French as a proportion of Total Females.

Source: Relative Birthplace of Bridegroom and Bride, Australia, Demography Bulletins, 1907-1947.

Table 7.4: Marriages between French and Australians: 1907-1947

Year	French men marrying Australian women		French women marrying Australian men	
	No.	%	No.	%
1907-18	201	65.4	71	41.7
1919-21	48	64.0	37	50.7
1922-33	178	67.7	100	46.7
1934-47	189	83.6	153	61.9

Source: Relative Birthplace of Bridegroom and Bride in Australia, Demography Bulletins, 1907-47.

This appreciable number of inter-marriages reinforces the point raised earlier (Chap. VI, p. 143) that French immigrants, by marrying other than French partners, were not ensuring the "reproduction" of a second French generation, and thereby were weakening their impact as a French ethnic group. Between 1915 and 1947, an average of 38 children per year were born of French mothers,[1] which was an increase compared to the pre-World War period (25 children) but was still very low. However, the episode of the Diggers and their French wives temporarily removed the risk of weakening French ethnicity, as their popularity worked to the advantage of the French culture and people.

Characteristics of the French Population in Australia

The 1911-1921 increase (see Table 7.1) was the only inter-censal increase between 1891 and 1947. France had a population problem of her own and became a recipient of European immigration, even more so when the United States introduced its system of quotas, limiting the number of certain nationalities who then turned to France. By 1930, there were about 3,000,000 foreign workers in France.[2] Moreover, by then Australia was suffering from the world economic crisis and unemployment was soaring, which acted as a push factor sending a relatively large number of French from Australia and resulting in a negative net gain for the years 1929-33 (see Table 7.2). Over one-third of those who arrived between 1915 and 1946 and subsequently became naturalized came from French possessions and other countries. The remaining two-thirds came mainly from Brittany and from Paris, and a few from every other French region (see Table 7.5).

---

1. Confinements: Relative Birthplace of Parents, Demography Bulletins, 1915-1947.

2. Debré and Sauvy, Des Français pour la France, p. 89.

Table 7.5: Origins of naturalized French males, arrived 1915-1946

	Numbers	Percentage
North	10	
Picardy	6	
Normandy	8	
Total North of France	24	14.6
Brittany (West of France)	22	13.4
Charente-Poitou	6	
Aquitaine-South Pyrenees	2	
Total South-West	8	4.9
Mediterranean France	10	
Rhone Valley	-	
Savoy-Dauphiné	2	
Total South-East	12	7.3
Burgundy	2	
Franche-Comté	-	
Champagne-Ardennes	2	
Alsace-Lorraine	8	
Total North-East	12	7.3
Paris	20	12.2
Loire districts	2	1.2
Centre Auvergne	-	
France: not stated	6	3.7
French possessions	54	32.9
Other countries	4	2.4
TOTAL:	164	99.9

Source: Naturalization Records.

The outbreak of World War II completely stopped emigration from France, and all French who arrived in Australia between 1941 and 1946, either as settlers or as visitors, came from British or French colonies and from other countries (see Table 7.6).

Table 7.6: Total arrivals of French nationality according to country of origin: 1941-1946

Calendar year	1941	1942	1943	1944	1945	1946
Great Britain	1	2	4	-	6	57
Canada	-	-	-	-	-	1
Fiji	3	-	-	-	-	3
Hong Kong	39	-	-	-	-	7
India	-	3	2	1	10	1
New Zealand	20	7	21	7	14	40
Norfolk Island	1	3	-	2	-	-
Papua New Guinea	2	5	2	1	-	3
Solomon Islands	1	-	-	-	3	-
South Africa	15	5	8	1	7	6
Straits Settlements	11	32	-	-	1	18
Other British	1	1	-	-	1	2
Total British	94	58	37	12	42	138
China	1	-	-	-	-	13
Japan	3	-	-	-	-	-
Netherlands East Indies	40	16	-	-	1	4
New Caledonia	120	81	96	274	217	289
Philippines	19	-	-	-	-	-
South SeasIslands	7	44	50	55	66	43
United States of America	3	2	1	5	13	26
Hawaii	-	-	-	-	-	2
Egypt	-	-	-	-	-	1
Europe*	-	-	-	-	-	54
Other Foreign	1	3	2	10	4	16
Total Foreign	194	146	149	344	301	448
GRAND TOTAL:	288	204	186	356	343	586

Note: * Europe = France 15, Belgium 24, Italy 5, Denmark 2, Holland 4, Sweden 4.

Source: Australian Archives, CRS A433, 47/2/1794: White Aliens Immigration, 1940-1947.

Of the very small net gain of French males who subsequently became naturalized, only 54 per cent were aged between 20 and 49 at arrival (military age was between 19 and 49, consequently this age group suffered the greatest number of losses), against 77 per cent for those who arrived between 1892 and 1914 and 80 per cent between 1872 and 1891;[1] this meant that the French population was ageing - roughly half the population was over fifty years of age by 1947 (see Table 7.7) - and arrivals being relatively small, the majority had a long period of residence. The 1911 census already indicated stability in the French population: 53.3 per cent of the population had been in Australia for more than twenty years, i.e. arrived before 1891, and 48.5 per cent were over 50 years of age, although only 6.7 per cent were over 50 at arrival.[2] Because of the increase in French arrivals after 1918, the 1921 census showed that almost 40 per cent had been in Australia for less than ten years, bringing down to 44.7 the percentage of people residing for more than twenty years. But as arrivals thereafter decreased, the period of residence increased, reaching a maximum in 1947 when over 60 per cent of the French people had been residing in Australia for more than twenty years (see Table 7.8).

By 1947, the overall characteristics of the French were definitely not those of a dynamic group, few arrivals resulting in an ageing of the population. But these characteristics were visible in other groups, too, reflecting the general slowing-down of Australian immigration betweeen 1929 and 1947. However, it is interesting to see that, despite these characteristics, the French did not become naturalized in large numbers. Only two-fifths or so had taken British allegiance by 1947 (see Table 7.9), which means that intermarriages, usually taken as an indicator of assimilation, did not for a lot of French mean complete integration or desire for integration.

The lowest percentage of unnaturalized French was recorded in 1911; this was at a time when over half the population had more than twenty years of residence and because they were getting older, had more reasons for becoming naturalized: the right to vote, the old age pension, etc.[3] But also

---

1. Naturalization Records.
2. Ibid.
3. The Scandinavians also became naturalized in large numbers by the turn of the century, for these particular reasons. See Koivukangas, Scandinavian Immigration, p. 37.

Table 7.7: Age of the French-born population: 1921-1947

Year		0-14 yrs		15-29 yrs		30-49 yrs		50 yrs & over		Not stated		TOTAL
		No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	
1911		56	1.9	480	16.7	923	32.1	1396	48.5	21	0.7	2876
1921	M	51	2.7	278	14.9	583	31.2	944	50.5	12	0.6	1868
	F	56	4.0	358	25.8	510	36.8	459	33.1	4	0.3	1387
	T	107	3.3	636	19.5	1093	33.6	1403	43.1	16	0.5	3255
1933	M	58	4.5	153	12.0	398	31.3	658	51.7	6	0.6	1273
	F	52	4.0	139	10.6	638	48.5	480	36.5	5	0.4	1314
	T	110	4.2	292	11.3	1036	40.0	1138	44.0	11	0.4	2587
1947	M	47	4.4	190	17.7	313	29.1	512	47.5	15	1.4	1077
	F	43	3.8	121	10.7	352	31.0	603	53.0	19	1.7	1138
	T	90	4.1	311	14.0	665	30.0	1115	50.3	34	1.5	2215

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947.

Table 7.8: Period of residence of French-born persons: 1911-1947

Year		Total	0-9		10-19		20-29		30+		Not Stated	
			No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1911		2876	1216		42.3		1534		53.3		126	4.4
1921	M	1863	602	32.2	268	14.3	214	11.4	721	38.5	63	3.3
	F	1387	644	46.4	182	13.1	152	10.9	368	26.5	41	2.9
	T	3255	1246	38.2	450	13.8	366	11.2	1089	33.4	104	3.1
1933	M	1273	264	20.7	212	16.6	264	20.7	485	38.0	48	3.7
	F	1314	279	21.2	412	31.3	232	17.6	345	26.2	46	3.5
	T	2587	543	20.9	624	24.1	496	19.1	830	32.0	94	3.6
1947	M	1077	363	33.7	102	9.4	183	16.9	399	37.0	30	2.7
	F	1138	194	17.0	142	12.4	399	35.0	366	32.1	37	3.2
	T	2215	557	25.1	244	11.0	582	26.0	765	34.5	67	3.0

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947.

Table 7.9: Naturalization of French-born persons: 1911-1947

Year	(1) Birthplace France	(2) Citizenship French	(3) Col.2/ Col.1 *
1911	2876	1134	39.4
1921	3255	2088	64.1
1933	2587	1647	63.7
1947	2215	1321	59.6

Note : * Col.3: citizenship expressed as a proportion of birthplace does not accurately measure the extent of naturalization as some British-born persons in France are in the birthplace column while some French nationals born outside France, notably in New Caledonia, are in the citizenship column; also some persons acquired British citizenship before coming to Australia. Nevertheless, the proportion can be used as a rough guide to naturalization.

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1911, 1921, 1933, 1947.

these settlers had immigrated because of strong push factors such as political oppression for the Communards and the victims of the Franco-Prussian war, and economic distress. These very circumstances that actually prompted the French to look for another homeland were also the reasons why they were more attracted to another allegiance. Those who came to Australia just as adventurers or businessmen were less inclined to surrender their French allegiance. The naturalization records of French males coming to Australia between 1915 and 1947 show that before settling in Australia, almost one in three had travelled to and lived in another country: Canada, U.S.A., England, New Caledonia, New Hebrides. Apparently greater opportunities to travel had made the French even greater wanderers and less susceptible to the attractions of another allegiance; which is shown by the higher proportions of unnaturalized French at other censuses, with a slight decrease in 1947, parallel again to a lengthening of the period of residence and ageing of the population.

It is, however, interesting to note that the proportion of unnaturalized French people in the U.S.A. and Canada[1] was much lower than in Australia:

1. The proportions of unnaturalized French in the U.S.A. at the 1910, 1920, 1930, and 1940 censuses were respectively: 27.8 per cent; 27 per cent; 25.1 per cent; 16.8 per cent. In Canada, at the 1931, 1941 censuses, the proportions were 24.5 per cent and 30.3 per cent. See Censuses of the United States, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940; Censuses of Canada, 1931, 1941.

this indicates that both countries would receive more of the settler type, partly because of the existence of older and stronger French ethnic settlements, while Australia would receive more of the temporary settlers.

Occupations

The occupational status of the French during the inter-war period also reflected some of these changes in the French population, that is, a higher ratio of women, an ageing population and fewer naturalized persons. The number of people not in the workforce increased from 43.8 per cent in 1921 to 54.5 per cent in 1947. Women were largely responsible for this: over one-third, up to 40 per cent, of the French population consisted of women not in the workforce. But the increasing number of old people also affected this proportion. However, the percentage of French people in the workforce was higher than for the whole of Australia (see Table 7.10), and this was partly due to the higher proportions of employers and persons owning their business. This reflected the generally enterprising character of the French immigrant, praised in other immigration countries. As one scholar said of the French in Argentina:

> "There are some agriculturists and wine growers. But most of them are artisans, engineers, doctors and industrialists... French economic achievements in Argentina have been considerable. In all branches of production the French emigrants have shown the way. They have established flour mills and breweries. In the cultivation of the vine and in the sugar industry, they have been front rank initiators. In the financial world, they take second place after the English."[1]

The same comments went for the French in Mexico:

> "Although only about 4,000 French were settled in that country in 1910, the financial houses, factories, agricultural or mining enterprises belonging to them numbered 260, with a French capital of more than $250,000,000. In the world crisis of 1908, not a single failure was recorded among the French colonists."[2]

As for the United States, Bunle indicates that in the liberal professions French immigrants have much the largest proportions, and their annual income in mining and industry averages higher than that of other immigrants.[3]

---

1. Bunle, "Migratory movements between France and foreign lands", p. 217.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.

Table 7.10: Occupational status of French-born persons in Australia: 1921-1947

		1921			1933			1947		
		Numbers	Percent		Numbers	Percent		Numbers	Percent	
Not in work force	M	353	18.8		369	28.9		321	29.8	
	F	1,074	77.4		1,000	76.1		888	78.0	
	T	1,427	43.8	(59.3)*	1,369	52.6	(58.8)*	1,209	54.5	(57.8)*
In the work force	M	1,515	81.1		904	71.0		756	70.1	
	F	313	22.5		314	23.8		250	21.9	
	T	1,828	56.1	(40.6)*	1,218	47.0	(40.3)*	1,006	45.4	(42.1)*
Own account	M	273	14.6		185	14.5		94	8.7	
	F	86	6.2		72	5.4		29	2.5	
	T	359	11.0	(6.2)*	257	9.9	(5.5)*	123	5.6	(5.1)*
Employer	M	101	5.4		89	6.9		80	7.4	
	F	16	1.1		31	2.3		27	2.3	
	T	117	3.5	(2.5)*	120	4.6	(3.1)*	107	4.9	(2.9)*
Salary	M	944	50.5		406	31.8		540	50.1	
	F	179	12.9		157	11.9		187	16.4	
	T	1,123	34.5	(27.6)*	563	21.7	(21.4)*	727	32.9	(32.2)*
Apprentice	M	6	0.3		6	0.4		4	0.3	
	F	6	0.4		8	0.6		-	-	
	T	12	0.3	(0.6)*	14	0.5	(0.9)*	4	0.1	(0.3)*
Unemployed	M	156	8.3		153	12.0		24	2.2	
	F	16	1.1		26	1.9		5	0.4	
	T	172	5.2	(2.9)*	179	6.9	(7.2)*	29	1.3	(1.8)*
Not stated	M	35	1.8		6	0.4		14	1.2	
	F	10	0.7		5	0.3		2	0.1	
	T	45	1.3	(0.6)*	11	0.4	(0.08)*	16	0.7	(0.3)*
Part-time	M	-	-		59	4.6		-	-	
	F	-	-		15	1.1		-	-	
	T	-	-		74	2.8	(2.5)*	-	-	
Total	M	1,868	99.9		1,273	99.9		1,077	99.9	
	F	1,387	99.9		1,314	99.9		1,138	99.9	
	T	3,255			2,587			2,215		

* These are the percentages of the total Australian population.

