

THE ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS, 1837-1850

A Study of Some Aspects of the
Characteristics and Origins of the
Immigrants Assisted to New South
Wales and the Port Phillip District,
1837-1850

by

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This thesis is my own work based upon original research undertaken while a Research Scholar in the Department of History, Research School of Social Sciences, The Institute of Advanced Studies, The Australian National University.

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INTRODUCTION

The Importance of Assisted Immigration

Immigration has been one of the most important themes of Australian history. In recent years, immigrants have helped to change Australian life and society. For example, immigrants have helped to construct the Snowy Mountains Scheme, the Ord River Scheme and provided much of the labour that enabled the development of vast mining projects. In the cities and country towns of Australia, immigrants have opened new specialty cafes, restaurants and shops. They have contributed their labour and money to help build and finance the unprecedented boom in construction and housing. Not all of their effects have been beneficial, however, because they have strained the educational systems, hospital and medical facilities, social services and transport systems. Moreover, the 'new Australians' have accentuated several of the other major themes in Australian history - those of urbanization, conflict over the educational system, allocation of state finances and the use of land and natural resources.

The 'new Australians' who have arrived since 1949 were not the first assisted immigrants to contribute greatly to changing Australia - the immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District

between 1837 and 1850 helped to alter the social structure of those colonies in drastic ways. For example, in New South Wales the assisted immigrants accounted for approximately 31 per cent of the population in 1850 while in the newly independent colony of Victoria (the former Post Phillip District of New South Wales) the assisted migrants comprised approximately 35 per cent of the population.¹ The assisted migrants not only bulked large statistically in the two colonies, but also they contributed positively to the society. First, in 1836, there were over two and one-half males to every female in New South Wales. By 1851, the ratio had declined to one and three-tenths males per female.² Second, in 1841, the year after transportation of convicts to New South Wales was stopped, approximately one-third of the population were convicts, emancipists or expirees. By 1851, only one-sixth of the population were convicts or former convicts.³ Both the lowering of the ratio between males and females and the reduction of the convict-tainted proportion of the population resulted in large measure from the arrival of more than 85,000 assisted immigrants, although

¹ By 1851, the population of New South Wales was approximately 187,000 and between 1837 and 1850, approximately 58,000 assisted migrants arrived; in Victoria the population was approximately 76,000 in 1850, and between 1839 and 1850, approximately 27,000 assisted migrants arrived.

² R. B. Madgwick, Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851 (London, 1937; reprinted Sydney, 1969), p.230.

³ In 1841, 46,374 of a population of 128,726 were convicts, emancipists or expirees. In 1851, 29,322 persons were convicts or former convicts in a population of 187,243. See Madgwick, Table VII, p.231 and Table X, p.245.

some of the changes occurred through natural increase in population in the colony, as well as the death of thousands of convicts and convict-related population. Other more general contributions the migrants made to their new homeland included an increase in the proportion of church members, as well as an increase in the numbers of religious sects. Moreover, the migrants supplied much of the labour force that helped to build the newly-founded city of Melbourne and increased the labour force available in Sydney. Many of the new arrivals formed the basis of much of the labour needed to keep pace with the burgeoning growth of the grazing industry, while others contributed to one of the already-pronounced features of eastern Australian society - its extensive urbanization. In addition, the assisted immigrants helped to build a stable society capable of absorbing more than one-half million gold diggers without experiencing the violent upheavals known in North America and other 'rush' societies.

Not all of the effects of the assisted immigrants were as readily discernible as those mentioned. For example, according to Henry Parkes, a bounty migrant who was to become Premier of New South Wales, the assisted migrants formed the basis of the anti-pastoralist and anti-transportation movement in Sydney in the late 1840s. Parkes stated that

...the anti-transportation cause fell largely into the hands of the new men supported by the free immigrant working classes, and the movement was directed against the people of the past, with Mr. [William Charles] Wentworth their head.⁴

⁴ Henry Parkes, Fifty Years in the Making of Australian History (London, 1892), p.10.

Beside those activities, the assisted migrants were involved in the radical movements in the 'forties' that resulted in evanescent newspapers and organizations that opposed unrestricted immigration and the importation of coolie labour but supported the extension of the franchise and land reform, goals placed in opposition to the pastoralists.⁵ Those radical movements crystallized in the late 1840s and provided the experience in which the wits of the leaders of the anti-pastoralists were trained and sharpened. Moreover, they helped to pave the way for the gaining of representative government in 1851 and finally colonial responsible government in 1856 and produced leaders such as Henry Parkes and John Frazer, a bounty migrant who became an important businessman and then a prominent member of the Legislative Council.

Parkes and Frazer were only two of the assisted immigrants to make valuable contributions and achieve prominence in their new homelands. At least a dozen others who arrived in Sydney between 1837 and 1850 found a place in Volume 3 of the Australian Dictionary of Biography. They included James and Alexander Brown, who became wealthy colliery proprietors and merchants; Thomas Abbott whose son Robert became a solicitor and politician; Alexander Beach whose son William achieved fame as a world-champion sculler; and William Carron, explorer and botanist. Admittedly, the proportion of notables was small and scarcely typical of

⁵ T. H. Irving, 'Some Aspects of the Study of Radical Politics in New South Wales before 1856,' Labour History, No.5, November 1963, pp.18-25. See also, John M. Ward, Earl Grey and the Australian Colonies 1846-1857 A Study in Self-Government and Self-Interest (Melbourne, 1958).

the great mass who sank into oblivion after finding a place in the shipping lists with which this study is mostly concerned.

R. B. Madgwick's study analyzed and described the administrative machinery and some of the effects of the assisted immigrants imported into eastern Australia. However, it is not a detailed and thorough study of the migrants or their characteristics and origins. Consequently, this study attempts to answer the question 'Who were the assisted immigrants?' In so doing, it will include detailed statistical discussions of all of the assisted immigrants, as well as of the four distinct and identifiable groups.

The Background of Assisted Immigration to New South Wales

Assisted immigration, as practised in the case of New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850, was not new. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, indentured servants and assisted migrants had been recruited for the British colonies in North America. In the early nineteenth century, several attempts were made at relatively large-scale assisted migration. The Fish River Settlement of 1820 in South Africa was one of those early efforts. Another attempt at planned settlement and assisted immigration was the Red River Settlement in Upper Canada under the personal direction of Lord Selkirk. The idea of pauper emigration from Britain was furthered in the 1820s by Sir Robert Wilmot Horton, who kept the matter before the House of Commons by appealing to a widespread anxiety about social unrest and distress. Various pauper emigration schemes were tried in

the 1820s, including the practice of providing labourers with passages to New South Wales, the cost of which the emigrants were to repay over a period of years. In the early 1830s, in an attempt to rectify the imbalance of males over females in the penal colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, the Colonial Office sanctioned the sending of single females from Irish orphanages to those colonies under the direction of the London-based Commissioners for Emigration.⁶ This and other voluntary schemes were directed by John Marshall and the London Emigration Committee,⁷ but closed down at the end of 1836. In April 1837, after the earlier schemes had met with varying degrees of failure or success, the Government Scheme was instituted under Thomas Frederick Elliott, Agent-General for Emigration.⁸ The administrative machinery created to operate the 'Government System' of immigration is described in some detail in Madgwick's study, and needs only brief mention here.

The Mechanics of Assisted Immigration to New South Wales and the Colonial Emigration Agent

Elliott and his officers became part of a system that spread throughout Britain. He had emigration officers in ten different ports, including Lieutenant Low at Liverpool, Lieutenant Henry at Bristol, Lieutenant Miller at Belfast, Lieutenant Simmens at Greenock,

⁶ Ibid., pp.88-100.

⁷ Ibid., p.102.

⁸ Glenelg to Bourke, No.305, 29 April 1837, Historical Records of Australia I, 18, pp.739-40. Hereafter cited as H.R.A.

Lieutenant Friend at Cork, Lieutenant Lynch at Limerick, Lieutenant Hodder at Dublin, Lieutenant Forest at Leith, Lieutenant Shuttleworth at Sligo and James Denham Pinnock at London.⁹ Pinnock was the Government agent in London but was employed and paid by the colonies of New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land. Lieutenant Lean replaced Pinnock later in 1837 and Pinnock was appointed Colonial Agent for Emigration in New South Wales.¹⁰

The agents at the various ports performed the same duties as Elliot on a smaller scale. They provided information in response to enquiries about emigration and they supervised arrangements for emigrant ships, health on board, provisions of food and water, safety and comfort. They could answer the questions of individuals and organizations about conditions and labour requirements in the several colonies and the various assistance schemes. Their most important function was to prevent unscrupulous shipowners and agents from exploiting those willing to emigrate.

The machinery for emigration was further refined in 1837 when permanent naval surgeons were appointed for the selection of emigrants applying for assisted passages. Dr. Inches was appointed for England, Dr. Boyton for Scotland and Dr. Hall for Ireland.¹¹ They came to know their job well and in following years the quality of the assisted

⁹ Madgwick, p.126.

¹⁰ Ibid., pp.126-7.

¹¹ Glenelg to Bourke, No.276, 23 February 1837, H.R.A. I, 18, pp.705-8.

immigrants improved. The port agents had no power to select assisted emigrants. That duty was left solely to the three doctors.

The new arrangements were not only more efficient than the old but also less expensive. They allowed a more orderly and consistent selection of emigrants than the former system of selection by individual ship captains or surgeons. The New South Wales Colonial Government continued to hire or send their surgeons to accompany each ship, but their duties were now directed solely to the maintenance of discipline among the emigrants and the enforcement of health and safety regulations on board. They had nothing to do with the selection of government immigrants.

Under the Government Scheme, Elliot's department chartered the ships and paid the immigrants' passages at £21 a head for an adult, charging the costs to the New South Wales Government. The administrative machinery worked tolerably well, but the colonists objected to it on several counts. First, they claimed that government immigrants were accompanied by too many children and included paupers who were often sickly on board ship and ill-fitted for working in the colony. Second, they argued that many government immigrants were older than bounty immigrants. Third, they asserted that the system was more expensive than bounty immigration.¹² Although the complaints were exaggerated, the 'Government System' was abused and the quality of migrants introduced into the colony through it left much to be desired.

¹² Report of the Immigration Committee, Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Council of New South Wales, 1839. Hereafter cited V.&P.L.C.N.S.W.

However, the bounty system operated by the Colonial Government through private shipowners produced only marginally better results over the whole period, but between 1837-40, when both systems were operating, the bounty immigrants seem to have been superior to the government migrants in age, number of children and cost.

The bounty system was introduced in New South Wales by Governor Darling in 1831. It enabled settlers who brought out migrants to claim a bounty in redemption of their quit-rents. Revised regulations in 1835 required settlers to inform the Colonial Secretary in Sydney of the number, condition and calling of the persons they proposed to bring out, and instituted new rates of bounty, ranging from £30 for a man and wife if both were under thirty, to £5 for each of their children.¹³ The colonists preferred this system because it gave them more control in selecting migrants and because costs were not only lower but also not paid to the importing agent until the migrants arrived and were passed by the Colonial Immigration Board. The system was also preferred because it allowed colonists some control over the spending of land revenues used to finance assisted immigration and furthered their demands for the control of all colonial revenues.

As Colonial Emigration Agent in Sydney, Pinnock was part of the 'Government System' as well as head of the Colonial Immigration Board that examined and ruled on the eligibility of bounty migrants. After 1840, his successor, Francis Merewether, was concerned almost

¹³ H.R.A. I, 18, p.828.

exclusively with bounty immigrants because the 'Government System' was ended. In mid-1838, when Pinnock arrived in the colony to take up his appointment, he received from Deas Thomson, the Colonial Secretary of New South Wales, long instructions to work not only with government immigrants and assist them to find employment but also to assist bounty migrants.

Thomson informed Pinnock that several 'gentlemen' had been appointed to go to England, Scotland and Ireland to select 'Mechanics and Agriculturists suitable for this colony and to bring them out with their families on the part of the [Colonial] Government.'¹⁴ When those bounty migrants arrived, Pinnock was to board each ship immediately after enquiring of the Master and ascertaining that the passengers were not diseased. He was to enquire into

... the State of the Emigrants - their number and description, their general health, with the number of deaths or births, during the voyage - the places at which the Ship may have touched - the length of the passage, and such other particulars as it may appear proper to you to require: and you will yourself, remark the appearances of the Passengers and Ship with respect to health and cleanliness. You will further ascertain what fresh Provisions are necessary, and direct the Surgeon Superintendent how to proceed to obtain them, observing that any requisition on the Storekeeper is to be countersigned by you.¹⁵

¹⁴ Letter from Deas Thomson to James Denham Pinnock, 21 August 1838. Papers on Immigration. Original Instructions to Emigration Agent. 4/4705, p.10. State Archives of New South Wales. All archival material is from the State Archives of New South Wales unless otherwise specified.

¹⁵ Ibid., pp.10-11.

If any of the immigrants, particularly children, needed fresh vegetables, milk, wine or other necessities because of bad health or being debilitated by the voyage, Pinnock was to ask the medical officer to order the articles, have the Governor approve the order and then supply the goods. He was also to arrange for a complete muster of the immigrants, preferably 'the day next after that of their arrival,'¹⁶ and then report to the Office of the Colonial Secretary

The name, age, native places, Religion, Education and trade of each Individual ... as well as the appearance of the Emigrants as to bodily health and strength, cleanliness and deportment, and the probability or otherwise of their becoming useful colonists.¹⁷

The migrants were to present their depositions and references from their clergyman and other local notables who knew them. Those documents were to be examined by the members of the Colonial Immigration Board and retained by Pinnock. The Board was not to question the immigrants about food, water and general conditions on board, but was to listen to any complaints offered and have the master or the ship's surgeon explain them. If no complaints were made, the water, provisions and conditions (especially the cleanliness of the ship) were to be inspected thoroughly, and notes were to be made of the inspection. The surgeon was to be questioned about all conditions

¹⁶ Ibid., p.11.

¹⁷ Ibid., p.8

on board and asked whether schools had been established for the improvement of the immigrants. If so, Pinnock was to determine how many persons participated. Finally, he was to ask if they had observed 'divine worship on Sundays.'¹⁸

Pinnock was to report to the Office of the Colonial Secretary after he completed a thorough examination of the immigrants and ship. Then, he was to arrange 'for the disembarkation and reception of the Emigrants and their luggage at the Buildings [Immigration Barracks] provided for them'¹⁹ and forward to the Colonial Secretary a preliminary notice of the various trades and classes of the immigrants so that prospective employers could interview them. Employers were to be assisted in every way to hire servants and the immigrants were to be assisted and encouraged to find employment. The government immigrants were entitled to receive board and lodging for one calender month after their arrival if they resided in the Immigration Barracks, but bounty immigrants were allowed free accommodation for only twenty-four hours. Pinnock was told that, because of the demand for labour within the colony, no immigrants should need to be housed for the full month. Mechanics were guaranteed employment by the Colonial Government for one year if no demand existed for their labour. In such cases, Pinnock was to arrange for their employment

¹⁸ Ibid., p.12.

¹⁹ Ibid., p.15.

with the Colonial Architect.²⁰ That arrangement was soon modified to allow the Government a choice in employing mechanics.

A full report of the occupations and wages of employment, including the result of the examinations on board ship, was to be sent to the Colonial Secretary as soon as possible. Pinnock was also to keep records of each immigrant and to prepare half-yearly and yearly reports on government and bounty immigration. He was paid a salary of £500 and his one clerk and one outdoor assistant each received 5s. a day.²¹ With that staff, Pinnock was to receive and direct the flood of immigrants which had started to arrive in the colony as a trickle in 1837.

Throughout his period as Emigration Agent in Sydney, Pinnock was critical of the 'Government System' and of the immigrants it introduced into the colony. In contrast, he praised bounty immigrants, particularly those migrants introduced by John Marshall, the principal bounty agent and a former collaborator on the London Emigration Committee.²²

²⁰ Ibid., p.18.

²¹ Ibid., pp.30-1.

²² Madgwick, pp.160-3. Madgwick devoted three pages to discussing Marshall's relationship with Pinnock and the charges laid against him which led to his dismissal as Emigration Agent in 1841, and established that collusion between them occurred. In addition, he showed that James Stephen of the Colonial Office was aware of the relationship between the two, although he quickly added that Stephen did not impute any dishonesty to Pinnock.

While in office, Pinnock asserted

With respect to the Comparative State of health which has existed on Board the Government Ships and those Sent out on the Bounty System, it undoubtedly appears much in favour of the latter; that Circumstance may but in our opinion have arisen principally from the excessive number of children embarked in the former. In twenty-three Ships sent out by Government there were on Board adults 3640. Children 3068. or nearly equal, whereas in the Bounty Ships - in ten of Mr. Marshall's there were adults 1644. Children 697. London Emigration Committee adults 936. Children 368. which in both instances will give about one child to three adults.²³

In earlier statements, Pinnock declared

The bounty ships are vastly improved in the accomodation and in the arrangement generally, particularly as regards the provisions, and the allowances for children. In Mr. Marshall's ships, who is the principal person engaged in bringing out Emigrants on the bounty system, fresh meat is given to them twice a week, and the children are provided with sago and arrowroot daily. Mr. Gilchrist's [an important bounty agent] ships are also remarkably well found in the same respect.²⁴

.....

I cannot, however, allow this opportunity to pass without again referring to the subject, and expressing my opinion (founded on the experiences I have acquired since my arrival in the Colony) of the superiority of the system of introducing Immigrants into the colony on Bounty, in preference to bringing them out in ships chartered by Government.²⁵

23 'Report from Immigration Board to His Excellency the Governor.' 15 January 1839. Report by Immigration Board on Complaints of Immigrants about their passage 1838-87. 4/4699, p.25.

24 Ev. of J. D. Pinnock in 'Minutes of Evidence taken before the Committee on Immigration, 1839,' p.2. Reports by various Select Committees on Immigration policy, with original instructions to Immigration Agent, 1838. 4/4705.

25 Report from J. D. Pinnock ... on the Progress of Immigration generally, for the year 1838 ..., p.3. Annual Reports on immigration in New South Wales 1838-81. 4/4708.

Pinnock also favoured bounty immigrants because of the shorter and cheaper accommodation required upon their arrival in the colony.²⁶

In addition, Pinnock urged the introduction of more agricultural labourers,²⁷ and declared that he favoured bounty immigration because it gave more control to the colonists. He stated

I am decidedly of [the] opinion that the advantage is in favour of the private agent, because the payment of bounties is made dependent on his introducing Emigrants of the prescribed class.²⁸

while government immigrants were selected from those who offered themselves for emigration, often paupers.

Bounty agents such as John Marshall were at liberty to advertise widely to recruit emigrants. For example, one of Marshall's broadsheet advertisements in 1838 was captioned 'EMIGRATION TO NEW SOUTH WALES. - CONDITIONAL FREE PASSAGES.' In this circular, Marshall stated his ships were 'FIRST CLASS' with 'VERY SUPERIOR ARRANGEMENTS.' Moreover, Marshall declared that

A very extensive and urgent demand exists in this colony [New South Wales] for Married Mechanics - particularly Carpenters, Joiners, Stonemasons, Stonecutters, Bricklayers, Plasterers, Blacksmiths, Wheelwrights, Glaziers ... Agricultural Servants, Shepherds (especially persons well acquainted with Stock), and Gardeners. A LIMITED NUMBER of such persons, provided they are of competent skill ..., of industrious and moral habits, and not exceeding 30,

²⁶ Ibid., p.4. Bounty immigrants received only twenty-four hours lodging at the Immigration Barracks but government migrants could reside there for a month, if necessary.

²⁷ Ev. of J. D. Pinnock in 'Minutes of Evidence to the Report to the Committee on Immigration, 1838,' p.70. Reports by various Select Committees on immigration policy, with original instructions to Immigration Agent, 1838. 4/4705.

²⁸ Ibid., p.71.

or at the utmost 35 years of age, may, when approved, obtain A FREE PASSAGE ... , if they are accompanied by their wives, and are without children, or have not more than one or two AT THE MOST, under 5 years old.²⁹

The government agents, however, had to select their migrants from those who offered themselves, without the benefit of recruiting the best potential emigrants in the community.

Although no evidence indicates that Pinnock profited from the preference he showed to bounty immigrants and from his collaboration with Marshall, enough is known to discredit his most severe allegations against the 'Government System.' Nevertheless, many of his criticisms are valid. The government migrants were more expensive and, as demonstrated later in this study, they were older and brought more children with them than their counterparts who arrived under the bounty system. Although a disadvantage in the immediate sense, the large proportion of children was a long term advantage for the colony because the children travelled at half or no fare and when immigration was suspended in the 1840s they became a valuable and cheap source of labour as they reached their teens and took their places in the labouring force. Second, the shipboard mortality rate was higher among the government immigrants than among the bounty

²⁹

'Gloucestershire County, England, Photoprint of documents in the Gloucestershire County Record Office concerning emigration to Australia from the parish of Bisley in 1837,' p.13. MLA 3871. Mitchell Library. Public Library of New South Wales. Although the library entry is dated 1837, the broadsheet must have been published in 1838 because it advertised that the Orient, the Susan and the Argyle were to sail on 5 November, 3 December and 10 December, respectively. The Susan arrived at Port Jackson on 10 March 1839, the Argyle on 1 April 1839 and the Orient on 4 April 1839. (Appendix D, Table II).

immigrants. On the other hand, the charges Pinnock made about the quality of the government immigrants compared to that of the bounty immigrants seems baseless, as far as it can be tested. The government immigrants were more skilled than the bounty immigrants and were a more diversified group. Moreover, there were proportionately fewer Irish and Roman Catholics among the government migrants ^{than} found among the bounty immigrants, a fact that some colonists would find agreeable. However, Pinnock's criticisms reflected a widely-held belief in the colony that the government immigrants were not only more expensive than the bounty migrants, but also that they were inferior in quality. That belief was so strong and so often voiced in the colony that the 'Government System' was ended in 1840. Within a year Pinnock was replaced by Francis Merewether as Emigration Agent and then transferred to the Port Phillip District as Deputy Registrar.³⁰

The Number of Assisted Immigrants

As shown in Table I, according to the official statistical returns, 86,106 migrants (more than eighty per cent) who arrived in New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 received assisted passages either through the government or bounty systems. The migrants included in this study are taken from the shipping lists and number 84, 506 (Table II), a figure that is approximately one per cent

³⁰ Gipps to Russell, No. 163, 24 August 1841. H.R.A. I, 21, pp.513-4.

TABLE I
 IMMIGRATION INTO NEW SOUTH WALES AND
 THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT, 1837-1850

Year	Assisted Immigrants				Unassisted Immigrants				Total number of Immigrants				
	Adult Males		Children (under 14)		Adult Males		Children (under 14)		Adult Males		Children (under 14)		Total
	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	Males	Females	
1837	688	840	1,136	1,136	437	200	176	176	813	1,125	1,040	1,312	3,477
1838	1,928	1,673	2,501	2,501	764	438	126	126	1,328	2,692	2,111	2,627	7,430
1839	3,137	3,017	2,262	2,262	1,151	576	406	406	2,133	4,288	3,593	2,668	10,549
1840	2,631	2,733	1,273	1,273	1,129	427	293	293	1,849	3,760	3,160	1,566	8,486
1841	7,467	7,985	4,651	4,651	1,334	569	477	477	2,380	8,801	8,554	5,128	22,483
1842	2,590	2,532	1,701	1,701	1,193	462	509	509	2,164	3,783	2,994	2,210	8,987
1843	3	4	4	4	642	295	194	194	1,131	645	299	198	1,142
1844	1,362	1,337	1,440	1,440	336	131	81	81	548	1,698	1,468	1,521	4,667
1845	174	178	146	146	267	144	187	187	598	441	322	333	1,096
1846	-	-	-	-	210	117	75	75	402	210	117	75	402
1847	-	-	-	-	405	237	174	174	816	405	237	174	816
1848	2,741	2,919	2,225	2,225	712	329	178	178	1,219	3,453	3,248	2,403	9,104
1849	5,155	6,298	4,320	4,320	1,728	968	871	871	3,567	6,883	7,266	5,191	19,340
1850	1,712	3,323	1,020	1,020	1,189	833	516	516	2,538	2,901	4,156	1,536	8,593
TOTALS	29,588	32,839	22,679	22,679	11,497	5,726	4,263	4,263	21,486	41,085	38,565	26,942	106,592

Compiled from the official statistical returns appended annually to the Reports of the
 Committee on Immigration in the V. & P.L.C. N.S.W.

TABLE II

CLASSIFICATION AND SEX OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

Classification	No.	%
Adult Males	29,530	35
Adult Females	32,633	39
Children:		
Male 11,671	22,343	13.8
Female 10,672		
TOTALS	84,506	100%

Compiled from Appendices C, E, G and H.

smaller than that derived from the official returns. The difference between the two figures, although statistically insignificant, is difficult to explain, but probably arose from the manner in which the data concerning the migrants was processed, as well as slightly different methods in counting infants and migrants for whom bounty was disallowed.³¹ The largest discrepancy between the official returns and the figures used in this study occurred in recording the number of children who arrived: the official returns show that 23,679 children arrived, while the calculations on which this study is based show that 22,343 (a difference of 1,336 children) arrived. In addition, data for 58 fewer adult males and 206 fewer adult females were recorded for this study.

The Kinds of Assisted Immigrants

The assisted immigrants introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 were divided into four distinct groups for whom separate records were kept: (1) government assisted immigrants who arrived in New South Wales through the office of the Agent-General for Emigration, which functioned between 1837-40; (2) bounty immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837-50 and who were imported by individuals resident in the colony or by persons, usually shipping agents, authorized by the Colonial Government to introduce a certain number of immigrants with specified occupations

³¹ For a full discussion of this point, see 'Notes on Appendices and Methodology' at the beginning of Volume II.

and within specified ages; (3) bounty immigrants who were imported into the Port Phillip District between 1839-50 by private residents in the colony or by agents authorized by the colonial Government; and (4) government assisted immigrants who were introduced into the Port Phillip District between 1848-50.

The bounty migrants introduced into New South Wales accounted for more than half of the total number of assisted immigrants (Table III) while their counterparts imported into the Port Phillip District accounted for another 30 per cent of the total number of migrants. The government assisted immigrants accounted for little more than 15 per cent of the total. Those introduced into New South Wales comprised only 14 per cent of the total but they were a significant proportion of the migrants introduced into the colony. Those imported into the Port Phillip District were insignificant statistically but remain a distinct and identifiable group.

TABLE III

ASSISTED IMMIGRATION INTO NEW SOUTH WALES
AND THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT, 1837-1850

Immigration Group:	No.	%
Government Assisted - N.S.W.	11,973	14
Bounty - N.S.W.	46,064	54
Bounty - P.P.D.	25,193	30
Government Assisted - P.P.D.	1,276	2
TOTALS	84,506	100%

Compiled from Appendices C, E,G and H.

PART I

'WHO WERE THE ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS?'

CHAPTER I

THE ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

Introduction

Four kinds of assisted immigrants have been identified and described briefly in the 'Introduction' to this study. Nevertheless, the migrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 will be considered as one group in this chapter. Several reasons exist for examining all of the assisted migrants as one group. In the first place, there was a distinct homogeneity about the assisted immigrants: almost all of them were from the British Isles; approximately three-fourths of them were from the labouring classes; more than eight-tenths of the adults were between 14 and 30 years of age; approximately equal divisions existed between the sexes; approximately equal proportions of the adult males and females were married or single; and approximately the same average number of children accompanied family units recruited through the different schemes. Second, by examining the assisted migrants as one group, it is possible to determine more clearly the most distinct characteristics of the immigrants. Third, the differences in characteristics between the separate groups of immigrants assisted through the several schemes are more readily identifiable when they are compared with all of the migrants.

The fourth and most important reason for examining the assisted immigrants as one group is because their contemporaries, such as J. D. Pinnock and their leaders, such as Henry Parkes, as well as historians such as R. B. Madgwick, John Barrett and Michael Roe considered them to be one group. Indeed, as indicated in a previous quotation, Parkes did not draw distinctions between the assisted and unassisted immigrants; he simply called them 'the free immigrant working classes.'

The Sex, Marital Status, Ages and the Number of Children of the Assisted Immigrants

The Sex of the Assisted Immigrants

The assisted immigrants were divided approximately equally between the sexes (Figure I).¹ That was not the case, however, for the adult immigrants, of whom over five per cent more were female than male, while the opposite was true for the children: there were four per cent more boys than girls (Table IV).

The government immigrants introduced into New South Wales were divided approximately equally between the sexes, with a small advantage to the males. The bounty immigrants brought to both New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, however, had almost the same proportions between the sexes as the total number of assisted immigrants.² The

¹ It should be noted that the diagrams and graphs included in this chapter are based on the data presented in tabular form in Appendix I.

² Appendix C, Table I, Appendix E, Table I and Appendix G, Table I.

FIGURE I
CLASSIFICATION AND SEX OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

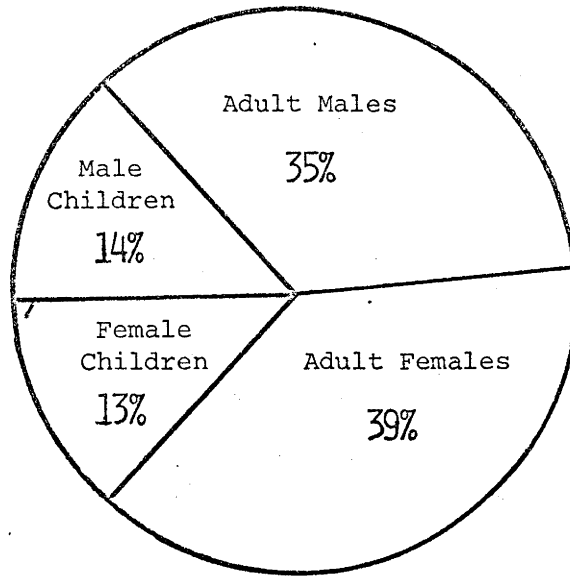


FIGURE II
MARITAL STATUS OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS

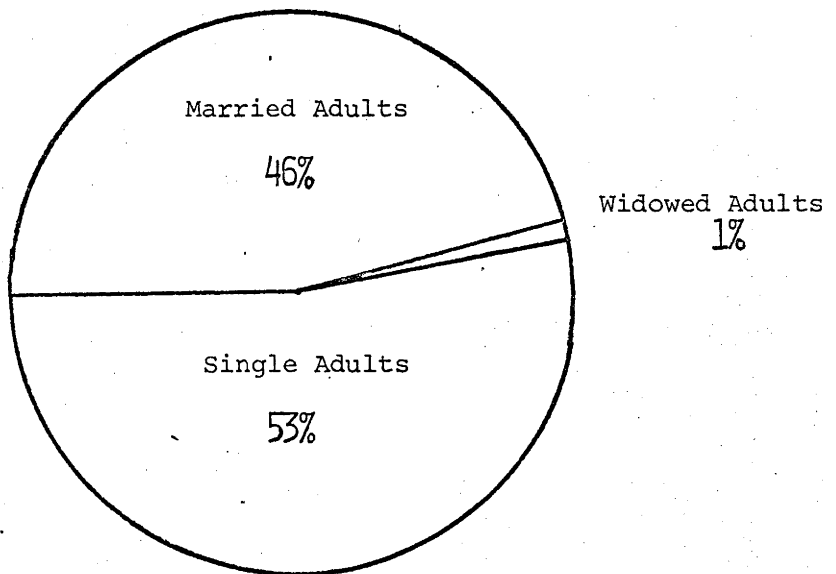


TABLE IV

THE SEX OF THE ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

Sex:	Adults		Children		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
<u>Male:</u>						
Adult	29,530	47			41,201	49
Children			11,671	52		
<u>Female:</u>						
Adult	32,633	52			43,305	51
Children			10,672	48		
TOTALS	66,163	99%	22,343	100%	84,506	100%

Compiled from Appendices C, E, G and H.

government assisted immigrants imported into the Port Phillip District, although insignificant statistically, were markedly different in ratio between males and females: 55 per cent were males and 45 per cent were females.³

The division between the sexes was influenced by the fact that approximately 85 per cent of the assisted immigrants were introduced through the bounty system. Both groups of bounty immigrants not only had more females than males, but also contained large numbers of orphan girls recruited from Ireland. A total of 2,281 orphan girls were imported into New South Wales, while an additional 1,307 were introduced into the Port Phillip District.⁴ The total number of orphan girls (3,588) more than accounted for the excess of females over males (2,305) among the assisted immigrants.