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1921, 1933, 1947.

According to the 1947 census of Australia, French males in the workforce were mainly in the skilled and semi-skilled trades (tradesmen, operatives), in commerce and clerical work and in services. The naturalization records indicate a higher proportion in services, agriculture and labouring, but a lower proportion of tradesmen, salesmen and administrators (see Table 7.11). These differences are partly due to the definitions of the occupation groups (see note, Table 7.11), but they also support the argument previously developed: people in commercial and administrative occupations, mainly in the wool trade, were in Australia for a temporary period and did not become naturalized. On the other hand, those in service industries (cooks, laundrymen) and labourers were more likely to need social services and would have been more interested in becoming naturalized with the aim of receiving the old age pension, therefore a higher proportion of these are in the naturalization records. To own land in certain parts of New South Wales and in Queensland, British nationality was necessary, thus the higher percentage in agriculture among the naturalized males than among the French in general. However, to compare the occupation groups of the settlers of the inter-war period with previous periods (see Chap. VI, Table 6.7), it is necessary to look at the naturalization records: the major differences that emerge are a notable increase in the proportion of farmers, salesmen and professional people and a decrease in tradesmen, labourers and miners.

The drop in the proportion of labourers and tradesmen was mainly due to the need for those workers in France to reconstruct the war-damaged country, and miners were so few because of the absence of former gold-diggers who had inflated the proportion in the last period (see Chap. VI, p. 156).

So, in 1947, the French were much more evenly distributed in each occupational group than at the turn of the century or earlier. Compared with settlers of some other nationalities, they were in a wider variety of occupations: of Southern Europeans for instance, in 1947 about one-third were in agriculture, one-third in catering and the remaining third mainly in labouring and mining.[1] Likewise, Scandinavians were mainly seamen, unskilled labourers and farmers.[2]

---

1. Price, Southern Europeans in Australia, p. 145.
2. Koivukangas, Scandinavian Immigration, p. 208.

Table 7.11: Occupations of French males naturalized between 1915-1946 compared with those in the workforce, Census 1947

	Naturalization Records				Census	
	No.		%		No.	%
Service	132		21.1		99	13.1
Agriculture	92		14.7		68	9.0
farmers	50	8.0				
farm labourers	20	3.2				
winegrowers	6	1.0				
gardeners	16	2.5				
Labourers	90		14.4		29	3.8
Tradesmen	74		11.8		154	20.4
Professional	68		10.9		71	9.4
Commerce	62		9.9	11.2	122	16.1
Clerical	8		1.3			
Seamen	26		4.2			
Miners	22		3.5			
Transport	16		2.6			
Administrative	12		1.9		77	10.2
Timber workers	4		0.6			
Members Air Force	4		0.6			
Others	10		1.6		114*	15.1 (operatives)*
Not stated	6		0.9		22	
TOTAL:	626		100.0		756	

Note: * Operatives are semi-skilled workers, including miners, transport workers, some labourers, tradesmen's assistants, cellarmen, dressmakers, etc., and appear in several occupation groups for the naturalized males. However for other groups (agriculture, commerce, administrative), the definitions are very similar.

Source: Naturalization Records. Census of Australia, 1947.

Progress in French-Australian Trade

As indicated by the census, and to a less extent by the naturalization records, the number of salesmen and administrators represented a high proportion of French working males. The efforts which were put into developing a more advantageous trade for the French had since 1918 brought to Australia a group of wool-buyers, sales agents and bank employees for the French bank. Not that developing this trade was consistently smooth and easy: the meetings of the Chamber of Commerce had been suspended during the war, and in 1918 the Chamber was left with no premises, no finance and only a few members; some of the others had been killed on the battlefields. The Chamber had to start anew, but was eventually helped by an allowance from the French Ministry of Trade in 1921 and the creation by the French government of a new position in Australia, that of Trade Commissioner. The first Commissioner, George Bader, was also in charge of the publication of the Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française, interrupted during the war years.[1]

This appointment had been suggested by the French delegation who visited Australia in 1918, invited by the Commonwealth Government. The delegation comprised representatives of political, scientific, economic and commercial interests and visited Australia in the interests of national and commercial relations.[2] They spent three months in Australia, visiting all States, studying Australia's resources in connection with commercial matters, and put forward certain proposals aiming at improving the French balance of trade such as transport and banking facilities and most of all the application to French goods of preferential import duties - that is, the same duties as those applied to goods of British origin imported into Australia.[3] This would enable France to sell more goods and strengthen her position as a seller. Until 1914, as stated earlier, trade had been largely limited to importing large quantities of wool and skins and exporting very few products which were highly taxed. It was not until 1936, however, that a trade agreement was signed between the two countries, stipulating that France should enjoy the

---

1. Bader, "History of the French Chamber of Commerce", p. 13.
2. Australian Archives, CRS A2, 1918/1221/21 Pt 3: French Mission, Victorian and Federal Arrangements, 1918-1919.
3. Australian Archives, CRS A3934 [ex. CP 447/3], SC 40 [1]: French Mission to Australia, 1918-1919.

same economic advantages as the countries of the sterling area. Before this agreement, the Chamber of Commerce had had to face other penalties such as a supertax of 50 per cent on duties affecting various French products, which in certain cases meant prohibition - furs, tinned vegetables, soaps, cheese. This tax meant a loss of 25 per cent of French exports to Australia. France was then Australia's second-best customer, after Great Britain.[1]

Changes were slow in coming and in 1923 Monsieur Crivelli, a well-known French figure in Melbourne, still felt moved to severely criticize the deplorable state of affairs, accusing the French of being responsible. He complained that there were not enough commercial agents around and that France got rid of mediocre products at a good price. The French exporter gave much trouble and created more difficulties than anyone else. Their catalogues were only printed in French, which certainly was no help for the English-speaking customer. There was a definite need for an intelligible publicity, with prices in pounds, a need for a technical adviser and a correspondent, and a need for private and reliable agents to assume responsibilities and take decisions.[2] All these recommendations had already been hinted at previously and were to be stressed again later on by the Secretary of the Chamber of Commerce, M. Lestocquoy. It must be pointed out that, even though some French people were aware of the weaknesses of their business and gave necessary and justified advice, trade remained very disadvantageous to France up to 1947; much the same advice was still recommended in 1961. It thus appears that the French were not very active in promoting their own products, so aggravating the gap between imports and exports. France, being one of the biggest wool consumers in the world, could not diminish imports without compromising her wool industry; and since she could not successfully enter the Australian market the result was a continued unfavourable balance of trade (see Table 7.12).

---

1. Bader, "History of the French Chamber of Commerce", p. 14.
2. Crivelli, L'Australie et le Pacifique, pp. 188-99.

Table 7.12: Australia: Imports from and exports to France, 1915-1947

Financial year	Imports in £	% of Australian imports	Exports in £	% of Australian exports	Imports/exports %
1915-19	6,156,181	1.9	9,520,047	2.6	64.7
1919-29	36,403,964	2.5	135,383,934	9.7	26.9
1929-33	6.910,250	2.3	27,573,178	5.9	25.1
1933-40	6,434,364	1.0	57,823,777	5.6	11.1
1940-45	115,650	0.0	369,856	0.0	31.3
1945-47	1,489,954	0.3	31,084,122	5.6	4.8
1915-47	57,510,363	1.5	261,756,914	5.8	22.0

Source: Overseas Trade 1915-1947.

Population Distribution and Diffusion of French Culture

As in earlier years those involved in the wool trade formed a rather elitist group of businessmen, together with the increasing number of professionals, and mixed with the Australian upper class. They were also honorary or active members of French associations and as such attracted Australians to these associations. While they were partly responsible for maintaining the existence of a French ethnic group and broadcasting French culture, they undoubtedly benefited from the fact that they were French and spoke French; there was a certain cachet about the French language which was an advantage for mixing in educated Sydney and Melbourne society. Even though the popularity of the French language would have existed without the interaction of the French people, it remains nevertheless a fact that their presence gave more reality and relevance to the studying of the French language and to the interest in French culture.[1]

The decrease of the French population in every State, at every census - except in New South Wales between 1933 and 1947 (see Table 7.13) - paralleled a concentration in the main cities of Melbourne and Sydney: by 1947, over half the French population was in New South Wales, almost 80 per cent of these in Sydney, another quarter in Victoria, of whom 80 per cent were in Melbourne. Only in Queensland and Tasmania did the French mainly live in rural and provincial areas, but we cannot conclude much from this as the French population was very small in those States (see Table 7.14).

The concentration of the French population in Sydney and Melbourne, many in prominent positions and occupations, had somehow initiated a more active French social life and better response from a wide Australian public. Young Australian people were now interested in studying French at university level with the aim of teaching it to Australian children. The Head of the French Department at the University of Sydney, Professor Nicholson, was a pioneer in this field, preparing students able to compete with those coming from English and American universities. He lectured in French and submitted his students to an oral examination. He was widely known for his etymological

---

1. This is one reason why French is not so popular among school students any longer: they fail to see the "use" of it since they hardly know any French people, while they meet Italian, Greek and Asian-language speakers every day.

Table 7.13: Distribution of the French-born in Australia, per State by sex 1921-1947

State	1921				1933				1947			
	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent	Male	Female	Total	Percent
N.S.W.	841	678	1,519	46.7	534	635	1,169	45.2	617	561	1,178	53.2
Vic.	393	353	746	22.9	272	345	617	23.8	216	313	529	23.9
Qld	221	128	349	10.7	271	126	397	15.3	97	96	193	8.7
S.A.	248	76	324	9.9	75	64	139	5.4	64	56	120	5.4
W.A.	142	129	271	8.3	104	124	228	8.8	74	97	171	7.7
Tas.	22	21	43	1.3	14	18	32	1.2	7	11	18	0.8
N.T.	1	0	1	0.0	2	2	4	0.2	1	2	3	0.1
A.C.T.	0	2	2	0.1	1	0	1	0.0	1	2	3	0.1
Total:	1,868	1,387	3,255	99.9	1,273	1,314	2,587	99.9	1,077	1,138	2,215	99.9

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1921, 1933, 1947.

Table 7.14: Distribution of French-born within each state, excluding migratory population: 1921-1947

	Metropolitan			Provincial			Rural			Total numbers		
	1921	1933	1947	1921	1933	1947	1921	1933	1947	1921	1933	1947
N.S.W.	65.5	73.4	76.9	18.1	12.1	7.8	16.4	14.4	15.3	1,509	1,168	1,052
Vic.	67.6	73.9	79.3	6.5	5.7	6.6	25.9	20.4	14.0	688	617	528
Qld	32.6	45.3	50.0	23.9	19.3	21.9	43.5	35.3	28.1	347	331	192
S.A.	68.3	73.2	79.2	6.7	8.7	5.0	25.0	18.1	15.8	180	138	120
W.A.	48.5	57.7	67.3	13.1	7.5	5.9	38.3	34.8	26.8	266	227	168
Tas.	28.6	37.5	33.3	33.3	37.5	27.8	38.1	25.0	38.9	42	32	18
Total	60.4	68.0	74.0	15.2	11.2	8.7	24.4	20.8	17.3	100.0	100.0	100.0
Numbers	1,831	1,708	1,538	462	282	180	739	523	360	3,032	2,513	2,078

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1921, 1933, 1947.

discoveries.[1] Some of his students finished their studies at the Sorbonne, helped by scholarships offered by the French government. Professor A. Chisholm was one of his students and became Head of the French Department at Melbourne University. His speciality was criticism of French symbolism. The study of French literature also influenced Australian poets, such as C. Brennan, inspired by the French symbolists, and B. Higgins.[2] French had always been the first foreign language to be taught in secondary schools (and not German even though Germans were much more important numerically), and was thus the only foreign language most Australians had some knowledge of. And if, in general, the Australian public at large did not read many French novels, some of them would read their translations.[3]

We are now far from the early days of teaching French in Australia when Huon de Kerilliau taught John Macarthur's children (see Chap. III, p. 44). By the end of World War II, many Australians had been faced with some aspect of French culture, either through the Courrier Australien, faithful partner in fostering French culture, or the Alliance Française, offering an always-increasing amount of French literature, or their studies, or their personal contact with Australians who had lived in France (during World War I), or their own visit to France. The inter-war period definitely witnessed a growing interest in and awareness of French culture, encouraged both in Australia and in France, as a direct consequence of the events which sent Australian soldiers to Europe. Because of their small population in 1947, the French would have probably been left unnoticed in Australia if it had not been for the impact of their language and culture.

French and Australians in World War II

The way the general public reacted at the outbreak of World War II, and the rapid support of the Free French Movement, was also a reflection of the congenial feelings Australians had for France and French people. They played their part in De Gaulle's call for arms: the Battalion of the Pacific

---

1. Loubère, Australie, cinquième continent, p. 160.
2. A. Carey Taylor, "La culture française en Australie", Courrier Australien, 3 September 1943.
3. A. Denat, "La France en Australie", Courrier Australien, 13 April 1956.

was received in Sydney and sent to Liverpool where it went through an intensive training period and was equipped with Australian materials. Also many ships of the Free French Navy were refitted and serviced in Sydney, Brisbane and Fremantle.[1] Many members of the crews married Australian women then; for instance, out of 120 single people on le Triomphant, thirty-two married Australian women. One of them, the son of an Australian nurse and a French soldier of World War I, married the daughter of an Australian Digger and a French woman.[2]

Australia played an important part in supporting the Free French Movement in Australia (a movement recognized by the Commonwealth Government), and in protecting the French colonies from the influence of pro-Vichy representatives who were no longer admitted to Australia.[3] The Free French Movement's aim was to rehabilitate the name of France in the minds of the Australian people, and try to get as many members as possible. M. André Brenac, representative of De Gaulle in Australia, was the leader of the movement, and the Courrier Australien became the weekly journal of the movement, keeping the Australians and the French aware of the events in France and promoting the movement. In order to raise funds "for the tanks and planes for De Gaulle", the movement organized several functions, such as the Free French Gala Night in January 1941, musical evenings, cabarets, concerts, market days, Miss Free France (June 1942), films, lottery, even Free French ice-cream. A Free French shop was opened in Adelaide by the wife of the Prime Minister.[4]

The French-Australian League was also active during World War II and sent relief goods such as clothes and medical supplies to France.

---

1. Anon., "France in Australia", Annuaire français d'Australie, 1963-64, p. 18.

2. G. Blin, 1 August 1977, personal communication.

3. Australian Archives, CRS A373, 1714: Internments and Release Policy..., 1941.
   Australian Archives, CRS A981, Consuls 124B, pt 1: Consuls France at Melbourne and Sydney - Activities of Consul C. Lancial, 1941-1942.
   Australian Archives, CRS A659, 43/1/1344: French Citizens Passport Facilities to or through British Territory, 1940.

4. Every issue of the newspaper stressed the activities of the movement during the war years.

Conclusion

The two wars and the inter-war period definitely witnessed much interaction between the two countries: World War I brought back to Australia the Diggers who had discovered France and married French women; they both promulgated French customs. The growing wool trade strengthened commercial links and brought to Australia a group of French people who helped to encourage and spread French culture through French associations. The teaching of French awoke a growing interest among Australians and took some of them to French universities. The help given by Australians during World War II reinforced the gratitude France had for Australia. All these factors resulted in both France and Australia knowing each other's needs and potential very much better, and prepared the way for the increased immigration following World War II. To this we now briefly turn.

CHAPTER VIII

EPILOGUE: POST-WAR IMMIGRATION TRENDS 1947-1976

This chapter does not attempt a thorough survey of French immigration and settlement in Australia since 1947: there have been marked changes brought about by increases in French immigration, in trade and in cultural activities. But recent developments are too complex and fluid, and the source material too restricted, for adequate research and analyses at present. This chapter is no more than a short epilogue designed to give the reader a brief sketch of these developments.

Increase in French Arrivals and its Consequences

Motivation for Emigration to Australia

World War II left France with an aggravation of those population problems which had already caused some worry in previous decades. A low birth-rate was the main difficulty, further aggravated by heavy war losses; the death of 1,500,000 soldiers in 1914-18 and 600,000 in 1939-45[1] had drastically cut down a section of the male population. After 1945, with a need for a large workforce in agriculture, mining and iron manufacture, the Office National d'Immigration (O.N.I.) centralized all programmes of immigration, aiming at attracting 5,000,000 immigrants. Even though the goal was not achieved (because of cautiousness, political conjuncture and limited sources of recruitment),[2] the prospects of emigration from France appeared very limited.

In 1945, the Australian Government set up an exhibition in Paris, intending principally to give some idea of Australia's part in the Pacific War. The exhibition, open for ten weeks from June until August, attracted about 250,000 visitors, some of whom were curious to discover opportunities to emigrate to Australia. Defeat and occupation had weakened their

---

1. X. Lannes, Immigration en France depuis 1945, La Haye, 1953, p. 8.
2. Ibid., pp. 7-13, 60-61 (only 500,000 immigrants came).

patriotism, and they did not believe in the future of France in particular or Europe in general. Twenty-seven per cent of the people involved in a survey in January 1946 indicated that they would prefer living in another country than France.[1]

Twenty thousand copies of the pamphlet "Know Australia" had been distributed during the Australian exhibition. The Australian representatives anticipated opposition from the French authorities because of France's own immigration programme. However, in 1947 the Director of Administrative Agreements of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (M. Mouquet) indicated to the Australian Minister for Immigration that the French government did not see any objection to the migration to Australia of French people who were not in employment categories already in short supply in France.[2] The Australian government was keen on attracting French immigrants (and other north-west European immigrants), as it believed "Australia could benefit from the inclusion of a French element in its future immigrant population".[3] (The qualities displayed by pre-World War settlers had certainly influenced this opinion.) The Ministry of Post-War Reconstruction inquired about the possibilities of French industries establishing subsidiary factories in Australia: "It would be to the advantage of the [textile] industry in Australia if skilled French technicians were to be sent here to establish new manufactures particularly if the firms... had engaged in exports before the war."[4] They were also interested in attracting French people into the wine industry:

> "Are French wine manufacturers interested in establishing a wine industry in Australia and are they aware of the potentialities of such an industry in the country?"[5]

---

1. W.D. Borrie, Immigration, Australia's Problems and Prospects, Sydney, 1949, p. 61.
   The same survey carried out in August indicated that only 16 per cent wished to leave the country, as by then the effects of the war already had less impact on the people.
2. A.A. Calwell, M.H.R., Immigration Policy and Progress, Canberra, 1949, p. 57.
3. Australian Archives, CRS A1066, E 45/13/39: European Affairs. France. Migration to Australia, 1945-1946.
4. Australian Archives, CRS A1066, E 45/13/25: France. Economic Relations with Australia, 1945-1946.
5. Ibid.

The remoteness of Australia and the cost involved in emigrating there were partly offset by the extension of assisted passage schemes to the French,[1] which definitely gave a boost to French emigration to Australia. The Empire and Allied Ex-Servicemen's Scheme, introduced in 1947, enabled 1,034 French people to come to Australia between 1947 and 1954. It was followed by the General Assisted Passage Scheme until 1966 and the Special Passage Assistance Scheme afterwards.[2] As a result of these schemes, roughly three out of four French settlers received assistance with their travel expenses (See Table 8.1).

---

1. Calwell, Immigration Policy, pp. 57-58.

2. Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council, "Australian Immigration Programme for the Period 1968-1973", Report to the Australian Minister of State for Immigration, Canberra, Department of Immigration, 1968, pp. 56-57.

Table 8.1: Settler arrivals of French nationality: 1947-1976

Year	Assisted settlers	(Permanent + long-term = old "permanent")	Non-assisted settlers	Total settlers
1947-54	1,034	(3,564)	1,532e	2,566e
1954-61	80	(2,639)	1,536e	1,616e
1961-66	1,500	(2,971)	491	1,991
1966-71	7,120	(9,615)	690	7,810
1971-76	4,039	(6,926)	1,087	5,126
TOTAL:	13,773	(25,715)	5,336	19,109
Percentage	72.1		27.9	100.0

Source: Consolidated Statistics, 1976, as modified by estimate (e) for Settler Movement 1947-59.

Note: The term and category settler, introduced in 1958-59, cover those arrivals who state they intend to settle permanently (as opposed to visitors arriving and residents returning). Assisted Settlers benefit from assisted passage schemes; Non-Assisted Settlers pay their own travel expenses. Permanent and Long-term refer to arrivals intending to stay one year or more (see Introduction, p. 7).

Although there were no settler statistics available until 1959, the assisted arrivals before 1959 can be taken to equal assisted settlers in the settler movement, as one requirement for an assisted passage was the intention to settle permanently. Therefore the number of assisted settlers can be checked back to 1947 for French nationals.

To establish how many of the permanent arrivals 1947-59 were non-assisted settlers, one has to derive an estimate by:

a) calculating the proportion of settler arrivals/permanent and long-term arrivals for the period 1959-61, i.e. $\frac{375}{638} = 58.8\%$

b) modifying this proportion according to the proportion of permanent net gain/total permanent arrivals to allow for the fact that there were fewer departures in earlier years (the net gain being roughly the equivalent of net settlers intake). Thus modified, the settler element in the old permanent category was estimated to be about 72 per cent for 1947-54, declining to about 62 per cent for 1954-59, then declining still further to the actual 58.8 per cent for the years 1959-61.

The desire to emigrate encouraged by the facilities offered for travelling had immediate results: by 1954, the French-born population in Australia was more than double that of 1947, and by 1976 it was more than five times as large (see Table 8.2).

Table 8.2: Number of persons born in France per State by sex: 1947-1976

		1947	1954	1961	1966	1971	1976
N.S.W.	M	617	1,048	1,246	1,433	2,509	2,361
	F	561	969	1,151	1,390	2,443	2,366
Vic.	M	216	725	857	998	1,566	1,715
	F	313	772	933	1,055	1,564	1,706
Qld	M	97	267	233	318	695	763
	F	96	193	205	311	668	744
S.A.	M	64	119	165	259	525	476
	F	56	115	166	274	507	475
W.A.	M	74	125	106	150	467	435
	F	97	163	165	173	427	425
Tas.	M	7	105	42	49	54	68
	F	11	57	36	41	42	48
N.T.	M	1	9	15	43	127	123
	F	2	1	4	10	63	103
A.C.T.	M	1	19	47	59	93	122
	F	2	12	38	64	95	136
Total:	M	1,077	2,417	2,711	3,319	6,036	6,063
	F	1,138	2,282	2,698	3,318	5,809	6,003
GRAND TOTAL:		2,215	4,699	5,409	6,637	11,845	12,066

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971, 1976.

The distribution pattern was roughly the same as during the inter-war period, that is, the majority being concentrated in New South Wales and Victoria, and more particularly in urban areas (94 per cent in 1971 against 82.7 in 1947 and 51.6 in 1911).

It was mainly between 1966 and 1971, and to a lesser extent between 1971 and 1976, that the largest influx of French settlers arrrived in Australia: this was partly a consequence of the Special Assisted Passage Scheme, extended to a larger number of people than were former schemes (see Table 8.1), but other factors also intervened. For example, the independence of French colonies in North Africa (Tunisia, Morocco and Algeria respectively achieving independence in 1955, 1956 and 1962), which had formerly attracted large numbers of French immigrants, was also responsible for the redirection of some French emigration towards Australia, not only of French-born who could no longer settle in these countries, but also of French nationals born in these former colonies, and of "colons" repatriated to France. Australia offered them at least some resemblance in climate. Moreover the 1968 events in France seem to have prompted the emigration of a substantial number of people who were disillusioned with the outcome of the "revolution": settler arrivals of French-born persons rose from 1,018 in 1967-68 to 2,215 in 1969-70 (see Table 8.3). Another factor was the increase in natality immediately after the war which had its effects in the late sixties, when almost 40 per cent of the settler arrivals were aged 20-29 (to whom can be added another 15 per cent for their children aged 0-4 - see Table 8.3 - although some of these could be children of non-French-born parents). The best way to measure the effect of this immigration of young people is to look at the age-group structure of the French-born population at the censuses: in 1971 the age-group 15-29 was more than double that of 1947, while those aged 50 and over formed hardly 15 per cent of the French population against more than 50 per cent in 1947 (see Table 8.4).

Table 8.3: Settler arrivals of French-born by age-group: 1967-1971

Year	0-4		5-14		15-19		20-24		25-29		30-39		Other		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
1967-68	171	16.8	181	17.8	48	4.7	212	20.8	156	15.3	164	16.1	86	8.5	1,018	100.0
1968-69	245	16.4	297	19.8	90	6.0	325	21.7	216	14.4	211	14.1	114	7.6	1,498	100.0
1969-70	348	15.7	432	19.5	122	5.5	514	23.2	319	14.4	332	15.0	148	6.7	2,215	100.0
1970-71	264	13.5	352	18.0	127	6.5	483	24.7	275	14.1	316	16.2	137	7.0	1,954	100.0

Source: A.B.S. Special Tabulations

Table 8.4: Age of the French-born population: 1947-1971 (per cent)

Age group	1947	1954	1961	1966	1971
0-14 yrs	4.1	18.3	18.0	13.1	23.0
15-29 yrs	14.0	25.5	19.9	26.7	29.3
30-49 yrs	30.0	29.6	37.9	39.1	33.2
50-59 yrs	20.7	11.4	9.6	8.4	6.6
60 & over	29.7	15.1	14.5	12.7	7.9
Not stated	1.5	-	-	-	-
Total:	100.0	99.9	99.9	100.0	100.0
Numbers:	2,215	4,699	5,409	6,637	11,845

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1966, 1971.

Therefore the increase of the French population in Australia, doubtless initiated by the publicity arising from the help given by Australians during both wars and encouraged by assisted passage schemes, was also due to circumstances affecting the French people themselves (independence of nearby French colonies, increase in natality and the 1968 events). When the consequences of these circumstances were less acute, settler arrivals decreased, as indicated by the 1971-76 statistics, though this decrease was also certainly due to the restrictions on immigration into Australia introduced in 1972.

The increase of the French immigrant population paralleled the increase of other immigrant populations such as Belgians, Swiss, Spanish and Danish; these were also small in 1947 but increased their numbers between three- and seven-fold by 1976. However, it did not reach the magnitude of Dutch or Austrian immigration in Australia, although these peoples too formed a very small population in 1947, mainly because the former countries did not experience the same demographic problems as the latter (see Table 8.5).

Table 8.5: Foreign-born populations in Australia: 1947-1976

Birthplace	1947	1961	1976
France	2,215	5,409	12,066
Belgium	572	2,083	4,001
Denmark	2,579	5,654	7,098
Spain	982	3,831	15,357
Switzerland	1,663	4,281	6,539
Austria	4,219	23,807	23,259
Netherlands	2,174	102,083	92,110

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1947, 1961, 1976.

Arrivals, Departures, Settler Losses

Not only did the post-war years witness an increase in settler arrivals, they also witnessed a considerable increase in the total inward and outward movements of French persons because of marked increases in tourist, visitor and business movements (see Table 8.6).

Until 1959 the inward and outward movements were only given by nationality (or race until 1951) regardless of birthplace, while from 1959 the distinction between nationality and birthplace appeared. This distinction shows that the arrivals of persons born in France were only 61 per cent of that of persons with French citizenship (see Table 8.7). This very largely reflected the substantial movement of French citizens born in New Caledonia, coming to Australia as business or tourist visitors, or as students and other temporary residents in Australia. (In 1970, for instance, some twelve persons born in New Caledonia arrived as settlers, compared with 4,408 as visitors, tourists and students; the total of 4,420 was over 30 per cent of the total arrivals of French nationality for that year).[1] But Table 8.7 also shows that amongst settler arrivals, as distinct from total arrivals, the birthplace/nationality proportion was much higher:

1. Settler Arrivals and Total Arrivals from New Caledonia, A.B.S. Special Tabulations.

Table 8.6: Yearly average of total arrivals and departures of French nationality: 1915-1976

Calendar year	Arrivals	Departures	Net gain
1915-46	568	499	69
1947-54	1,465	1,165	300
1955-61	2,139	2,029	110
1962-66	4,325	4,026	299
1967-71	11,736	10,264	1,472
1972-76	14,698	14,076	622
1947-76	6,013	5,512	501

Sources: Demography Bulletins 1915-1974;
A.B.S. Special Tabulations.