The Marital Status of the Adult Immigrants

More than half of the adult migrants were single, while only 46 per cent were married and one per cent were widowed (Figure II). Among the males, two per cent more were married and two per cent less were single than found for the total number of adult immigrants (Table V). The marital status of the females was strikingly different from the males. Fifty-five per cent of the females were single while only 44 per cent were married, a situation that arose primarily from the

³ Appendix H, Table I.

⁴ Appendix E, Table V, b and Appendix G, Table IV, b.

FIGURE III

AGES OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

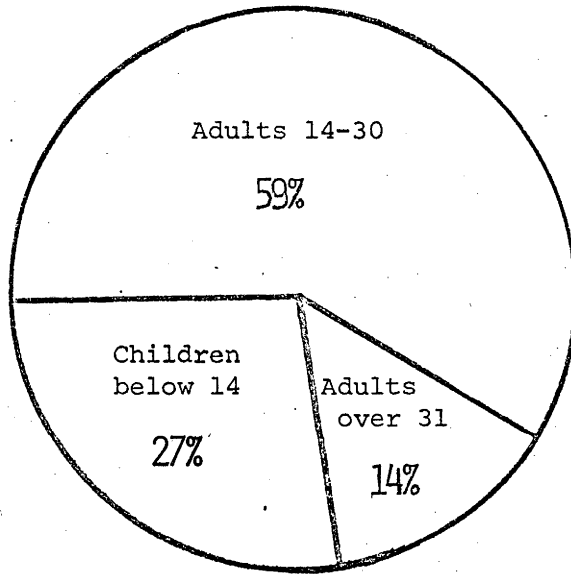


TABLE V

MARITAL STATUS OF THE ADULT ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

Marital Status	Males		Females		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Married	14,179	48	14,243	44	28,422	46
Widowed	328	1	337	1	665	1
Single	14,823	51	18,053	55	32,876	53
TOTALS	29,330	100%	32,633	100%	61,963	100%

Compiled from Appendices C, E, G and H.

introduction of the 3,588 orphan girls who were also single. When the orphan girls are excluded from the single females and the total number of adult females, approximately 50 per cent of the females were single and 48 per cent were married.

The marital status of the government immigrants introduced into New South Wales was quite different from the proportions found for all of the assisted immigrants. Fifty-five per cent of the adult males were married while 43 per cent were single and two per cent were widowed.⁵ The marital status of the adult females was even more markedly different from the proportions found among the adult assisted immigrants. Almost 60 per cent of the adult females introduced through the 'Government System' were married, while less than 40 per cent were single.⁶ The adult males introduced into New South Wales through the bounty system were divided in the same proportions as found for the total number of adult males; just over half were single and just under half were married.⁷ The females, however, showed the influence of the orphan girls on the proportion who were single. Fifty-seven per cent of the adult female bounty immigrants were single while only 43 per cent were married.⁸ The female bounty immigrants introduced into the Port Phillip

⁵ Appendix C, Table III.

⁶ Ibid., Table V.

⁷ Appendix E, Table II, a.

⁸ Ibid., Table II, b.

District further accentuated the proportion of single over married females because almost 60 per cent were single while only 40 per cent were married.⁹ Although the male bounty immigrants imported into the Port Phillip District contained nine per cent more single than married persons, the proportion of single males was five per cent lower than that of the single females.¹⁰ The marital status of the male government migrants introduced into the Port Phillip District was approximately the same as found for the other groups of migrants; more than half were single.¹¹ The division of the females, however, approximated to the government rather than to the bounty migrants introduced into New South Wales. Fifty-six per cent of the female government migrants imported into the Port Phillip District were married while only 41 per cent were single (two per cent were widows).¹² The widows and widowers were relatively insignificant. They did not account for more than one per cent of the migrants in any group except the government immigrants introduced into the Port Phillip District, in which case they constituted three per cent of the adult males and two per cent of the adult females.

⁹ Appendix G, Table II, b.

¹⁰ Ibid., Table II, a.

¹¹ Appendix H, Table II, a.

¹² Ibid., Table II, b.

The migrants introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District through the bounty system contained a greater proportion of unmarried women than those immigrants imported through the 'Government System.' The 3,588 orphan girls brought to the colonies as bounty migrants more than accounted for the inflated proportions of single over married women. Even without the orphan girls, a larger proportion of unmarried women was found among the bounty immigrants than the government migrants.

The Ages of the Assisted Immigrants

Approximately 60 per cent of the assisted immigrants were between fourteen and thirty years of age (Figure III), another 14 per cent were over thirty-one, while more than a quarter were children below fourteen. The male immigrants contained slightly larger proportions of children under fourteen and adults over thirty, and a smaller proportion of adults between fourteen and thirty (Figure IV). The females, however, contained a larger proportion between fourteen and thirty and smaller proportions of children, and adults over thirty, again, primarily because of the orphan girls, most of whom were between fourteen and seventeen and all of whom were less than twenty-four years of age.¹³

The government immigrants introduced into New South Wales did not conform to the general age distribution. More than 40 per cent were

¹³ Appendix E, Table IV, b and Appendix G, Table IV, b.

FIGURE IV

AGES OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

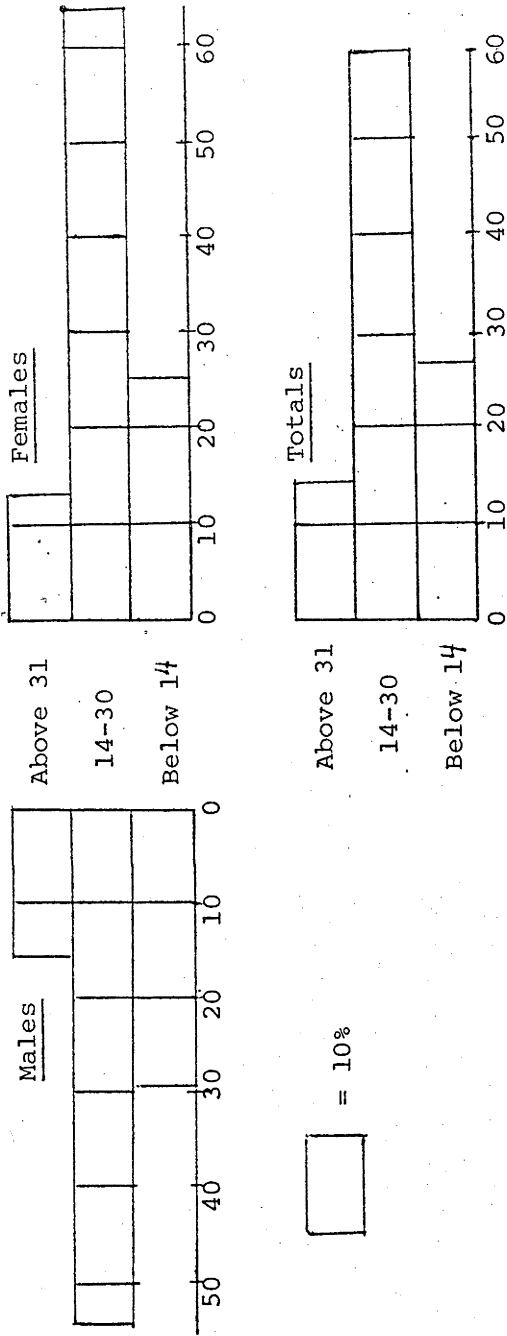
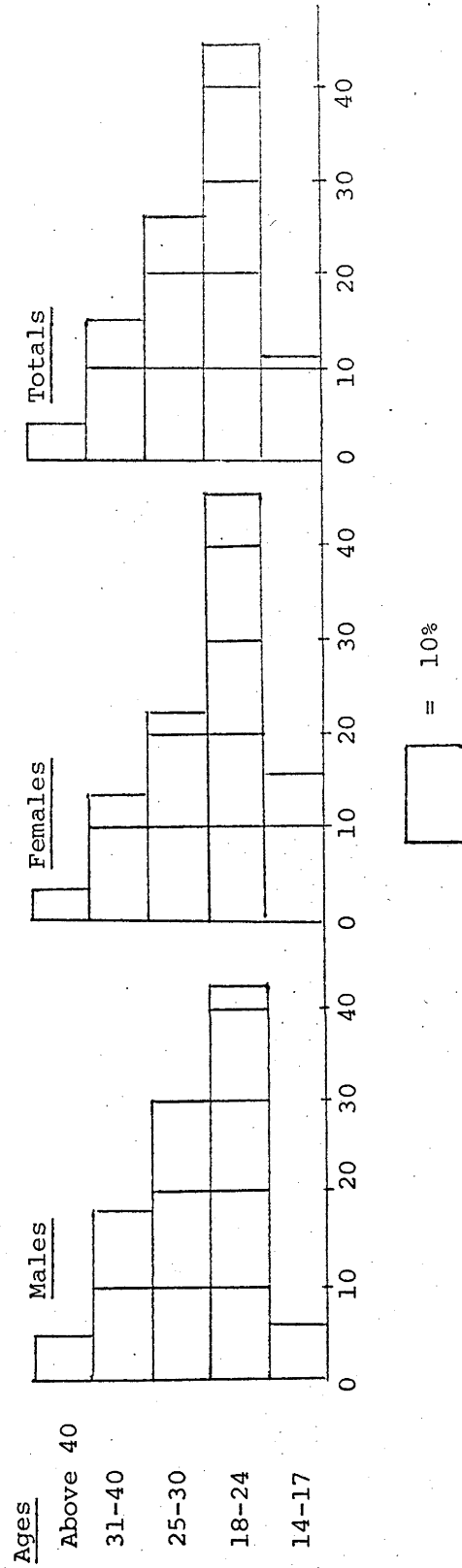


FIGURE V

AGES OF ADULT ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS



1 box = 10%

above thirty and less than 40 per cent were between fourteen and thirty. The male government immigrants diverged most sharply from the general distribution of ages, as only 36 per cent were between fourteen and thirty, while 21 per cent were over thirty.¹⁴ The age distribution of the males among the bounty immigrants imported into New South Wales corresponded exactly with the figures for all of the assisted immigrants. The females, on the other hand, contained a larger proportion between the ages of fourteen and thirty and smaller proportions of adults over thirty and children under fourteen.¹⁵ The age distribution of the male bounty immigrants brought to the Port Phillip District corresponded closely with that of all the assisted migrants but the females contained almost 10 per cent more between fourteen and thirty than found in the general distribution.¹⁶ The government immigrants imported into the Port Phillip District contained more children below fourteen and adults above thirty than either group of bounty migrants but their proportion of children was not as great as that found among the government migrants introduced into New South Wales.¹⁷

The age group distribution of the adult immigrants (Figure V), indicates that 55 per cent were between fourteen and twenty-four and

¹⁴ Appendix C, Table VII.

¹⁵ Appendix E, Table III.

¹⁶ Appendix G, Table III.

¹⁷ Appendix H, Table III.

only three per cent were more than forty-one. The influence of the 3,588 orphan girls was again readily apparent in the proportion of adult females between fourteen and seventeen. It was also present, but to a lesser extent, among those females between eighteen and twenty-four. It was apparent that the females were significantly younger than the males: 84 per cent of the females were between fourteen and thirty while only 78 per cent of the males were between those ages.

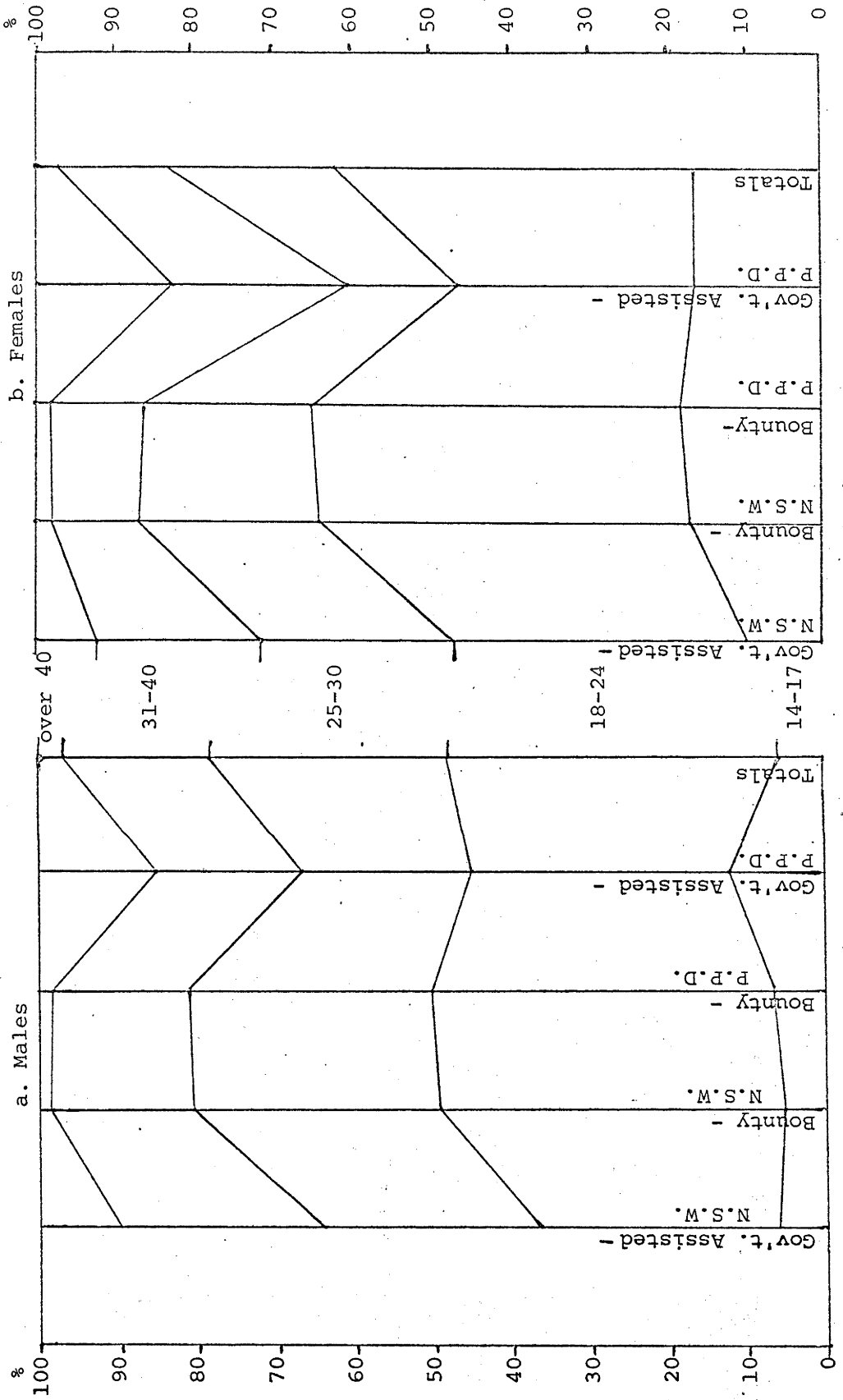
The government immigrants were significantly older than the bounty migrants (Figure VI, a); 35 per cent of the male government migrants were over thirty but not more than 20 per cent of the bounty immigrants were above that age. Among the female government immigrants, 29 per cent of those who went to New South Wales and 40 per cent of those who went to the Port Phillip District were more than thirty but less than 15 per cent of the females introduced by the bounty scheme were of that age (Figure VI, b).

The fact that the government immigrants were significantly older than the bounty migrants becomes more apparent when the male migrants are examined by marital status. More than half of the married male government immigrants brought to New South Wales were above thirty¹⁸ but less than 40 per cent of the male bounty migrants who were also married were over that age.¹⁹ Although statistically insignificant, the

¹⁸ Appendix C, Table VIII, a.

¹⁹ Appendix E, Table IV, a and Appendix G, Table IV, a.

FIGURE VI
AGES OF ADULT ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS



'oldness' of the ^{Port Phillip District} government migrants is emphasized by examining the widowers. More than 70 per cent of the widowers who arrived in New South Wales and more than 80 per cent of their counterparts who arrived in the Port Phillip District as government migrants were over thirty.²⁰ In contrast, the proportion of widowers above thirty did not exceed 56 per cent in either group of bounty immigrants.²¹ The single males in all groups were comparable in ages; approximately a quarter of the single males in each group was older than twenty-four.²²

The established pattern that the government migrants were older than the bounty immigrants was repeated among the married females. More than 40 per cent of the married females who arrived in New South Wales and more than 60 per cent of their sisters who went to the Port Phillip District as government migrants were above thirty. The proportion of female bounty immigrants above thirty was found to be 29 and 32 per cent for the migrants introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, respectively. Approximately 70 per cent of the widows who arrived as bounty immigrants were over thirty, but only 64 per cent of the widows brought to New South Wales as government migrants were over that age. All of the widows introduced into the Port Phillip District as government immigrants were over thirty. Less than

²⁰ Appendix C, Table VIII, a and Appendix H, Table IV, a.

²¹ Appendix E, Table IV, a and Appendix G, Table IV, a.

²² Appendix C, Table VIII, a; Appendix E, Table IV, a; Appendix G, Table IV, a; and Appendix H, Table IV, a.

five per cent of the single females introduced into the colony were over thirty, so it is difficult to make any comparisons concerning their ages.²³

The government immigrants were older than the bounty migrants and the males were older than the females, especially so between the married males and females. Although the orphan girls contributed to the comparative 'youthfulness' of the female migrants, they were by no means the sole cause of it because the females were younger than the males in all groups except the widows and widowers who were numerically so few that they were insignificant. The orphan girls, however, by helping to lower the average age of the bounty immigrants gave the latter a decided advantage over the government migrants. Nevertheless, the fact remains that in almost all divisions, the migrants introduced through the bounty system were younger than those who arrived under the 'Government System,' a fact which justifies one of the criticisms made of the government immigrants.

The Children of the Assisted Immigrants

A total of 22,343, or more than a quarter of the assisted migrants were children (Figure I, Table II and Table IV). Although the proportions of boys and girls were approximately equal, in actual numbers there were 999 more boys than girls. More than three-quarters of the children accompanied bounty immigrants and less than one-quarter arrived with the

²³ Appendix C, Table VIII, b; Appendix E, Table IV, b; Appendix G, Table IV, b; and Appendix H, Table IV, b.

government migrants (Table VI). Moreover, it is apparent that there were more boys than girls in every group of migrants. It is significant that 21 per cent of the children were government migrants to New South Wales, but those same migrants accounted for only 14 per cent of total number of assisted immigrants. Clearly, the government migrants brought a larger proportion of children than the bounty immigrants, justifying another criticism made of the government immigrants by the colonists. In fact, the family units of the government migrants averaged 2.2 children but the bounty immigrants imported into that colony averaged only 1.4 children per family unit.

The Native Places and Occupations of the Assisted Immigrants

The Native Places of the Assisted Immigrants

The assisted immigrants came from all parts of the British Isles. They came from John O'Groats to Lands End, from Londonderry and Belfast to Dursey Isle. All English counties and most Irish, Scottish and Welsh localities were represented. In addition, a few immigrants came from Canada and the United States and several hundred were recruited from Germany. More than half of the migrants were from Ireland (Figure VII), but more than a third were of English origins. Only 12 per cent were Scots. Although the divisions in native places represent the total number of assisted migrants, they do not indicate the marked differences in origins between the males and females (Figure VII). A larger proportion of males than females were recruited in England and Scotland. Conversely, a greater proportion of females than males were of Irish origins, although that proportion was exaggerated by the 3,588 Irish orphan girls

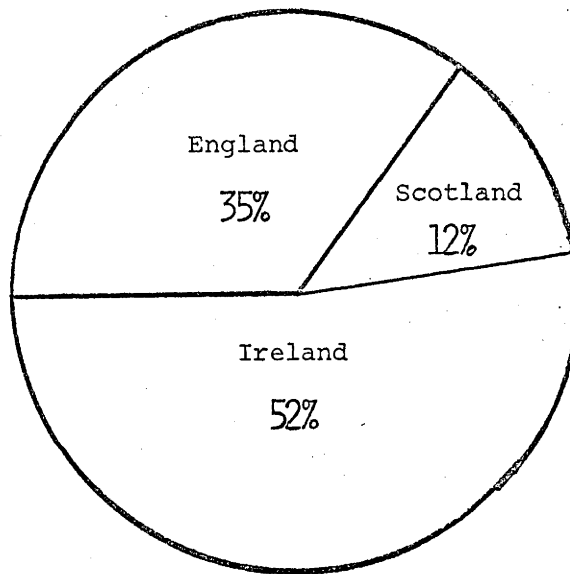
TABLE VI
THE AGES OF THE ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

Age Group	Males		Females		Totals	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Children (below 14)	11,671	29	10,672	25	22,343	27
14-30	22,605	56	26,782	63	49,387	59
Over 30	6,344	16	4,958	12	11,302	14
TOTALS	40,620	101%	42,412	100%	83,032	100%

Ages were not recorded for 581 adult males and 893 adult females. Compiled from Appendices C, E, G and H.

FIGURE VII

NATIVE PLACES OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS

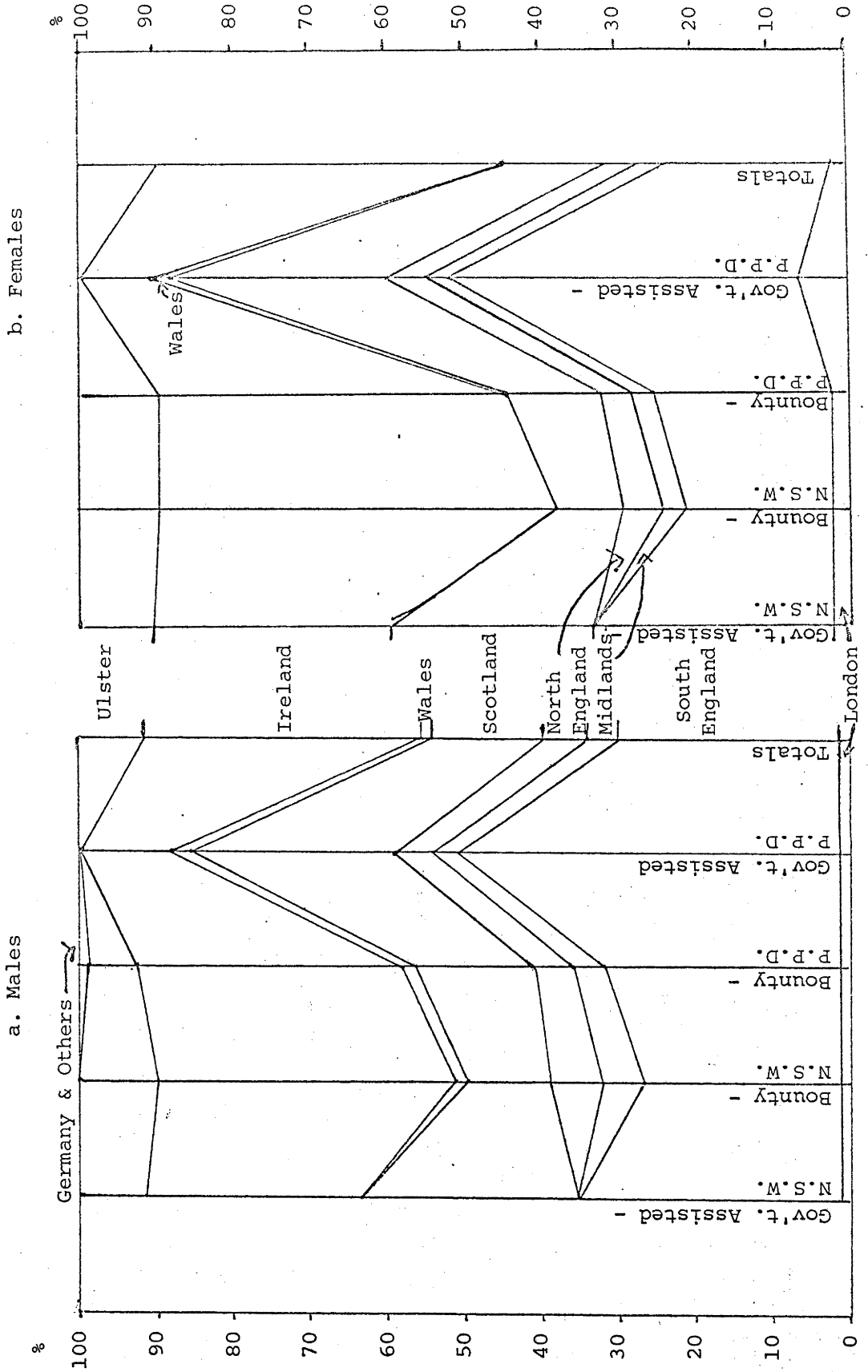


introduced into the colony as bounty immigrants. Even if the orphan girls were not included with the other females, it is clear that the 'Irishness' of the females was more pronounced than that of the males.

Among all bounty migrants, more were Irish than among all government migrants (Figure VIII); further, among the bounty migrants introduced into New South Wales there was a higher proportion of Irish than of any other single group. This was most noticeable among the females whose Irish character was accentuated by the 2,280 orphan girls introduced into that colony. It was also apparent that the government migrants had larger proportions of people of English and Scottish origins than the bounty immigrants. Many of the Scottish migrants were recruited from the Highlands following the savage 'clearances' in the thirties. The larger proportion of English migrants among the government immigrants is more difficult to explain but it was obvious that almost all of them came from the South of England and that few from the Midlands and the North of England offered themselves for migration.

The distribution of native places among the male and female government immigrants introduced into New South Wales was similar, although a slightly higher proportion of the males were from the South of England and Scotland, while larger proportions of the females were from the provinces of Ireland. Among the bounty immigrants imported into New South Wales, exactly 50 per cent of the males were Irish but 64 per cent of the females were from Ireland. Although the bounty migrants who landed in the Port Phillip District were not as 'Irish' as

FIGURE VIII
NATIVE PLACES OF ADULT ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS



their counterparts carried to New South Wales, 56 per cent of the females and 43 per cent of the males were from Ireland. The native places of the government immigrants introduced into the Port Phillip District were atypical of the other groups of migrants: only 11 per cent were Irish while 58 per cent of the males and 59 per cent of the females were from England, the majority being from the South of England (Figure VIII). Although less than one per cent of the government migrants landed in New South Wales were from the Midlands and the North of England, migrants in the other groups averaged between seven and twelve per cent from those areas, a fact that probably resulted from the freedom of bounty agents to recruit migrants from all areas of the British Isles while the government agents were generally restricted to the ports to which they were assigned and then could only accept or reject those who offered themselves for emigration, rather than engaging in active recruitment of migrants. Moreover, approximately 90 per cent of the bounty migrants from the Midlands and the North of England were introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District in the 1840s after the 'Government System' ceased operations.²⁴

The native places of the married and single males among the government migrants were distributed in approximately the same

²⁴ Compiled from 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-1896,' 4/4782-8 and 4/4790; 'Persons on bounty ships (Board Lists), 1848-1850,' 4/4904-4/4919; 'Wives and families of convicts on bounty ships, 1849-1855,' 4/4819; 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51,' 4/4813-8. State Archives of New South Wales.

proportions indicated previously for all of the adult government migrants introduced into New South Wales. The widowers, however, had a smaller proportion of Irishmen but more Englishmen and Scotsmen among them.²⁵ A larger proportion of Englishmen, but fewer Irishmen were also found among the married and widowed male bounty immigrants imported into New South Wales, while there was a marked increase in the percentage of Irish migrants among the single bounty males.²⁶ That pattern was also found for the male bounty immigrants introduced into the Port Phillip District.²⁷ The male government migrants imported into the Port Phillip District were not only atypical of the adult male migrants, but also varied considerably in native places between married, widowed and single males. For example, 68 per cent of the married males were of English origin but only half of the single males were English. In addition, less than 10 per cent of the married males were Irish while 15 per cent of the single males came from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and one per cent were from Ulster.²⁸ Overall, larger proportions of Irish migrants were included among those who migrated through the bounty system than through the 'Government System.'

²⁵ Appendix C, Table XIII, a.

²⁶ Appendix E, Table VI, a.

²⁷ Appendix G, Table VI, a.

²⁸ Appendix H, Table VI, a.

The distribution of native places of the adult female migrants not only varied considerably between the groups of migrants, but also between the married, widowed, single and orphan females within each group. For example, less than 35 per cent of the female government migrants arriving in New South Wales were from England but approximately 40 per cent of the married females in that group were English.²⁹ There were also corresponding decreases in the proportion of married females from Scotland and Ireland³⁰ compared to the figures indicated for all of the female government migrants. Among the female bounty immigrants arriving in New South Wales, the proportion of women of English origin was greater among the married and widowed females than shown for the total number of female bounty immigrants introduced into that colony. Conversely, the single females had a smaller proportion of migrants from England, Scotland and Wales, but showed larger proportions of emigrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, as well as Ulster. Approximately only one per cent of the orphan girls ^{were} from England, Scotland and Wales; 92 per cent were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and seven per cent were from Ulster.³¹ The same general pattern was found among the female bounty migrants imported into the Port Phillip District; the distribution

²⁹ Appendix C, Table XIII, b.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Appendix E, Table VI, b.

of native places of the married females showed that a larger proportion of them had English origins than found for the total number of female bounty immigrants introduced into that colony. Although there were more Scots among the widows than either the married, single or orphan females, there was a smaller proportion of Irish-born migrants. Sixty-one per cent of the single females and 98 per cent of the orphan girls were Irish compared to 56 per cent of all the female bounty migrants introduced into the Port Phillip District.³² As with the male government migrants imported into the Port Phillip District, their female counterparts were atypical. They were more English and Scottish and less Irish than the other groups of migrants.³³ Moreover, the single females were as English and Scottish as the married females,³⁴ which was a sharp contrast to unmarried female migrants in the other groups.

The bounty immigrants contained a larger proportion of Irish-born migrants than the government immigrants and that 'Irishness' of the bounty migrants was carried over into the married, widowed, single and orphan divisions within each group. Moreover, the bounty immigrants introduced into New South Wales were more Irish than any other group of migrants, including their counterparts who arrived in the Port Phillip District. In addition, it has been shown that the female migrants were

³² Appendix G, Table VI, b.

³³ Appendix H, Table VI, b.

³⁴ Ibid.

more Irish than the males - almost 60 per cent of the adult females were Irish but only 46 per cent of the males came from Ireland. As mentioned previously - but it is worth repeating - the 3,588 orphan girls introduced into New South Wales and Port Phillip District did much to swell the proportion of Irish among the females. Nevertheless, even if the orphan girls were not considered, a larger proportion of female than male migrants was Irish.

The Occupations of the Assisted Immigrants

Males

More than 130 occupations were found among the adult male immigrants, including a 'birdstuffer,' several basketmakers, blacksmiths, comb and stay makers, lime burners, wiremakers, bookkeepers, surgeons, teachers, porters, butlers, cooks, gardeners, grooms and ostlers.³⁵ Approximately 70 per cent were recorded as agricultural labourers of some kind or unskilled workers (Figure X). Another 23 per cent were either building workers or skilled, handicraft and factory workers. The remaining nine per cent were recorded as shopkeepers and tradesmen, professionals, domestic servants or vine-dressers. Occupations were not recorded for less than four per cent of the adult male immigrants.

The distribution of occupations varied between the different groups of migrants (Figure X, a). For example, 56 per cent of the male bounty immigrants introduced into New South Wales were agricultural labourers but only 33 per cent of their counterparts imported into the

³⁵ Appendix A, Part a.

FIGURE IX

OCCUPATIONS OF ADULT MALE IMMIGRANTS

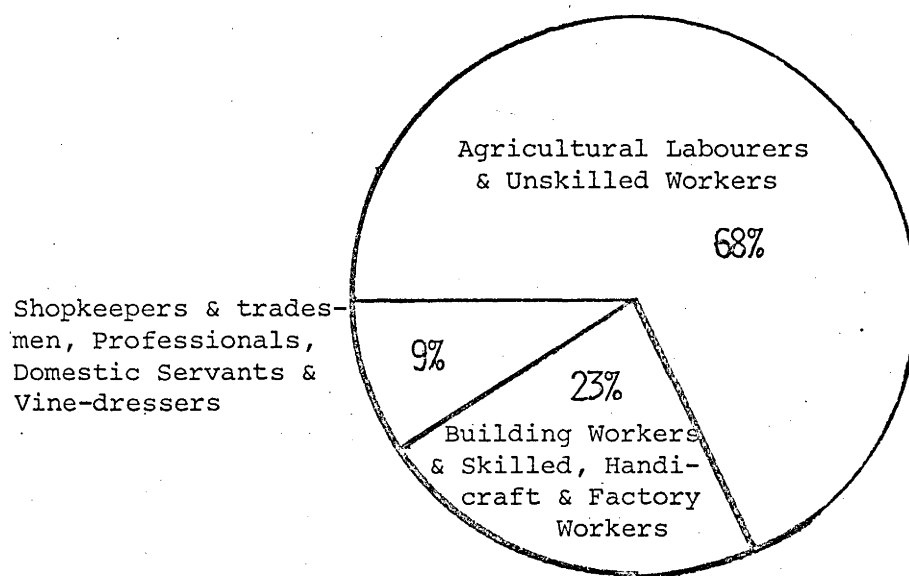
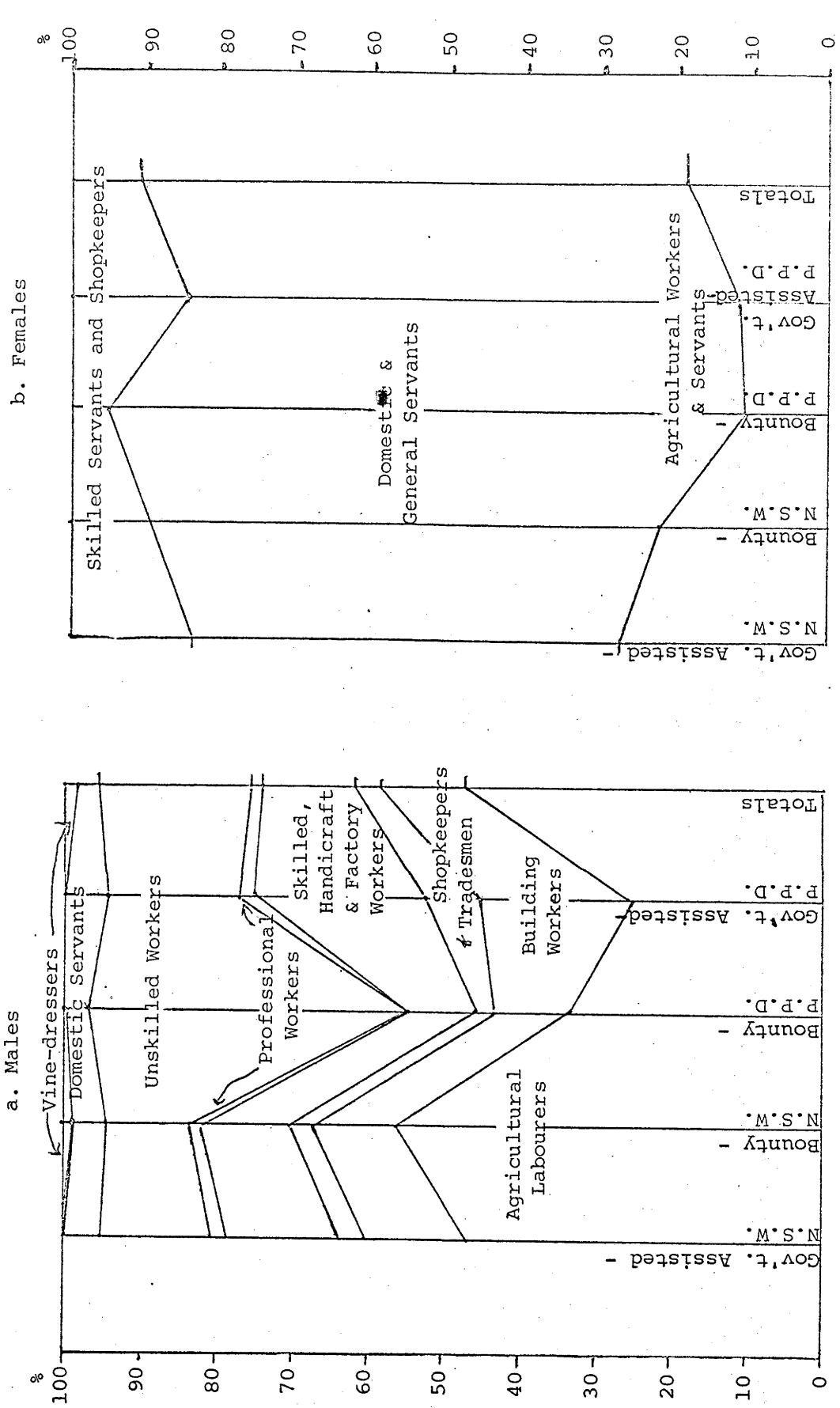


FIGURE X

OCCUPATIONS OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS



Port Phillip District were of that occupation. The most marked difference in occupations occurred among those recorded as unskilled workers; 42 per cent of the male bounty immigrants landed in the Port Phillip District were noted as unskilled workers but only 11 per cent of the bounty migrants introduced into New South Wales were found to be unskilled. That difference may be partially explained by the difference in the origins of the migrants and the fact that a larger proportion of bounty migrants were recruited in Ireland than in England or Scotland. It is more likely that many of those recorded as unskilled upon arrival in the Port Phillip District would have been noted as agricultural labourers in New South Wales. That assertion is supported by an examination of the total number of agricultural labourers and unskilled workers among the three largest groups of migrants.³⁶ Sixty-two per cent of the government migrants, 67 per cent of the bounty (New South Wales) migrants and 75 per cent of bounty (the Port Phillip District) migrants were either agricultural labourers or unskilled workers. It seems likely, then, that many agricultural labourers introduced into the Port Phillip District through the bounty system were recorded as unskilled workers.

Except for the differences in the proportion of agricultural labourers and unskilled workers there is a similarity in the

³⁶ Almost every known facet of the government immigrants introduced into the Port Phillip District is atypical of the other groups of migrants. However, since they accounted for only two per cent of the total number of assisted immigrants, they will not be examined in any depth except where they seem most relevant.

occupation distributions recorded for the male immigrants. However, the government immigrants were more skilled than the bounty migrants; almost 40 per cent of the male government immigrants (New South Wales) were recorded as other than agricultural labourers or unskilled workers but only one-third of the male bounty migrants imported into New South Wales and only one-quarter of their counterparts introduced into the Port Phillip District were noted as having other occupations.

The differences in occupations between the three largest groups of migrants is more apparent when the marital status and the occupations are considered. For example, approximately half of the married males among the government and bounty migrants introduced into New South Wales were agricultural labourers but only 30 per cent of the married males imported into the Port Phillip District were recorded in that occupation. The other occupations of the married males in each group were similar in proportion but there was a general tendency for the married government migrants to be more skilled than the bounty immigrants. A similar tendency was found among the widowers; the government migrants tended to be more skilled than their bounty migrant counterparts. That tendency was even more pronounced among the single males: 34 per cent of the single government migrants were building workers; shopkeepers and tradesmen; skilled, handicraft and factory workers; professional workers; domestic servants or vine-dressers but only 26 per cent of the bounty migrants to New South Wales and only 20 per cent of the bounty immigrants to the Port Phillip

District were of those occupations.³⁷

Females

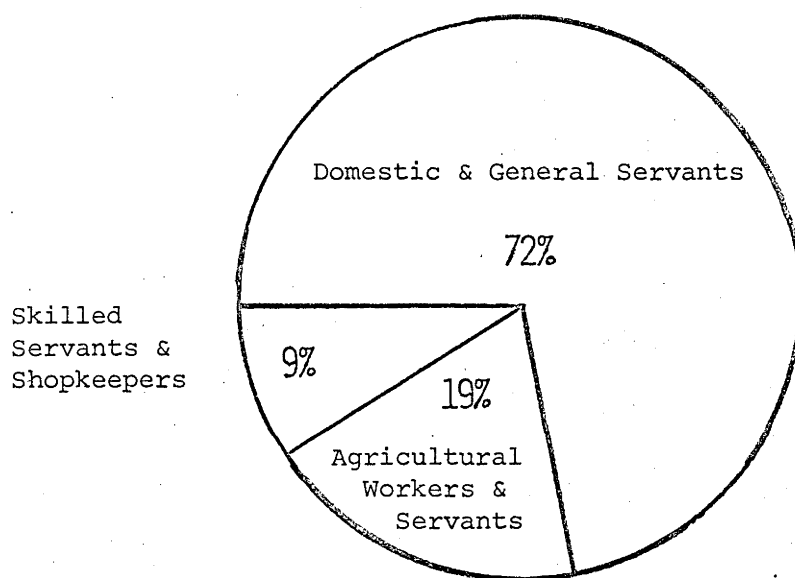
More than thirty different occupations were recorded for the assisted female migrants, including agricultural workers, dairy servants, assorted kinds of maids, governesses, washerwomen, bonnetmakers, needleworkers, nurses and midwives.³⁸ Occupations were not recorded for approximately one-quarter of the adult females. Among those for whom occupations are known, more than 70 per cent were domestic and general servants, while approximately 20 per cent were agricultural workers and servants and less than 10 per cent were skilled servants and shopkeepers (Figure XI). Noticeable differences existed in the distribution of occupations between the three largest groups of migrants. The government migrants contained larger proportions of agricultural workers and servants and skilled servants and shopkeepers than the two groups of bounty immigrants. Approximately 85 per cent of the bounty immigrants imported into the Port Phillip District were domestic and general servants, a much greater proportion than found among the other groups (Figure X, b). Although marked differences existed in the occupation distribution between the married females and widows of several groups of migrants those differences need not be discussed because occupations were not recorded for approximately

³⁷ Appendix C, Table IX, a; Appendix E, Table V, a; Appendix G, Table V, a.

³⁸ Appendix A, Part b.

FIGURE XI

OCCUPATIONS OF ADULT FEMALE IMMIGRANTS



49 per cent (6,858) married females and the widows accounted for so few of the females that they are statistically insignificant. Occupations were recorded for all but approximately five per cent of the single females,³⁹ however, and significant differences existed in the occupation distributions between the several groups of migrants. For example, more than 85 per cent of the single female bounty migrants introduced into the Port Phillip District were agricultural workers and servants but only 61 per cent of their counterparts imported into New South Wales as government migrants professed that occupation. Secondly, only six per cent of the single female bounty migrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District were skilled servants and shopkeepers, while 17 per cent of the single females imported into New South Wales as government migrants were recorded in those occupations.⁴⁰ As with the male immigrants, the single females among the government migrants introduced into New South Wales seemed to have been more skilled than their counterparts brought to that colony and to the Port Phillip District as bounty immigrants.

The orphan girls emphasized the occupation distribution found among the single females: 87 per cent of the orphans introduced into New South Wales and 95 per cent of the orphans imported into the

³⁹ Occupations were recorded for 13,840 single females, excluding orphans.

⁴⁰ Appendix C, Table IX, b; Appendix E, Table V, b; Appendix G, Table V, b.

Port Phillip District were domestic and general servants. The occupations of the orphan females not only influenced the general occupation distribution for the adult females: in the cases of the female bounty immigrants introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, the orphans exaggerated a distribution already weighted toward the domestic and general servants by the single females. However, if the occupations of approximately one-half of the married females were known, the occupation distribution for the total number of adult females might be altered significantly. Nevertheless, the domestic and general servants would still have been in the majority.

Several bounty agents attempted to defraud the Colonial Government by introducing female migrants under false pretences. In those cases where the Immigration Board discovered the falsehoods, bounty was denied. For example, it was denied to Maria Hincksman, a twenty-eight-year-old general servant, because the Immigration Board ruled she was 'a Pianist & music mistress - therefore ineligible.'⁴¹ Many others were refused because they were not under 'proper protection' aboard ship en route to the colony. Samples were Sarah Gallagher, a twenty-one-year-old house servant, and Margaret Hunt, a twenty-year-old dairymaid, both of whom arrived aboard the China on 7 September 1841;⁴²

⁴¹ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' January-August 1842. 4/4783, p.37. Maria Hincksman arrived in New South Wales on 11 July 1842, aboard the Earl Durham. She was recorded as a Protestant from London who knew how to read and write.

⁴² Ibid., 1841. 4/4788, p.196. Sarah Gallagher was recorded as an illiterate Roman Catholic from Leitrim and Margaret Hunt was indicated as a Protestant from Fermanagh who knew how to read. They arrived on the China on 7 September 1841, a bounty ship carrying immigrants for Nicholas James and Company.

thirteen other single women on the China were denied bounty,⁴³ in addition to twenty on the Canton because they were 'Not under protection,'⁴⁴ nineteen on the Eleanor,⁴⁵ and several more on the Queen Victoria.⁴⁶

Lack of protection was not the only reason bounty was denied for single females. J. F. Beattie was denied bounty for Anne Browne, a twenty-year-old farm servant,⁴⁷ and Alexander Campbell was unable to collect bounty on Caroline Whittle, a twenty-eight-year-old cook,⁴⁸ both women for immoral conduct on board ship. Thomas Gore and Company were denied bounty for Catherine Burke, a twenty-three-year-old nursery governess,⁴⁹ and Catherine White, a twenty-seven-year-old dairy woman, because both were 'Delivered of child on the passage.'⁵⁰

⁴³ Ibid., pp.189-98.

⁴⁴ Ibid., p.233. The Canton arrived on 18 September 1841.

⁴⁵ Ibid., pp.241-2. The Eleanor arrived on 22 August 1841.

⁴⁶ Ibid., pp.88-97. The Queen Victoria arrived on 26 July 1841.

⁴⁷ Ibid., January - August 1842. 4/4783, p.3. Anne Browne was recorded as a Presbyterian from Aberdeenshire who could read and write. She arrived in New South Wales on 30 January 1842, aboard the Mathesis.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 1841. 4/4788, p.96. Caroline Whittle was a Roman Catholic from London and was recorded as being able to read. She arrived in the colony on 26 July 1841, on board the Queen Victoria.

⁴⁹ Ibid., November 1841 - February 1842. 4/4782, p.11. Catherine Burke was recorded as a Roman Catholic from County Clare who could read and write. She arrived on the Lascar on 11 November 1841.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p.12. Catherine White was recorded as an illiterate Roman Catholic from Armagh. She also arrived aboard the Lascar on 11 November 1841.

Bounty was also denied by the Immigration Board to Carter and Bonus for Jane Moore, a twenty-four-year old farm servant because she was 'pregnant',⁵¹ and to W. Smith and Sons for Sarah Bigley, an eighteen-year-old nursemaid, because she had 'Gone to the Benevolent Asylum in the family way.'⁵² Bounty was also denied for a girl called Margaret Reid because

This girl is not Margaret Reid - Margaret Reid was unable to join her parents sufficiently early to emigrate with them, and this girl, whose name is Jane Robinson was passed in her stead.⁵³

Although these are only a few of the recorded examples of fraud, it is probable that other bounty agents secured approval of immigrants who travelled under false names or claimed incorrect occupations or ages. Because so many of the girls reported as pregnant were in that condition before embarkation, it may have been the cause of their emigration.

⁵¹ Ibid., 1844-5. 4/4785, pp.177-8. Jane Moore was recorded as an illiterate Protestant from County Cavan. She arrived in the colony on 26 June 1844, aboard the Royal Saxon.

⁵² Ibid., pp.39-40. Sarah Bigley was recorded as an illiterate Roman Catholic from County Tyrone. She arrived in the colony on 20 January 1844, aboard the Elizabeth.

⁵³ Ibid., February 1848 - January 1850. 4/4786, pp.129-30. The quotation is found on page 130. Jane Robinson accompanied Archibald Reid, a forty-five-year-old lace maker, and his wife Margaret, aged forty-four, in place of their daughter, Margaret. Also accompanying them were their six other children: Mary, aged twenty-two; Matilda, eighteen; Martha, sixteen; Samuel, twelve; Archibald, five; and Robert, two. The Reid family were Presbyterians from Glasgow. Archibald and Margaret Reid were recorded as knowing how to read and write, and their children were recorded as knowing how to read, except for Mary, Archibald and Robert, who were noted as illiterate. The Reid family and Jane Robinson arrived in New South Wales on 7 August 1848, aboard the Fairlie.

Bounty was denied to Robert Hearn and Company for Jane Hayden, described as a single twenty-six-year-old house servant, and Ellen Maher, described as a single twenty-six-year-old farm servant because each was found to be 'A married woman.'⁵⁴ Thomas Gore and Company were refused bounty for Mary Glaster, a twenty-five-year-old laundress, because she was 'Discovered to be the wife of a Prisoner.'⁵⁵ One single female, Rose Flynn, an eighteen-year-old house servant, was found to be insane and bounty was denied to A. B. Smith for bringing her to the colony.⁵⁶

In addition to the above cases, bounty was denied for immigrants other than unmarried females. Robert Worrell, described as a thirty-five-year-old farm labourer by the bounty agents, Gilchrist and Alexander, was declared ineligible because he was not a 'bona fide' farm labourer.⁵⁷ John Shortland, a thirty-six-year-old farm servant

⁵⁴ Ibid., 1841 4/4788, p.281. Jane Hayden was recorded as a Roman Catholic from Dublin who knew how to read and Ellen Maher was described as a Roman Catholic from Tipperary who also knew how to read. They arrived in the colony on 20 October 1841, aboard the Livingstone.

⁵⁵ Ibid., p.294. Mary Glaster was described as an illiterate Roman Catholic from Limerick. She arrived in New South Wales aboard the Fairlee on 20 October 1841.

⁵⁶ Ibid., p.138. Rose Flynn was recorded as a Roman Catholic from County Cavan who knew how to read. She arrived in the colony on 23 August 1841, aboard the Elizabeth.

⁵⁷ Ibid., p.175. Robert Worrell and his wife, Sarah, a thirty-one-year-old farm servant, were accompanied by their four children, Thomas, aged seven; Robert, one month; Sarah, four; and Mary, two. They were Presbyterians from Donegal. Robert and Sarah Worrell were described as being able to read and write. They arrived in the colony aboard the Adam Lodge on 30 August 1841.

was denied bounty because he left his wife in England,⁵⁸ Patrick Plunkett, a thirty-nine-year-old carpenter because he was 'Decrepit',⁵⁹ and John and Catherine Egan and Patrick and Margaret Fleming because they could not produce their marriage certificates.⁶⁰ Slightly different were George and Kate Dawson, for whom bounty was withheld because 'Their Certificates state them to be single. Bounty retained till production of Certificate.'⁶¹ The Immigration Board refused bounty

⁵⁸ Ibid., April 1840 - April 1841. 4/4787, p.160. Shortland was recorded as being a Protestant from Somerset who could read and write. He arrived in New South Wales on 4 February 1841, aboard the Marquis of Hastings.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 1841, 4/4788, p.104. Bounty was granted for Plunkett's wife, Anne, aged thirty-six, and his son, James, aged sixteen. The Plunketts were Roman Catholics from Roscommon. The bounty agent, Nicholas James and Company collected £19 for Anne Plunkett and £15 for James. The Plunketts arrived in the colony aboard the Burhampootes on 7 August 1841.

⁶⁰ Ibid., November 1841 - February 1842. 4/4782, p.48. John Egan, aged twenty-nine and his wife, Catherine, also aged twenty-nine, were described as illiterate Roman Catholics from County Cork. Egan was a farm labourer and his wife was a farm servant. The Flemings, aged twenty-nine and twenty-eight, respectively, were described as Roman Catholic farm servants from Limerick. They were accompanied by Michael, their eight-year-old son. Fleming was recorded as being able to read and write but his wife was noted as an illiterate. The Egans and the Flemings arrived in the colony on 3 December 1841, aboard the Comet.

⁶¹ Ibid., p.107. George Dawson was a twenty-six-year-old smith and his wife, Kate, was a farm servant aged twenty-six. George was described as knowing how to read and write but his wife was illiterate. Both were from Westmorland. They arrived in New South Wales aboard the Marchioness of Bute on 7 January 1842.

for William Morgan, a nineteen-year-old farm labourer, because his occupation was 'A Painter and Glazier' and for William Costello, a twenty-eight-year-old cooper because his occupation was 'Inelegible.'⁶² Bounty was also forfeited for such married couples as William and Elizabeth Healy, both 53 and well over the prescribed age limit.⁶³ However, the Immigration Board usually approved the payment of bounty to the agents and refused it for only 1 or 2 per cent of the immigrants brought to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District.

Cross-Tabulations of the Native Places and Occupations of the Assisted Immigrants

Males

The fact that the bounty immigrants were more Irish and less skilled than the government migrants is underscored when the migrants' native places and occupations are cross-tabulated. Exactly half of the male immigrants who were agricultural labourers and 54 per cent who were unskilled workers were from Ireland (Figure XII, a). Conversely, approximately half of the building workers; shopkeepers and tradesmen; skilled, handicraft and factory workers; and domestic servants were English. The Scots accounted for between 12 and 17 per cent of all

⁶² Ibid., January - August 1842. 4/4783, p.11. William Morgan was recorded as being a Roman Catholic from Wiltshire who could read and write. William Costello was described as a Roman Catholic from Kildare who knew how to read and write. They arrived in New South Wales on 6 March 1842, aboard the Palestine.

⁶³ Ibid., 1844-5. 4/4785, pp.241-2. William and Elizabeth Healy were described as Protestants from Oxfordshire, both of whom knew how to read and write. They arrived in New South Wales on 31 March 1845, aboard the Elizabeth.

the occupations except unskilled workers, in which they accounted for only eight per cent.

The different groups of migrants varied considerably from the results shown in the cross-tabulation of native places and occupations of all the immigrants. For example, among government migrants introduced into New South Wales, Englishmen accounted for 32 per cent of the agricultural labourers, Scots for 37 per cent and Irishmen for 31 per cent. Among the bounty immigrants imported into the colony, Englishmen accounted for 31 per cent of the agricultural labourers, Irishmen for 57 per cent and Scots for nine per cent. Forty per cent of the agricultural labourers imported into the Port Phillip District as bounty migrants were English while 21 per cent were Scots and 38 per cent were Irish. The same was true in the other occupations; the Irish tended to be concentrated in less skilled occupations such as agricultural labourers and unskilled workers, while the English and Scots tended to account for the larger proportions among the skilled and semi-skilled occupations.⁶⁴ The two occupations that differed from the general statement were the professional workers and the vine-dressers. Nearly all of the vine-dressers were Germans introduced into New South Wales as bounty immigrants to encourage the development of the embryo colonial wine industry. Among the professional workers, the Irish accounted for 48 per cent (Figure XII, a). In the

⁶⁴ Appendix C, Table XV; Appendix E, Table X, a; Appendix G, Table X.

individual groups of migrants, Irishmen accounted for 60 per cent of the professionals found among the government (New South Wales) immigrants, 46 per cent among the bounty (New South Wales) and 33 per cent among the bounty migrants introduced into the Port Phillip District.⁶⁵

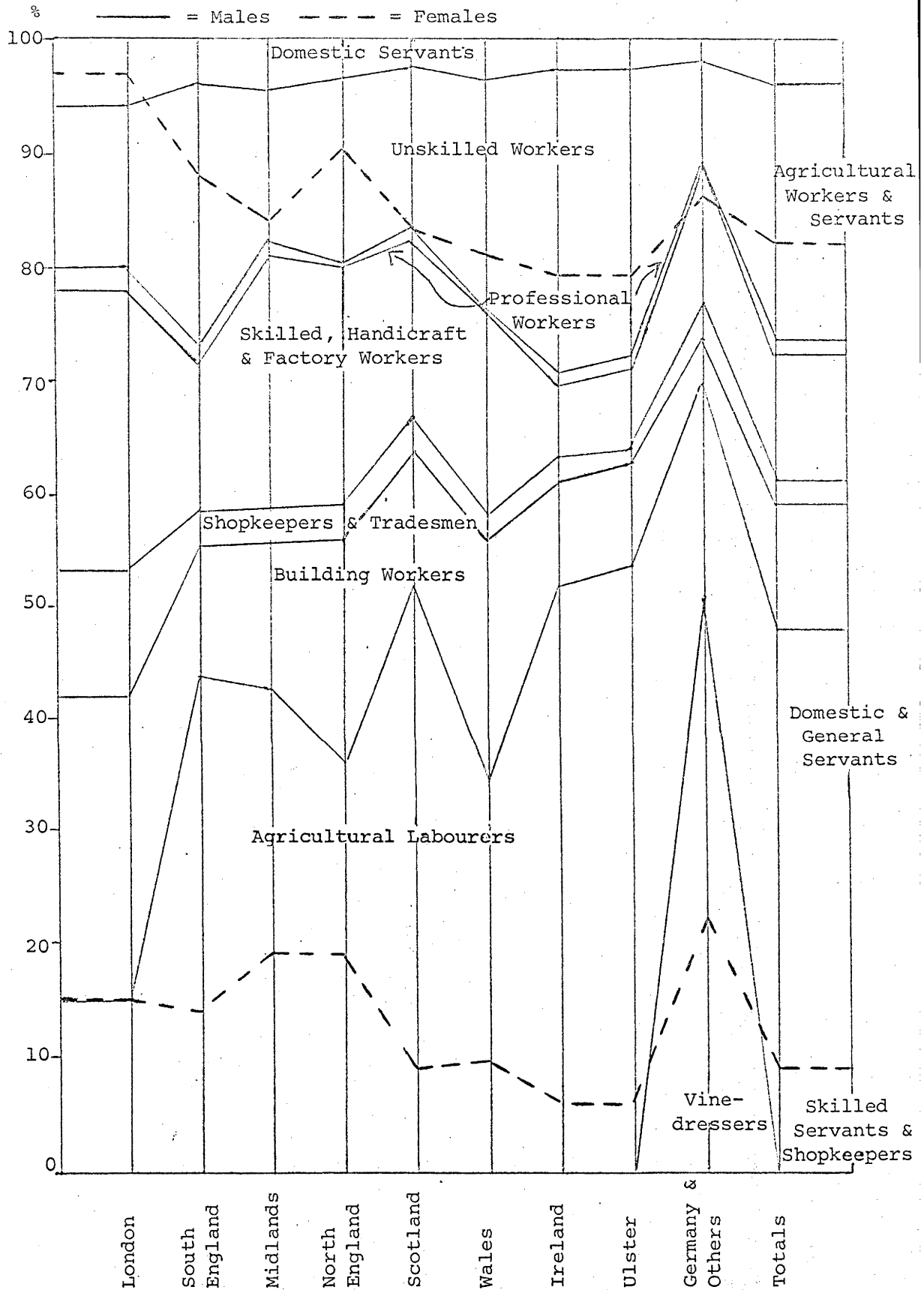
The alternate arrangement of occupations and native places (Figure XIII) depicts the occupation distribution and native places of the assisted migrants. With the exception of London and Germany, at least half of the emigrants from all other areas were either agricultural labourers or unskilled workers. Emigrants from Ulster were the least skilled; 79 per cent were either agricultural labourers or unskilled workers, while 77 per cent of the emigrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht professed one of those occupations. Below is a ranking of the emigrants from the several places according to the proportion of agricultural labourers and unskilled workers included among them:

Native Places	% of agricultural labourers and unskilled workers
Ulster	79
Leinster, Munster and Connacht	77
South England	67
Scotland	66
Midlands	56
Wales	55
North England	52

The Irish emigrants were the least skilled and those from England and Scotland the most skilled.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

OCCUPATIONS AND NATIVE PLACES



Differences between the cross-tabulations of occupations and native places exist among the individual groups of migrants. For example, 56 per cent of the government migrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht assisted to New South Wales were either agricultural labourers or unskilled workers, but 78 per cent of the bounty immigrants introduced into that colony from Ireland professed one of those occupations while 85 per cent of their counterparts imported into the Port Phillip District were recorded in those occupations.⁶⁶ Secondly, although 48 per cent of the professional workers were Irish (Figure XII, a), only four per cent of the Irish migrants assisted to New South Wales through government immigration were recorded as professionals. Among the Irish bounty immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, less than one per cent were recorded as professionals.⁶⁷

The Irish migrants were less skilled than those from England and Scotland. Moreover, the migrants assisted to New South Wales through the 'Government System' were more skilled than those who arrived in either New South Wales or the Port Phillip District as bounty immigrants. In fact, it may be argued that because the bounty immigrants were predominately agricultural labourers or unskilled workers, they were more suitable as migrants for an agriculturally based colony. In the short term, that argument would seem to be correct. In the long term, however, because the government migrants were more

⁶⁶ Appendix C, Table XIV; Appendix E, Table IX, a; Appendix G, Table IX, a.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

diversified, they may have been a greater asset to the colony as it continued to grow and diversify.

Females

Although 58 per cent of the adult females were Irish, 68 per cent of the domestic and general servants and 78 per cent of the agricultural workers and servants were Irish (Figure XII, b). Only 48 per cent of the skilled servants and shopkeepers were of Irish origins. Conversely, only 31 per cent of the females were English but more than 40 per cent of the skilled servants and shopkeepers were English while only 23 per cent of the domestic and general servants and 13 per cent of the agricultural workers and servants were English (Figure XII, b). The female migrants from England were over-represented among the skilled servants and shopkeepers and under-represented among the agricultural workers and servants as well as the domestic and general servants. The Irish migrants, however, were over-represented in the less skilled occupations. Clearly, then, the females from England were more skilled than their Irish counterparts.

The alternate arrangement of occupations and native places (Figure XIII) indicates that with the exception of those from the Midlands and Germany, at least 70 per cent of emigrants from all areas were domestic and general servants. Emigrants from Ireland were the least skilled and those from Germany, the Midlands and the North of England were the most skilled. The fact that approximately 90 per cent of the orphan girls were domestic and general servants, as well as Irish, would have increased the proportion of females who claimed

that occupation. At the same time, the proportion of females who were recorded as agricultural workers and servants or skilled servants and shopkeepers would have been reduced, especially among those introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District as bounty immigrants. The females who emigrated from Ireland were less skilled than those from England and Scotland. Furthermore, the female bounty immigrants were less skilled than those introduced into New South Wales on government assistance.

The Literacy and Religious Allegiances of the Assisted Immigrants

The Literacy of the Assisted Immigrants

The adult bounty immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District were a comparatively literate group, especially for the mid-nineteenth century when literacy among the British labouring classes was estimated to be between 50 and 75 per cent.⁶⁸ Approximately 65 per cent of the bounty immigrants were recorded as being able to read and write while another 21 per cent were said to be able to read. Only 16 per cent were illiterate (Figure XIV). The high rate of literacy, or the low rate of illiteracy, may be partially explained through the existence of schools on board most of the immigrant ships. Since the voyage to Australia required about three months, it is quite possible that many

⁶⁸ R. K. Webb, The British Working Class Reader 1790-1848 Literacy and Social Tension (London, 1955), p.29.

Literacy was not recorded for the government immigrants introduced into New South Wales. For a discussion of this point and other matters concerning literacy, see 'Notes on Appendices and Methodology,' Vol.II.