Table 8.7: Arrivals and departures of French by birthplace and nationality: 1959-1976

	Birthplace	%	Nationality	%	Birthplace/ Nationality
Total arrivals	92,997		152,782		60.9
Total departures	85,230		141,266		60.3
Net gain	7,767	8.3	11,516	7.5	67.4
Settler arrivals	14,266		15,302		93.2
Settler loss*	6,499	45.6	3,786	24.7	171.7

Sources: Demography Bulletins, 1959-1971; Consolidated Statistics, 1976; A.B.S. Special Tabulations.

Note: * Settler loss is the "deficit", i.e., difference between settler arrivals and net gain of total movement. See P. Pyne and C.A. Price, "Selected Tables on Australian Immigration: 1947-74: Commentary", Australian Immigration: a Bibliography and Digest, 1975, Canberra, 1976, p. A 38.
This settler loss has considerably increased these last few years, from 29.1 per cent for years 1959-71 to 79.1 per cent for the years 1972-76.

93.2 per cent, which suggests that French-born persons made up the great majority of French nationals arriving in Australia as settlers. However, the loss among French-born settlers - 45 per cent - is almost twice as large as the loss among French nationals - roughly 25 per cent. This is partly due to the naturalization of a few French-born settlers before leaving Australia (which reduces the apparent loss of French nationals) and the arrival of some settlers of French nationality but born outside France, mainly in former French colonies (Algeria, etc.): these did not have a country to return to, except France, which in many instances they did not know or did not like;[1] they were therefore less likely to leave Australia.

It is interesting to compare the settler loss for the French with that of other European immigrant populations. The best time period here, though it involves some estimation, is the whole period 1947-76, as this makes allowance for the large immigrations before 1959, such as that of the Germans and the Dutch. Table 8.8 sets out settler losses by various birthplaces, as estimated by Charles Price and Pat Pyne of the Department of Demography, Australian National University. It suggests that the French reputation for being unstable immigrants is to some extent justified, as France has one of the highest proportions of settler loss (36.2 per cent). However, they show more stability than some other immigrant populations, as for instance the Americans who have a slightly higher settler loss, and the Swiss who have a loss of more than 50 per cent.

Naturalization

The recent influx of French immigrants and the relatively high settler loss has influenced the proportion of naturalizations. Until 1971 there was a five-year period of residence to qualify for naturalization, which means that by the 1971 census, almost half the French-born population did not qualify: 48.5 per cent had a four-year or less period of residence as a result of the large influx of French immigrants between 1966 and 1971. In 1971, 32.1 per cent only were naturalized British, allowing for those who were already naturalized before arrival in Australia or born with British nationality in France. This proportion contrasts with 48.3 per cent naturalized in 1966, when only 26.3 per cent had a four-year or less period of residence (see Table 8.9b).

---

1. D.C. Gordon, The Passing of French Algeria, London, 1966, pp. 210-13.

Table 8.8: Estimates of settler arrivals and loss by various birthplaces: 1947-1976

Category	Birthplace						
	France	Belgium	Switzerland	Netherlands	Germany	Italy	U.S.A.
Settler arrivals	17,815	5,584	13,049	149,456	134,302	363,791	51,016
Net gain	11,367	4,216	6,313	106,816	91,332	272,397	31,347
Settler loss	6,448	1,368	6,736	42,640	42,970	91,394	19,669
Settler loss/ Settler arrivals	36.2	24.5	51.6	28.5	32.0	25.1	38.6

Source: Charles Price and Pat Pyne, Demography Department, A.N.U.

Table 8.9a: Citizenship of persons born in France: 1947-1966

Year	(1) Birthplace France	(2)* Citizenship French	(3) $2/_1$ %
1947	2,215	1,321	59.6
1954	4,699	3,532	75.2
1961	5,409	3,407	63.0
1966	6,637	4,091	61.6

Note: Col. 2* including French nationals born outside France (see note p.179 Table 7.9)

Source: Censuses of Australia, 1947, 1954, 1961, 1966

Table 8.9b: Citizenship of persons born in France: 1966-1971

Year	(1) Birthplace France	(2) Nationality same as Birthplace	(3) $2/_1$ %	(4) Nationality British	(5) $4/_1$ %	(6) Other Nationality	(7) $6/_1$ %
1966	6,637	2,875	43.3	3,207	48.3	555	8.4
1971	11,845	6,585	55.6	3,800	32.1	1,460	12.3

Sources: A.B.S. Special Tabulations, 1966.
Census of Australia, 1971.

Table 8.10: Marriages of French-born persons in Australia: 1919-1976

Year	1 Bridegrooms	2 Brides	3 Both French	$3/_1$* %	$3/_2$* %
1919-46	549	522	30	5.5	5.7
1947-60	598	521	66	11.0	12.7
1961-68	536	380	50	9.3	13.2
1969-76	1,106	806	122	11.0	15.1

Note: * $3/_1$ = Proportion of French-born grooms marrying French-born brides.
$3/_2$ = Proportion of French-born brides marrying French-born grooms.

Source: Relative Birthplace of Bridegrooms and Brides, Australia, Demography Bulletin, 1919-74 and A.B.S. Special Tabulations.

It would be inaccurate to compare these statistics with previous statistics, as the introduction of cross-classifications of birthplace by nationality in 1966 has altered the presentation of naturalization statistics: for example, the 1966 figures in Tables 8.9a and 8.9b show a big drop in the proportion of French citizens, since nationality is now expressed as a proportion of birthplace (France) and therefore excludes the French born out of France. Furthermore, this cross-classification shows other nationalities born in France, enabling one to obtain a more accurate proportion of British citizens. (Until 1961, one could not accurately establish the proportion of British citizens, as the difference between birthplace France and French nationality represented not only British citizens but other nationalities born in France, and this difference was obtained from a figure of French citizens inflated by French persons born out of France). Because of these changes and still existent anomalies, it is difficult to ascertain whether the French became naturalized more or less frequently in recent years than they did in the first half of the century. In any case, the proportion of naturalization appears to be dependent on the period of residence (see Chap. VII, p. 176).

Marriage Patterns and Second Generation of French-born Persons

A further effect of the relatively large number of arrivals of young French males and females has been an increase in the in-marriage proportion; in the first half of the century, it will be remembered, the French often married out of their nationality because of the small and scattered character of their population (see Table 8.10).

Comparison with other foreign-born immigrants indicates that the proportion of in-marriages is much higher among large immigrant populations such as the Greeks and Italians than among small immigrant populations such as the French and Scandinavians (see Table 8.11). However, though larger population size enables and encourages more in-marriages, it is not the only factor involved as the Dutch and German populations of Australia are quite large, yet their present in-marriage rates are nearly as low as the French. Clearly cultural factors (marriage by proxy, patriarchal family structure, strength of ethnicity) and geographical concentration play an important role in determining the frequency of in-marriages.

Table 8.11: Proportions of in-marriages of foreign-born persons in Australia, 1947-1976

Year	France		Germany/Austria		Greece/Cyprus		Italy		Netherlands		Scandinavia†	
	1*	2*	1*	2*	1*	2*	1*	2*	1*	2*	1*	2*
1947-60	11.0	12.7	41.3	47.0	84.6	89.7	66.2	90.4	42.3	61.7	12.9	53.9
1961-68	9.3	13.2	26.8	28.9	91.9	92.2	68.4	89.1	24.6	30.1	16.9	34.7
1969-76	11.0	15.1	13.1	17.8	77.0	87.4	48.4	76.1	11.6	15.9	9.5	17.3

Notes: 1* = Proportions of bridegrooms born in one country marrying a bride born in the same country.
2* = Proportions of brides born in one country marrying a bridegroom born in the same country.
Scandinavia† = Denmark, Sweden, Norway.

Sources: Charles A. Price, "The Immigrants" in Davies, Encel and Berry (eds.), Australian Society. A Sociological Introduction, Melbourne, 1977, p.345 (for Germany/Austria, Greece/Cyprus, Italy, Netherlands up to 1973).
Demography Bulletins, 1947-74 (for France).
A.B.S. Special Tabulations 1969-76 (for France and Scandinavia).

The increase of in-marriages amongst the French resulted in an increase of the number of children born of French parents (see Table 8.12).

Table 8.12: Births* from French parents: 1919-1976

Year		French fathers	French mothers	Both French
1919-46	M	505	508	82
	F	482	560	78
	T	987	1,148	160
1947-60	M	622	638	143
	F	592	608	137
	T	1,214	1,246	280
1961-68	M	549	544	111
	F	524	519	106
	T	1,073	1,063	217
1969-76	M	984	900	297
	F	937	857	283
	T	1,921	1,757	580
1947-76	M	2,155	2,082	551
	F	2,053	1,984	526
	T	4,208	4,066	1,077

Source: Confinements: Relative Birthplace of Parents, Demography Bulletins 1919-1974; A.B.S. Special Tabulations 1975-76.

Note: * The number of births was obtained by multiplying the number of confinements by 101 to allow for multiple births; the number of males and females was calculated according to the ratio of 105 males per 100 females, which is an average male-female ratio at birth for the period.

However, these numbers are still very small and cannot really contribute to the survival of a French ethnic group, nor make up for the relatively small size of the French population. Compared to larger and more prolific immigrant populations, the second generation of French-born appears very small indeed (see Table 8.13).

Table 8.13: Confinements from foreign-born parents: 1947-1976

Birthplace of mother and father	France	Germany	Greece	Italy	Netherlands	Denmark	Switzerland
Year							
1947-60	277	7,737	14,231	49,202	18,392	307	252
1961-68	215	9,182	44,604	71,659	16,357	380	332
1969-76	574	5,164	48,494	56,861	7,154	399	385
Total 1947-76	1,066	22,083	107,329	177,722	41,903	1,086	969

Source: Confinements: Relative Birthplace of Parents, Demography Bulletins, and A.B.S. Special Tabulations.

While the characteristics of the French in Australia during the inter-war period were those of a small and long-established population, that is, an ageing population with a long period of residence, few in-marriages and a very small second generation, the recent and relatively numerous arrivals from France have noticeably modified these characteristics: the French population is now mainly composed of young people with a short period of residence who marry more often within their own nationality and produce a slightly larger second generation. However, compared with other immigrant populations, the French still do not form a strong ethnic group.

Social and Cultural Activities

Adaptation Problems

The rapidly increasing French population in Australia has been accompanied by the creation of new French associations, not only cultural ones such as the Alliance Française, which now has fourteen centres in Australia, but associations which aim at helping the new immigrant settle down and overcome personal and social problems (see Appendix II on French associations).

While it would have been difficult to point out the French immigrants' problems before 1947, because they were scattered everywhere and did not share any strong community feeling or make their difficulties known, these became more obvious as their number and concentration increased. According to persons dealing with French immigrants on a welfare or assistance basis, the latter suffer from several typical immigrant problems, such as the language barrier and its consequences (inadequate knowledge of English prevents them from obtaining the right trade), loneliness and isolation (many young families are only nuclear families), lack of recognition of

professional qualifications.[1] Others experience great disillusion when they settle here, believing that everything would have been "better and easier at the other end of the world"; others do not accept their new environment and do not feel accepted either, by the Australians or the other French; homesickness is widespread among these people.[2]

It has appeared through previous chapters that the French often came to Australia because of the opportunities that were available to them, and accordingly many became successful pioneers in several areas. Now that opportunities are scarcer and harder to seize than when Australia was still only at the first stages of development, it has grown more difficult for the French immigrant to become a successful and therefore satisfied settler, as he may feel he was just as well off back home. However, the availability of cheaper and easier transport has made the French even more unsettled (see settler loss, p. 203), and therefore perhaps less likely to struggle for any long period of time. Those persons who had been residing in Australia for several years, and answered the questionnaire in 1976, were often happily settled.

---

1. The 1971 occupational distribution of the male workforce showed a few marked differences compared with the 1947 one. (Because the proportion of the female workforce/male workforce has increased from 33.3 per cent in 1947 to 51.4 per cent in 1971, it is more meaningful to compare the occupational pattern at both censuses for males only):

	1971	1947
Skilled and semi-skilled	62.0	52.4
Professional	11.2	9.4
Commercial and clerical	9.0	16.1
Administrative	8.2	10.2
Agriculture	2.7	9.0
Others and Not stated	6.8	2.9
TOTAL:	99.9	100.0
Numbers	3,867	756

The drop in the proportions of males working in agriculture and commerce certainly reflects a lack of capital to invest in land or business, which consequently increases the number of skilled and semi-skilled workers and in turn the concentration in metropolitan areas (see p. 198). These changes in occupations and lifestyle may partly explain the dissatisfaction of some settlers and the large settler loss, as skilled and semi-skilled workers may find they were better off in France with easier access to social benefits.

2. Madame Smetana, President of the Francophone Association in Australia, December 1975; Madame Guilbaux, welfare assistant in the Benevolent Society of New South Wales, August 1976; Monsieur Lévy, who helped French immigrants for more than ten years in South Australia, October 1975; personal communications.

Cultural Developments

As the French population increased, so did the amount of French cultural activities, partly to answer their own needs, partly to propagate their own culture in the increasingly multi-cultural Australian society. Though it would be over-emphatic to speak of a French community in the sense of a Greek or Italian community, there have lately been signs of community activities among the French: several radio stations now broadcast French programmes; Sydney, Melbourne, Canberra and Adelaide have a "French school", where French children are taught all subjects by French teachers - from pre-school up to high-school level;[1] university exchanges are increasing and exchange programmes are established between Australian and New Caledonian high schools to enable students to come into contact with each other; more and more exhibitions of French art are being shown to the Australian public, and several galleries now hold well-known French artists' masterpieces.[2]

Also worth noting is the ever-increasing popularity of French restaurants, which some French specialists denounce as not always fairly representing French cuisine.[3] French couture is also increasingly penetrating the world of fashion in Australia through teams of mannequins modelling clothes and accessories designed by famous French couturiers. (However, these articles do not abound on the market, being classified as luxury products and as such highly taxed.)

Because of all these developments, the French have been able to maintain a cultural presence, despite the impact and activities of much larger immigrant populations.