FIGURE XIV
LITERACY OF ADULT BOUNTY IMMIGRANTS

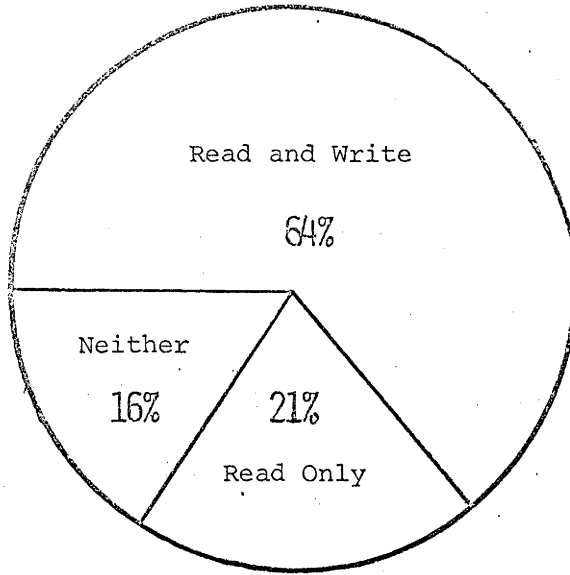
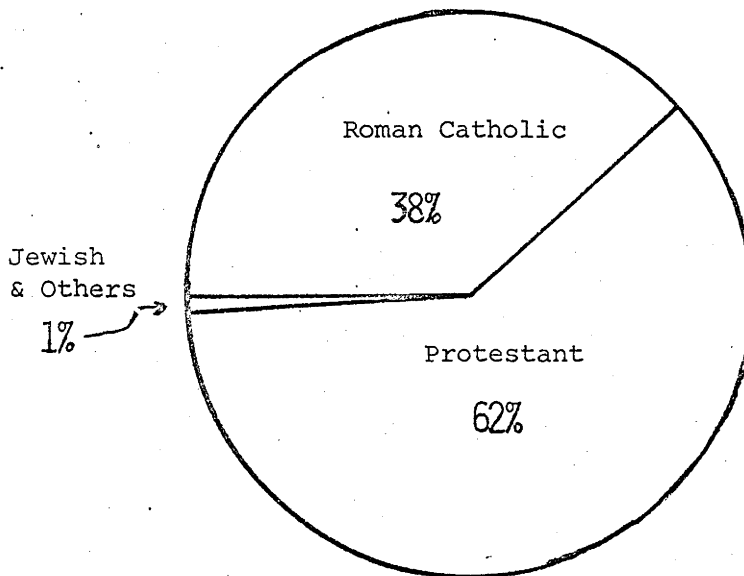


FIGURE XV
RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES OF ADULT IMMIGRANTS



migrants acquired at least a rudimentary knowledge of reading and writing en route to the colony. On one of the many ships on which a school existed, the Susan, the following description was recorded by Charles Kennedy, the Surgeon-Superintendent,

Opened school under superintendence of Mr. Watson
 Passenger. Teachers - John Conner Wm. Hart Geo.
 Watson Jane Watson, school hours from 10 to 11 A.M.
 and from 3 to 4 P.M.⁶⁹

More than three-quarters of the males but little more than half of the females were able to read and write (Figure XIV). That was also true of both groups of bounty migrants. For example, among the bounty immigrants assisted to New South Wales, 77 per cent of the males but only 50 per cent of the females could read and write. Of their counterparts introduced into the Port Phillip District, 76 per cent of the males and 54 per cent of the females could read and write.⁷⁰ Conversely, a larger proportion of females than males were recorded as able to at least read. Among the male bounty immigrants assisted to New South Wales, only 11 per cent were recorded as able to read while 29 per cent of the females were so recorded. Of those introduced into the Port Phillip District, 12 per cent of the males and 28 per cent of the females were noted as able to read.⁷¹

⁶⁹ [Charles Kennedy], 'A Journal of the proceedings of the Susan Emigration Ship from Londonderry to Sydney New South Wales - Between the 10th day of October [1838] and the [2nd] day of [February 1839]. [Kept by Charles Kennedy, Surgeon-Superintendent], in 'Reports by surgeons on health of immigrants during their passage 1838-83,' 4/4698, 14 November 1838.

⁷⁰ Appendix E, Table VIII; Appendix G, Table VIII.

⁷¹ Ibid.

Only 11 per cent of the males and 20 per cent of the females could be classified as illiterates (Figure XIV). Those proportions were similar for both groups of bounty immigrants, although less pronounced among the migrants introduced into the Port Phillip District. The proportion of illiterates found among the government migrants assisted to the Port Phillip District was only 5 per cent but that group of migrants was so small in numbers they are insignificant statistically.

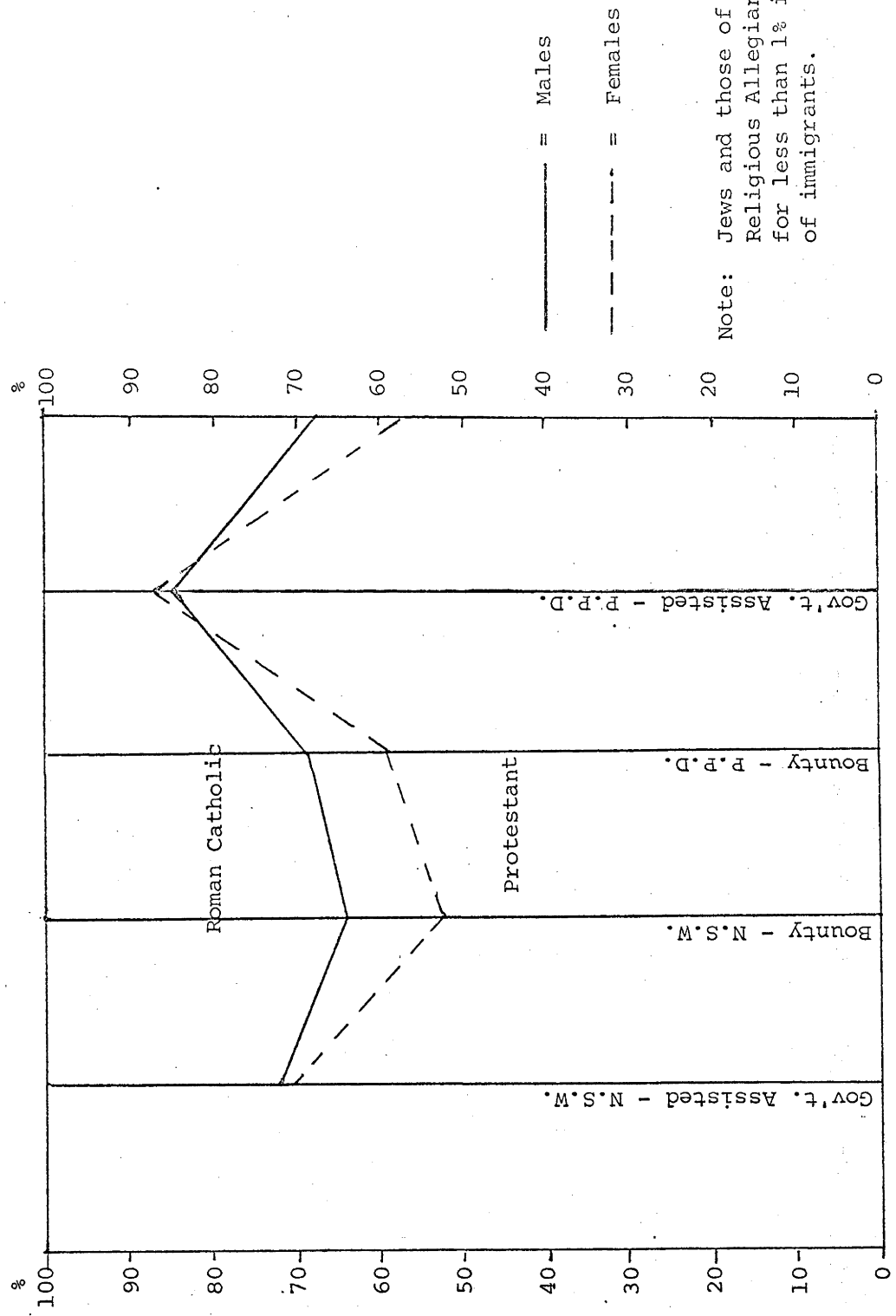
The male bounty immigrants were more literate than the females. Unfortunately it is not possible to compare the literacy of the bounty migrants with that of the government immigrants introduced into New South Wales. It would seem likely, however, that little difference would be found if such a comparison could be made. Although the government migrants were older than the bounty, they were more skilled. Consequently, the tendency of the older migrants to be less literate would be off-set by the likelihood that skilled migrants would be more literate. That, however, is guesswork and no definite conclusions regarding a comparison of the literacy of the government and bounty migrants is possible. It does seem likely, however, that the assisted immigrants introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District helped to raise the standard of literacy in those colonies. After all, approximately 85 per cent of them could read and write or at least read.

The Religious Allegiances of the Assisted Immigrants

More than twenty different labels were used by the immigration officers to record the religious allegiances of the assisted immigrants, including Roman Catholic, Church of Rome, Jew, Jewish, free-thinkers, nothing, none, Brethren, Plymouth Brethren, Lutheran, Moravian, Quakers, Anabaptists, Baptists, Anglican, Church of England, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Church of Scotland, Free Kirk and Wesleyan.⁷² More than 60 per cent of the migrants were of Protestant persuasions while fewer than 40 per cent were Roman Catholic. Less than one per cent were Jewish or 'other,' including several atheists (Figure XV). A larger proportion of males than females were Protestant. Conversely, a larger proportion of the females than males were Roman Catholic. That was true of all groups of immigrants except the government migrants assisted to the Port Phillip District. In that group, 85 per cent of the males and 87 per cent of the females were Protestant while only 15 per cent and 13 per cent, respectively, were Roman Catholics (Figure XVI). Among the three largest groups of adult males, the government immigrants assisted to New South Wales were the most Protestant while the bounty migrants introduced into that colony were the most Roman Catholic. That was also true of the adult female migrants. Not only were the females more Roman Catholic than the males, the females introduced into New South Wales as bounty immigrants

⁷² For further discussion of this topic, see 'Notes on Appendices and Methodology,' Vol.II.

FIGURE XVI
RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS



Note: Jews and those of 'Other' Religious Allegiances accounted for less than 1% in all groups of immigrants.

were more Roman Catholic than any other group of migrants (Figure XVI).

Among the government migrants assisted to New South Wales, the religious allegiances of the married and the single males were divided in approximately the same proportions. The widowers, however, contained a larger proportion who were Protestant. That general distribution was also true of the male bounty immigrants introduced into that colony, except that the widowers contained a larger proportion of Roman Catholics and the 31 orphan males were 65 per cent Roman Catholic. Among the male bounty immigrants assisted to the Port Phillip District, the married males conformed to the general pattern but the proportion of Roman Catholics was larger among the widowers, the single males and the 28 orphans.⁷³

The distribution of religious allegiances varied greatly between the married and single females and orphan girls in the three most important groups of migrants. For example, 74 per cent of the married females among the government migrants assisted to New South Wales were Protestant but only 67 per cent of the single females were of Protestant persuasions, the remainder being Roman Catholic. Among the female bounty immigrants to that colony, 67 per cent of the married women and 74 per cent of the widows were Protestant but only 51 per cent of the single girls and 11 per cent of the orphans were of Protestant persuasions. The same pattern was found among the female bounty migrants assisted to the Port Phillip District: 74 per cent of

⁷³ Appendix C, Table XVI, a; Appendix E, Table VII, a; Appendix G, Table VII, a.

the married women and 70 per cent of the widows were Protestant but only 57 per cent of the single girls and 19 per cent of the orphans professed Protestant persuasions.⁷⁴

The bounty immigrants were more Roman Catholic than the government assisted migrants. Moreover, the female bounty immigrants, and especially the single females and orphan girls were more Roman Catholic than the males. The large proportion of Roman Catholics found among the single females and orphan girls was a direct result of their recruitment. Approximately 98 per cent of the orphan girls were Irish while among the single girls introduced into New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, approximately 70 per cent and 60 per cent, respectively, were Irish.⁷⁵

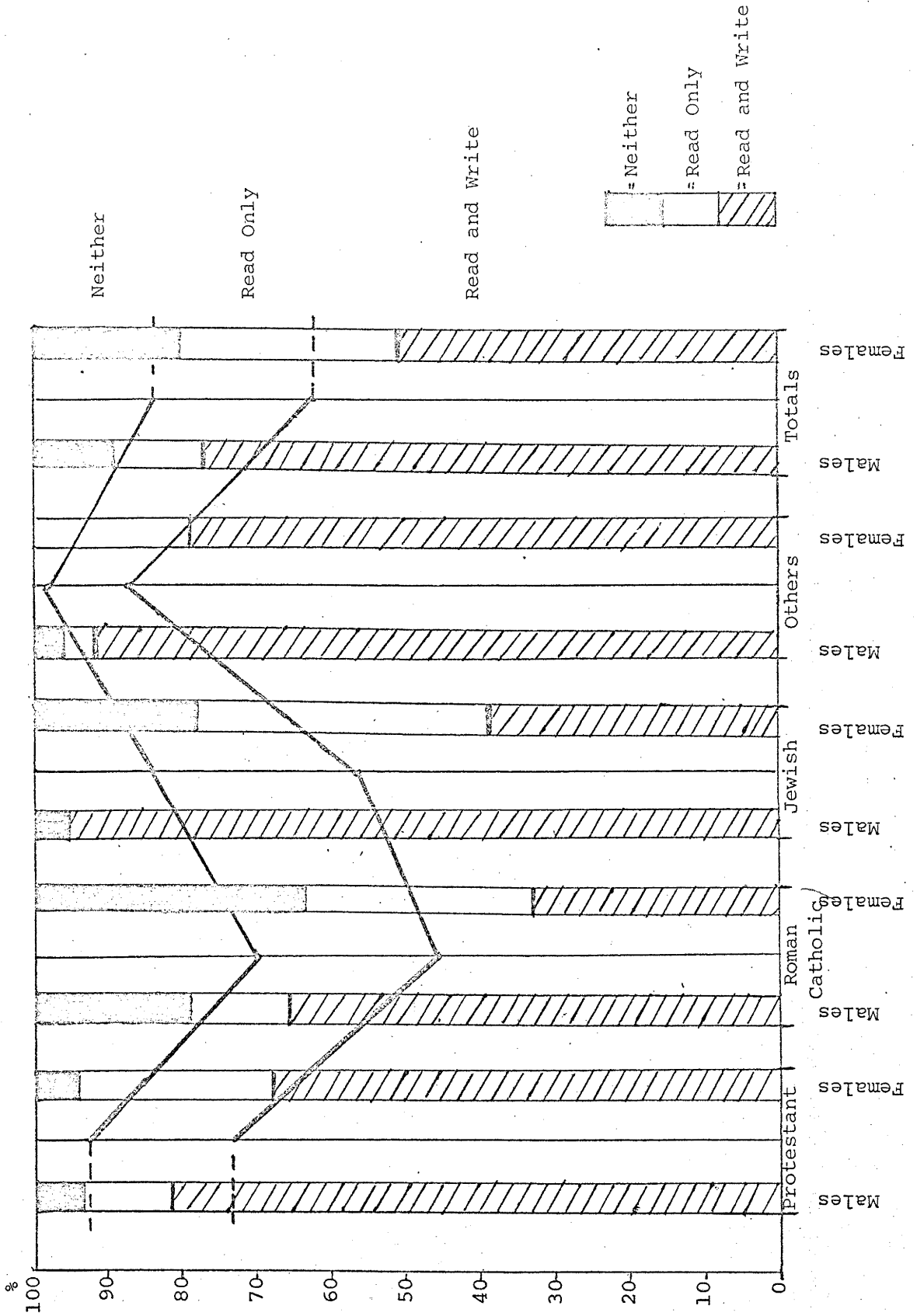
The Cross-Tabulations of the Literacy and Religious Allegiances of the Assisted Immigrants

Marked differences in the degree of literacy existed between the Protestant and Roman Catholic bounty migrants; three-quarters of the Protestants were able to read and write but less than half of the Roman Catholics possessed that knowledge (Figure XVII). Moreover, only six per cent of the Protestants were illiterate while approximately one-third of the Roman Catholics were recorded in that category. Jewish and migrants with 'other' religious preferences were numerically so few that the literacy distribution is unreliable. Nevertheless, it should

⁷⁴ Appendix C, Table XVI, b; Appendix E, Table VII, b; Appendix G, Table VII, b.

⁷⁵ Appendix E, Table VI, b; Appendix G, Table VI, b.

FIGURE XVII
LITERACY AND RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES



be noted that the level of literacy of migrants with Jewish or 'other' religious preferences was recorded and that the Jews were less literate than the Protestants but more literate than the Roman Catholics, while migrants with 'other' religious preferences were recorded as the most literate.

More than 90 per cent of the male migrants with Jewish or 'other' religious preferences were literate (Figure XVII). Between the two largest religious preferences (the Protestants and the Roman Catholics) the Protestant males were not only the most literate; they were more literate by 15 per cent. Moreover, 15 per cent fewer Protestants than Roman Catholics were illiterate.

Among the female migrants, the Jews were far less literate than their male counterparts, while the women with 'other' religious persuasions were the most literate of the female immigrants. As in the case of the males, those females with Protestant beliefs were markedly more literate than their Roman Catholic counterparts, with 34 per cent more of the Protestant women able to read and write and 30 per cent more of the Roman Catholic women illiterate.

Not only were the males of Protestant persuasions more literate than those with Roman Catholic allegiances, but they were also more literate in every marital classification. For example, of the male bounty immigrants imported into New South Wales, those of Protestant beliefs were more literate than those who professed Roman Catholicism among the men who were married, widowed, single or orphaned.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Appendix E, Table XX.

The same was true among the bounty migrants introduced into the Port Phillip District.⁷⁷

As in the case of the males, the female bounty immigrants of Protestant beliefs were more literate than their Roman Catholic colleagues. Among the female bounty migrants brought to New South Wales, that was true of the married, widowed, single and orphaned women,⁷⁸ while among the female bounty migrants landed in the Port Phillip District, the women of Protestant persuasions were more literate than their Roman Catholic sisters in all groups except the widows, in which case the women who professed Roman Catholicism were more literate by seven per cent.⁷⁹

The Cross-Tabulations of the Assisted Immigrants' Native Places, Occupations, Literacy and Religious Allegiances

The Native Places and Literacy of the Adult Bounty Immigrants

A close relationship existed between the assisted migrants' literacy and their native places (Figure XVIII). For example, Irish migrants numbered more than 40 per cent of the total adult bounty migrants for whom literacy and native places were recorded, and yet more than 70 per cent of illiterate immigrants were from Ireland. Conversely, migrants from Scotland numbered only 10 per cent of the

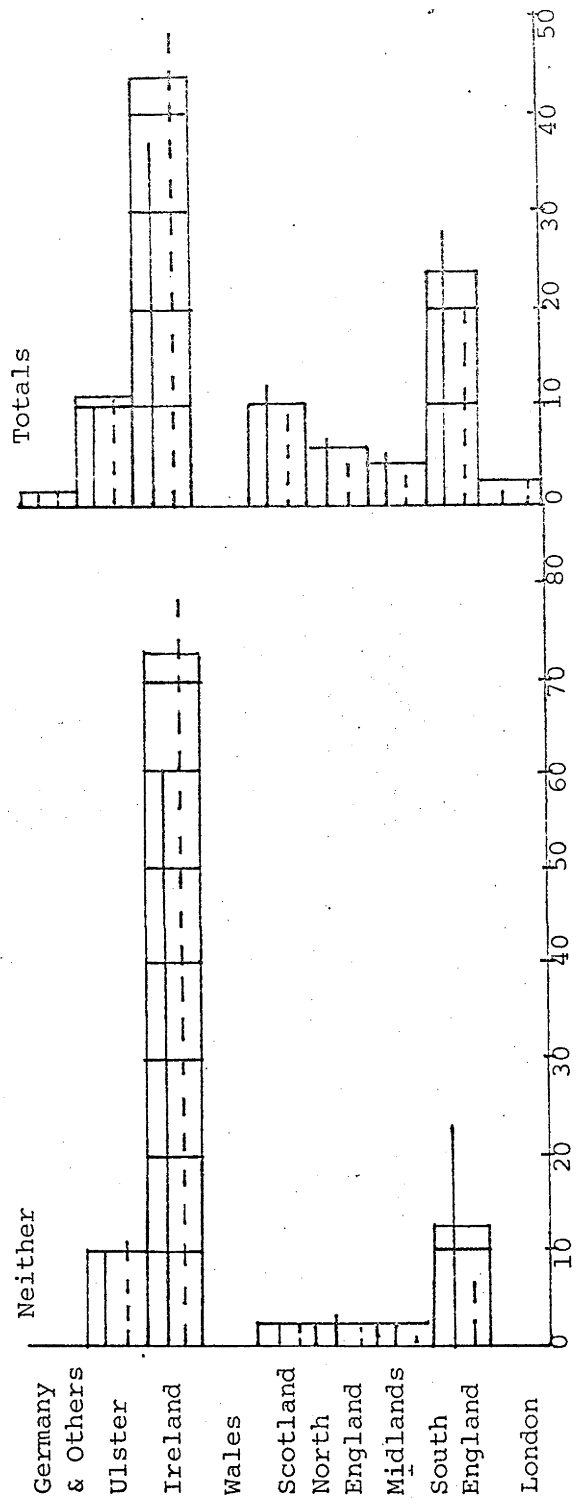
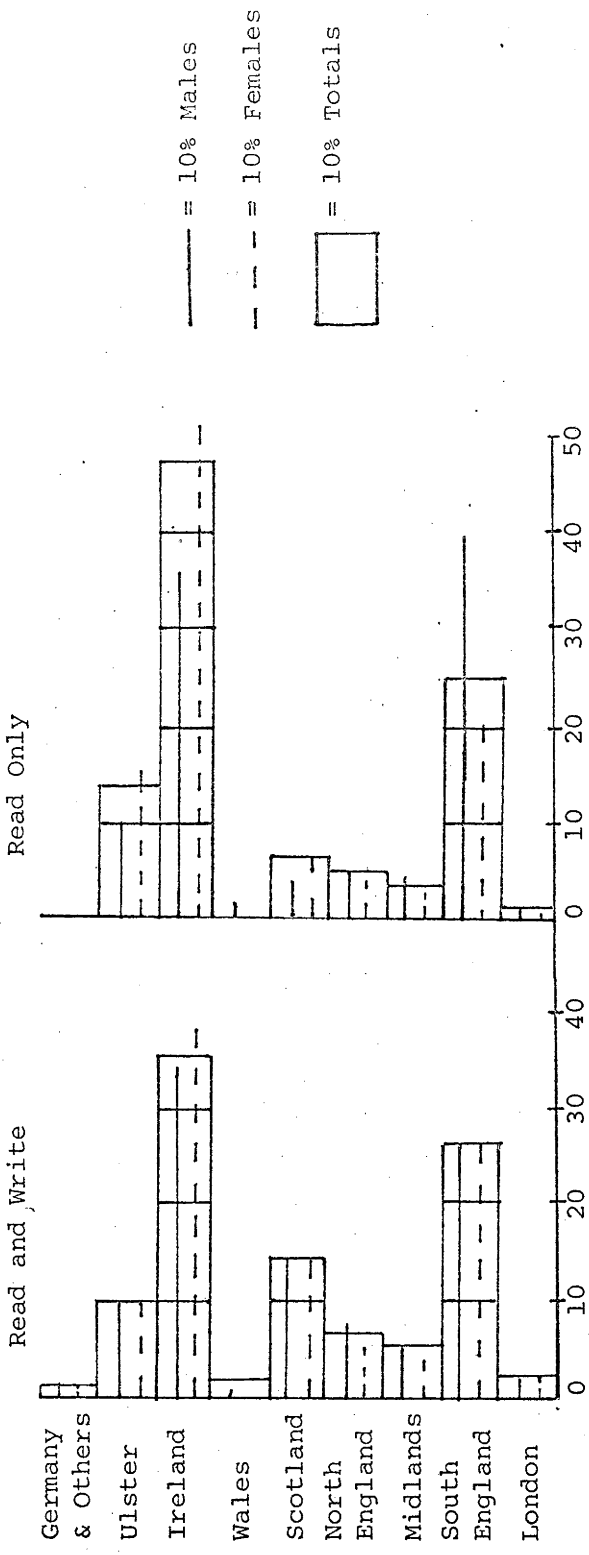
⁷⁷ Appendix G, Table XX.

⁷⁸ Appendix E, Table XXII.

⁷⁹ Appendix G, Table XXII.

FIGURE XVIII

NATIVE PLACES AND LITERACY



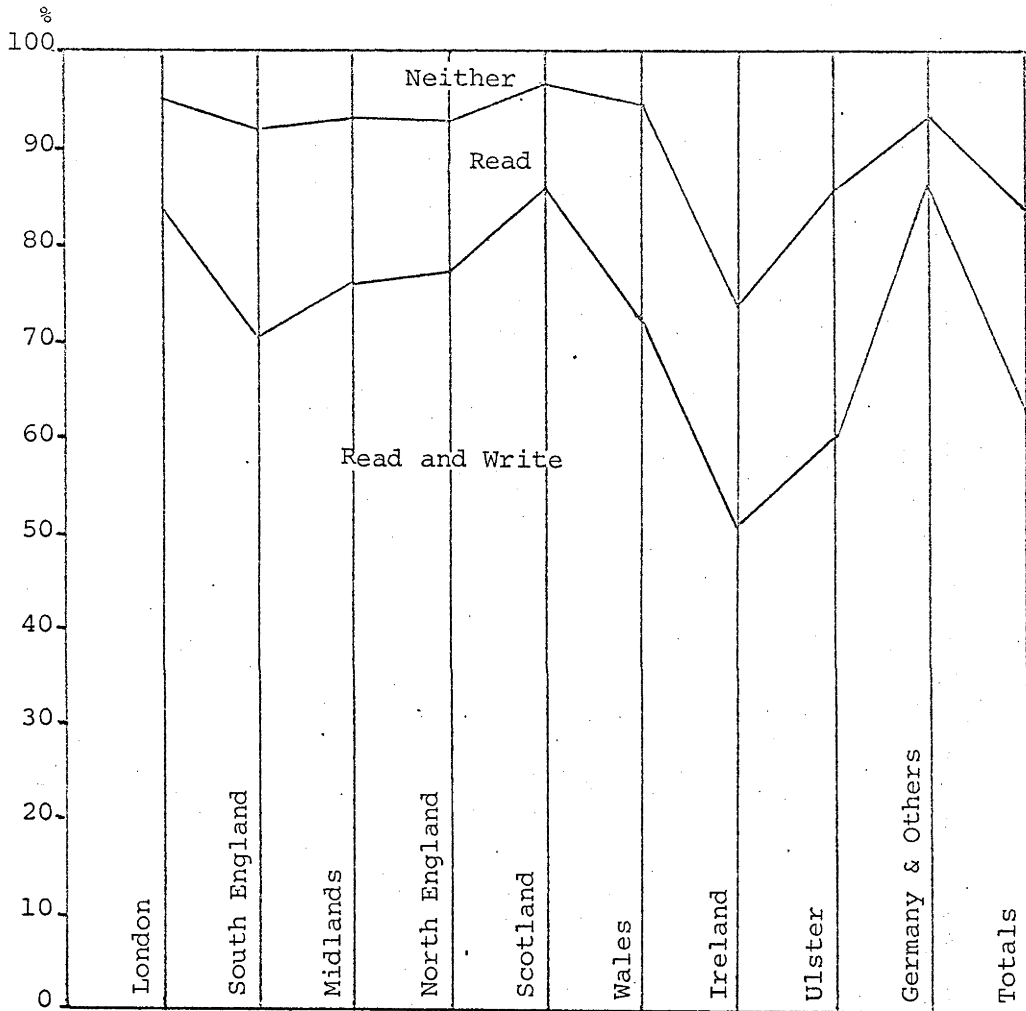
total, but more than 14 per cent of the assisted immigrants who knew how to read and write were Scots. Immigrants arriving from the South of England comprised approximately one-quarter of the total number of migrants but were under-represented among the illiterate immigrants, while migrants from Ulster accounted for 11 per cent of the total and achieved approximately that level among those who could read and write, read only and those who were illiterate.

Among the males, the Irish immigrants also accounted for the largest proportion of illiterate persons but not to the same degree as found among the females (Figure XVIII). Irish women accounted for approximately half of the female migrants but claimed almost 80 per cent of the illiterate female immigrants. On the other hand, Scottish immigrants accounted for nine per cent of the females but contributed only two per cent to the group of illiterate women. That was also true of the female migrants from the South of England; they comprised 20 per cent of the total number of women but accounted for only six per cent of the females recorded as unable to read and write.

From the alternate arrangement of the data on literacy and native places (Figure XIX), it can be seen that immigrants arriving from Germany and other countries had the highest proportion of those able to read and write, while Scottish migrants had the lowest rate of illiteracy, only three per cent being unable to read or write. Migrants from the Irish provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connacht not only had the lowest proportion of people able to read and write (5/per cent), but they also had the highest proportion of illiterate

FIGURE XIX

LITERACY AND NATIVE PLACES



persons (26 per cent). Immigrants from all areas except Ireland and Ulster exceeded the average proportion (63 per cent) able to read and write while only migrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht exceeded the average rate of illiteracy.

The Occupations and Literacy of the Bounty Immigrants

Two-thirds of the adult male bounty migrants recorded as able to read were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers (Figure XX, a), a close approximation of their proportion in the distribution of occupations. Conversely, those occupations were over-represented by between 20 and 25 per cent among the migrants who could read only or who were illiterate.

Among the female bounty immigrants, approximately three-quarters of those who knew how to read and write, read only or who were illiterate were domestic and general servants (Figure XX, b), a proportion that was in keeping with the figure they accounted for in the general distribution of occupations. The skilled servants and shopkeepers, however, were over-represented among the illiterates, while the agricultural workers and servants were under-represented among the females who knew how to read and write and over-represented among the illiterate women.

It can be seen from the alternate arrangement of occupations and literacy (Figure XXI), that the vine-dressers (mainly Germans) were the most literate, while the professional workers, the building workers and the shopkeepers and tradesmen also had high proportions who knew how to read and write. The agricultural labourers and unskilled workers not

FIGURE XX

OCCUPATIONS AND LITERACY

a. Males

1. Agricultural Labourers
2. Building Workers
3. Shopkeepers and Tradesmen
4. Skilled, Handicraft and Factory Workers
5. Professional Workers
6. Unskilled Workers
7. Domestic Servants
8. Vine-dressers

b. Females

1. Agricultural Workers and Servants
2. Domestic and General Servants
3. Skilled Servants and Shopkeepers

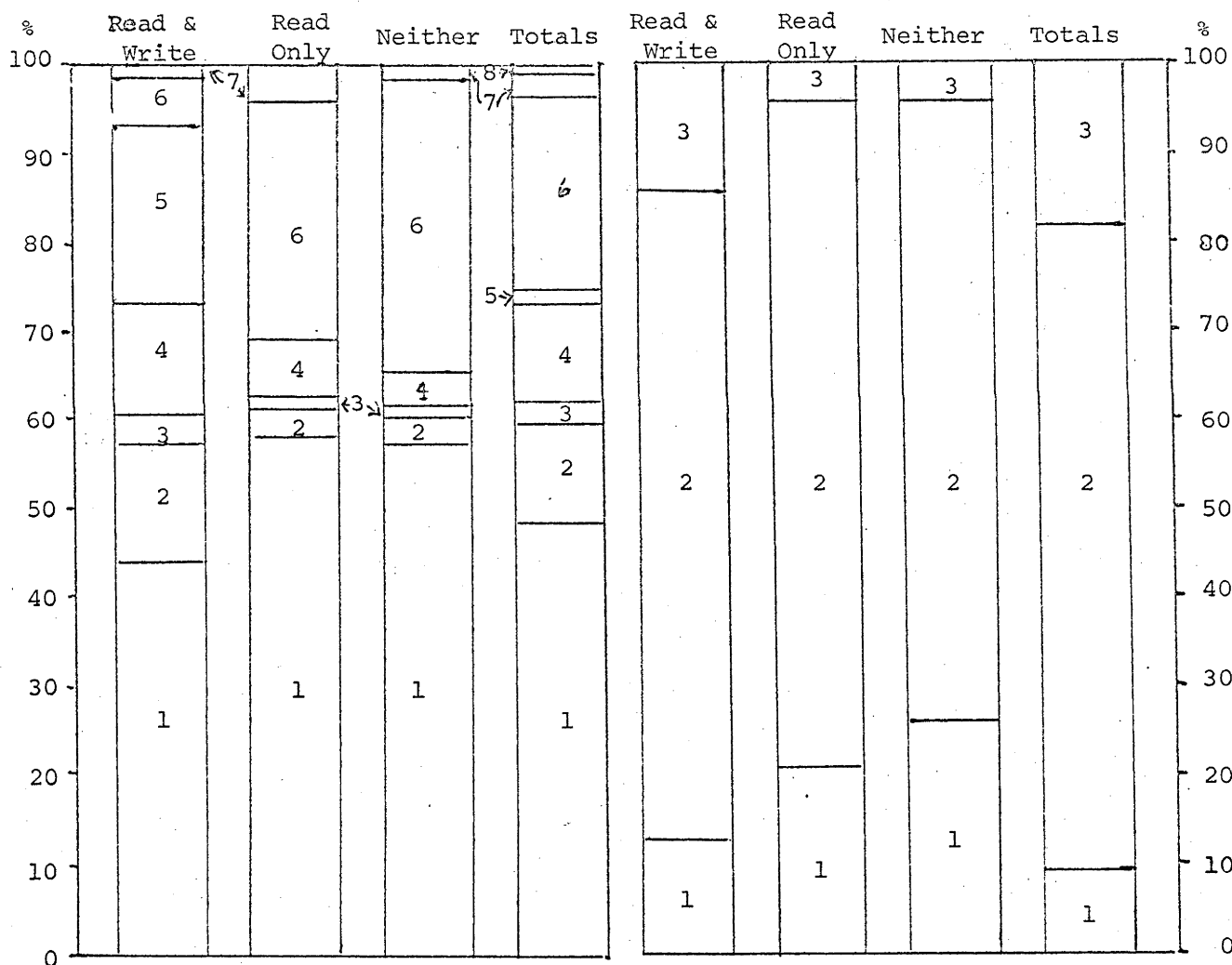
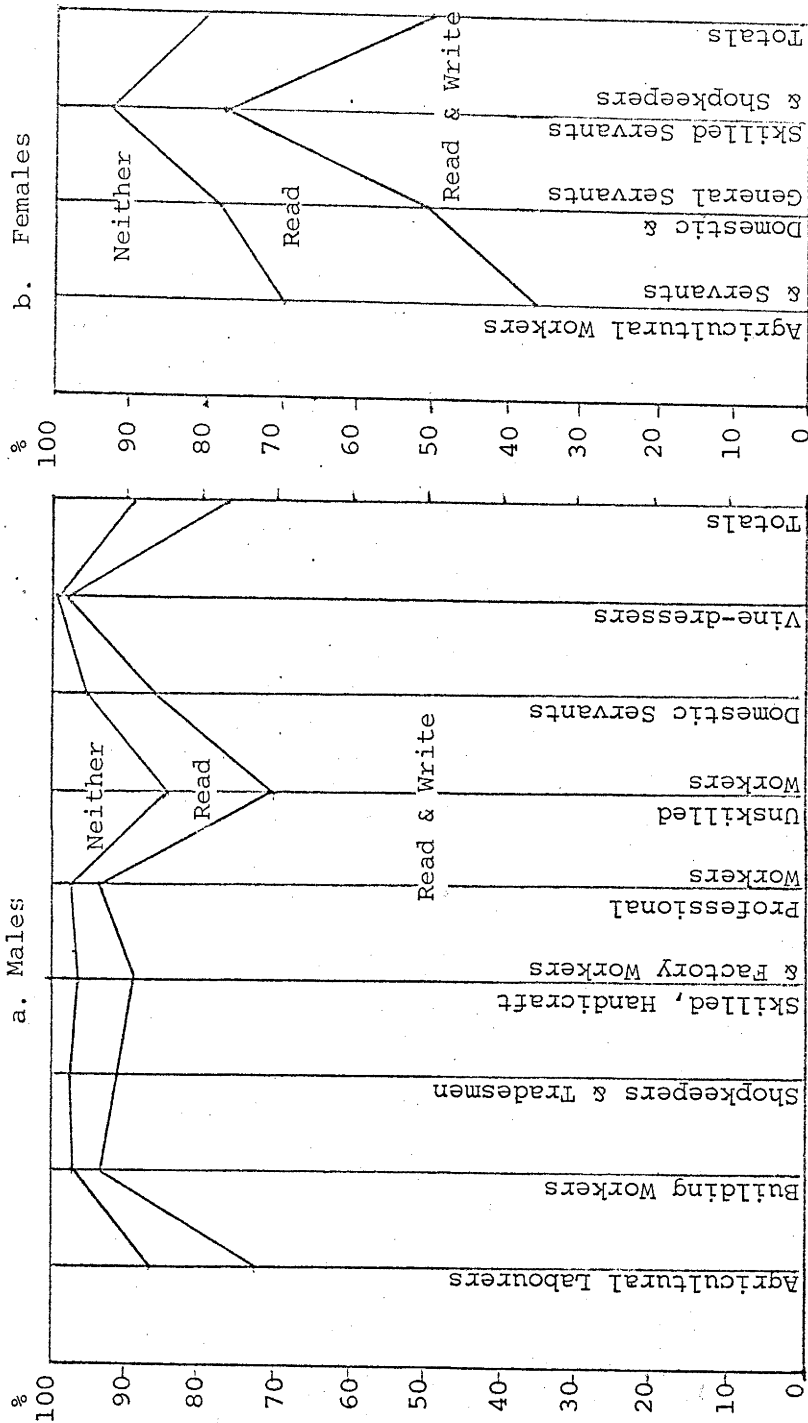


FIGURE XXI

LITERACY AND OCCUPATIONS



only had the smallest proportions who could read and write, but also they had the largest proportions of those who were illiterate. Moreover, they accounted for 2,389 of the 2,656 illiterate males for whom literacy and occupations were recorded.

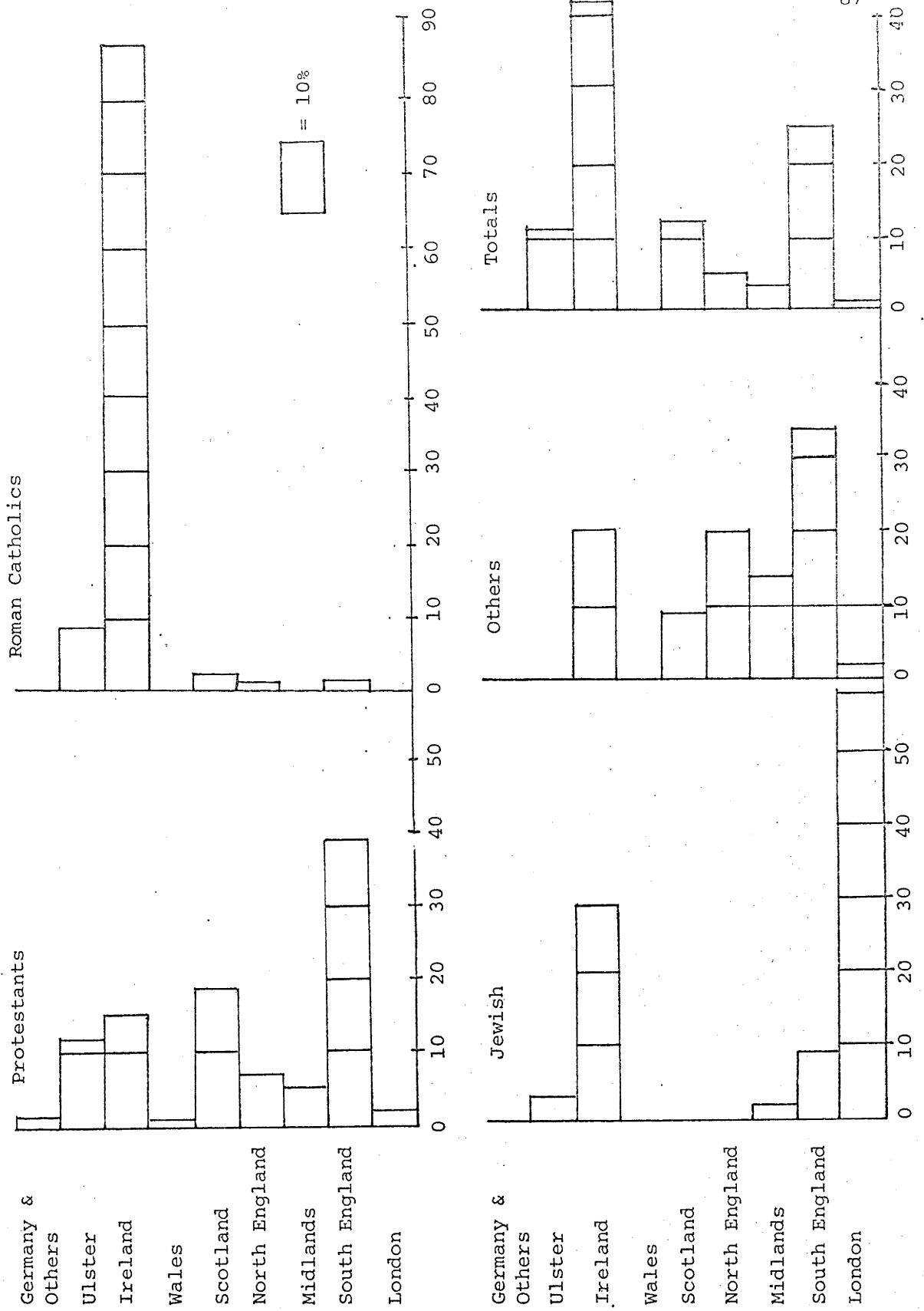
Although more than 75 per cent of the males in all occupation groups were recorded as knowing how to read and write, only the skilled servants and shopkeepers approximated that figure among the females. The skilled servants and shopkeepers not only accounted for the highest proportion of females who could read and write, but also for the smallest proportion who were illiterate. On the other hand, the agricultural workers and servants were divided almost equally between those who knew how to read and write, those who knew how to read and those who were illiterate, while half of the domestic and general servants could read and write, approximately 30 per cent could read and 21 per cent were illiterate.

Religious Allegiances and Native Places of the Assisted Immigrants

The origins of nearly all of the Roman Catholics who migrated to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 were in Ireland: 87 per cent of them came from the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connacht while eight per cent came from Ulster. An additional two per cent came from each of Scotland (most of whom were Highlanders) and England (Figure XXII).

The origins of the Protestants were more diverse. Although more than half came from England (mostly from the South of England), nearly 20 per cent were from Scotland, while Ireland and Ulster contributed 15 and 12 per cent, respectively. Some came from Wales and Germany and

NATIVE PLACES AND RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES



other places, but the largest proportion of the Protestants (39 per cent) claimed to have been born in the South of England (Figure XXII).

Well over half of the Jews came from London but more than a quarter claimed to be from Ireland, mostly from Dublin. Other Jews were recorded as being from the South of England, the Midlands and the province of Ulster. Those immigrants who claimed religious allegiances other than to the Protestant, Roman Catholic or Jewish faiths were mostly English (70 per cent), although 20 per cent claimed to be Irish while nine per cent were recorded as Scots (Figure XXII).

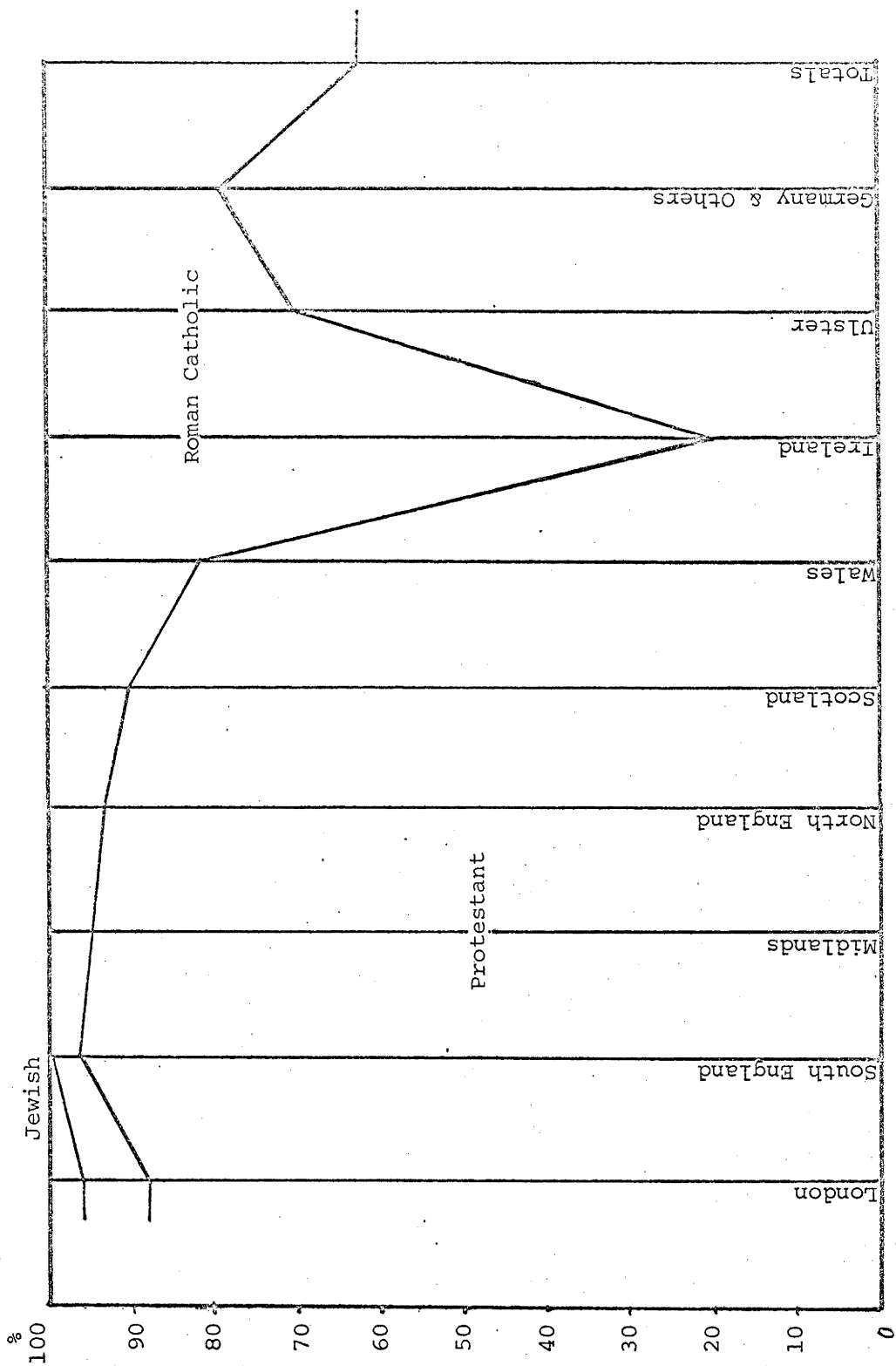
When the data on native places and religious allegiances is placed in the alternate arrangement (Figure XXIII), it can be seen that at least 90 per cent of the immigrants from the South of England, the Midlands, the North of England, Scotland and Wales were of Protestant persuasions while 88 per cent of those from London and 89 per cent of those from other countries subscribed to that faith. On the other hand, approximately 80 per cent of the migrants who came from Leinster, Munster and Connacht professed to be Roman Catholic. The only other area from which a large proportion of the migrants claimed to be Roman Catholics was the province of Ulster, of whom 30 per cent were Roman Catholic.

The Occupations and Religious Allegiances of Assisted Immigrants

Males

The Protestants were more skilled than the Roman Catholics. For example, 67 per cent of the males who were Protestants were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers while 79 per cent of the males who were Roman Catholics claimed those occupations. To put it

FIGURE XXIII
RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES AND NATIVE PLACES



in another manner, 35 per cent of the Protestants but only 21 per cent of the Roman Catholics were recorded in semi-skilled, skilled, professional or clerical occupations (Figure XXIV, a). Although the Jews and those with other religious allegiances were more skilled than either the Protestant or Roman Catholic males, neither were significant statistically. Moreover, the number of Jews and those professing other religious allegiances were so few numerically that their occupation distribution may be suspect.

The alternate arrangement of the data concerning the male occupations and religious allegiances indicates that the Protestants were over-represented in all of the skilled occupations except that of vine-dressers (who were mostly German Roman Catholics) and under-represented among the agricultural labourers and unskilled workers (Figure XXV, a). The Roman Catholics, on the other hand, were under-represented in the occupations requiring skills and training and over-represented in unskilled occupations such as agricultural labourers and unskilled workers.

Females

The unskilled domestic and general servants accounted for approximately three-quarters of the Protestant and Roman Catholic females, but the skilled servants and shopkeepers accounted for a larger proportion of the Protestants and a smaller proportion of the Roman Catholics than they represented for the total number of adult females (Figure XXIV, b). The agricultural workers and servants, however, were under-represented among the Protestants and over-represented

FIGURE XXIV

OCCUPATIONS AND RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES

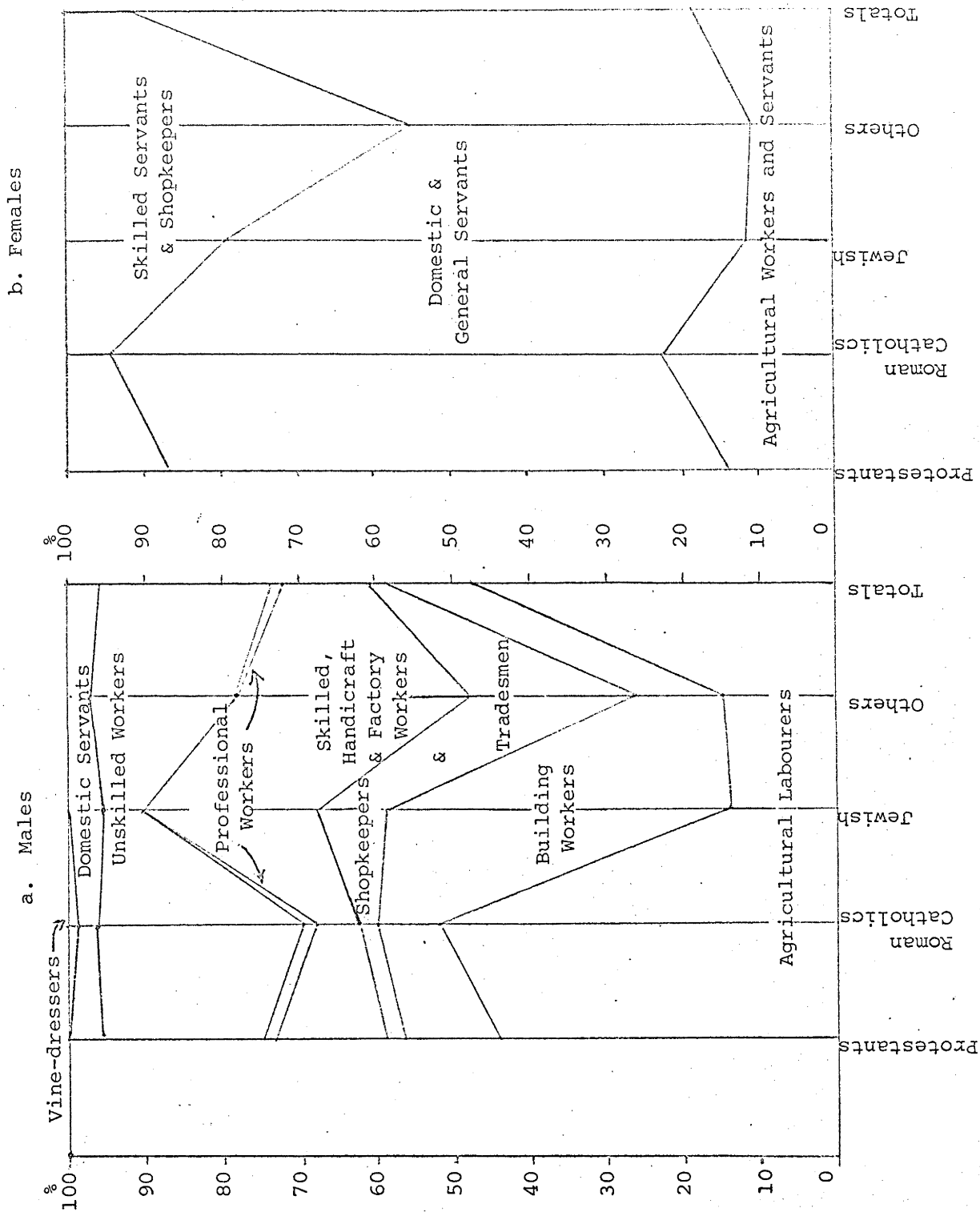
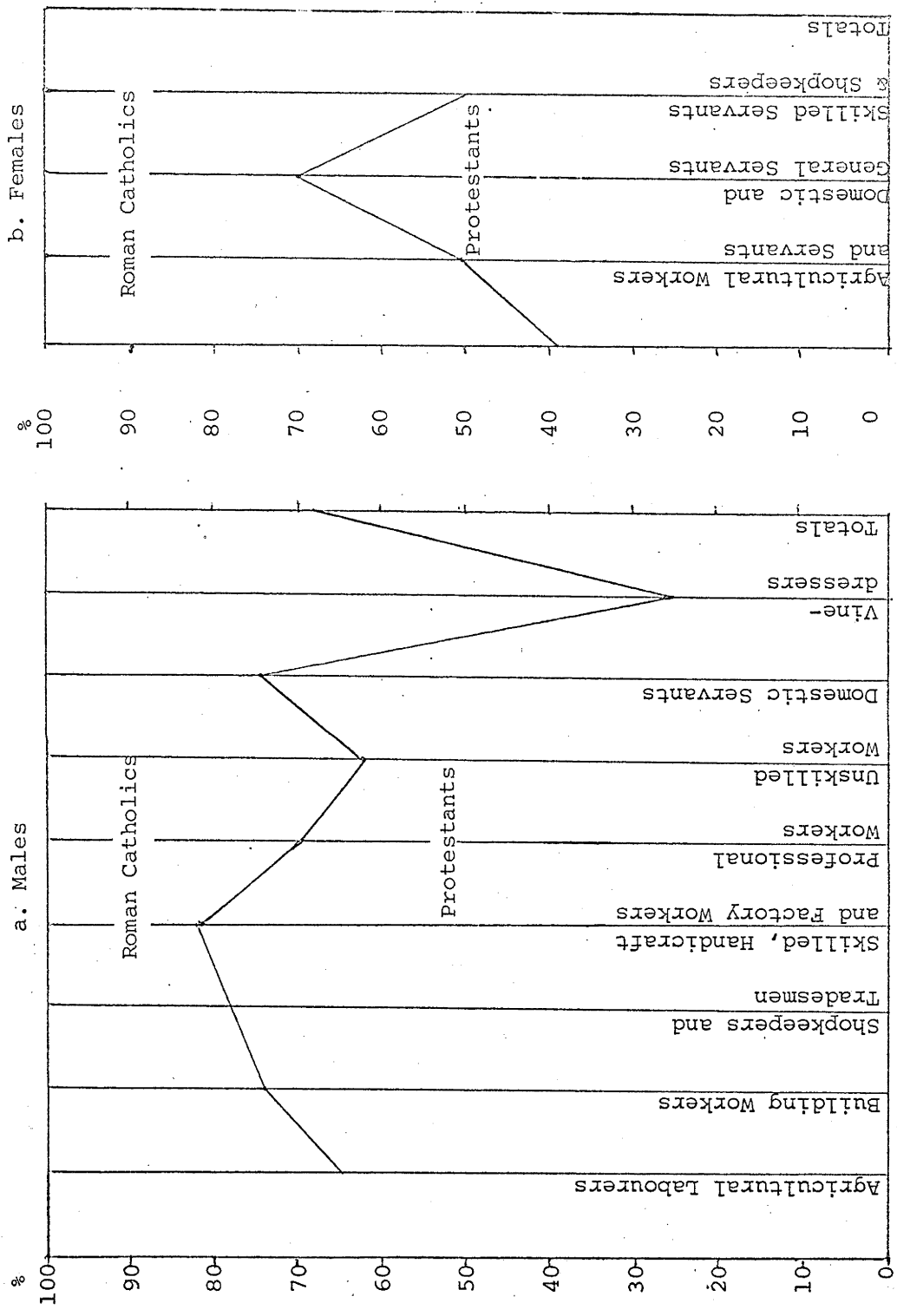


FIGURE XXV

RELIGIOUS ALLEGIANCES AND OCCUPATIONS



Note: Immigrants of Jewish or 'Other' religious allegiances accounted for less than 1% in all occupations.

among the Roman Catholics. As in the case of the males, the females of Jewish and other religious persuasions were statistically insignificant.

The alternate arrangement of female occupations and religious allegiances (Figure XXV, b) showed that 50 per cent of the females for whom both occupations and religious preferences are known were Protestant and 50 per cent were Roman Catholic, but Figure XVI shows that 57 per cent of the females were Protestant and 43 per cent were Roman Catholic. Nevertheless, it can be seen that the Roman Catholics were over-represented among the unskilled agricultural workers and servants.

The Expectations, Prospects and Experiences of Immigrants Assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, 1837-1850

Henry Parkes, an ivory turner from Birmingham, who later became Prime Minister of New South Wales, arrived in the colony as a bounty immigrant aboard John Marshall's ship, the Strathfieldsaye on 25 July 1839. His hopes^{of} a brighter future in the colony than in England were typical of those held by many migrants. From London he wrote:

The information which we have obtained since we have been here respecting Australia has determined both Clarinda [his wife] and myself to make up our minds to emigrate to a land which holds out prospects so bright and cheering to unhappy Englishmen, though at the distance of sixteen thousand miles.⁸⁰

⁸⁰ Henry Parkes, An Emigrants Home Letters with Preface and Notes by Annie T. Parkes (Sydney, 1896), p.22.

On the voyage he wrote to his sister:

I have strong hopes of getting a good situation as soon as I arrive at Sydney, as all who have hitherto gone out in Mr. Marshall's ships have been engaged within a week of the time of landing, and if I get a situation at £50 or £60 per year and provisions and a house to live in, I shall be able to send some money home in a year and a half from the present time, and enough soon to pay all I owe at Birmingham. And that will be a happy time with me.⁸¹

Such hopes of high wages were unrealistic, although based on the propaganda issued by John Marshall and other bounty emigration agents and the Government Emigration Office. An assisted migrant to New South Wales or the Port Phillip District could expect to find employment within a few days of arrival, especially if he were an agricultural labourer, shepherd or unskilled rural worker, at an average wage of £25 per annum with rations, or more if he were married. For example, Thomas Brooks, a farmer aged twenty, was engaged at £32 a year with rations.⁸²

Urban artisans, shopkeepers and tradesmen such as Henry Parkes often had more difficulty than rural workers in finding employment and were seldom allowed rations. Melville Ennis, a baker, was engaged in Sydney at unknown piecework rates, and Edward McGrady, a joiner, was hired at £2 per week without rations.⁸³ Others, such as Thomas

⁸¹ Ibid., pp.52-3.

⁸² 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40.' 4/4780, pp.98-9 and 102-3. Thomas Brooks and his wife, aged seventeen, were Presbyterians from County Derry. Brooks was hired by Mr G. Murphy of Sydney.

⁸³ Ibid., pp.100-1. Ennis was from Londonderry, as was McGrady and his twenty-eight-year-old wife. They arrived on 3 October 1838, aboard the Parland. Ennis was hired by Mr Barker of Sydney while McGrady was employed in Sydney by the Colonial Government.

McLauchlan, a rope-maker,⁸⁴ and Thomas Chapman, a potter,⁸⁵ found their own employment in Sydney at unknown wages. Such skilled artisans as James Donaldson, a thirty-five-year-old mason with eight children,⁸⁶ were employed by the Colonial Government on the new goal. The butchers who arrived on the Cornwall - 'the finest [ship] that has arrived in the colony',⁸⁷ - were hired at an average wage of £30 a year with rations, while cooks received £35 per annum with rations.⁸⁸ Grooms averaged £28 a year with rations and gardeners were paid £30 per annum with rations.⁸⁹ The highest wages in 1839 were commanded by wheelwrights who averaged £40 a year with rations, while brickmakers earned fourteen

84 Ibid., pp.98-9. McLauchlan, aged thirty-seven, his thirty-eight-year-old wife and one son over fourteen, two sons and one daughter between seven and fourteen, and two sons under seven were Roman Catholics from Templemore and arrived on 3 October 1838, on board the Parland.

85 Ibid., pp.298-9. Chapman, aged thirty-two, and his twenty-five-year-old wife had one son and one daughter between seven and fourteen and one son and one daughter under seven. They were Protestants from Benenden and arrived on 1 September 1839, aboard the Cornwall.

86 Ibid., p.5. Donaldson, his wife and eight children arrived on 8 September 1837, aboard the John Barry.

87 'Report on Cornwall,' p.3. in 'Reports by Immigration Agent on condition of immigrants and ships on their arrival 1838-96.' 4/4821.

88 'Rates of wages per immigrants aboard Cornwall,' 4/4780, pp.308-9.

89 Ibid.

shillings per thousand without rations, and bricklayers were paid seven shillings and six pence daily without rations.⁹⁰

In 1838 female farm servants and dressmakers were hired at £15 per annum with rations and house servants and needlewomen earned £12 a year with rations,⁹¹ but these wages had fallen and continued to decline during drought and depression from 1839 to 1844. Some wages then returned to earlier levels; in 1846 an agricultural labourer could expect to earn as much as £40 per annum with rations (perhaps a little more in the Port Phillip District), but employment was still scarce for artisans and skilled workers.

The plight of Henry Parkes was not unusual:

I had but two or three shillings when we got to Sydney, and the first news that came on board was that the 4 lb loaf was selling at half-a-crown! and everything proportionally dear. There was no place for the emigrants to go to till such time as they could engage with masters, or otherwise provide for themselves. When they left the ship they had to do as best they could. Poor Clarinda in her weak state had no one to do the least thing for her ... and in a few days she was obliged to go on shore, with her new-born infant in her arms, and to walk a mile across the town of Sydney to the miserable place I had been able to provide for her as a home, which was a little low, dirty, unfurnished room, without a fire place, at five shillings per week rent For more than two weeks I kept beating about Sydney for work, during which time I sold one thing and another from our little stock for support. At length, being completely starved out, I engaged as a common labourer with Sir John Jamison, Kt., MC., to go about thirty-six miles up the country (to Regentville, '... about three miles from the small town of Penrith ...'). Sir John agreed to give me £25 for the year, with a ration and half ...

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Ibid., 'Rates of wages per immigrants aboard Parland,' pp.102-3.

For the first four months we had no other bed than a sheet of bark off a box tree, and an old door, laid on two cross pieces of wood, covered over with a few articles of clothing. The hut appointed for us to live in was a very poor one The slavemasters of New South Wales require their servants to work for them from sunrise till sunset, and will not allow them to have gardens Our boxes, coming up from Sydney on Sir John's dray, were broken open and almost everything worth carrying away was stolen.⁹²

Parkes left Regentville in February 1840, and returned to Sydney where he found work in an ironmongery, then in a brassfoundery.⁹³ He was finally employed as an officer in the Custom House with 'a good deal of leisure to write poetry - I have enough already to fill a book, most of which has been published in a Sydney newspaper.'⁹⁴

Parkes first entered the Legislative Assembly as a member for Sydney in March 1856. He became a leader of the faction which eventually defeated the squatter obligarchy. In his long parliamentary career he left an indelible imprint on the nineteenth century politics of New South Wales. He never lost

his basic respect for authority, his anti-Catholicism, his vicarious concern about education. And he always saw the ideal society in Birmingham terms: hierarchical, cemented by the moral canons of Calvinism, led politically and shaped culturally by an enlightened and open middle class.⁹⁵

⁹² Parkes, pp.87-9.

⁹³ Ibid., pp.89-90.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.93-4.

⁹⁵ A. W. Martin, 'Henry Parkes: Man and Politician,' Melbourne Studies in Education 1960-61, edited by E. L. French, (Melbourne, 1962) p.12.

Another bounty immigrant who achieved prominence was John Frazer, who arrived at Sydney on 23 January 1842 in the Margaret. Although recorded as a carpenter and joiner, his first employment was as an agricultural labourer. He claimed to have gone 'up country to learn something of squatting' but earned 'a very moderate salary indeed.'⁹⁶ In 1847 he set up as a merchant and gradually built his firm into the large importing business, John Frazer and Company. He went from one success to another and became a director of eleven different firms. He entered politics as a member of the Legislative Council in 1874,⁹⁷ and died in 1884, leaving a personal estate worth £405,000.

Although Frazer's and Parke's early colonial experiences were short, they were similar to those of many immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District. Their initial hardships resulted from the allowance of only one day of accommodation for bounty immigrants on reaching Sydney or Melbourne, whereas the government immigrants who arrived between 1837 and 1840 were provided with a month's keep in the Immigration Buildings. Furthermore, artisans and skilled labourers brought out by government assistance were at first assured of employment on government works and even after that practice was stopped, they were often given temporary employment by the Colonial Government. Some

⁹⁶ 'John Frazer,' Australian Dictionary of Biography, Vol. IV (in press). Edited by Douglas Pike.