---

1. The programme varies according to the school. In Canberra, for example, the French-Australian school caters for French and Australian children from pre-school to high school matriculation. At the pre-school level, French, not English, is used; from the primary school level onwards, the programme is half-French, half-English, taught by French and Australian teachers. Ninety per cent of the children are Australian-born. The programme is financed by both the French and the Australian governments and works successfully.

2. For the complete list of French masterpieces held by Australian galleries, see Annuaire français d'Australie, 1975-1976, pp. 251-64.

3. Mr H. Ariat, April 1976, former President of the Association of French Restaurants in Australia. The Association's aim was to launch the real French cuisine and protect it, to import luxury food products and sell them. The Association died out because of the failure to sell these products and the lack of real French restaurants, but re-opened recently.

French Economic Interests in Australia

Trade

Since World War II, French-Australian trade has presented the same characteristics as earlier, that is, a negative balance of trade for France. The value of Australia's exports to France is still more than twice that of her imports from France. However, France has lately reduced her trade deficit, partly because of lower imports of wool (periods of drought affected the volume of primary products available) and a fall in wool prices, and partly because of a small increase in exports: between 1964 and 1976, years of low imports from Australia, France exported to Australia almost 64 per cent of the value of what she imported from Australia. But during the preceding years, this proportion was much lower (see Table 8.14).

Investments

France has also slightly reduced her deficit by increasing investments in research and equipment in Australia. Through their representation at the 1956 French Industrial Exhibition in Sydney, the 1958 Melbourne French Fair and the 1961 Sydney International Fair, the French have been able to show that they are leaders in certain techniques and potential suppliers of capital equipment;[1] their presence in these areas has definitely increased. Several dams in Australia have been built by CITRA[2] (Compagnie Industrielle des Travaux); French companies built one of the major underground power stations of the Snowy hydro-electric scheme. French cranes were used in the building of the Opera House; telephone networks have been established with French equipment; French companies such as Total Exploration Pty Ltd and Compagnie des Pétroles d'Aquitaine have participated in the Australian search for oil and minerals; Pechiney has also invested largely in Australian mineral projects. For the period 1965-76 the total value of French investments in

---

1. M.E. Petit, "Les objectifs de l'Exposition Française de Melbourne", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie, September 1958, p. 5; and R. Miot, "Exhibitions and Trade", op. cit., August 1961, p. 5.

2. These dams are Scrivener Dam, Canberra, 1963; Borumba, 1964; Pindari, Liddell Freshwater, 1969; Carcoar, 1970; Toonumbar, 1971; Liddell Ash Disposal, 1971.

Table 8.14: Australia: imports from and exports to France, 1947-1976

Financial year	Imports £,000	Percentage of total Australian imports	Exports £,000	Percentage of total Australian exports	Imports/ Exports
1947-56	107,927	1.8	553,234	8.5	19.5
1956-64	110,623	1.5	493,697	6.1	22.4
1964-76	525,918	2.0	823,547	2.8	63.9
1947-76	744,468	1.8	1,870,478	4.2	39.8

Note: Figures are all in £ to enable comparison and continuity with previous periods (see Chapters VI and VII)

Source: Overseas Trade, 1947-1976.

Australia amounted to $70,000,000,[1] which is however still very little compared with the value of imports and exports of goods (see Table 8.14).

Therefore the history of French-Australian trade has, as far back as it can be checked, always been one of negative balance for the French, mainly because of the needs in France for large quantities of wool which she could only partly pay for with manufactured objects, machinery, chemical products, luxury articles and beverages. When France did reduce her trade deficit, it was because Australia did not export the required amount of wool. It is nevertheless worthwhile noting that despite this negative balance of trade, the French have noticeably improved their position, as the proportion of their exports to Australia over their imports from Australia has increased from 9.8 per cent for the years preceding World War I to 22 per cent for the period 1915-1947 and to 39.8 per cent since 1947; and French imports as a percentage of total Australian imports have almost doubled since the turn of the century.[2]

Conclusion

By 1976, the French had a stronger presence in Australia than ever before, both culturally and economically, and were, because more numerous, looking more like other immigrant groups. Had the Australian Government not reduced the volume of immigration after 1972, the French population might have increased further. The First Secretary of Immigration Affairs in the Australian Embassy, Paris, indicated that there had been no decline in the number of applications, despite the restrictions.[3] However, many departures have been recorded in the last few years (see Tables 8.6 and 8.7), partly because living standards in France (and Western Europe in general) are now very competitive with Australia's, and partly because of the recent economic recession under which Australia does not appear, as much as in earlier times, the country of opportunities. Furthermore, families in France receive more social benefits than in Australia.

---

1. From the A.B.S. Earlier figures not available.
2. See Chapters VI and VII, pp. 163, 186.
3. Mr Collaery, First Secretary, Immigration Affairs, Australian Embassy, Paris, January 1977.

Even though the restrictions on immigration have slowed down the movement of settlers to Australia, it is not certain that the net gain of French settlers would have increased to the same extent as it did during the late 1960s, had there been no restrictions. In a period when unemployment, inflation and other push factors exist in Australia as well as in France, many French settlers may choose to retain their cultural and familial ties - and return to France, as the settler loss of these last few years suggests.[1]

---

1. See note, Table 8.7, p. 202.

CHAPTER IX

CONCLUSION

This study has covered various aspects of the French in Australia from the maritime explorations of the southern continent in the eighteenth century until the end of World War II, with a brief glimpse of recent decades. The material from which this study was derived was fragmented, scattered and rather difficult to reach. The naturalization records were the only consistent set of records giving useful material concerning the French settlers from the 1820s until 1947. These records dealt with origin, year of arrival, age, occupation and place of residence, and enabled one to determine some patterns of immigration and settlement when the necessary official migration statistics were not available. Information relating to the life, activities, motivations and contributions of these settlers had to be sought in a variety of documents, ranging from manuscripts to trade journals, and implied the study of such different topics as winegrowing, religion, exploration, trade, social clubs, schools, mining, newspapers, and so on. In brief, this study has not used a purely demographic approach, inadequate and too narrow on its own in this kind of work but, as other researchers have done,[1] it has used historical and social documents alongside the statistics, both published and unpublished; which is a better way to handle the complex and interdisciplinary nature of such a study.

Despite the fragmented nature of the material available, some main themes on immigration and settlement have emerged throughout the whole study, and general conclusions deriving from those themes can now be set out in this concluding chapter.

---

1. See mainly Charles Price's studies of ethnic groups; also Koivukangas, Scandinavian Immigration.

French Interests in Australia

It is generally assumed that the French do not emigrate. It is true that large-scale migrations have usually occurred during periods of demographic pressure, economic recession, religious or political persecutions, and that these conditions have not often been experienced in France during these last two centuries, at least not with the same intensity as in England, Ireland, Germany, Eastern Europe or Southern Europe. On the contrary, since the late eighteenth century France has suffered from a lack of population due to a low birth rate and large war losses (Napoleonic Wars; civil wars; World War I and World War II); these reduced the potential emigrant population and also enabled the country to ensure food and work for its people most of the time. Therefore the number of French immigrants to be found in immigration countries, mainly North America, South America and the French colonies, has for many decades been relatively small.

However, the U.S.A. received as many as 582,375 French immigrants between 1820 and 1930,[1] that is, several thousand a year, and more than any other country did. Why was there so little French emigration to Australia, a few hundred a year and even less? The remoteness of Australia certainly stopped many French from emigrating, as they did not, as did the British and some Scandinavians and Germans, benefit from assisted passages until after World War II. When they came to Australia instead of going to the U.S.A., it was because of a succession of special circumstances and opportunities which attracted the French not only in times of domestic upheavals, but also during relatively quiet and prosperous periods. When strong push factors - demographic, economic or others - urge certain sections of the population to emigrate, these will go where opportunities are rich and preferably as close as possible to their native country. If they choose to undertake a costly trip to the other side of the world, it is usually because they have some particular interest there. In the case of the French choosing Australia, it was for land (the early settlers); sperm oil (the whalers); gold (the gold-diggers); wool (woolbuyers, appraisers and others involved in French-Australian trade); to look after their interests in the Pacific (missionaries and merchants); to use their expertise in winegrowing, science, technology

---

1. M. Davie, World Immigration, New York, 1949, p. 55.

and art; to promote their language and culture. The importance of a language and culture highly thought of in cultivated Anglo-Saxon society inevitably secured influential positions for certain French persons, teachers in particular.

Immigration

The immigration of French people into Australia started very early, as these arrived with British convicts and gentry at the end of the eighteenth century, thus being among the first foreign settlers in the young colony of New South Wales. In the early 1800s, a few officials of French origin were sent to the colony and participated in its administrative and military organization, while free immigrants made their way to this part of the world, attracted by the system of free grants of land, and settled permanently.

As the Catholic Church in France was developing its missions in the Pacific Islands in the 1840s, the missionaries established a procure in Sydney, a meeting point for all of them. In the same period, some French whalers deserted their ships and sought refuge in Australia. These activities of the French in the Pacific resulted in more regular contacts with Australia and necessitated the opening of a French Consulate in 1839.

However, the first immigration proper did not occur until the discovery of gold in Victoria in the 1850s, followed by a second immigration in the 1870s and 1880s, both resulting from political and economic upheavals in France, parallel to opportunities available in Australia such as gold, wine-growing and trade (wine trade, trade with the French colonies, wool trade). By the end of the nineteenth century, the French population exceeded 4,500, a number not to be reached again until after 1954, and was making significant economic and cultural contributions. One black spot in their position was the presence of escaped convicts from New Caledonia, who annoyed British authorities and temporarily gave Frenchmen a bad reputation.

In the twentieth century, French immigration slowed down until 1947, with a slight resumption in 1921, and the presence of the French in Australia was mainly maintained by the French wives of Australian diggers and by cultural and trade activities. Since World War II their number has substantially increased, bringing about marked changes in their pattern of settlement.

Origin and Settlement

French settlers in Australia came from every part of France and have hardly ever formed the links of a chain migration (as they have sometimes in other countries, the Bretons in New York, for instance). Coastal regions provided regular contingents of French emigrants to Australia - as those in Southern European and Scandinavian countries did - partly because of greater opportunities to travel, and partly because of the character of peoples who have navigated around the world for generations and developed long traditions of seafaring (the Basques; the Normans; the Mediterraneans). Settlers from coastal regions - those provinces along the English Channel, the Atlantic Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea - accounted for 50.7 per cent of the naturalized French males in Australia for the period 1848-1946 (see Table 9.1). Paris on its own provided over 15 per cent of French settlers in Australia, being the most important region of origin. The capital was exposed not only to political disorders which often acted as push factors, but also to some kind of publicity on Australia through books written by French pioneers or visitors from Australia and through more frequent contact with British people. Australia was certainly known to a larger public in Paris than in the provinces, and as such attracted more Parisians than country people.

However, numbers were never large enough, nor the continuity important enough, to assure the formation of cluster settlements in Australia. Furthermore, most immigrants had so little knowledge of, or interest in, other French immigrants that they seldom tried to look for their compatriots and form such settlements (as Italians, Greeks and Germans did in some parts of Australia).

Both their dispersed origin and individualism were responsible for the scattered nature of their settlement. New South Wales and Victoria attracted the largest number of French settlers who progressively concentrated in the cities of Melbourne and Sydney, but this did not lead to the formation of any major French community. A few French settlers were largely responsible for the establishment and development of certain towns such as Dubbo, Forbes and the suburb of Hunter's Hill in Sydney; consequently more French settlers made their way to these places known for their pioneers. But there, too, their number was always very small and it would be erroneous to talk of group settlement.

Table 9.1: Origins of naturalized French males: 1848-1946

Provinces	Numbers	Percentage
North	116	5.9
Picardy	46	2.4
Normandy	101	5.2
Total North of France	263	13.5
Brittany (West of France)	272	14.0
Charente-Poitou	47	2.4
Aquitaine-South Pyrenees	184	9.4
Total South-West	231	11.8
Mediterranean France	222	11.4
Rhone Valley	92	4.7
Savoy-Dauphiné	44	2.3
Total South-East	358	18.4
Burgundy	44	2.3
Franche-Comté	30	1.5
Champagne-Ardennes	33	1.7
Alsace-Lorraine	141	7.2
Total North-East	248	12.7
Paris	300	15.4
Loire districts	46	2.4
Centre-Auvergne	33	1.7
French possessions	166	8.5
Other countries	31	1.6
TOTAL:	1,948	100.0

Note: The "Not stated" cases (245) have been redistributed proportionally in each province.

Source: Naturalization Records.

As the movement of the French to Australia was one of individuals, this study was not concerned with the manifestations and realizations of an ethnic community, but rather with individuals not associated with chain migration or cluster settlements. It is therefore more accurate to refer to them as the French people or the French population rather than the French community (like Belgians and Swiss but unlike Greeks, Italians and some Eastern Europeans).

Social Life

Because of the absence of a French community and solidarity, there have been very few manifestations of French ethnic activities throughout their settlement in Australia - only on the goldfields did they seem to present some unity and interest in promoting such activities.

Several associations were created - the Alliance Française, the French Literary Circle, the Benevolent Society, the French Club of Victoria (probably the most popular in its time) - but these never seemed to attract the majority of the French population, partly because of the indifference of most settlers towards these kinds of projects, partly because of the irrelevance of some of these associations for most immigrants. The Alliance Française and the French Literary Circle, for example, aimed at representing French culture and teaching the French language, and as such recruited a large proportion of their members among the Australian population. On the other hand, the average Frenchman did not seem to worry about reproducing "La France" in Australia; several case studies have in fact indicated that French settlers were more often involved in local developments than in the promotion of some ethnic activities and retention of French traditions. Only rarely did they leave records on celebrations of happy French traditions - such as the harvest of the grape in Great Western - which conflicts with the richness of their folk and ethnic traditions back in their provinces (namely in Brittany, Provence, South Pyrenees, these providing an important proportion of French settlers in Australia). However, their small number and spaced arrivals, together with marked individualism, did not allow the right circumstances for such manifestations. Circumstances and attitudes were different in other immigration countries where one French province could be represented by up to 5,000 immigrants (Bretons in New York); and in French colonies - Quebec, Louisiana, North Africa, New Caledonia - where the

"colons" and the following generations were actually living in "a part of France", speaking French and continuing their traditions. In Australia, the French appeared distant towards each other, sometimes even avoiding each other.[1] In this regard, the French also differed from other ethnic groups in Australia who often have an active social life, as for instance the Germans, Greeks and Italians. Scandinavians, like the French, did not show strong social cohesion either, but they appeared to have more social activities than the French.