⁹⁷ Ibid. See also A. W. Martin and P. Wardle; Members of the Legislative Assembly of New South Wales 1856-1901, Biographical Notes (Canberra, 1959).

problems of the bounty immigrants were alleviated in the 1840s by the inspired work and reforms initiated by Caroline Chisholm. Although she is mostly remembered for her work with female immigrants, she was active in helping unemployed labourers during the depression years as well as seeking to improve the lot of many newcomers.⁹⁸

The Immigrants Assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District, 1837-1850

A little less than half of the more than 85,000 immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 were males while a little more than half were females. Just over a quarter of the migrants were children below 14 while a little less than three-quarters were adults. Approximately seven in ten of the adults were between the ages of 18 and 30 while approximately eight in ten were between 14 and 30. The females were a little younger than the males; just under eight-tenths of the males but approximately 85 per cent of the females were between 14 and 30. An average of two children accompanied each family unit among the migrants.

More than half of the immigrants were of Irish origins while more than three-tenths were English (mostly from the South of England) and over one-tenth were Scottish. Approximately seven out of ten of the adult males were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers. Half of the agricultural labourers and more than half of the unskilled workers *were*

⁹⁸ For a full discussion of her activities and influence see Margaret Kiddle, Caroline Chisholm (Melbourne, 1957; first published, 1950).

Irish while at least half of those migrants in skilled occupations were English or Scottish, except for the vine-dressers, who were almost entirely Germans. Between seven and eight-tenths of the adult males from Ireland were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers while only five to six-tenths of the English males and approximately six-and-a-half tenths of the Scottish males claimed those occupations.

Approximately seven out of ten of the adult males professed Protestant allegiances while less than six in ten of the females were of that persuasion. Roman Catholics accounted for approximately three in ten of the males and more than four in ten of the females. More than three-quarters of the adult male bounty immigrants were recorded as knowing how to read and write but only half of their female counterparts were found to possess that knowledge. Of the adult bounty immigrants for whom both religious allegiances and literacy were recorded more than eight in ten of the males who were Protestants knew how to read and write while only six and a half out of ten of those with a Roman Catholic allegiance were found in that category. Among the females, less than seven in ten with Protestant allegiances knew how to read and write while only one-third of females with Roman Catholic allegiances possessed that knowledge. Over-all, three-quarters of the adult Protestants but less than half of the adult Roman Catholics could read and write. Of the adult bounty immigrants for whom the native place and level of literacy were recorded, approximately three-quarters of the English but only just over half of the Irish migrants could read and write. By occupations, the agricultural labourers and unskilled

workers had the lowest level of literacy (approximately 70 per cent) while the professional workers, vine-dressers and building workers had the highest (approximately 90 per cent). Among the females, the skilled servants and shopkeepers possessed the highest level of literacy (approximately 77 per cent).

In examining native places, occupations and religious allegiances, it was found that seven out of ten of the adult males from Ireland were Roman Catholic while more than nine in ten of their counterparts from England were Protestant. Moreover, less than seven-tenths of the males who were Protestants were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers but approximately eight-tenths of their Roman Catholic counterparts were in those occupations. On the other hand, close to four in ten of the agricultural labourers and unskilled workers were Roman Catholic but men of that religious allegiance did not account for more than three in ten of those with other occupations, except for the vine-dressers who were almost exclusively Germans and Roman Catholics.

PART II

FOUR KINDS OF ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS

CHAPTER II

THE GOVERNMENT ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1837-1840

Introduction

Donald McDermaid and his family arrived in Sydney aboard the government immigration ship, George Fyffe, on 23 January 1840. He was a shepherd, and his wife Mary, a domestic servant; both were 40 and were accompanied by their four sons and two daughters. Of the children Hugh was 14, Alexander 14, Archibald 11 and Christy 4, while Flora was 9 and Mary 7. The McDermaids were Presbyterians from Argyleshire. They were expelled from the Immigration Barracks in Sydney because the father refused employment as a shepherd at £100 a year, with rations for his family.¹ Their expulsion, although not unheard of, was relatively unusual. The McDermaids were among the 11,973 immigrants recruited in Britain by Thomas Frederick Elliot and his officers and dispatched to New South Wales between 1837 and 1840. Although they may seem to be an ideal kind of family for

¹ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.85-6.

assisted immigration, they were quite atypical of the government migrants, as this chapter will show.

The Government Immigrants

Of the 11,973 government immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1840, 31 per cent were adult males, 30 per cent adult females, 20 per cent male children under fourteen and 19 per cent female children under fourteen.² Of the government immigrants 9 per cent arrived in 1837, the first year of the 'Government System,' 38 per cent in 1838, 41 per cent in 1839 and 12 per cent in 1840, the last year that the 'System' operated.³ Neither 1837 nor 1840 were full years of operation; the first ship that carried government immigrants to New South Wales, the John Barry, arrived at Port Jackson on 8 September 1837 and the last government ship, the Henry Porcher, reached the colony on 21 February 1840.⁴

Of the adult males 55 per cent were married, 2 per cent widowed and 43 per cent single;⁵ 7 per cent of the adult males arrived in 1837, 33 per cent in 1838, 46 per cent in 1839 and 14 per cent in 1840.⁶

² Appendix C, Table I.

³ Ibid., Table II.

⁴ Appendix B, Table II.

⁵ Appendix C, Table III.

⁶ Ibid., Table IV.

In age, 6 per cent were between fourteen and seventeen, 58 per cent between eighteen and thirty, 26 per cent between thirty-one and forty, and 10 per cent were older.⁷ In occupation, 47 per cent were agricultural labourers; 13 per cent building workers, 4 per cent shopkeepers and tradesmen, 14 per cent handicraft and factory workers, 2 per cent professional men, 15 per cent unskilled workers, and 5 per cent domestic servants.⁸ For their first employment 44 per cent either arrived or settled in Sydney, 4 per cent went to the Port Phillip District, and 52 per cent to country districts.⁹ Of the places of origin, 34 per cent came from the South of England, 28 per cent from both Scotland and the Irish Provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 9 per cent from the Province of Ulster and 1 per cent from London; less than 1 per cent came from the Midlands, the North of England, Wales and non-British countries.¹⁰

Of the adult females 59 per cent were married, 2 per cent widowed and 39 per cent single;¹¹ 8 per cent arrived in 1837, 36 per cent in 1838, 43 per cent in 1839 and 13 per cent in 1840.¹²

⁷ Ibid., Table VIII, a.

⁸ Ibid., Table IX, a.

⁹ Ibid., Table X, a.

¹⁰ Ibid., Table XIII, a.

¹¹ Ibid., Table V.

¹² Ibid., Table VI.

In age, 10 per cent were between fourteen and seventeen, 67 per cent between eighteen and thirty, and 29 per cent over thirty-one.¹³ In occupation, 27 per cent were agricultural workers and servants, 56 per cent domestic and general servants and 17 per cent skilled servants and shopkeepers.¹⁴ For their first employment 52 per cent either arrived or settled in Sydney, 3 per cent went to the Port Phillip District and 42 per cent to country districts.¹⁵ Of the places of origin 31 per cent came from the South of England, 26 per cent from Scotland, 31 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 10 per cent from Ulster and 2 per cent from London; less than 1 per cent came from the Midlands, the North of England, Wales and non-British countries.¹⁶

The Sex, Marital Status and Ages of the Government Immigrants

Although one purpose of the 'Government System' was to reduce the social evils of the numerical disproportion between men and women in New South Wales, the intention was not fulfilled. Indeed, the

¹³ Ibid., Table VIII, b.

¹⁴ Ibid., Table IX, b.

¹⁵ Ibid., Table X, b.

¹⁶ Ibid., Table XIII, b.

migrants under the 'Government System' intensified the problem.¹⁷

Single men like Robert Horneman, a twenty-five-year-old Protestant classical teacher from Kent, and Joseph Sands, a twenty-four-year-old Protestant labourer from Battle, were brought to the colony when such immigrants as Jessey McIntyre, a twenty-four-year-old Roman Catholic house servant from Ardnamurchan, were needed to balance the sex

ratio.¹⁸ In addition, eight more widowed males than females arrived among the government immigrants.¹⁹ One widow, Bridget Adams from

Country Limerick, was typical of the others. She was a fifty-year-old dressmaker who brought one son over fourteen and a son and a daughter between seven and fourteen and found her own employment in Sydney at an unknown income.²⁰ Each year between 1837 and 1840 the ratio between

¹⁷ Ibid., Tables IV and VI.

¹⁸ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.92-3; Ibid., 4/4781, pp.111-2; Ibid., pp.95-6. Robert Horneman arrived on the Palmyra from London on 27 September 1838, and was employed by Mr Lawson of Prospect at £25 a year, with rations. Joseph Sands arrived aboard the James Pattison from Gravesend on 8 February 1840, and was hired by Mr Fitzgerald of Windsor at £26 per annum, with rations. Jessey McIntyre arrived in the colony on the George Fyffe from Tobermoray on 23 January 1840, and was employed by Captain Furlong of Newcastle at £12 12s. a year, with rations.

¹⁹ Appendix C, Tables IV and VI.

²⁰ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.240-1. Bridget Adams arrived in the colony aboard the Aliquis on 16 March 1839.

single male and female arrivals varied, but the total intake shows an excess of one hundred and eighty three single males,²¹ thus aggravating an already unbalanced sex ratio.

The ages of 422 male and 575 female government immigrants were not recorded. In the total number of government immigrants for whom ages are known, 43 per cent were children under fourteen, 39 per cent were adults between fourteen and thirty, and 16 per cent over thirty-one.²² Of the adult males with no recorded age, three were married and one was a widower. Of the 3,306 adult males for whom ages are known, 6 per cent were between fourteen and seventeen, 58 per cent between eighteen and thirty, and 36 per cent over thirty-one.²³ Among the married males 15 per cent were between eighteen and twenty-four.²⁴ One sample was Edward Clarke, a twenty-two-year-old farm labourer from Elphin, Roscommon, who arrived in the colony with his wife Bridget, a dairymaid aged twenty-two. They were Roman Catholics and had no children.²⁵ Another 32 per cent of the married males were between

²¹ Appendix C, Table VII.

²² Ibid.

²³ Ibid., Table VIII.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4781, pp.59-60. Edward and Bridget Clarke arrived in New South Wales aboard the Crusader from Kingstown on 15 January 1840. They were employed by Mr Compton of Sydney at £30 a year, with rations.

twenty-five and thirty.²⁶ They included John Shorburn, a thirty-year-old ploughman from Ayrshire, who was accompanied by his wife, Agnes, a twenty-year-old house servant; they were Presbyterians and had no children. They were hired by Mr. Robert Menzies of Illawarra at £26 5s a year with rations.²⁷ Of the married males 38 per cent were between thirty-one and forty and 15 per cent over forty-one.²⁸ In these groups were George Roberts and his wife Caroline, and Ewen McKinnon and his family. McKinnon, a shepherd from Inverness-shire, was sixty-two and his wife fifty-one; a daughter over fourteen and two sons and a daughter between seven and fourteen accompanied them to the colony. The McKinnons were Presbyterians and were employed by Mr Ralston of Bathurst for £25 a year with rations.²⁹ In contrast, George Roberts, a forty-year-old painter and galzier from Tonbridge and his wife, Caroline, a thirty-year-old dressmaker from London, were Wesleyans. They had no children and were hired by William Bayden of Paterson at £35 a year with rations.³⁰ Richard Pont, of Guestling,

²⁶ Appendix C, Table VIII, a.

²⁷ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4781, pp.89-90. John and Agnes Shorburn arrived at Port Jackson on the George Fyffe from Tobermoray on 23 January 1840.

²⁸ Appendix C, Table VIII, a.

²⁹ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.182-3. Ewen McKinnon and his family arrived on the Boyne on 2 January 1839.

³⁰ Ibid., 4/4781, pp.107-8. George and Caroline Roberts arrived in the colony on the James Pattison on 8 February 1840.

Kent, was one of the eighty-four widowers among the government immigrants. He was a thirty-eight-year-old labourer who arrived in New South Wales with a daughter over fourteen and a son between seven and fourteen. He was a Protestant and was hired by Mr Stark of Botany Bay at £25 a year with rations.³¹ Among the total number of his group, 96 per cent were over twenty-five with only 4 per cent between eighteen and twenty-four.

Of the single males 76 per cent were under twenty-five and 24 per cent over.³² William Forster, a sixteen-year-old milkman from Huddermore,³³ was among the one hundred and eighty-three single males (16 per cent) between fourteen and seventeen. Among the 60 per cent between eighteen and twenty-four³⁴ was Wickham Whitemarsh, an eighteen-year-old farm labourer from Sussex,³⁵ while Thaddy Cunningham,

31 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.144-5. Richard Pont and his children arrived in Sydney aboard the Lady Nugent on 27 November 1838.

32 Appendix C, Table VIII.

33 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.352-3. William Forster arrived at Port Jackson on the Florist on 26 October 1839. He was employed by Mr Foss of Foss Lodge at £20 per annum, with rations.

34 Appendix C, Table VIII, a.

35 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.352-3. Wickham Whitemarsh arrived in New South Wales on the Florist from Gravesend on 26 October 1839. A Protestant, he was hired by Mr Bucknell of Paterson at £18 a year, with rations.

a twenty-six-year-old Roman Catholic schoolmaster from Loughlinn, was among the 20 per cent between twenty-five and thirty.³⁶ It is significant that forty-five (4 per cent) were over thirty-one,³⁷ the supposed maximum for single males.

Of the adult females with no recorded age, two hundred and twenty-eight were married, one a widow and three hundred and forty-six single. Of the 2,958 adult females whose ages are known, 10 per cent were between fourteen and seventeen, 61 per cent between eighteen and thirty, 20 per cent between thirty-one and forty and 8 per cent over forty-one.³⁸ Among the married females, 27 per cent were between eighteen and twenty-four.³⁹ One of them was Mrs Henry Vimeer, aged twenty-two, who arrived with her husband, a twenty-two-year-old baker. They were Protestants from Brookland and had no children. They found employment in George Street, Sydney, at an unknown rate of wages.⁴⁰

³⁶ Ibid., 4/4781, pp.71-2. Thaddy Cunningham arrived in the colony on the Crusader from Kingstown on 15 January 1840. He was employed by Captain Collins of Illawarra at £30 per annum, with rations.

³⁷ Appendix C, Table VIII, a.

³⁸ Ibid., Table VIII, b.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.300-1. The Vimeers arrived in New South Wales aboard the Cornwall from Gravesend on 1 September 1839.

Mrs John Prestage, aged twenty-seven, and her husband, a tailor of twenty-two, were also Protestants from Brookland and childless, and found work in Sydney.⁴¹ Mrs Michael Troy was a sample of the married women between thirty-one and forty years of age and Mrs Anne Frazer of those over forty-one. Mrs Troy, aged thirty-two, had no children and arrived in the colony with her husband, a twenty-seven-year-old clerk. Both were Roman Catholics from Cork. They settled in Sydney where her husband was employed by the police force at 2s. 10d. a day without rations.⁴² Mrs Anne Frazer, at forty-six, had five children when she arrived in New South Wales with her husband, Andrew, a forty-six-year-old cartwright, who was hired by Mr Townshind of Hunter River at £30 a year, with rations. The Frazers were Presbyterians from the Isle of Skye. Their children were John, fifteen, Charles, fourteen and Lachlan, eight, with Mary, fifteen, and Eliza, twelve.⁴³ Of the seventy-six widows one was Mrs Elizabeth Ellis, aged 38. A housekeeper from County Cork and a Roman Catholic, she was accompanied by her

⁴¹ Ibid., pp.92-3. Mrs Prestage and her husband, John, arrived on board the Palmyra from London on 27 September 1838. John Prestage was a twenty-two-year-old tailor who found employment with Mr McKay of Sydney at piece work rates. The Prestages were from Brookland and were members of the Episcopal Church.

⁴² 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.240-1. Michael Troy and his wife arrived in the colony on 16 March 1839, aboard the Aliquis.

⁴³ Ibid., 4/4781, pp.85-6. The Frazer family arrived on 23 January 1840, on board the George Fyffe from Tobermoray.

daughter, Georgianna, a needlewoman. On arrival Mrs Ellis and her daughter joined her son in Berrima.⁴⁴

The Number of Children

The children under fourteen who arrived in New South Wales with the government immigrants between 1837 and 1840 numbered 4,712.⁴⁵ Examples of them were John McDonald, the two-year-old son of a farmer,⁴⁶ or Michael Hughes, the seven-year-old son of another farmer.⁴⁷ Bridget Farlane, the ten-year-old daughter of a shepherd aged forty-four, might

⁴⁴ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4781, pp.109-10. Elizabeth Ellis and her daughter arrived in New South Wales on 8 February 1840 aboard the James Pattison from Gravesend.

⁴⁵ Appendix C, Table I.

⁴⁶ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4781, pp.85-6. John McDonald arrived in New South Wales on 23 January 1840 aboard the George Fyffe, which sailed from Tobermoray. He accompanied his father, Hugh McDonald, a farmer aged thirty-four, and his mother, Flora, a twenty-seven-year-old house servant. In addition to John, the McDonalds brought a second son, Donald, aged six months. The McDonald family were Presbyterians from the Island of Coll. They were removed from the Immigration Barracks in Sydney because Hugh McDonald refused several of the jobs offered to him.

⁴⁷ Ibid., pp.63-4. Michael Hughes was one of three sons and three daughters who accompanied their parents, Thomas and Mary Hughes, aged thirty-eight and thirty-four, respectively, to New South Wales. They arrived in the colony on 15 January 1840, aboard the Crusader, which sailed from Kingstown. In addition to Michael, the other children were John aged fourteen, William, aged six, Mary, aged thirteen, Eliza, aged ten, and Rosanna, aged nine. The Hughes family were Roman Catholics from Roscommon, of whom nothing was recorded about their employment or rate of wages.

represent the 2,255 female children.⁴⁸ Among the government immigrants the family unit averaged more than two children and higher in 1837 and 1838. For instance, the Lady Kenaway brought forty-nine married women and one hundred and forty-one children under fourteen,⁴⁹ and the Crescent carried thirty-five married females and seventy-eight children.⁵⁰ Not all children who sailed for New South Wales between 1839 and 1840 were as fortunate as Michael Hughes, John McDonald and Bridget Farlane. In 1838 and 1839, one hundred and seventy-three of the two hundred and seventy immigrants who died on board ship were mostly under seven.⁵¹

The Male Occupations

Occupations are known for 3,233 (87 per cent) of the 3,728 adult males who arrived as government immigrants in 1837-40. Occupations were not reported for only eight married males and one widower, and four hundred and eighty-six single males, most of whom

⁴⁸ Ibid., Bridget Farlane was one of two daughters who arrived in the colony with their parents, Patrick, a forty-four-year-old shepherd, and Nancy, a thirty-eight-year-old dairywoman. The Farlanes arrived in Sydney on 15 January 1840, on the Crusader from Kingstown. The second daughter, Mary, was nine years old. The Farlane family were Roman Catholics from Lurgan, Armagh. Patrick Farlane was hired by T. and G. Hamby of Botany Bay at ten shillings a week with rations.

⁴⁹ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.73-80. The Lady Kenaway arrived from Leith on 12 August 1838.

⁵⁰ Ibid., 4/4781, pp.123-46. The Crescent arrived from Kingstown on 11 February 1840.

⁵¹ Compiled from 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780-1.

travelled with their families and settled with them on arrival.⁵²
 The known occupations have been grouped in Appendix A.⁵³ John Hook,
 a married farm labourer aged twenty-eight, was an example of the
 47 per cent of the married males who were agricultural labourers.⁵⁴
 Another 16 per cent were building workers,⁵⁵ and included John Cook,
 a twenty-six-year-old married plasterer.⁵⁶ John Walden, a twenty-
 eight-year-old married brickmaker⁵⁷ was among the 14 per cent of the
 married males who were skilled, handicraft and factory workers.⁵⁸

⁵² Appendix C, Table IX, a.

⁵³ Appendix A.

⁵⁴ John Hook, his twenty-five-year-old wife and their three children were Wesleyans from Brighton. They arrived in New South Wales on 27 September 1838, aboard the Palmyra from London. The three children, one son and two daughters, were under seven. John Hook was hired by Mr Manning of Sydney at £20 per annum, with rations. ('Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.90-1).

⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁶ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.46-7. John Cook and his wife, aged twenty-two, arrived in New South Wales from Devonshire on 18 May 1838, on board the Orontes. With them were their three children: one son and two daughters under seven years of age. Cook found his own employment in Liverpool at five shillings a day, without rations.

⁵⁷ Ibid., pp.316-7. John Walden and his wife arrived on 3 September 1839, on the Bussorah Merchant which sailed from Bristol. The Waldens, Protestants from Stroud, Gloucestershire, had no children. Mr Bricknell of Newtown hired Walden at £35 per annum, with rations.

⁵⁸ Appendix C, Table IX, a.

George Drake, a thirty-eight-year-old labourer with a wife and four children,⁵⁹ was among the 12 per cent of the married unskilled labourers.⁶⁰ The other 10 per cent of the married males were sprinkled among the shopkeepers and tradesmen, professional workers and domestic servants.⁶¹ The occupation distribution among the widowers was similar to that among the married males, except for a 5 per cent increase of unskilled workers.

The single males included 19 per cent of unskilled persons, 47 per cent agricultural workers and 10 per cent were skilled, hand-craft and factory workers,⁶² among them Edward Wall, a nineteen-year-old Protestant 'bird-stuffer' from Dublin, who found his own employment in Sydney at an unknown wage.⁶³ Only 9 per cent were building workers but 7 1/2 per cent were domestic servants,⁶⁴ such as James Harkins, a

59 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, p.32. George Drake and his family arrived in the colony on 18 January 1838, aboard the Layton. He was hired by Mr Foster, a weaver, at piece work rates.

60 Appendix C, Table IX, a.

61 Ibid.

62 Ibid.

63 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4781, pp.73-4. Wall arrived in Sydney on 15 January 1840, aboard the Crusader from Kingstown.

64 Appendix C, Table IX, a.

twenty-year-old coachman from Woodchurch.⁶⁵ Edward Watts, a twenty-nine-year-old tutor who found his own employment in Sydney, was typical of the forty-three other single professional men.⁶⁶

The Female Occupations

Occupations were recorded for approximately one-third of the adult female government immigrants, mostly single females. Among the married females, occupations are known for two hundred and one immigrants and lacking for almost two thousand. Among the widows, occupations are recorded for sixty-three but not recorded for thirteen. Only the occupations of the single females were recorded with any regularity, and even then the callings of three hundred and eighty-one were left unrecorded; however, many of those unrecorded may have accompanied their parents and consequently were not recorded separately in the shipping lists but are considered single females in this study. Of the approximately 70 per cent of the single females for whom occupations are known, 22 per cent were agricultural workers and servants.⁶⁷ Among them were Bridget Bethel, an eighteen-year-old

⁶⁵ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.302-3. Harkins arrived on 1 September 1839, aboard the Cornwall which sailed from Gravesend. A Protestant, he was employed by the Lord Bishop of Australia at £30 per annum, with rations.

⁶⁶ Ibid., pp.304-5. Watts arrived in the Cornwall on 1 September 1839.

⁶⁷ Appendix C, Table IX, b.

country servant,⁶⁸ and Asadora Perrett, a twenty-year-old Protestant farm servant from Kingswood.⁶⁹ Typical of the 17 per cent of skilled servants and shopkeepers,⁷⁰ Mary Ann Curlin was a twenty-one-year-old Roman Catholic governess from Cork,⁷¹ and Catherine Ryan, a twenty-two-year-old Roman Catholic dressmaker from Mallow, Cork.⁷² More than 60 per cent were domestic and general servants, including laundresses, kitchen maids, cooks and house servants.⁷³

The Native Places

The government immigrants to New South Wales came from all parts of the British Isles. The largest number of adult males, 1,075 (34 per cent), were from the South of England, 28 per cent from Scotland,

⁶⁸ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, p.43. Bridget Bethel arrived in the colony on 26 January 1838, on the Strathfieldsay; she accompanied her father who was employed by the Colonial Government in Sydney.

⁶⁹ Ibid., pp.318-9. Asadora Perrett arrived on 3 September 1839, aboard the Bussorah Merchant from Bristol. She was hired by F. Clark of Penrith at £17 per annum, with rations.

⁷⁰ Appendix C, Table IX, b.

⁷¹ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.112-3. Mary Ann Curlin arrived in the colony on 16 October 1838, on the Calcutta from Cork. She went to live with friends in Sydney.

⁷² Ibid. Catherine Ryan also arrived on the Calcutta. She was hired by Mrs Wyatt of Sydney at £16 per annum, with rations.

⁷³ Appendix C, Table IX, b.

28 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 9 per cent from Ulster. Only 1 per cent were from London and less than 1 per cent were from the Midlands, the North of England, Wales and other countries.⁷⁴

The evidence suggests that the overwhelming majority of the male government immigrants were from rural areas or small country towns: few were recorded as coming from the expanding industrial centres, existing cities or seaports.⁷⁵ While many of them were recruited in London, Bristol, Edinburgh, Belfast, Cork and Dublin, they were probably country folk by birth who had moved into the larger centres because of a want of opportunities in their home areas. Their decision to emigrate probably derived from unhappiness in the urban centres, lack of skills needed for employment in the factories and mills and miserable living conditions. Still, the majority seem to have been recruited in their rural home areas and travelled directly to their port of embarkation. Their records reflect variations in recruiting efforts and possibly indicate the pressures of local economic conditions. No evidence exists to support the colonists' frequent contention that the government immigrants who arrived in the 1830s were the sweepings from brothels

⁷⁴ Ibid., Table XIII.

⁷⁵ Compiled from 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780-1.

and streets of Liverpool and London.⁷⁶

The distribution of native places among the married males differed little from that of the total number of males. Among the widowers, higher percentages of immigrants came from the South of England and Scotland, and smaller percentages from Ireland. The single males show a similar pattern because of a 5 per cent increase in Scots.⁷⁷ The adult females were much the same. Of them 88 per cent were from either the South of England, Scotland or Leinster, Munster and Connacht, compared to 90 per cent of the adult males.⁷⁸

The distribution of the native places of the married females was also identical with that of the married males; only the widows showed marked differences: nine were recorded as coming from the South of England, twenty-one from Scotland and twenty-four from Leinster, Munster and Connacht. The stated native places of the single females also differed from those of the single males.⁷⁹ Typical of the

⁷⁶ Numerous criticisms of the government immigrants were made. J. D. Lang, in his Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales, Vol. II, pp.442-4, charged that the female immigrants were making the colony a large brothel. He made similar assertions in his evidence given to the Select Committee on Transportation, 1837, Q.3940. The evidence given by numerous colonists to the Select Committees on Immigration in the colony were also very critical. See especially the 1838 report and the evidence of William Bradley, Robert Campbell and H. Brookes, V. & P.L.C.N.S.W., 1838. (Madgwick, p.105, note 4 and 106, note 4).

⁷⁷ Appendix C, Table XIII, a.

⁷⁸ Ibid., Table XIII, b.

⁷⁹ Ibid.

45 per cent of the single females who came from all parts of Ireland (35 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 10 per cent from Ulster) were Charlotte Raye, a sixteen-year-old Roman Catholic needlewoman from County Cavan⁸⁰ and Sarah Simpson, a seventeen-year-old Protestant dressmaker from Newry, County Down.⁸¹ Of the other single females, 26 per cent were from the South of England while the 28 per cent from Scotland,⁸² represented by Ellen McNab, a nineteen-year-old Presbyterian from Inverness-shire who could read and write,⁸³ and Louisa Moore, an eighteen-year-old Protestant upholsteress from Devonshire.⁸⁴

The Places of First Employment or Settlement

More than 50 per cent of the total number of adult males for whom places of first employment or settlement were recorded found initial employment in the country areas of New South Wales while 44 per cent remained in Sydney. The figures for the adult females were

⁸⁰ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4781, pp.75-6. Charlotte Raye arrived in New South Wales on 15 January 1840, aboard the Crusader from Kingstown. She was hired by Dr Fatheroni of Port Macquarie at £10 per annum, with rations.

⁸¹ Ibid., 4/4780, pp.102-3.

⁸² Appendix C, Table XIII, b.

⁸³ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.78-9. Ellen McNab arrived on 12 August 1838, aboard the Lady Kenaway from Leith. She was hired by Mrs Hashingden of Sydney at £12 per annum, with rations.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 4/4781, pp.113-4. Louisa Moore arrived in the colony on 8 February 1840, aboard the James Pattison from Gravesend. She accompanied her father to lodgings in Kent Street, Sydney.

reversed: more than half remained in Sydney while 45 per cent went to the country. The first places of employment varied little between married and single males, but a higher percentage of single girls than married females or single males remained in Sydney.⁸⁵

Most of the adult male agricultural labourers accepted employment in the country, but over 25 per cent found work in Sydney.⁸⁶ This may suggest that occupations were wrongly stated by some male government immigrants but it may also indicate that when a man claimed two occupations he preferred to remain in Sydney as a carpenter rather than go 'up the country' as a shepherd. Almost 70 per cent of the building workers stayed in Sydney but 30 per cent went to the country, a distribution that was much the same for male shopkeepers and tradesmen, the skilled, handicraft and factory workers and the professionals. The pattern for unskilled workers was reversed, 60 per cent going to the country and 38 per cent staying in Sydney. Of the male domestic servants, 50 per cent remained in Sydney and 48 per cent went to the country for employment.⁸⁷

The Native Places and Occupations

More than 40 per cent of the adult males from the South of England were agricultural labourers,⁸⁸ men like Isaac Ripstead a twenty-seven-

⁸⁵ Appendix C, Table X.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Table XI.

⁸⁷ Ibid.

⁸⁸ Ibid., Table XIV.

year-old farm labourer from Wye.⁸⁹ Another 28 per cent were unskilled workers, 11 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers and the remainder were distributed among building workers, shopkeepers and tradesmen, professional men and domestic servants. Over 60 per cent of the adult males from Scotland were agricultural labourers, 14 per cent were building workers, 13 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers, and the others were distributed throughout the remaining occupations. Of the adult males from Ireland, 40 per cent were agricultural labourers and 16 per cent unskilled workers. Of the male immigrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht 16 per cent were skilled, handicraft and factory workers and 13 per cent building workers. Of the adult males from Ulster, 34 per cent were agricultural labourers, 26 per cent unskilled workers, 18 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers and 13 per cent were building workers.⁹⁰

The largest group of agricultural labourers, 37 per cent, came from Scotland; 32 per cent were from the South of England, 25 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 6 per cent from Ulster.

⁸⁹ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.300-1. Ripstead and his twenty-year-old wife arrived in New South Wales on 1 September 1839, aboard the Cornwall which sailed from Gravesend. Ripstead and his wife were Protestants with no children. It was not recorded where he found employment nor the wage he earned in the colony.

⁹⁰ Appendix C, Table XIV.

The building workers were composed of 31 per cent Scots, 30 per cent Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 27 per cent from the South of England and 9 per cent from Ulster. The Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht comprised 36 per cent of the shopkeepers and tradesmen, the South English 26 per cent, the Scots 23 per cent, and Ulster 7 per cent. Of the skilled, handicraft and factory workers 33 per cent were Irish, more than a quarter were Southern English, a quarter Scots and 11 per cent Ulstermen. Of the professionals, mainly veterinarians and school teachers, 50 per cent were Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 21 per cent Scots, 18 per cent Southern English and 10 per cent from Ulster. Well over one-half of the unskilled workers were from the South of England.⁹¹ Nearly 40 per cent of the domestic servants were South English, 31 per cent Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 25 per cent from Scotland.⁹² In general, the Irish were more skilled than one might expect from their country's economic situation and the English and Scots less so, especially the English, although it could be argued that Ireland's economic backwardness compelled the skilled persons to emigrate.

The Religious Allegiances

Religious allegiances were recorded for 84 per cent of the adult males and 81 per cent of the adult females. The record indicates that

⁹¹ Ibid., Table XV.

⁹² Ibid.

over 70 per cent of the government immigrants were Protestant and less than 30 per cent Roman Catholic. Among the adult males, single and married, 73 per cent were Protestants and 27 per cent Roman Catholics, but among the widowers 78 per cent were Protestants. The religions recorded for the adult females were much the same as those of the adult males, but among the single females only 67 per cent were Protestants. Only three Jews and one freethinker were recorded among the 11,973 persons who arrived in New South Wales as government immigrants between 1837 and 1840.⁹³

The adult immigrants from London and the South of England were predominantly Protestants, only one adult from London and three adults from the South of England being Roman Catholics. Although 92 per cent of the Scots were Protestants (mostly Presbyterians), 8 per cent were Roman Catholics,⁹⁴ from the Highlands: one sample was Duncan McDonald, a sixty-year-old Roman Catholic shepherd.⁹⁵ More than 80 per cent of the Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht were Roman Catholics but 19 per cent were protestants, probably from the Dublin area or the areas nearest to the Province of Ulster. Conversely, 84 per cent of

⁹³ Ibid., Table XVI.

⁹⁴ Ibid., Table XVII.

⁹⁵ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.182-3. McDonald and his wife, a forty-eight-year-old mother of four, arrived in New South Wales on 2 January 1839, aboard the Boyne. They brought one son and one daughter above fourteen and two daughters between seven and fourteen. McDonald was hired by Mr Lawson of Prospect at £30 per annum, with rations.

the immigrants from Ulster were Protestants but 16 per cent Roman Catholics.⁹⁶ In both Ulster and the rest of Ireland, the significant minority religious percentages of the government immigrants may indicate that they emigrated in an attempt to find a better religious climate as well as better economic opportunities.

Three-quarters of the agricultural labourers among the adult male immigrants were Protestants and one-quarter were Roman Catholics. The other occupations tended to be divided more closely at 70 per cent Protestants and 30 per cent Roman Catholics, except for the professionals who were 64 per cent Protestants and 36 per cent Roman Catholics. In addition, one of the Jews was an unskilled worker, another was a domestic servant and the freethinker was a shopkeeper or tradesman.⁹⁷ Of the adult government immigrants who found employment in Sydney 70 per cent were Protestants and 30 per cent Roman Catholics. Of those who accepted work in the country, almost 80 per cent were Protestants and 21 per cent Roman Catholics. Although both the Protestants and Roman Catholics came mostly from rural backgrounds in the British Isles, almost 10 per cent more Protestants than Roman Catholics found employment in the country areas of New South Wales.⁹⁸

Although no obvious conclusion emerges from this evidence, it suggests that the Roman Catholics (86 per cent of whom were Irish)

⁹⁶ Appendix C, Table XVII.

⁹⁷ Ibid., Table XIX.

⁹⁸ Ibid., Table XXI.

preferred to remain in Sydney and were able to find employment there. That may have been one of the reasons why many colonial leaders believed that New South Wales was being overwhelmed by Irish Roman Catholics: by remaining in Sydney they made their numbers obvious.

Typical Government Immigrants to New South Wales, 1837-1840

The average married male among the government assisted immigrants to New South Wales between 1837 and 1840 was a Protestant agricultural labourer from the South of England or Scotland between twenty-five and forty, was accompanied by his wife and two or three children and may have accepted his first colonial employment in Sydney or gone 'up the country.'⁹⁹ One example was Edward Inman, a thirty-six-year-old Anglican farm labourer from Sussex, accompanied by his thirty-year-old wife and three children, one daughter over seven and two daughters under seven. He arrived with his family on 27 September 1838 aboard the Palmyra and was hired by Mr Manning of Sydney at £20 per annum with rations.¹⁰⁰ Another was John Hook, a twenty-eight-year-old farm labourer from Brighton and a Wesleyan. He was accompanied by his twenty-five-year-old wife and a son and two daughters under seven, and employed by Mr Manning of Sydney at £20 a year with rations.¹⁰¹ Thomas O'Neill, a forty-seven-year-old farmer from County Tipperary, was less typical than most

⁹⁹ Ibid., Tables I-XXIII.

¹⁰⁰ 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780, pp.90-1.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

married government immigrants because he was too old, a Roman Catholic and the father of three sons and two daughters over fourteen and a son and daughter under fourteen; he was engaged by Mr H. O'Brien of Yass Plains at £80 per annum with rations.¹⁰²

The average married female was between twenty-five and forty, a Protestant from the South of England or Scotland, arrived in 1838, either accompanied her husband to the country or remained in Sydney, and was probably an agricultural worker or servant. In contrast, the typical single female was between eighteen and twenty-four and a domestic and general servant who found employment in Sydney, and was likely to be a Protestant from the South of England or Scotland. Samples were Sarah Fainton, a twenty-three-year-old Baptist and a 'Lady's Maid' from Nailsworth who found her own employment in Sydney,¹⁰³ and Ellen McNab, a nineteen-year-old Presbyterian and house servant from Inverness-shire who was hired by Mr Hashingden of Sydney at £12 per year with rations.¹⁰⁴

The average single male among the government immigrants was represented by Wickham Whitemarsh, and eighteen-year-old Protestant

¹⁰² Ibid., 4/4780, pp.110-1.

¹⁰³ Ibid., pp.318-9. Sarah Fainton arrived in New South Wales on 3 September 1839, aboard the Bussorah Merchant.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., pp.78-9. Ellen McNab arrived in New South Wales on 21 August 1838, aboard the Lady Kenaway.

farm labourer from Sussex,¹⁰⁵ and Donald McGilvary, a twenty-two-year-old Roman Catholic shepherd from Ardnamurchan.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., pp.352-3. Wickham Whitemarsh arrived in the colony on 26 October 1839, aboard the Florist. He was hired by Mr Bucknell of Paterson at £18 per annum with rations.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 4/4781, pp.91-2. McGilvary arrived on 23 January 1840, on board the George Fyffe. He was engaged by H. McArthur of Vineyard at £25 per annum with rations.

CHAPTER III

THE BOUNTY IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN NEW SOUTH WALES, 1837-1850

Introduction

More than 46,000 bounty immigrants arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1850. Of that number, almost 11,500, or 25 per cent were children under fourteen and more than 34,000, or 75 per cent statutory adults over fourteen.¹ Those immigrants came from all parts of the British Isles, as well as from Germany, the United States of America and Quebec. Not only were they from diverse national backgrounds, they also included a large variety of occupations and professions, ranging from illiterate unskilled workers and farm labourers through brickmakers and stone masons to teachers, surgeons, veterinarians and at least one classical scholar. The children varied in age from those born en route to the colony to those who were just a few days under fourteen. The ages of the adults ranged from those over fourteen to grandparents in their sixties. They were just as varied in their religious allegiances as in their ages and occupations, and included not only Anglicans, Presbyterians, Methodists, Baptists, Brethren,

¹ Appendix E, Table I.

Lutherans and Quakers, but also Jews and Roman Catholics as well as atheists and freethinkers. Among them were married males and females, single persons and orphans of both sexes, widows and widowers, wives and families of convicts in New South Wales, thieves, immoral women and opportunists. In sum, they were as diverse a group as one could expect, except for one thing: nearly all of them were from a British working-class background, either rural or urban. They also had one factor in common; all were selected immigrants and brought to New South Wales by private agents under contract to the Colonial Government.

The Bounty Immigrants

Three-fourths of the bounty immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1850 were over fourteen and classified as statutory adults for purposes of immigration.² Among the adult immigrants, more than 46 per cent were males and more than 53 per cent females. Of the adult males, 51 per cent were single, 48 per cent married and 1 per cent widowers. Among the adult females, 57 per cent were single, 43 per cent married and 1 per cent widows.³ Of the total number of males for whom ages were recorded, 27 per cent were under fourteen, 59 per cent between fourteen and thirty, and 14 per cent over thirty. On the other hand, 12 per cent of the females with recorded ages were over thirty, 66 per cent between fourteen and thirty, and 23 per cent under fourteen.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid., Table II.

Of the adult males, 56 per cent were agricultural labourers and 67 per cent of the adult females domestic and general servants.⁴ The bounty immigrants came from all parts of the British Isles, but of the adult males over 25 per cent were from the South of England, 10 per cent from Scotland and 50 per cent from Ireland (39 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 11 per cent from Ulster). Among the adult females, 19 per cent were from the South of England, 8 per cent from Scotland and 64 per cent from Ireland (52 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 12 per cent from Ulster).⁵ Of the adult males 65 per cent were Protestants and 35 per cent Roman Catholics but only 53 per cent of the adult females were Protestants while 47 per cent were Roman Catholics.⁶ Of the adults 63 per cent were recorded as knowing how to read and write, 21 per cent as being able to read, and 16 per cent as illiterate.⁷ In general, the bounty immigrants were as diverse in ages, marital status, native places, occupations and religious allegiances as the government immigrants.

⁴ Ibid., Table V.

⁵ Ibid., Table VI.

⁶ Ibid., Table VII.

⁷ Those percentages are markedly different from the figures presented in R. J. Shultz, 'Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851,' Historical Studies, Vol. 14, No. 54, April 1970, Table V, p.281. The figures in that table were preliminary results and were erroneous concerning the literacy of the bounty immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1850. The errors in Table V of the review article resulted from incorrect instructions being given to the computer processing the data and improper handling and interpretation of that data. The corrected figures are shown in Appendix E, Tables VIII and XXVI.

However, the bounty immigrants were different from the government immigrants in general characteristics as well as specific details.

The Sex, Marital Status and Ages of the Bounty Immigrants

Of the bounty immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1850, 48 per cent were males and 52 per cent were females. Of the total number, 46,064, 35 per cent were adult males, 13 per cent male children, 40 per cent adult females and 12 per cent female children.⁸ Among the adult males, 51 per cent were single, 48 per cent married and 1 per cent widowed. On the other hand, 57 per cent of the adult females were single, which was a higher percentage than that of the adult males, and 43 per cent were married, which was somewhat lower than the adult males. However, fifty-six more females than males were single, a fact partly explained by the introduction of some wives and families of convicts into the colony. Of the adult females, 1 per cent were widows such as Margaret Forsyth, a thirty-one-year-old house-keeper.⁹ In total, 2,290 adult females, most of them Irish orphans, outnumbered the adult males introduced into New South

⁸ Appendix E, Table I.

⁹ Ibid., Table II. For wives and families of convicts who were brought to New South Wales, see 'Wives and families of convicts on bounty ships, 1849-55.' 4/4819. Margaret Forsyth was a Protestant who was recorded as being able to read and write and from County Louth. She was declared ineligible for bounty because she was 'overage & a widow.' 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' January-August 1842. 4/4783, p.37.

Wales through the bounty system.¹⁰ The Irish orphanages were an obvious and manageable source of single female immigrants and were exploited in the late 1840s. Eleven ships carrying 2,223 female Irish orphans arrived at Port Jackson between 6 October 1848 and 29 July 1850.¹¹ If they are not counted, the ratio was nearly equal between males and females: 7,797 married males and 7,853 married females; 132 widowers and 155 widows; and, 8,217 single males and 8,236 single females. The marital status of the adult males and females was also similar when the female orphans are not considered. However, the conditional equality was not true of the ages of the bounty immigrants.

¹⁰ Ibid., Table IV, b. Only 31 orphan males were introduced to New South Wales.

¹¹ The Earl Grey arrived on 6 October 1848, with 183 orphan females; the Inchinnon arrived on 13 February 1849, with 160 orphan females; the Digby arrived on 4 April 1849, with 229 orphan females; the Lady Peel arrived on 3 July 1849, with 160 orphan females; the William and Mary arrived on 21 November 1849, with 155 orphan females; the Lismoyne arrived on 29 November 1849, with 166 orphan females; the Panama arrived on 12 January 1850, with 157 orphan females; the Thomas Arbuthnot arrived on 3 February 1850, with 194 orphan females; the John Knox arrived on 29 April 1850, with 279 orphan females; the Maria arrived on 29 June 1850, with 243 orphan females; and, the Tippo Saib arrived on 29 July 1850, with 297 orphan females. 'Persons on Bounty Ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' February 1848 - January 1850. 4/4786, pp.155-62, 273-9, 307-17, 398-405, 484-90, 503-9, 531-7, 538-46, 577-89, 607-18, and 619-31.

The ages of all but one hundred and five adult males and two hundred and seventy-six adult females were recorded. Of the adult males 80 per cent were between fourteen and thirty, but among the adult females, 87 per cent were between those ages. Generally speaking, the adult females were younger than the adult males. For example, 61 per cent of the married males were between eighteen and thirty;¹² one of them, William Brazill, a twenty-three-year-old shipwright, and his wife Sarah, two years younger,¹³ was typical of 70 per cent of the married females between eighteen and thirty. Of the married males 39 per cent were over thirty but only 29 per cent of the married females were above that age.¹⁴ The exception cropped up among the widows and widowers; of those under forty, 82 per cent were widowers but only 69 per cent were widows.¹⁵ Although only 1 per cent of the single males and females (excluding orphans) were over thirty,¹⁶ the

¹² Appendix E, Table IV, a.

¹³ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, pp.1-2. William Brazill, aged twenty-three, and his wife Sarah, aged twenty-one, arrived in the colony on 23 April 1838, aboard the Kinnear. They were Protestants from Sussex and were accompanied by their three daughters, Eliza, four, Mary Anne, three and Sophia, two. Both parents were recorded as being able to read and write. The Brazill family was brought to the colony by A. B. Smith and Company, who received £18 for each adult from the Colonial Government.

¹⁴ Appendix E, Table IV, a and b.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

single females tended to be younger than their male counterparts. Of the single females 19 per cent were between fourteen and seventeen,¹⁷ compared with only 10 per cent of the single males.¹⁸ All the orphan females were under twenty-four and 65 per cent of them between fourteen and seventeen.¹⁹ Of the total over thirty, more than 19 per cent were adult males but only 14 per cent were adult females.²⁰

The Number of Children

Of the bounty immigrants introduced into New South Wales between 1837 and 1850, 25 per cent (11,420) were children under fourteen. Samples were the illegitimate twins born of Mary Wells aboard the Burhampootes,²¹ but much more typical were the five children, aged between three and ten, who accompanied Hugh Marshall, a thirty-nine-year-old farm labourer from County Antrim. The Marshall family, although larger than the average of almost one and a half children per family

¹⁷ Ibid., Table IV, b.

¹⁸ Ibid., Table IV, a.

¹⁹ Ibid., Table IV, b.

²⁰ Ibid., Table IV, a and b.

²¹ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' 1841. 4/4788, p.106. Mary Wells was a twenty-one-year-old house-servant from Surry who was recorded as being able to read. She arrived in the colony on 7 August 1841, aboard the Burhampootes. In the 'remarks' column of the shipping lists, it was recorded 'safely delivered of twins a week before arrival ineligible for Bounty.' Nicholas James and Company recruited her as a bounty immigrant.

unit,²² represented many country immigrants in another manner. Jane Marshall was a twenty-seven-year-old farm servant, and in addition to her five children mentioned, Hugh brought three older sons (Thomas, aged seventeen; John, sixteen; and William, fourteen).²³ As Jane would have been only ten when Thomas was born, it is certain that she was Marshall's second wife. Such second marriages were common among the older bounty immigrants, and may have affected their decision to emigrate; if either partner in the second marriage brought three or four children to the new union, they may have believed that it was easier to support such a large family in New South Wales.

The ages of children who arrived with the bounty immigrants were distributed evenly between one and fourteen, most appearing to be between five and twelve. Possibly, less illness on the bounty ships than on those chartered by Government resulted, in part, from the

²² Compiled from the various ship lists of bounty immigrants in 'Persons on government ships, 1837-40,' 4/4780-1; 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96,' 4/4782-8 and 4/4790; 'Persons on bounty ships (Board Lists), 1848-1891,' 4/4904-19; 'Wives and families of convicts on bounty ships, 1849-1855,' 4/4819; 'Germans on bounty ships, 1849-1852', 4/4820.

²³ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' April 1840 - April 1841. 4/4787, p.62. The Marshall family arrived in New South Wales on 5 October 1840, aboard the Elphinstone. They were imported by Carter and Bonus, who collected £124 from the Colonial Government for bringing them to the colony, including the £18 paid for Thomas, who was classed as a single male. The Marshall family were Presbyterians from County Antrim. Both Hugh and Jane were recorded as being able to read and write.

smaller percentage of children among the bounty immigrants. At least J. D. Pinnock asserted it to be true between 1837 and 1840.²⁴ His argument is supported by the evidence that only three bounty ships were quarantined on arrival in 1849.²⁵ On the other hand, the improvement in health on board the bounty ships may have resulted from enforcement of the Passenger Acts, as well as from reduction in the number of children aboard the bounty ships.

The Male Occupations

Occupations were recorded for some 98 per cent of the adult males; 15,743 out of a total of 16,177. Of those with no recorded occupations, seven were married, one was widowed, three hundred and ninety-five were single and thirty-one were orphans. Over-all, 56 per cent of the adult males were agricultural labourers, 11 per cent building workers, 12 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers, 11 per cent unskilled workers; 5 per cent domestic servants, and, the remaining 5 per cent included shopkeepers and tradesmen, professionals and vine-dressers.²⁶

Among the married males, 50 per cent were agricultural labourers; a sample was William Radcliffe, a thirty-one-year-old farm labourer

²⁴ 'Report from Immigration Board to His Excellency the Governor, 15 January 1839.' Reports by Immigration Board on Complaints of Immigrants about their passage 1838-87. 4/4699, p.25.

²⁵ 'Quarterly, half-yearly and yearly returns 1845-55.' 4/4691, p.80.

²⁶ Appendix E, Table V, a.

from Hampshire.²⁷ William Hawthorn, a twenty-four-year-old carpenter,²⁸ was representative of the 13 per cent of the married males who were building workers.²⁹ Another 16 per cent were skilled, handicraft and factory workers,³⁰ such as Henry Taylor, a thirty-five-year-old iron moulder from Lancashire.³¹ John Staar, a twenty-three-year-old labourer from Sussex³² was among the 10 per cent of the married males who were

27 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' February 1848 - January 1850. 4/4786, pp.1-2. Radcliffe and his twenty-six-year-old wife, Susan (from Devonshire), were both recorded as being members of the Church of England and able to read and write. They were accompanied by their daughter, Mary Jane, aged four, and their son, William Edward, aged three months. The Radcliffes arrived in New South Wales on 17 February 1848, aboard the Sir Edward Parry.

28 Ibid., April 1840 - April 1841. 4/4787, p.15. Hawthorn and his wife, Elizabeth, a twenty-two-year-old dairywoman were Presbyterians from County Down. They had no children and were recorded as being able to read and write. The Hawthorns arrived in the colony on 2 July 1840, aboard the Premier.

29 Ibid.

30 Ibid.

31 Ibid., April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, p.104. Taylor and his wife, Ellen, a thirty-two-year-old house servant and mother of three (George, aged six; Margaret, aged eleven; and, Janet, aged nine) arrived aboard the Hero of Malawn on 24 April 1839. Both were Protestants and the records indicate he was able to read and write and she could read. A. B. Smith, the bounty agent who imported them into the colony, received £18 for each of the adults, £5 for George and £10 each for Margaret and Janet. Smith received a total of £61 for introducing the Taylor family into New South Wales.

32 Ibid., pp.5-6. Staar and his wife, Anne, were Dissenters from Sussex. They were accompanied by their son, George, aged two. Both John and Anne, aged twenty-two, were recorded as being able to read and write. John Marshall, the agent who imported them into New South Wales, received £18 for each adult and £5 for their son, or, a total of £41 from the Colonial Government. The Staars arrived in New South Wales aboard the William Metcalfe on 31 August 1838.

unskilled workers.³³ As among the total number of adult males, 5 per cent of the married men were domestic servants and another 5 per cent were distributed among the shopkeepers and tradesmen, the professionals and vine-dressers,³⁴ nearly all the latter were specially imported from Germany to help foster the embryo wine industry. Among them were Joseph Gietz, a forty-eight-year-old vine-dresser,³⁵ and Franz Johann Anschán, a forty-four-year-old wine cooper whose six children included three sons over fourteen who were vine-dressers.³⁶ Except for an additional 5 per cent of agricultural labourers, the distribution of occupations among the widowers was similar to that of the married males.³⁷ Of the single males, 62 per cent

33 Ibid.

34 Appendix E, Table V, a.

35 'Germans on bounty ships, 1849-52.' 4/4820, p.9. Gietz and his wife Katherina, aged thirty-five, arrived in New South Wales on 5 July 1849, aboard the Parland. Both were recorded as being Roman Catholics able to read and write. They had no children.

36 Ibid., p.1. Anschán and his wife, Elizabeth, aged forty-three, arrived in the colony on 4 April 1849, aboard the Beulah. No religious allegiance was recorded for them but both were recorded as being able to read and write. Their three sons who were vine-dressers were Phillip, aged twenty; Franz, nineteen; and Johann, fifteen. The other children were Elizabeth, aged eleven; Appollonia, nine; and Joseph, five. All of the children were recorded as being able to read and write, except Joseph.

37 Ibid.

were agricultural labourers like Patrick Hymes, a twenty-seven-year old Roman Catholic farm overseer from County Tipperary for whom John Marshall was paid a fee of £18 for introducing into the colony.³⁸ Compared with the married men, the single males provided fewer building workers and skilled, handicraft and factory workers, but more unskilled workers. The remainder of the single males were distributed among the other occupations in almost identical proportions found among the married males, including the professionals.³⁹ No occupations were recorded for the thirty-one orphan males, most of whom were Irish.⁴⁰

The Female Occupations

Occupations were recorded for 85 per cent of the total number of adult females, including about two-thirds of the married women, and most of the widows, single females and the orphan females.⁴¹ Mary Walsh, a twenty-four-year-old dairywoman,⁴² was among the 31 per cent of married

³⁸ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, pp.6-7. Hymes arrived on 31 August 1838, aboard the William Metcalfe. He was recorded as being able to read and write.

³⁹ Appendix E, Table V, a.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Ibid., Table V, b.

⁴² 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' April 1840 - April 1841. 4/4787, p.72. Mary Walsh and her husband, Michael, a twenty-three-year-old farm labourer, arrived in the colony on 18 October 1840, aboard the Isabella. They were recorded as being illiterate Roman Catholics from County Wexford. John Marshall received £36 for introducing them into New South Wales.

female agricultural servants.⁴³ More than half the married women were domestic and general servants,⁴⁴ and the remaining 17 per cent were skilled servants and shopkeepers,⁴⁵ such as Mary Ann Armstrong, a twenty-year-old teacher,⁴⁶ and Anne Thompson, a thirty-two-year-old cotton worker.⁴⁷

The widows were divided in occupation in much the same proportions as among the married females, except that 5 per cent more widows were skilled servants and shopkeepers.⁴⁸ Of the orphan females 85 per cent

⁴³ Appendix E, Table V, b.

⁴⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, p.257. Mary Ann Armstrong and her husband, John, a farm overseer aged twenty-four, arrived from Dublin on the Earl Grey on 20 February 1840. They were Protestants with no children and were recorded as being able to read and write. John Marshall was the agent who imported them into New South Wales at £18 each.

⁴⁷ Ibid., April 1840 - April 1841. 4/4787, p.25. Anne Thompson arrived with her husband, John, a thirty-year-old sawyer on 14 July 1840, aboard the Formosa. Both were Protestants who were recorded as knowing how to read and write. He was from Cheshire; she was from Manchester. A. B. Smith was the importing agent who received £18 for each.

⁴⁸ Appendix E, Table V, b.

were domestic and general servants,⁴⁹ and the rest were agricultural labourers.⁵⁰ Of the other single females, 72 per cent were domestic and general servants; 20 per cent were agricultural workers and the remaining 8 per cent skilled servants and shopkeepers;⁵¹ one of them was Jane Byrnes, a twenty-eight-year-old papermaker, from Lancashire, for whom bounty was denied because she 'appears 40 at least,' according to the Immigration Board.⁵²

The Native Places

Although information about the bounty immigrants' places of settlement in the colony is not available, their distribution was probably similar to that of the government immigrants. Half the adult male bounty immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1850 were Irish: 39 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 11 per cent from Ulster. Less than 40 per cent were from England, 10 per cent from Scotland and 1 per cent from Wales. Of the total number, 26 per cent were from the South of England, 7 per cent from the North of England, 5 per cent from the Midlands and 1 per cent from London.⁵³

49 Ibid.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 'Persons on bounty ships, 1841,' 4/4788, p.211. Jane Byrnes arrived in the United Kingdom on 7 September 1841. She was indicated as being able to read. A. B. Smith was the bounty agent.

53 Appendix E, Table VI, a.

Although there were 3 per cent more Englishmen than Irishmen among the married and widowed males, the single males included a noticeably larger percentage of Irish, most of them from Leinster, Munster and Connacht.⁵⁴ Of the adult female bounty immigrants for whom native places are known, 52 per cent came from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 12 per cent from Ulster, probably because of the extensive recruiting of single and orphan females in Ireland. Of the single females 55 per cent were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 14 per cent from Ulster; almost all the orphan females were Irish, 92 per cent being from the three southern provinces and 7 per cent from Ulster.⁵⁵

The Religious Allegiances

Although Ireland was predominantly Roman Catholic and some 40 per cent of the adult males came from the Roman Catholic strongholds in Leinster, Munster and Connacht, only 35 per cent of the total adult male bounty immigrants were Roman Catholics while 65 per cent were Protestants. The Protestant married males outnumbered the Roman Catholics; the religious allegiances of widowers and single men were almost equal, but among the orphan males, only 35 per cent were Protestants while 65 per cent were Roman Catholics. Among the orphan females 90 per cent were Roman

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., Table VI, b.

Catholic while only 10 per cent were Protestant, but the numbers were too small to have much impact on the total ratio.⁵⁶

The Literacy

The level of literacy was recorded for some 93 per cent of the adult bounty immigrants; 77 per cent of them were recorded as being able to read and write, 11 per cent could read and 11 per cent were illiterate. The adult females for whom literacy was recorded had a much lower ratio: 50 per cent could read and write, while 20 per cent knew how to read and 21 per cent were illiterate.⁵⁷ Of the adult males who could read and write, almost half were married and the rest single; the number of widowers and orphan males was not significant. Among the 10 per cent of illiterate adult males, less than half were single but 51 per cent were married.⁵⁸

Of the adult females who could read and write, 47 per cent were married, 45 per cent were single and 7 per cent orphans. Among those adult females who could read, less than 40 per cent were married, 47 per cent single and 14 per cent orphans. Of the reputed illiterate females, 32 per cent were married, 41 per cent single and 26 per cent orphans.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid., Table VII, a.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Table VIII.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Table XXVI, a.

⁵⁹ Ibid., Table XXVI, b.

The Native Places, Occupations, Religious Allegiances and Literacy of
the Bounty Immigrants

Although 57 per cent of the total adult male bounty immigrants were agricultural labourers, the male immigrants from the South of England and Scotland included more than 50 per cent agricultural labourers, while those from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and those from Ulster surpassed that percentage. Among the male immigrants from the Midlands, 48 per cent were agricultural labourers, while those from the North of England amounted to 44 per cent and those from Wales 46 per cent. Only the immigrants from London and Germany showed a noticeable absence of unskilled agricultural labourers;⁶⁰ the Germans were recruited to work as vine-dressers, while many of the Londoners recorded as agricultural labourers could have moved to the city from the country before leaving for New South Wales, falsified their occupations to qualify for assisted immigration, or come from the rural 'pockets' within the boundaries of nineteenth century London.

The building workers, who accounted for 11 per cent of the total number of adult males, had a higher rate from England, Scotland and Wales than from Ireland. The shopkeepers and tradesmen (3 per cent of the total) were above the average for London but below it for other areas. Although 12 per cent of the total adult males were skilled, handicraft or factory workers, the highest percentage came from England, Scotland

⁶⁰ Ibid., Table IX, a.

and Wales, and the lowest from Ireland. The unskilled workers, who also accounted for 12 per cent of the total, were proportionately more numerous among immigrants from the South of England, Ireland and Ulster, and lower elsewhere. The ratio among domestic servants was high among those from London, the South of England and the Midlands, but low among those from the North of England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland.⁶¹

Of the adult female bounty immigrants 67 per cent were domestic and general servants, the largest proportion coming from London and the South of England, and the lowest from the Midlands and Germany. Although 22 per cent claimed to be agricultural workers and servants, that occupation was above the average only among those females from Ireland. Of the skilled servants and shopkeepers who accounted for 11 per cent of the adult females a larger proportion migrated from England than from Ireland.⁶²

More than half the agricultural labourers were Irish, 44 per cent of them being from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 13 per cent from Ulster. Of the remainder, 23 per cent were from the South of England, 4 per cent from the Midlands, 5 per cent from the North of England and 9 per cent from Scotland.⁶³ Among the building workers, almost 40 per cent were Irish, 25 per cent were from the South of England, 4 per cent from

⁶¹ Ibid., Table IX, a.

⁶² Ibid., Table IX, b.

⁶³ Ibid., Table X, a.

the North of England, 5 per cent from the Midlands, 13 per cent from Scotland, 4 per cent from London and 1 per cent from Wales.⁶⁴ Of the shopkeepers and tradesmen 57 per cent were English, 30 per cent Irish, 12 per cent Scots and 1 per cent Welsh.⁶⁵

Over half the skilled, handicraft and factory workers were English, 15 per cent Scots, 21 per cent Irish and 2 per cent from Wales and Germany.⁶⁶ More than half the unskilled workers were from Ireland, 40 per cent from England, and 6 per cent from Scotland.⁶⁷ Almost half the domestic servants were English, and over 40 per cent were Irish.⁶⁸

The adult male bounty immigrants from London, who accounted for only 1 per cent of the total, included a lower ratio of agricultural labourers than shopkeepers and tradesmen, professional men, building workers, skilled, handicraft and factory workers and domestic servants. The male immigrants from the South of England accounted for over a quarter of the total adult males and nearly achieved that mark among all the occupations, except for a higher proportion among shopkeepers

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

and tradesmen, unskilled workers and domestic servants. The Midlanders accounted for 5 per cent of the total males and achieved that level in most other occupations. The immigrants from the North of England, who comprised 7 per cent of the total males, had a higher percentage among building workers, shopkeepers and tradesmen and skilled, handicraft and factory workers. Although only 10 per cent of the total males were Scots, they accounted for 15 per cent of skilled, handicraft and factory workers and 13 per cent of building workers. The Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht accounted for 38 per cent of the total males and had a higher ratio of agricultural labourers and unskilled workers than shopkeepers, tradesmen and skilled, handicraft and factory workers. The Irish from Ulster, although accounting for only 11 per cent of the total males, included a higher proportion of agricultural labourers than other occupations. Over-all, the English accounted for almost 40 per cent of the total males, and had a larger representation among building workers, shopkeepers and tradesmen, skilled, handicraft and factory workers, professional men and domestic servants than among agricultural labourers. The Irish, who accounted for almost half the adult males, had a similar proportion of building workers, shopkeepers and tradesmen, skilled, handicraft and factory workers and domestic servants.⁶⁹

Of the adult female immigrants for whom occupations are known, 22 per cent were agricultural workers, 67 per cent domestic and general

⁶⁹ Ibid., Table X, a.

servants, and 11 per cent skilled servants and shopkeepers.⁷⁰ In the latter occupation, English females accounted for 42 per cent, the Irish for 50 per cent, Scotland for 9 per cent and Germany for 1 per cent.⁷¹ Among the agricultural workers and servants, only 6 per cent were Scots, 14 per cent English and almost 80 per cent were Irish, mostly from Leinster, Munster and Connacht.⁷² Almost 70 per cent of the domestic and general servants were Irish, most of them from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, while 24 per cent were English and 7 per cent Scots.⁷³ The adult females from London, who accounted for 2 per cent of the total females, included a low ratio of the agricultural workers but a high percentage of skilled servants and shopkeepers. The females from the South of England, who accounted for 15 per cent of the total females, also had a higher proportion of skilled servants and shopkeepers than agricultural workers and servants. The adult females from the Midlands were above the average among skilled servants and shopkeepers. The same applied to the females from the North of England, but they had a low proportion of agricultural workers and servants. The Irish females from Leinster, Munster and Connacht accounted for 56 per cent of the total females. They had a higher percentage of

⁷⁰ Ibid., Table IX, b.

⁷¹ Ibid., Table X, b.