The lack of interactions among the French offered them little opportunity to speak French - even less so when they married out of their nationality, as was usual - and as one French traveller noticed, "they do not forget their native country, but they forget their French a little".[2]

Religious allegiance, like associations, did not play much part in promoting French unity. Even though priests and missionaries came to Australia as early as the 1840s, some contributing to the development of Catholic education, they were not concerned with establishing French communities; as priests they were involved in the local churches, while the settlers were scattered all over Australia. Furthermore, the main influxes of French immigrants included many Republicans and Communards, usually not affiliated with any religion. These factors explain the absence of records about church efforts to promote French solidarity, though on the goldfields too some attempt was made by the Catholic Church to bring French people together, and in Hunter's Hill a few French families attended French services, as well as at Botany Bay where memorial ceremonies were held at the grave of Father Receveur.

However, French priests in general did not involve themselves in any activity that would have preserved the French language and customs amongst French families, as did German ministers in Australia and some French priests in Quebec. In general French priests in Australia were missionaries and teachers to non-French people, rather than leaders concerned with keeping French ethnicity alive.

---

1. To the question "Do you look for French people's company?" most people answered "No" or "Not particularly", 1976 questionnaire.

2. Villeminot, Boomerang, l'Australie blanche, p. 155.

The scarcity of records, on church activities in particular and social activities in general, makes it difficult to establish the type of social life the average French settler had. Obviously not all French persons were important contributors to the development of Australia or socializers in upper class circles like professionals and certain businessmen. The naturalization records indicate that during certain periods, mainly by the turn of the century, a large proportion were in various trades and service occupations, with some working as labourers. These people would not have had the same lifestyle as professionals or business people; and one can suspect that less official and less formal gatherings took place among these French, meeting in their homes or perhaps in a local French restaurant or café, or simply mixing with the Australian population at large.

Cultural Impact

The absence of a French community and the subsequent lack of social activities aiming at retaining French traditions and customs did not prevent French culture from having a strong impact on Australian society. Since the early settlement in New South Wales, the French language has been used and taught, this being in accordance with the principles of a good English education. Even when other immigrant populations became much more important numerically, the French language remained the first foreign language to be taught in most schools, thus fostering an interest in French culture in general (language being a vehicle of culture). A few French settlers opened several Alliances Françaises, and Le Courrier Australien, the oldest surviving foreign-language newspaper in Australia, became a faithful partner of the Alliances in the teaching of French and the diffusion of French culture.

The French cultural impact grew even more as the Australian population became more and more exposed to other aspects of French culture - such as the arts, fashion and cuisine - through newspapers, their visits to France, their acquaintance with Australian ex-servicemen who went to France during World War I and married French women, the cinema industry, the ever-growing number of French restaurants and boutiques, etc.

Though this cultural impact was doubtless born of the British interest in French culture when French was the leading language in Europe, it is nevertheless remarkable that this impact has grown - at least until

recently - and survived amidst so many other foreign languages and cultures in Australia.

Occupations

The French immigrant is generally well-qualified and as such belongs to the qualitative emigration (as do the Belgian and Swiss people), as opposed to massive emigration,[1] often largely composed of unskilled or semi-skilled workers except in the case of refugee movements.

The occupational distribution of the French in Australia appeared to be very similar to that of the French in other immigration countries, such as the United States and South America, and can be summarized as follows:

	%
Skilled and semi-skilled workers	47.1
Labourers	13.6
Agriculture	12.9
Commercial and clerical	11.0
Professional and administrative	10.8
Others and Not stated	4.6
Total:	100.0

This distribution, based on the occupations of naturalized French males for the whole period 1848-1946, does not take into account the fluctuations which occurred at different time periods - these are indicated in the preceding chapters - but nevertheless indicates that the French were engaged in a diversity of occupations. It differs from that of Southern Europeans who until World War II were mainly caterers, market gardeners and farmers; and also from Scandinavians who were mainly farmers, seamen and labourers.

The majority of skilled and semi-skilled workers were in service industries (as cooks, hairdressers and launderers mainly) and tradesmen (bakers, tailors, carpenters as well as painters and bootmakers being dominant).

General labourers settled in greater numbers by the end of the nineteenth century, this period being marked by an immigration of rather

---

1. L. Dollot, Les grandes migrations humaines, Paris, 1949, p. 43.

low-skilled workers. Many of the settlers in agriculture became outstanding pioneers in farming and winegrowing, and those engaged in commercial activities included mainly merchants, sales agents, shopowners and a few woolbuyers.

A relatively high percentage, compared with some other immigrant populations, held professional and administrative positions.

It has not appeared that the French have improved their social status by emigrating, though some have undoubtedly improved their economic standard, as for example the tradesmen who had been victims in France of the Industrial Revolution, and farmers and winegrowers who had suffered from a series of crises: agricultural depression, phylloxera and over-production. Whatever their social and economic position, several case studies have revealed the French as dynamic and enterprising pioneers, contributing to the development of several areas in Australia.

Contribution to Australia

In spite of their small numbers and scattered settlement, the French have been pioneers and successful contributors in many fields.

Prior to their settlement, they contributed to the exploratory voyages which led to the discovery of Australia, and undertook several coastal surveys which worried British authorities and accelerated British colonization of the continent. They also left numerous French place names, witnessing to their discoveries and also the respect attached to such discoveries.

In agriculture they cleared bushland in Victoria, New South Wales, Queensland and Western Australia; cultivated the ground and grew crops such as wheat, asparagus and vines; and experimented in cattle-breeding.

French winegrowers started winegrowing in several districts of Victoria, New South Wales and South Australia; the success that the wine industry enjoys in Australia today owes much to these early experimenters, their personal efforts, their technical knowledge and experience, and the equipment and grapes they brought from France to Australia. The most famous winegrowing areas originally developed by them were the Great Western district, Chateau Tahbilk, Rutherglen and Lilydale in Victoria; in the vicinities of Newcastle and Albury and in Forbes and Dubbo in New South Wales; and near Adelaide in South Australia.

They also promoted wine consumption amidst the hostility against colonial wines last century; the results, however, are more obvious today as wine is now a more popular beverage than ever before.

In science, several medical doctors practised in Australia, contributing to its advancement through experiments and studies. Experts contributed to the development of certain techniques and technologies, such as the freezing of foodstuffs, winemaking, cinema projection and photography.

In education, several schools and colleges, lay and religious, were opened by French people and attracted large numbers of students by the high quality of their teaching and the popularity enjoyed by French culture and language.

Finally, numerous artists came to this country and promoted not only French culture but the arts in general.

Therefore the contribution of the small French population appears to be more significant than their number could lead one to expect, and more diversified than is popularly known (public knowledge is often limited to the Alliance Française and the French restaurants). Usually these contributions are unknown or not recognized because of the assumption that a small population of immigrants is not likely to contribute significantly to the development of the receiving country.[1] However, the example of French settlers suggests that the degree of contribution of an immigrant population depends more on their skills and enterprise than on their numbers.

Nevertheless, because the French migrated as individuals and did not settle together, they have failed to be as successful as an ethnic group as they could have been if they had shown some signs of solidarity: for instance, the contributions of the Germans in the wine industry are more marked and illustrious than the French, not so much because they were in larger numbers, but because their solidarity enabled them to face failures or financial investments much better than the French could. In the short term, the French succeeded. But their names did not survive beyond their generation so, although their individuality made them more courageous and sometimes more successful settlers, because they could not rely on community or familial support, in the long term the French name suffered from it, as their contributions did not always benefit the French reputation.

---

1. Koivukangas, Scandinavian Immigration, p. 261.

Assimilation - Conclusion

The French did not present any of the characteristics which usually give rise to slow and difficult assimilation, and which are common among certain ethnic groups, the Southern Europeans in particular: strong community feelings and support; frequency of in-marriages; importance of chain migration and cluster settlement; patriarchal families; obvious and lively ethnic social life; retention and persistence of the native language through the large second generation. Instead, the French were more like the Scandinavians and apparently the Swiss and the Belgians, though these, ethnically and linguistically divided at home, had additional reasons for dissociating in a new country.

Migrating as individuals, usually young and in small numbers, originating from every part of France and distributed all over Australia with no major community centre, no particular church affiliation, no major activities aiming at retaining their traditions, yet relatively successful in their occupations and frequently marrying out of their nationality, the French settlers were well qualified for rapid assimilation in Australia. Their ability to assimilate was a result of their immigration and settlement patterns. This ability, and the quality of their contributions up to 1947, made them successful settlers whom the government regarded as desirable elements in its post-World War II immigration programme. Though the Epilogue has given some glimpse of more recent trends, it is still too early to say whether the French arrivals of the last three decades will follow exactly the same line as their predecessors or show greater tenacity in preserving their ethnicity.

APPENDIX I

FRENCH RELIGIOUS ORDERS COMING TO AUSTRALIA, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER[1]

Fathers and Brothers

- Benedictine Monks (New Norcia Mission)[2]	1845
- Marist Fathers	1845
- Marist Brothers	1872
- Sacred Heart Fathers	1885
- Holy Ghost Fathers (in Ballarat)	1888
- Cistercians (Beagle Bay Mission in W.A.)[3]	1890
- Christian School Brothers	1906

Sisters

- Missionary Sisters of the Society of Mary	1857
- Daughters of Charity of St Vincent de Paul	1863
- Dominican Sisters	1867
- Faithful Companions of Jesus	1882
- The Society of the Sacred Heart of Jesus	1882
- Congregation of the Daughters of Our Lady of the Sacred Heart[4]	1885
- The Carmelite Sisters	1885
- Little Sisters of the Poor	1886
- Congregation of Our Lady of Sion	1890
- Congregation of Our Lady of the Missions	1897
- Marist Sisters	1908
- Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd	1926
- Congregation of the Sisters of Saint Joseph	1946
- Servants of the Blessed Sacrament	1950
- Adorers of the Sacred Heart of Jesus of Montmartre	1955
- Little Sisters of Jesus	1957

1. Aerts, "Présence religieuse française".

2. See Chap. III, p. 61.

3. The founder of the Mission went to France to find recruits and obtain pecuniary assistance from the Central House of the Order at La Trappe. His recruitment must have been successful as several French Trappist Brothers were encountered near Derby, W.A. See J. Duff, A visit to Beagle Bay Mission, Pamphlets 8vo. Series XLIX, Perth, 1889, p. 11; F.W.P. Cammilleri, Cammilleri's Reminiscences, Goldfields Adventures, Perth, 1972, p. 53.

4. The chapel was just about entirely imported from France, including the organ and the pulpit. Information obtained from Père Aerts, October 1975.

APPENDIX II

FRENCH ASSOCIATIONS IN AUSTRALIA, 1976

AUSTRALIA

- French Chamber of Commerce

  Head Office in Sydney; branches in Melbourne, Brisbane, Perth. (Another branch recently opened in Adelaide)
- Association of former French Servicemen in Australia
- National Association of Ex-Servicemen of Flanders - Dunkirk 40
- Dunkirk Veterans' Associations
- Association of Free French
- Federation of the Alliances Françaises in Australia
- National Committee of French Foreign Trade Counsellors
- Union of the French Abroad (Section Australia)
- Francophone Medical Association of Australia
- Australian-French Association of Professional and Technical Specialists
- Federation of French Teachers Residing Abroad
- The Charolais Society of Australasia
- Champagne Information Centre
- French Perfume Association
- Friends of the French Culinary Academy in Australia

NEW SOUTH WALES

- Co-ordination Committee of the Sydney French Associations
- Polynesian Association of Sydney
- Association of French Ex-Servicemen in New South Wales
- Alliance Française of Sydney
- Alliance Française of Armidale
- Alliance Française of Newcastle
- Alliance Française of Wagga-Wagga
- French-Australian Association of New South Wales
- Association of Students' Parents and Friends of the 'Petite Ecole Française' (French School) in Sydney
- French Club of New South Wales
- French Benevolent Society of New South Wales
- Laperouse Historic Site Local Committee

- Citroën Car Club of New South Wales
- Association of French-speaking Residents in Wollongong
- Comité Radio-Francophonie

CANBERRA (A.C.T.)

- Alliance Française of Canberra
- Association of Students' Parents and Friends of the 'Petite Ecole Française' in Canberra

VICTORIA

- Ecole Française de Melbourne (French School)
- Association of French Ex-Servicemen in Victoria
- French-Australian Association of Victoria
- French Benevolent Society of Melbourne
- Alliance Française of Victoria
- Francophone Association in Australia

QUEENSLAND

- Alliance Française of Brisbane
- Alliance Française of Cairns
- Alliance Française of Toowoomba
- French-Australian Association of Queensland

SOUTH AUSTRALIA

- Alliance Française of South Australia
- French-Australian Association of South Australia

WESTERN AUSTRALIA

- Alliance Française of Perth

TASMANIA

- Alliance Française of Hobart

More recently, there have been more Alliances Françaises founded: Wollongong, N.S.W.; Ballarat and District, Vic.; Atherton, Qld.

Source: Annuaire français d'Australie, 1975-1976 and 1977-1978.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

This is a select bibliography of those sources referred to in the text and is arranged under the following headings:

A. ARCHIVAL

(1) Australian Colonies (States)
(2) Australian Archives

B. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

(1) Australian Colonies (States)
(2) Commonwealth of Australia
(3) Other

C. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

D. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

E. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

F. INTERVIEWS AND LETTERS

A. ARCHIVAL

1. AUSTRALIAN COLONIES (STATES)

New South Wales Archives, Sydney

Colonial Secretary: Records having Legal Effects

NCS-ND/1, Letters of Denization 1834-47

NCS-ND/3, Registers of Certificates of Naturalization, 1849-59, 1876-1904

NCS-ND/4, Lists of Aliens to whom Certificates of Naturalization have been issued, 1859-76

Colonial Secretary: Special Bundles

4/960.1, Transportation of Convicts to New-Caledonia, 1876-1904

Attorney General: Special Bundles 1836-1876

9/2697 A, Question of permitting Ships owned by Vial d'Aram in Sydney to call at Australian Ports for Wool etc. when returning to Sydney from New-Caledonia

Victoria, Public Record Office, Melbourne

Police Department: District Correspondence Files 1852-1900

Collection of official Correspondence for the Police Departments of Australian States concerning escaped French Convicts from New-Caledonia in Australia

South Australian Archives, Adelaide

Papers of the Secretary's Office

GRG24/56, "Miscellaneous papers relative to the seizure of the Ville de Bordeaux, 1836-42 (formerly Temporary Accession 145 and Accession 1052)"

Marine Board Correspondence

File 199, number 811: French nomenclature in South Australian coastal districts, with plans supplied by the Count de Fleurieu

D5773/1(L), Letters written by Michel Billiet of Chasse (France), Melbourne and Terowie... 1794-1892. Manuscripts

2. AUSTRALIAN ARCHIVES, A.C.T. BRANCH, CANBERRA

Prime Minister's Department

CRS A2, Correspondence files, annual single number series, 1904-1920

1918/1221, part 3: French Mission, Victorian and Federal arrangements, 1918-1919

CRS A457, Correspondence files, multiple number series, first system, 1921-1923

C213/2, part III: Villers-Bretonneux, 1920-1921
C213/2, part IV: Pozières, 1921-1922
508/28: Memorial Tablet - Amiens Cathedral, 1920-1921
508/47: Flag for Amiens, 1921

CRS A3934 [ex CP447/3], Correspondence files, SC [secret and confidential] series (old files), 1926

SC40[1]: French Mission to Australia, 1918-1919

Department of External Affairs

CRS A981, Correspondence files, alphabetical series, 1927-1942

Consuls 124B, part 1: Consuls France at Melbourne and Sydney - Activities of Consul C. Lancial, 1941-1942

CRS A1066, Correspondence, multiple number series with year and letter prefixes, 1945

E/45/13/25: France - Economic relations with Australia, 1945-1946
E/45/13/39: European Affairs. France. Migration to Australia, 1945-1946

Department of Defence

CRS A663, Correspondence files, '0' multiple number system (primary numbers 01-0224) (unclassified), 1940-1957

100/1/108: Villers-Bretonneux Australian National Memorial, 1921-1940, with attachments A-G

Department of the Interior

CRS A433, Correspondence files, class 2 (Restricted Immigration), 1939-1950

47/2/1794: White Aliens Immigration, 1940-1947

CRS A659, Correspondence files, class 1, 1939-1950

43/1/1344: French Citizens Passport Facilities to or through British Territory, 1940

Security Service, Central Office

CRS A373, Correspondence files, single number series, 1941-1949

1714: Internments and Release Policy. Frenchmen, Interning of, in the event of an emergency, 1941

Supreme Court of the Colony of Victoria

CRS A725, Register of Patents and (from February 1851) of Certificates of Naturalization (with Index) 1847-1852

CRS A726 (Register of Certificates of Naturalization with Index), Certificates to Naturalize 1852-1863

Victoria, Chief Secretary's Office

CRS A727 [volumes relating to Letters of Naturalization only] 1851-1903

CRS A728, Naturalization Indexes 1882-1903

South Australia, Registrar-General of Deeds

CRS A729, Enrolled Certificates of Naturalization issued 1848-1858

CRS A733, Enrolled Certificates of Naturalization issued 1865-1903

CRS 823, Enrolled Certificates of Naturalization and Memorial 1859-1865

List of Accessions which relate to Naturalization Files 1903 to 1946

CRS A1, External Affairs Department, Home and Territories. Home Affairs II 1928, Interior 1932, General Correspondence Files. Annual single number series 1903-1938

CRS A63, External Affairs Department, Correspondence Files 'A' Series, all matters except Immigration and Papua, 1910

CRS A659, 1. Interior I, 2. Interior II 1939, 3. Immigration 1945 - Correspondence files, Class 1, 1939-1950

CRS A433, 1. Interior I, 2. Interior II 1939, 3. Immigration 1945 - Correspondence file 'Class 2', 1939-1950

CRS A434, 1. Interior I, 2. Interior II 1939, 3. Immigration 1945 - Correspondence Files 'Class 3' (Non British European Migrants) 1939-1950

CRS A435, 1. Interior II, Immigration 1945-1950 - Correspondence Files 'Class 4' (Naturalization)

CRS A1652, Immigration. Name Index Cards Naturalization. 1903-1956 (Index to all the above)

B. OFFICIAL PUBLICATIONS

1. AUSTRALIAN COLONIES (STATES)

Censuses, 1901, and previous, of New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia, Western Australia and Tasmania

Western Australia Statistical Register, 1903

Statistics of Tasmania, 1881-1903

Parliamentary Papers:

Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, 1885-1895

Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales, 1878-79; 1883-84

2. COMMONWEALTH OF AUSTRALIA

Commonwealth Official Year Book 1902-1947

Commonwealth Bureau of Census and Statistics,

Censuses of Australia 1911 to 1976

Demography Bulletins 1907-1976

Overseas Trade 1903-1976

Commonwealth Department of Immigration, Consolidated Statistics 1959-1976

Commonwealth Immigration Planning Council, Australia's Immigration Programme for the Period 1968 to 1973, Report to the Australian Minister of State for Immigration, Canberra, 1968

3. OTHER

Reports of the Immigration Commission, Vol. 3, 1910, Washington, D.C., 1911

Census of the United States, 1910, 1920, 1930, 1940

Census of Canada, 1931, 1941

C. BOOKS AND ARTICLES

Australian Dictionary of Biography (A.D.B.), Melbourne, 1966-1976

Australian Encyclopedia, Sydney, 1925 and 1965

Aerts, Henry G., R.P., "Présence religieuse française en Australie", Amitiés catholiques françaises, Paris, October 1969, No. 74

"Amelin", "Early Settlers in Australia, Jean Emile de Bouillon Serisier", Annuaire français d'Australie, Sydney, 1971-1972

Anderson, M., "The Story of Hunter's Hill", R.A.H.S., Vol. 12, pt 3, 1926

Anon., Akaroa and Banks Peninsula, 1840-1940: Story of French colonizing Venture and early whaling Activities. The first Settlement of Canterbury, Akaroa, 1940 (printed by: Akaroa Mail Co. Ltd)

Bader, George, "History of the French Chamber of Commerce in Australia", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie, Sydney, April 1956

Balta, Paul, "Les Français 'de' et 'à' l'étranger", Le Monde, Paris, 24-30 June 1976

Barnard, A., Visions and Profits, Melbourne, 1961

Bastin, J., "The Western Australian Goldfields 1892-1900. Their Investors and their Grievances", Historical Studies, 6, 1953-55

Beaglehole, J.C. (ed.), The Journals of Captain Cook on his Voyage of Discovery, Vol. I, Cambridge, 1955

Bean, C.E.W., Anzac to Amiens, Canberra, 1961

Beauvoir, Marquis de, Voyage autour du monde, Paris, 1878

Bergman, George, "James Larra, the commercial Nabob of Parramatta", Australian Jewish Historical Society, Vol. 5, pt 3, 1960

Bernard, Augustin, L'Archipel de la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1894

Bertie, H., "Famous Visitors to Australia", The Home, Sydney, March 1926

Blainey, G., The Rush that never ended, Melbourne, 1963

Blosseville, Ernest de, Histoire des colonies pénales de l'Angleterre dans l'Australie, Paris, 1831

Bonnard, Henry, La Nouvelle-Galles du Sud en 1881, Bordeaux, 1882

_____, Revue Australienne, Sydney, January 1874

Borrie, W.D., Italians and Germans in Australia, Melbourne, 1954

_____, Immigration. Australia's Problems and Prospects, Sydney, 1949

Bougainville, Louis de, Voyage autour du monde, Paris, 1771

Brosses, Charles de, Histoire des navigations aux terres australes, Paris, 1756

Brout, C., Guide des émigrants aux mines d'or en Australie, Paris, 1855

Bruhat, J., Dautry, J., Tersen, E., La Commune de 1871, Paris, 1970

Budker, P., Whales and Whaling, London, 1958

Bunle, Henri, "Migratory movements between France and foreign lands", in W.F. Willcox (ed.), International Migrations, Vol. 2, New York, 1931

Burchett, W.G., Pacific Treasure Island: New Caledonia, Melbourne, 1942

Burke, K., "I was there", Australia Popular Photography, Sydney, May 1962

Bury, J.P.T., France, 1814-1940, London, 1948

Busby, James, A Treatise on the Culture of the Vine and the Art of Making Wine, Australia, 1825

_____, A Manual of Plain Directions for Planting and Cultivating Vineyards and for Making Wine in New South Wales, Sydney, 1830

Calwell, Hon. Arthur A., M.H.R., Immigration. Policy and Progress, Canberra, 1949

Callender, J., Terra Australis Cognita, or Voyages to the Terra Australis, Edinburgh, 1766

Cammilleri, F.W.P., "Cammilleri's Reminiscences, April 1965", Goldfields Adventures, Perth, 1972

Carboni, Rafaello, The Eureka Stockade, Australia Sunny Book Press, 1942

Carrière, A.C. de la, Voyage aux pays aurifères, Paris, 1861

Castella, François de, "Early Victorian Winegrowing", V.H.M., Vol. 19, 1942

Castella, Hubert de, Souvenirs d'un squatter français en Australie, Paris, 1861

_____, Notes d'un vigneron australien, Melbourne, 1882

_____, John Bull's Vineyard, Melbourne, 1886

_____, Les Squatters australiens, Melbourne, 1882

Chabrillan, Céleste de, Les Voleurs d'or, Melbourne, 1857 (translation: Gold Robbers, Melbourne, 1970)

Chastenet, Jacques, Histoire de la Troisième République, Vol. 4, Paris, 1957

Chisholm, A.R., "Centenaire de Paul Wenz", Annuaire français d'Australie, Sydney, 1969

Clark, C.M.H., A History of Australia, I, Melbourne, 1962

Clément, Raoul, Les Français d'Egypte aux XVIIe et XVIIIe siècles, Le Caire, 1960

Cockburn, R., Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia, Vol. I, Adelaide, 1925

Comettant, Oscar, Au pays des kangourous et des mines d'or, Paris, 1890

Cordier-Rossiaud, G., Relations économiques entre Sydney et la Nouvelle-Calédonie 1844-1860, Paris, 1957

Cornell, Christine, Questions relating to Nicolas Baudin's Australian Expedition, 1800-1804, Adelaide, 1965

Crivelli, George, L'Australie et le Pacifique, Paris, 1923

Crowley, F.K., Australia's Western Third, London, 1960

Cyclopedia of Victoria, I, Melbourne, 1903 (ed. James Smith)

Cyclopedia of Western Australia, I, Perth, 1912-1913 (ed. James Sykes Battye)

Dakin, W.J., Whalemen Adventurers, Sydney, 1934

Dalrymple, A., An Historical Collection of the Several Voyages and Discoveries in the South Pacific Ocean, London, 1770

Davie, R., World Immigration, New York, 1949

Debré, René and Sauvy, Alfred, Des Français pour la France, Paris, 1946

Delessert, Eugène, Souvenirs d'un voyage à Sydney, Paris, 1847

Denat, Antoine, "La France en Australie", Courrier Australien, 13 April 1956

Dimmet, Abbé, "Why the French do not emigrate", Literary Digest, Vol. CXVI, New York, 23 December 1933

Dolléans, E., Histoire du mouvement ouvrier, 1830-1871, Paris, 1948

_____ , Dehove, G., Histoire du travail en France, Vol. I, Paris, 1953

Dollot, Louis, Les grandes migrations humaines, Paris, 1949

Downing, W.H., Digger Dialects; a Collection of Slang Phrases used by the Australian Soldiers on Active Service, Melbourne, 1919

Doyle, Alban, The Story of the Marist Brothers in Australia, 1872-1972, Drummoyne, 1972

Dubarry, A.E., "L'Alsace-Lorraine en Australie", Musée des Familles, Vol. 40, Paris, 1873

Ducharme, Léon, Journal of a Political Exile in Australia, Sydney, 1944

Duff, J., A Visit to Beagle Bay Mission in Far North West Australia, Pamphlet 8vo. Series XLIX, Perth, 1889

Duveau, L.G., La vie ouvrière en France sous le Second Empire, Paris, 1946

Evans, Len, Australia and New Zealand Complete Book of Wine, Sydney, 1973

Faivre, Jean-Paul, L'Expansion française dans le Pacifique 1800-1842, Paris, 1953

Fauchery, Antoine, Lettres d'un mineur en Australie, Paris, 1859

Favenc, Ernest, "The French in Australia", Herald, 31 December 1904 (in Newspaper Cuttings, Vol. 3, Mitchell Library)

_____, The Explorers of Australia and their Life Work, Christchurch, 1908

Flehr, John, "The History of the Wine Industry in the North East of Victoria", North-Eastern Historical Society, Newsletter, Vol. 6, No. 5, June 1967

Fogarty, R., Catholic Education in Australia, 1806-1950, Melbourne, 1959

Frère, L., "Report on Colonial Timbers for Wine Casks", Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales, Vol. X, pt 7, July 1899

Gaillard, Jean, L'Expansion française dans le monde, Paris, 1951

Gandin, A., De la possibilité d'une vaste colonisation dans l'Océanie, Paris, 1868

"Garryowen" (Edmund Finn), The Chronicles of Early Melbourne 1835 to 1852, Melbourne, 1888

Gilson, Miriam and Zubrzycki, Jerzy, The Foreign Language Press in Australia 1848-1964, Canberra, 1967

Girard, A. and Stoetzel, J., Français et immigrés, Paris, 1953

Gordon, David C., The Passing of French Algeria, London, 1966

_____, The French Language and National Identity, Paris, 1978

Graham, John A., Early Creswick, Melbourne, 1942

Granger, Ernest, La France, son visage, son peuple, ses ressources, Paris, 1947

Grant, A.J., The Huguenots, London, 1934

Greer, Donald, The Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution, Cambridge, 1951

Gsell, G., Mgr, The Bishop with 150 Wives, London, 1955

Haldane, Charlotte, Daughter of Paris: the Life of Celeste Mogador, Countess Lionel de Moreton de Chabrillan, London, 1961

Hansen, Marcus Lee, The Atlantic Migration 1607-1860, Cambridge, Mass., 1945

Harry, T., Some of our Local Manufactures, Adelaide, 1884

Havard, O. and Havard, W.L., "A Frenchman sees Sydney", R.A.H.S., Vol. 24, pt 1, 1938

_____, "Some early French Visitors to the Blue Mountains and Bathurst", R.A.H.S., Vol. 24, pt 4, 1938

Heddle, Enid M., Story of a Vineyard: Chateau Tahbilk, Melbourne, 1960

Henn, P.U., "French Explorers on the Western Australian Coast", W.A.H.S., Vol. 2, pt 15, 1934

Historical Records of New South Wales (H.R.N.S.W.), 5, Sydney, 1897

Historical Records of Australia (H.R.A.), I, 1, Sydney, 1914; I, 3, Sydney, 1915; I, 6, Sydney, 1916

Humphreys, Henry R.M., Men of the Time in Australia. Victorian Series, Melbourne, 1882

"Island Exile", "Convicts from New Caledonia. Daring Dashes for Freedom", Cummins and Campbell's Monthly Magazine, Townsville, November 1945

Jacobs, Alfred, L'Océánie nouvelle, Paris, 1861

José, A.W., "Nicolas Baudin", R.A.H.S., Vol. 20, pt 6, 1934

Joubert, Jules, Shavings and Scrapes in Many Parts, Hobart, 1894

Keane, Eve, Penfold Story, Sydney, 1951

Keesing, Nancy, Gold Fever, Sydney, 1967

Kelly, J.C., "Père Louis Receveur, O.F.M., a Man of Genius and Letters", The Crusader, Sydney, June 1933

Koivukangas, Olavi, Scandinavian Immigration and Settlement in Australia before World War II, Turku, Finland, 1974

Lack, Clem, "The Problems of the French Escapees from New Caledonia", Royal Historical Society of Queensland Journal, Vol. 5, pt 3, 1955

Lang, J.D., Freedom and Independence for the Golden Lands of Australia, Sydney, 1857

Lannes, Xavier, L'Immigration en France depuis 1945, La Haye, 1953

Legrand, M.A., Au pays des Canaques, Paris, 1893

Levasseur, Michel, Les Forces productives de l'Australasie britannique, Lille, 1886

Loir, Adrien, "Pasteur's Vaccine for Cumberland Disease", Australia Medical Pamphlets, Vol. 174, No. 3344, Sydney, 1890

Loubère, Roger, Australie, cinquième continent, Paris, 1953

Ludbrook, J., "Frenchmen Played a Part in Pioneering Australian Wines", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie, Sydney, August 1967

Lyng, Jens, Non-Britishers in Australia, Melbourne, 1927

McCombie, T., Australian Sketches, London, 1861

Mackenzie, H.M., Among the Pastoralists, Maitland, 1896-7

McKenzie, Porter, Overture to Victoria, Toronto, 1961

Marin la Meslée, Edmond, L'Australie nouvelle, Paris, 1883

Marshall, M.N.F., "Convict Life in New-Caledonia", The Illustrated Sydney News, 14 August 1886

Martin, A.E., Place Names in Victoria and Tasmania, Sydney, 1944

McGuanne, J.P., "Early Schools of Australia", R.A.H.S., Vol. 2, pt 3, 1906-7

Miller, Jean, "Des origines de la terminologie française dans la géographie australienne", Annuaire français d'Australie, Sydney, 1961

_____, "French People in Australia", Annuaire français d'Australie, Sydney, 1961

Miot, R., "Exhibitions and Trade", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie, Sydney, August 1961

Morrisson, W.F., The Aldine History of Queensland, Vol. I, Sydney, 1888

O'Farrell, Patrick, The Catholic Church in Australia: a Short History 1788-1967, Sydney, 1968

Peel, L.J., "Viticulture at Geelong and Lilydale", V.H.M., Vol. 36, pt 4, 1965

Petit, M.E., "Les objectifs de l'Exposition française de Melbourne", Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie, Sydney, September 1958

Péron, François A., Voyage de découvertes aux terres australes, Tome I, Paris, 1807; Tome II (by Péron and de Freycinet, L.C.), Paris, 1816

Pisier, Georges, Les Déportés de la Commune à l'Ile des Pins, Paris, 1971

Pouthas, Charles H., La Population française pendant la première moitié du XIXe siècle, Paris, 1956

Price, Charles A. and Zubrzycki, J., "The Use of Inter-marriage Statistics as an Index of Assimilation", Population Studies, Vol. 16, pt 1, July 1962

Price, Charles A., Southern Europeans in Australia, Melbourne, 1963

Price, Charles A., The Method and Statistics of "Southern Europeans in Australia", Canberra, 1963

_____, "Some problems of international migration statistics. An Australian case study", Population Studies, Vol. 19, No. 1, July 1965

_____, Australian Immigration: a Bibliography and Digest, The Australian National University, Canberra; No. I, 1966; No. II, 1971; No. III, 1975

_____, "The immigrants", in Davies, Encel and Berry (ed.), Australian Society. A Sociological Introduction, 3rd ed., Melbourne, 1977

Roberts, S.H., History of French Colonial Policy, I, II, London, 1929

_____, The Squatting Age in Australia, Melbourne, 1935

Salvado, Rodesindo, Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie et particulièrement sur la mission de la Nouvelle-Nursie (translated by Falcimagne), Paris, 1854

Scott, Ernest, "The First Australian Play", Argus, 23 February 1918

_____, Terre Napoléon: a History of French Explorations and Projects in Australia, London, 1910

_____, La Pérouse, Sydney, 1913

Sée, Henri, Histoire économique de la France. Les temps modernes 1789-1914, Paris, 1951

Selfe, N., "A Pioneer Refrigerating Engineer", Ice and Refrigeration, Chicago, April 1899

Simon, André, The Wines, Vineyards and Vignerons of Australia, London, 1966

Slessor, K., "The Grapes are growing", The Story of Australian Wine, Sydney, 1963

Tapinos, George, L'Immigration étrangère en France, 1946-73, Paris, 1975

Taylor, A. Carey, Le Président de Brosses et l'Australie, Paris, 1937

_____, "La culture française en Australie", Courrier Australien, 3 September 1943

Thiercelin, Dr, Journal d'un baleinier, I, Paris, 1866

Thompson, Virginia and Adloff, R., The French Pacific Islands. French Polynesia and New Caledonia, Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1971

Triebel, L.A. and Batt, J.C., French Explorers of Australia, Editions du Courrier Australien, Sydney, 1943

Union Agricole Calédonienne, Notice sur la Nouvelle-Calédonie, Paris, 1900

Uren, M.I., Glint of Gold, Melbourne, 1948

Verschuur, G., Aux Antipodes: voyage en Australie, Paris, 1891

Villeminot, Jacques, Boomerang: L'Australie blanche, Paris, 1954

Ward, J.M., British Policy in the South Pacific, Sydney, 1948

Warner, C.K., The Winegrowers of France and the Government since 1875, New York, 1960

Watson, J.H., "Australia as a Cotton growing Country", King and Empire, Sydney, 15 January 1923

Wernlé, Gabriel, "Is France an Emigration Country", Migration News, No. 6, 1958

Westgarth, W., Victoria and the Australian Gold-miners in 1857, London, 1857

Willcox, W.F., International Migration, 2 vols, New York, 1929, 1931

Withers, W.T., History of Ballarat, Ballarat, 1887

Wolff, Erica, "Paul Wenz and Australia", Courrier Australien, 20 and 27 June 1947

Woods, G.A., Discovery of Australia, London, 1922

Yelland, E.M., Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia, Adelaide, 1970

Zeldin, T., France, Ambitions, Love, Politics, 1848-1945, Vol. I, Oxford, 1973

D. NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS

Adelaide Examiner

Agricultural Gazette of New South Wales, Department of Agriculture, Sydney (see Articles: Frère)

Amitiés catholiques françaises, Paris (see Articles: Aerts)

Annuaire français d'Australie, Sydney (see Articles: Amelin, Chisholm, Miller)

Ararat Advertiser, Victoria

Argus, Melbourne

Australia Medical Pamphlets, Sydney (see Articles: Loir)

Australia Popular Photography, Sydney (see Articles: Burke)

Australasian Stage Annual, Melbourne

Australasian, The, Melbourne

Australasian Post, The, Melbourne

Bulletin, The, Sydney

Bulletin de la Chambre de Commerce Française en Australie, Sydney (see Articles: Bader, Ludbrook, Miot, Petit)

Courier of the Mines and Bendigo Daily News, Victoria

Courrier Australien, Le, Sydney (see Articles: Denat, Taylor, Wolff)

Crusader, The, Sydney (see Articles: Kelly)

Cummins and Campbell's Monthly Magazine, Townsville (see Articles: "Island Exile")

Footlight Star, Melbourne

Hobart Town Courier

Home, The, Sydney (see Articles: Bertie)

Illustrated Sydney News, The (see Articles: Marshall)

Immigration and Land Settlement, Country Promotion League, Forbes

Ice and Refrigeration, Chicago (see Articles: Selfe)

Inquirer, Perth

King and Empire, Sydney (see Articles: Watson)

Leader, Melbourne

Literary Digest, New York (see Articles: Dimmet)

Monde, Le, Paris (see Articles: Balta)

Pleasant Creek Advertiser, Stawell, Victoria

Register, Adelaide

Revue Australienne, Sydney (see Articles: Bonnard)

Scientific Australasian, The, Melbourne

Sydney Gazette

Sydney Mail

Sydney Morning Herald

Table Talk, Melbourne

Town and Country Journal, Sydney

Weekly Times, Melbourne

Wine and Spirit News and the Australian Vigneron; formerly Australian Vigneron and Wine and Spirit News; formerly Australian Vigneron and Fruit Growers Journal, Sydney, Melbourne

Newspaper Cuttings, Mitchell Library (see Articles: Favenc)

E. UNPUBLISHED MATERIAL

Australian Broadcasting Commission, Radio Australie, Causerie documentaire (Selection of French language scripts, prepared for the ABC by M. Manélis), Melbourne, ABC, 1953?

Bergman, G., Documents relating to the Larra, Mitchell Library, A6956

Castella, Hubert de, Proposal for the Establishment of a Company for the Extension and Working of the St Hubert Vineyard, La Trobe Library, MS 9437

"Clambe, Verricourt, Chevalier de, Papers 1804-1923", Mitchell Library, MSS 1030

Despatches to Governor of New South Wales, Mitchell Library, A1268; A1271; A1278

Eberlé, Charles, Reminiscences of Charles Eberlé, 1854-1864, La Trobe Library, MS 7569

Foveaux Family, Mitchell Library, Doc. 1716

French-Australian League, Mitchell Library, MSS 717

Gammage, W.L., The Broken Years, Vol. 2, Ph.D. Thesis, Australian National University, 1970

Great Western and Trouette Family and The Vendange at St Peter's Vineyard: from M.F. Trouette's scrapbook, La Trobe Library (typescript from newspaper clippings)

Guerard, Eugene von, Ballarat Ansichten chronologisch zusammengefasst, 1853-1854, La Trobe Library, H 12526

Henderson, G.H., A Memoire of the Jaunay Family, Adelaide, February 1969

James, Jervis, History of Dubbo, Mitchell Library, MSS 748

Linane, T.J., Early Catholic Priests in Australia, Bungaree, Victoria, 1966, La Trobe Library, MS 8238

_____, Catholic Priests in Australia, Bungaree, Victoria, 1968, La Trobe Library, MS 8443

Ludbrook, J., Hurtle Walker of "Romalo", Adelaide, 24 July 1964

Macarthur Papers, Mitchell Library, A2928; A2936

Monk, A., Huon de Kerilliau, Gabriel, Louis, Marie, 1821-1890, Mitchell Library, A3189

Moran, Marion, The Influence of the French in Early Australia 1788-1810, Honours Thesis, Macquarie University, 1972

Nicolas, A. and Reymond, J.B., Cash and Account Books 1866-1893, concerned with Timber and Flour-Milling Business at Forbes, Mitchell Library, MSS 1060

Nicolle, S.E.E., Nicolle Papers, 1851-1910, Vol. 2, 1946, Mitchell Library, A2751

Parkes Correspondence, Mitchell Library, A883

Programme of Evening in Aid of the French Red Cross Society promoted by the Kalgoorlie Branch of the British Red Cross Society, Battye Library, PR 3395

Pyke, N.O.P., Foreign Immigration to the Gold-Fields (N.S.W. and Victoria) (1851-1861), M.A. Thesis, The University of Sydney, 1946

Rowe, D.J., Count Gabriel de Milhau, 1819-1893, Mitchell Library, Doc. 840

Sauran, Vera, The Australian Image of the French and France, Ph.D. Thesis, University of New South Wales, 1971

"Schurr, Abbé Felix Schurr", Mitchell Library, Doc. 2216 (Richmond River Historical Society files)

Thornton, S.A., Rossi, First Police Magistrate; Principal Superintendent of Police of N.S.W. 1824-1834, Mitchell Library, MSS 1564

Vivienne, A., Scrapbooks re Dubbo, 1845-1972, Mitchell Library, MSS 2661

Whitfield, M.L., De Gouges Family, 1964, Mitchell Library, Doc. 916

William, Harold S., Re Fauchery, 1972, La Trobe Library, MS 9331

F. INTERVIEWS AND LETTERS

A questionnaire sent to French people, 1976

Aerts, Henry G., R.P., October 1975; October 1976; July 1977; December 1977

Ariat, Hubert, Mr, Sydney, May 1976

Bellanger, G.E.G., Mr, Perth, February 1977

Blin, G., Mr, Sydney, 1 August 1977

Brown, W.L., Mr, Hobart, 2 August 1977

Burrow, K., Mr, Adelaide, January 1976

Collaery, B., Mr, Paris, January 1977

Craven, Mary, Mrs, Canberra, April 1979

Crivelli, R.G., Mr, Melbourne, 1977

Cummings, Iris, Mrs, Perth, February 1977; March 1977

Fraser, Mrs, Adelaide, January 1976

Guilbaux, Marie-Claire, Mrs, Sydney, August 1976; March 1977

Huon, Jean, Mr, Atherton, Qld, 1976-1977

Levy, Mr, Adelaide, October 1975

Mestre, Nevil de, Dr, Canberra, October 1978

Smetana, A., Mrs, Melbourne, October 1975, December 1975

Tournouer, J.M., Mr, Toogoolawah, Qld, February 1977