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid.

agricultural workers than skilled servants and shopkeepers. Of the total adult females, 13 per cent were from Ulster and they too had a higher proportion of agricultural workers than skilled servants and shopkeepers.⁷⁴

The English accounted for a quarter of the total adult female immigrants and their proportion of 17 per cent among the skilled servants and shopkeepers far exceeded their 9 per cent of agricultural workers and servants. The Irish females, who accounted for almost 70 per cent of the total adult females, had a high percentage of agricultural workers.⁷⁵

When the religious allegiances of the adult males are examined by cross-tabulating them with male occupations, it is found that over half the adult male Protestants were agricultural labourers, and well represented among building workers, skilled, handicraft and factory workers and unskilled workers. The male Roman Catholics had similar ratios except among agricultural labourers and unskilled workers, whose proportion exceeded those of the Protestants.⁷⁶

Among the adult females, of both the Protestant and Roman Catholic persuasions, 67 per cent were domestic and general servants. Of female agricultural workers, 17 per cent were Protestant and 27 per cent Roman Catholic. Among Roman Catholic women, 6 per cent were skilled servants

⁷⁴ Ibid., Table X, b.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., Table XI, a.

and shopkeepers compared with 15 per cent of the Protestants. Although the Protestant females were more skilled than the Roman Catholic females, the margin of skill was not so pronounced as among the male immigrants.⁷⁷

Of the adult males for whom occupations and literacy are known, 57 per cent were agricultural labourers, while 11 per cent were building workers, 12 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers and another 12 per cent unskilled workers. The remainder were distributed between shopkeepers and tradesmen, professionals, domestic servants and vine-dressers. Among those adult males who were recorded as knowing how to read and write, the several occupations were represented in about the same proportions as found in the totals, except for two groups.⁷⁸ Among the agricultural labourers, 71 per cent could read and write, 14 per cent could read and 14 per cent were illiterate, while among unskilled workers, 70 per cent could read and write, 12 per cent could read and 18 per cent were illiterate. Of all the adult males for whom literacy and occupations are known, 77 per cent could read and write, 11 per cent could read and 11 per cent were illiterate.⁷⁹

Less than half the adult females whose occupations and literacy are recorded could read and write. Among the female agricultural servants, only 34 per cent could read and write, 35 per cent could read

⁷⁷ Ibid., Table IX, b.

⁷⁸ Ibid., Table XII.

⁷⁹ Ibid., Table XIII.

and 31 per cent were illiterate. The distribution of literacy among the domestic and general servants was identical to that for the total adult females. Of the skilled servants and shopkeepers, 76 per cent could read and write, 15 per cent were able to read and 9 per cent were illiterate. The adult females not only had a much lower percentage of literacy than the adult males, but also doubled the percentage of adult males who were illiterate.⁸⁰

Among the married males for whom literacy and native places were recorded, 77 per cent could read and write, 11 per cent could read and 11 per cent were illiterate. Married men who could read and write were in higher proportion among those from London, the Midlands, the North of England, Scotland, Wales and Germany than among those from the South of England and Ireland. The married males reported as able to read had a high average among those from the South of England and the Midlands compared with those from other places. Illiterate married males were in higher proportion among those from Ireland than those from all other areas. That pattern was the same among the widowers and single males, but different for the orphan males whose small number, however, was of little significance.⁸¹ An examination of the recorded native places, literacy and marital status of the adult male bounty immigrants reveals that most of them who could read and write were either South English or Irish. Among those who were able to read, the proportion of

⁸⁰ Ibid., Table XIV.

⁸¹ Ibid., Table XVI.

South English was slightly higher than that of the Irish but among the illiterate married men, 54 per cent were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, a percentage that also applied to the widowers and single males. In the latter group, the South English and Irish predominated among those recorded as able to read and write or read.⁸²

Among the married females for whom literacy and native places are known, 56 per cent could read and write, 27 per cent were able to read and 16 per cent were illiterates. The same pattern applied to widows but among the single females over half could read and write while almost 20 per cent were illiterates. The married females who could read and write had a slightly higher average among the immigrants from London, the South of England, the Midlands, the North of England, Scotland, Wales and Germany than those from Ireland. The illiterate adult females also had a lower ratio among those from Ireland. However, the orphan females were strikingly different. Most of them were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht: only 26 per cent could read and write, 31 per cent could read and 44 per cent were illiterate. Even fewer females from Ulster were recorded as able to read and write, but over a half could read.⁸³

Of the married males for whom the religious allegiances and literacy were known, 68 per cent were Protestants and 32 per cent

⁸² Ibid., Table XVII.

⁸³ Ibid., Table XVIII.

were Roman Catholics; the Protestants also had a higher average of those who could read and write, and a low representation among the illiterate, a pattern that applied with slight differences, to the widowers, single men and orphan males, as well as to the adult females. The reverse was true of the Roman Catholics.⁸⁴

Almost 60 per cent of the total number of adult bounty immigrants were Protestants. They predominated among immigrants from London, the North of England, Wales and Germany, while in the South of England, the Midlands and Scotland, they accounted for nearly 97 per cent of the immigrants, and in Ulster for 67 per cent. In contrast, the Roman Catholics, who accounted for 41 per cent of the total number of adult bounty immigrants, predominated in only one area: 70 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht.⁸⁵

The last item to be considered about the adult bounty immigrants who arrived in New South Wales between 1837 and 1850 is a comparison of their marital status and recorded literacy. Of the adult males who could read and write, and also those who could only read, 48 per cent were married and 51 per cent were single. Among the illiterates, 51 per cent were married and 48 per cent single. The pattern was similar to the marital status distribution of the adult males.⁸⁶

Among adult females, the pattern was quite different. Of those who could read and write, 47 per cent were married, 46 per cent single

⁸⁴ Ibid., Tables XX and XXI.

⁸⁵ Ibid., Table XXIV.

⁸⁶ Ibid., Table XXV.

and 7 per cent orphans. The pattern was similar to the marital status distribution of the total adult females, but both the married and single females were under-represented among the illiterate females and the orphan females were over-represented.⁸⁷

Typical Bounty Immigrants to New South Wales, 1837-1850

James Cunningham, a thirty-seven-year-old married Roman Catholic from County Tipperary who could read and write and had five sons,⁸⁸ was typical of the married male bounty immigrants, except that he was a miller, not an agricultural labourer. Another was William Radcliffe, a thirty-one-year-old farm labourer from Portsmouth, a literate Anglican and the father of two children.⁸⁹

The typical married female bounty immigrant was in her twenties or thirties, a domestic and general servant and able to read and write;

⁸⁷ Ibid., Table XXV.

⁸⁸ 'Persons on bounty ships (Agents' Immigrant Lists), 1838-96.' August 1850 - January 1853. 4/4790, p.12. Cunningham and his wife, Anastasia, aged thirty-five, arrived in New South Wales on 27 August 1850, aboard the Lord Stanley, with their sons: Patrick, fourteen; John, twelve; James, ten; Thomas, eight; and Michael, four. The parents were Roman Catholics from County Tipperary, and were recorded as able to read and write.

⁸⁹ Ibid., February 1848 - January 1850. 4/4786, pp.1-2. Radcliffe, his twenty-six-year-old wife, Susan, and their children: Mary Jane, four; and William Edward, three months. They arrived in New South Wales on 17 February 1848, aboard the Sir Edward Parry. Susan was from Ermington, Devonshire, and a literate Anglican.

if from Ireland, she was a Roman Catholic with three or four children, or from England, was likely to be a Protestant with two or three children. A Protestant representative was Anne Starr who was twenty-two, came from Sussex, with a son aged two, and could read and write, but had no recorded occupation.⁹⁰ Of the married Roman Catholics, Mary Quinn, twenty-six, had two children, could read and write and was from County Clare.⁹¹

The single females among the bounty immigrants to New South Wales were significantly younger than the married women. The average single female was between eighteen and twenty-four and likely to be a literate domestic and general servant. The Protestants were represented by Mary Heard, a house servant from Devonshire,⁹² and the Roman Catholics by Catherine Neils, a twenty-two-year-old governess from County Kerry.⁹³

⁹⁰ Ibid., April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, pp.5-6. Anne Starr and her son accompanied her husband, John, a twenty-three-year-old labourer to the colony. They arrived on 31 August 1838, aboard the William Metcalfe.

⁹¹ Ibid., February 1848 - January 1850. 4/4786, p.398. John and Mary Quinn and their two children, Ann, three, and Dennis, an infant, arrived in the colony on 3 July 1849, aboard the Lady Peel. John Quinn was a twenty-nine-year-old blacksmith from County Clare, and was a literate Roman Catholic.

⁹² Ibid., April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, pp.105-6. Mary Heard arrived in New South Wales on 24 April 1839, aboard the Hero of Malawn.

⁹³ Ibid., pp.25-6. Catherine Neils arrived in the colony on 5 December 1838, aboard the Fairlee.

Atypical of the single females were Caroline Barnes, a literate nineteen-year-old Protestant and dressmaker from Quebec,⁹⁴ and Catherine Kennedy who was twenty-nine, an illiterate Roman Catholic house servant from Donegal, and denied the bounty because she 'appears forty at least.'⁹⁵

Among the bounty immigrants, the single males and females were younger than their married counterparts. The typical single male was between eighteen and twenty-four, and a literate agricultural labourer. The Protestants were represented by George Deane, an eighteen-year-old labourer from Cambridgeshire who 'reads a little,'⁹⁶ and the Roman Catholics by Patrick Hayes, a twenty-nine-year-old farmer from Limerick who also could read only.⁹⁷ The average female orphan was between fourteen and seventeen, a Roman Catholic domestic servant from Ireland and either illiterate or able to read only.

⁹⁴ Ibid., pp.6-7. Caroline Barnes arrived in the colony on 31 August 1838, aboard the William Metcalfe.

⁹⁵ Ibid., 1841. 4/4788, p.211. Catherine Kennedy arrived in New South Wales on 7 September 1841, aboard the United Kingdom.

⁹⁶ Ibid., April 1838 - February 1840. 4/4784, pp.23-4. George Deane arrived in New South Wales aboard the Fairlee on 5 December 1838.

⁹⁷ Ibid., pp.14-5. Patrick Hayes arrived in the colony on 2 October 1838, aboard the Coromandel.

CHAPTER IV

THE BOUNTY IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT, 1839-1850

Introduction

Some 77,000 people lived in the Port Phillip District when it was granted independence from the 'tyranny' of New South Wales on 11 November 1850.¹ The District had been informally opened to European settlement about sixteen years earlier when some of the Henty family settled at Portland. In 1839, Charles Joseph La Trobe was appointed Superintendent of the District. He presided over the area for the following eleven years and, when separation was granted, he was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Victoria. Between 1834 and 1839, the population of the Port Phillip District increased rapidly with an influx of pioneers from Van Diemen's Land, 'overlanders' from north of the Murray River and some settlers from the British Isles. By 1839, almost 6,000 people and more than 780,000 sheep were in the District.² Geoffrey Serle observed that 'for some time [before 1850]

¹ Geoffrey Serle, The Golden Age A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861 (London and New York, 1968; first published 1963), p.1.

² Brian Fitzpatrick, The British Empire in Australia An Economic History 1834-1939 (Melbourne, 1949; first published 1941), p.49.

there had been a steady flow of state-assisted migrants, chiefly rural labourers and female domestic servants.³ The first of these 'state-assisted' migrants arrived on 24 November 1839 aboard the William Metcalfe and the Palmyra.⁴ They were fairly typical of the approximately 25,000 assisted immigrants who followed them to the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1850.⁵

The Palmyra carried only forty-seven immigrants to the Port Phillip District; fourteen adult males, fifteen adult females, ten male children and eight female children. Among those migrants were John Jardine, aged twenty-four, his wife Margaret, aged twenty-eight, and their children; Abel, aged six; Isabella, aged four; and, Betsy, aged two. The Jardine family were Protestants from Castletown on the Isle of Man. John Jardine, a ploughman, and his wife were described as knowing how to read and write.⁶ The William Metcalfe arrived with one hundred and sixty-six immigrants: thirty-five married couples, thirty-one single males, thirty-seven single females, two widowers, fourteen

³ Serle, p.4.

⁴ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1839-41. 4/4713, pp.1-9.

⁵ Appendix G, Table I; Appendix H, Table I.

⁶ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1839-41. 4/4813, p.8. The Jardine family were imported by Gilchrist and Alexander who received £51 from the Colonial Government; £18 for each parent and £5 for each child.

male children and twelve female children under fourteen. Many of the immigrants aboard were Roman Catholics from the provinces of Leinster, Munster and Connacht, and included such families as William and Sally Jefferson and their five children from County Tipperary (in Munster).⁷

The Bounty Immigrants

The immigrants aboard the William Metcalfe were in many ways typical of the assisted migrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District before separation from New South Wales. Most of the married couples brought two or more children. Almost three-quarters of the adult males were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers and over 80 per cent of the adult females were domestic and general servants. Over half the children were aged between four and twelve. However, the William Metcalfe migrants were atypical of the assisted migrants in other ways. For instance, most of the passengers aboard were Irish and Roman Catholic while only half the total of assisted immigrants to the Port Phillip District were Irish and less than 40 per cent were Roman Catholic. Moreover, less than half the married couples aboard the William Metcalfe were recorded as able to read and write, whereas almost 75 per cent of the married males and more than 60 per cent of the

⁷ Ibid., p.2. William Jefferson was a thirty-nine-year-old farm servant and his wife was a thirty-five-year-old dairymaid. Their children were Nicholas, aged ten; Catherine, six; Sarah, five; William, four; and Mary, one. The Jeffersons were recorded as illiterate Roman Catholics imported by John Marshall who was paid £36 for bringing them to the colony.

married females among the total were literate assisted immigrants.⁸

Assisted migration to the Port Phillip District was suspended in 1845 and when it was renewed in 1848 the characteristics of the immigrants changed; they were older, brought more children and were less skilled than those who arrived before 1844. The change probably resulted from the increase in Irish immigrants who fled their homeland in the wake of 'the Great Famine.' Some thirteen hundred government immigrants were also introduced into the Port Phillip District in 1848, 1849 and 1850, under a new scheme launched by Earl Grey. Many of the government immigrants were wives or widows with children and families of convicts who were ineligible under the bounty regulations. Nevertheless, the quality of the immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1850 was not significantly different from that of the government and bounty immigrants who went to New South Wales between 1837 and 1850.

The Sex, Marital Status and Ages of the Bounty Immigrants

Of the bounty immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District 48 per cent were males and 52 per cent were females. Among the approximately 25,000 bounty immigrants, 36 per cent were adult males over fourteen, 41 per cent adult females, 12 per cent male children under fourteen and 11 per cent female children.⁹ Among the adult males,

⁸ Compiled from 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 4/4813-8. See also, Appendix G, Tables I to VIII and Appendix H, Tables I to VIII.

⁹ Appendix G, Table I.

54 per cent were single, 45 per cent married and 1 per cent widowers.¹⁰

In contrast, the adult females were 59 per cent single (a proportion swollen by 1,307 orphans), while 40 per cent were married and 1 per cent widows.¹¹

Of the males, a quarter were under fourteen while 60 per cent were between fourteen and thirty and 15 per cent over thirty.¹² A

sample was John Allen, a married thirty-nine-year-old warehouseman.¹³

His wife, Mary Ann, aged thirty-six,¹⁴ was among the 11 per cent of the females over thirty;¹⁵ another 68 per cent of the females were between fourteen and thirty and 21 per cent were under fourteen.¹⁶

Ages were recorded for all but fifty-three adult males and forty-one adult females who arrived as bounty immigrants in the District. Of the total with recorded ages, 23 per cent were under fourteen, 64 per cent

¹⁰ Ibid., Table II, a.

¹¹ Ibid., Table II, b.

¹² Ibid., Table III.

¹³ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1849-51. 4/4817, p.30. Allen and his wife, Mary Ann, arrived in the Port Phillip District on 28 November 1849, aboard the Royal George. They had no children and were recorded as Wesleyans who knew how to read and write. Allen was from Probus, and his wife was from Cornwall too.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Appendix G, Table III.

¹⁶ Ibid.

between fourteen and thirty and 13 per cent over thirty.¹⁷

Among the adult males, 81 per cent were between fourteen and thirty;¹⁸ none of those married was under eighteen but 84 per cent were between eighteen and thirty;¹⁹ an example was Patrick Farrington, a married carpenter aged twenty.²⁰ The widowers, on the other hand, were much older, 56 per cent of them being over thirty. Of the adult single males 97 per cent were between fourteen and thirty,²¹ and included such men as Patrick Gill, an eighteen-year-old groom from Ireland,²² and Henry Golding, a twenty-three-year-old porter from Middlesex.²³

¹⁷ Ibid., Table III.

¹⁸ Ibid., Table IV, a.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1839-41. 4/4813, p.50. Patrick Farrington and his wife, Margaret, a twenty-year-old farm servant, arrived on 18 August 1840, aboard the Theresa. They had no children and were recorded as Protestants who knew how to read and write. Farrington was described as being from England and his wife was from Ireland. John Marshall received £36 from the Colonial Government for introducing them into the colony.

²¹ Appendix G, Table IV, a.

²² 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1839-41. 4/4813, p.51. Patrick Gill was recorded as an illiterate Roman Catholic. He arrived on 18 August 1840, aboard the Theresa. John Marshall received £18 from the Colonial Government for introducing him into the Port Phillip District.

²³ Ibid. 1848-9. 4/4816, p.356. Henry Golding was described as a member of the Church of England who knew how to read and write. He arrived in the Port Phillip District on 9 August 1849, aboard the Medway.

Among the adult females, 87 per cent were between fourteen and thirty. Generally, they were younger than their male counterparts, 65 per cent of the females being under twenty-four compared with only 50 per cent of relevant male groups, while among those over forty, only 14 per cent were females and 20 per cent were males.²⁴ However, the difference was not so marked in the total number of males and females. Over two-thirds of the married females (compared with 61 per cent of the married males) were under thirty,²⁵ and 32 per cent of the wives (compared to 39 per cent of the husbands) were over thirty.²⁶ The single females were also younger than their male counterparts; of those between fourteen and seventeen, 18 per cent were single females and 11 per cent males. In the eighteen to twenty-four age group, the sexes were almost equal apart from some three hundred and fifty female orphans, while the single men between twenty-five and thirty outnumbered the single females.²⁷

Catherine Macknamarra, a thirty-six-year-old widow whose husband died en route to Port Phillip,²⁸ was representative of the 31 per cent of widows between thirty-one and forty; 41 per cent of them were over

²⁴ Appendix G, Table IV, b.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid., Table IV, a and b.

²⁸ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1848-9. 4/4816, p.8. Catherine Macknamarra, who was described as knowing how to read and write, was accompanied by three daughters; Ellen, aged thirteen; Eliza, twelve; and Mary, ten. They were Roman Catholics from County Limerick and arrived in the Lady Peel on 16 February 1848.

forty-one, 19 per cent between twenty-five and thirty, and only 9 per cent under twenty-four.²⁹

All the 1,307 orphan females were under twenty-four and most under twenty.³⁰ The evocatively named Biddy Brennan, a fifteen-year-old nursemaid from County Tipperary, and Mary Griffin, a nineteen-year-old farm servant from County Wexford, were typical of the orphan females, most of whom were Irish.³¹

The orphan females were brought to the Port Phillip District aboard six ships in which most of the accommodation was reserved especially for them. The first ship carrying the orphan females was the Lady Kenaway, which arrived on 6 December 1848 with one hundred and ninety-one. It was followed by the Pemberton on 14 May 1849 with three hundred and five, the New Liverpool on 9 August 1849 with two hundred and one, the Diodem on 10 January 1850 with two hundred and four, the Derwent on 25 February 1850 with one hundred and thirty-six, and the Eliza Caroline on 31 March 1850 with two hundred and thirty-five orphan females.³² The remaining thirty-five orphan females, for whom no decisive data was recorded, arrived intermittently in the same years.

²⁹ Appendix G, Table IV, b.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1848-9. 4/4816, pp.340 and 343. They were recorded as Roman Catholics. Biddy Brennan could read while Mary Griffin was illiterate.

³² Ibid., pp.123-30, 246-58 and 339-47; 1849-51. 4/4817, unpagued.

Bounty was denied for some of the assisted migrants to the Port Phillip District. One example, Mary Mitchell, a forty-year-old straw platter from Hertfordshire, was

ineligible for the Bounty on account of her age ... [and] also of her calling being a Straw platter, moreover She is childless and deaf.³³

Not all the immigrants above the prescribed age were declared ineligible. Michael Duffy, recorded as a thirty-year-old shepherd and a Roman Catholic from Westmeath who could read and write, was accepted because

Being only in his 31st year, & perhaps not 30 when he embarked, may I think be considered eligible.

(Signed) F.L.S.M. [Merewether]³⁴

A. B. Smith and Company were not as fortunate as Duffy's agent. They were denied bounty for Martha Binny, described as a twenty-eight-year-old governess from Yorkshire because

Some days after passing the Board of examiners, this woman was found to have the right hand & arm much deformed, shrunk & nearly useless. Therefore ineligible for Bounty. (Besides, the Regulations do not include Governesses among those for whom Bounty is paid.

(Signed) C. J. La Trobe.)³⁵

³³ Ibid., 1844. 4/4815, pp.51-2. Mary Mitchell was married to George Mitchell, a thirty-nine-year-old labourer, also from Hertfordshire. They were described as Protestants who knew how to read and write, and arrived aboard the Sea Queen on 15 April 1844.

³⁴ Ibid., 1841-2. 4/4814, p.229. Duffy arrived on 19 February 1842, on board the Regulus. P. W. Welsh of Port Phillip collected the £19 bounty allowed for Duffy.

³⁵ Ibid., p.143. Martha Binny was recorded as a Protestant who knew how to read and write. She arrived on 26 November 1841, aboard the Wallace.

The Number of Children

Of the bounty immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1850 almost a quarter were children under fourteen. Of the 5,790 children, 53 per cent were males and 47 per cent females.³⁶ A few, such as Charles Lovejoy, the eleven-year-old son of Robert and Sarah Lovejoy, were only children,³⁷ but more belonged to large families. The six children who accompanied George and Mary Anne Scarlett,³⁸ although far above the average of one and four-tenths child per family unit, were typical of the kind of children who arrived in the Port Phillip District in several ways. In the first place, their ages ranged from fifteen months to twelve years. Secondly, their parents were among the 74 per cent of married

³⁶ Appendix G, Table I. These figures for children are different from those in R. J. Shultz, 'Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851,' Historical Studies, Vol.14, No.54, April 1970, p.276, Table II. The errors in that table arose from incorrect instructions to the computer processing the data. The corrected figures are shown in Appendix G, Tables I and III.

³⁷ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1848-9. 4/4816, p.376. Robert Lovejoy, aged thirty-seven, and his wife, Sarah, aged thirty-nine, arrived with their eleven-year-old son, Charles, on 4 October 1849, aboard the Mohamed Shah. The Lovejoy family were Independents from Oxfordshire. Both of the parents were recorded as being able to read and write.

³⁸ Ibid., 1839-41. 4/4813, p.116. The Scarlett family were Protestants from Birmingham and arrived on 1 March 1841, aboard the Argyle. George Scarlett was thirty-six, his wife, Mary Ann, was thirty-five. The children were George, aged twelve; James, nine; William, seven; Clifford, four; Alfred, two; and Mary Ann, one. Both parents were recorded as being able to read and write.

males and females able to read and write.³⁹ In addition, they were English like 47 per cent of the married couples,⁴⁰ and their father was among the 40 per cent of married males who were unskilled labourers, while their mother, a domestic servant, represented the 72 per cent of married women.⁴¹

The Male Occupations

Of the adult male bounty immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District 75 per cent were agricultural labourers or unskilled workers and the remainder ranged among the other occupations. Among the unskilled married males,⁴² an example was Edward Harvey, a forty-four-year-old farm labourer from Queen's County, who was accompanied by his wife, Rose, aged thirty-eight, and their seven children; Alicia, twenty; Richard, nineteen; Henry, eighteen; Frederick, ten; James, six; Frances, eleven; and Rose, eight. They were recorded as Anglicans and all could read and write, except Frances who was able to read only.⁴³ Of the other married males, 13 per cent were building workers, 12 per cent

³⁹ Appendix G, Table VII, a and b.

⁴⁰ Ibid., Table VI, a and b.

⁴¹ Ibid., Table V, a and b.

⁴² Ibid., Table V, a.

⁴³ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1849-51. 4/4817, (unpaged). The Harvey family arrived in the Port Phillip District on 26 June 1850, aboard the Bussorah Merchant.

were skilled, handicraft and factory workers and the rest were shopkeepers and tradesmen, domestic servants or professional workers. The occupational distribution of the widowers was very similar to that of the married males, but differed among the single males: 36 per cent of them were agricultural workers, 44 per cent were unskilled⁴⁴ and 20 per cent were distributed among the other occupations.⁴⁵

The Female Occupations

Of the adult females with recorded occupations, some 80 per cent were domestic and general servants while the others were distributed between agricultural servants, and skilled workers and shopkeepers. The pattern for single females was similar, but varied among the married females, of whom 72 per cent were domestic and general servants, 22 per cent agricultural workers and 6 per cent skilled workers and shopkeepers,⁴⁶ but the occupations of more than half the married females were not recorded. Among the orphan females, 95 per cent were domestic servants, 3 per cent agricultural servants and 2 per cent were skilled workers and shopkeepers,⁴⁷ the latter requiring an unlikely training at an orphanage.

⁴⁴ Appendix G, Table V, a.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid., Table V, b.

⁴⁷ Ibid., Table V, b.

The Native Places

For the bounty immigrants to the Port Phillip District, native places were recorded for some 97 per cent of the adult males and 99 per cent of the adult females. Most of the adult males were from England or Scotland, although 43 per cent were Irish, but these proportions were reversed among adult females, because of the heavy recruiting of single and orphan females from Ireland.⁴⁸

Of the married males some 35 per cent were from the South of England, 29 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 14 per cent from Scotland and 8 per cent from Ulster, while the others were divided almost equally between the North of England, the Midlands and a combination of London, Wales and non-British countries. The widowers were nearly similar in origin, but the single males included 11 per cent more Irish than among the married males and 5 per cent more Irish than the average for all of the adult males. Those differences arose from the larger percentage of single males from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, but not from Ulster where the ratio remained almost constant between the married males, widowers and single males.⁴⁹

The distribution of native places among the married females was almost identical to that of the married males and to a lesser extent of the widows and widowers. However, the native places of the orphan

⁴⁸ Ibid., Table VI, a and b.

⁴⁹ Ibid., Table VI, a.

and single females was significantly different; only 26 per cent were from England, and 12 per cent from Scotland while over 50 per cent were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 10 per cent from Ulster.⁵⁰

Among the orphans, 75 per cent were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 23 per cent were from Ulster, with less than 2 per cent from other countries.⁵¹

The Religious Allegiances

Among the adult males, the Protestants, mostly Anglicans or Presbyterians, predominated. They comprised 74 per cent of the married men, 67 per cent of the widowers and 66 per cent of the single males.⁵² Although the married females were divided between Protestants and Roman Catholics in the same proportions as the married males, the widows had 4 per cent and the single females 9 per cent fewer Protestants than among the relevant male groups. By contrast, 81 per cent of the orphan females were Roman Catholics. In total, 59 per cent of the adult females were Protestants compared with 69 per cent of the adult males, while 41 per cent of the adult females were Roman Catholic compared with 31 per cent of the adult males.

⁵⁰ Ibid., Table VI, b.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., Table VII, a.

The Literacy

More than three-quarters of the adult males were recorded as able to read and write, although just over half the adult females were so classified. Of the adults, 12 per cent of the males and 28 per cent of the females were recorded as being able to read only. Of the recorded adult illiterates only 11 per cent were males and 18 per cent females. In the male categories, 74 per cent of the married men, 75 per cent of the widowers and 78 per cent of the single males could read and write, while 14 per cent of the married men, 15 per cent of the widowers and 12 per cent of the single males were able to read only, and the illiterates included 10 per cent of the single males and widowers and 12 per cent of the married men. In the female categories, 62 per cent of the married, 64 per cent of the widows, 54 per cent of the single females and 28 per cent of the orphans could read and write. Although the adult females had a much lower percentage in reading and writing than their male counterparts, the females had a higher percentage than the males recorded as being able to read only: 24 per cent of the married women, 21 per cent of the widows, 29 per cent of the single females and 36 per cent of the orphans could read. In spite of these larger proportions who could read, the females had a markedly higher percentage of illiterates in all groups: 14 per cent of the married women, 15 per cent of the widows, 16 per cent of the single females and 36 per cent of the orphans were noted as illiterate. Significantly, the orphans had the lowest percentage of persons who were recorded as being able to read and write and the highest percentage of

those who were illiterate.⁵³ Despite the wide age ranges of the married women and widows, 82 per cent of the single females and 100 per cent of the orphans were between fourteen and twenty-four. It would appear, then, that the low level of literacy among the orphan females was not connected with their age, but rather, the institutions from which the orphan females were recruited failed to provide adequate instruction for their inmates.⁵⁴

The Occupations, Native Places, Religious Allegiances and Literacy of the Bounty Immigrants

Since most of the bounty immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1850 were from the British Isles, the distribution of occupations and native places for immigrants from other countries will not be examined, unless unusual and significant. Most of the adult males came from the South of England and included 35 per cent unskilled workers, 34 per cent agricultural labourers, 12 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers, 11 per cent building workers, 4 per cent domestic servants and 3 per cent shopkeepers and tradesmen. Of those from Scotland, almost half were agricultural labourers, more than a quarter unskilled workers, 12 per cent skilled, handicraft and factory workers, 9 per cent building workers, 3 per cent domestic servants and 1 per cent shopkeepers and tradesmen. Of the

⁵³ Ibid., Table VIII, a and b.

⁵⁴ Ibid., Table VIII, b.

adult male immigrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 55 per cent were unskilled workers, 30 per cent were agricultural labourers, and the rest divided between building workers, skilled, handicraft and factory workers, domestic servants and shopkeepers and tradesmen. Of those from Ulster, 56 per cent were unskilled workers, 28 per cent agricultural labourers and the remainder distributed among the building trade, skilled, handicraft and factory workers, domestic servants and shopkeepers and tradesmen.⁵⁵

Over 80 per cent of the female bounty immigrants were domestic and general servants, and came in that proportion from almost all the countries of origin, except Wales (76 per cent). The main differences in female occupations when listed with native places were among agricultural workers, and skilled servants and shopkeepers; only 5 per cent of the adult females from England, 14 per cent of those from Scotland, 13 per cent of those from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 10 per cent of those from Ulster were agricultural workers. Conversely, 11 per cent of the adult females from England, 3 per cent of the Scottish women, 4 per cent of those from Leinster, Munster and Connacht and 3 per cent of those from Ulster were skilled servants and shopkeepers.⁵⁶ This suggests that the women from England were more skilled than those from other areas but, because such a large percentage of all

⁵⁵ Ibid., Table IX, a.

⁵⁶ Ibid., Table IX, b.

women were domestic and general servants, the differences may be meaningless.

The largest percentage of agricultural workers, 32 per cent, were from the South of England; 31 per cent were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 21 per cent from Scotland, 7 per cent from Ulster, and 4 per cent from each of the Midlands and the North of England. Of the building workers, 34 per cent came from the South of England, 26 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 13 per cent from Scotland, and 7 per cent from Ulster, 8 per cent were from the North of England, 6 per cent from the Midlands, 4 per cent from London and 2 per cent from Wales. Of the shopkeepers and tradesmen, over 50 per cent were from the South of England, 18 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 12 per cent from Scotland, 6 per cent from the North of England, 5 per cent from London, 4 per cent from Ulster and 2 per cent from other countries, including Canada, Germany and the United States of America. Of the skilled, handicraft and factory workers, over 40 per cent came from South England, almost 20 per cent from Scotland, 14 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 10 per cent from the North of England, 7 per cent from the Midlands and 4 per cent from Ulster; only 3 per cent were Londoners and 1 per cent from other countries. Of the professionals, 35 per cent were from the South of England, about 30 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 22 per cent from Scotland, 5 per cent from the Midlands and 9 per cent were distributed evenly among those from London, Ulster and non-British countries. Well over half the unskilled workers were of Irish origins, 45 per cent of them from Leinster, Munster and

Connacht and 11 per cent from Ulster; the South of England contributed 25 per cent and less than 10 per cent came from the North of England, the Midlands, London, Wales and other countries. Of the domestic servants, 37 per cent were from the South of England, 29 per cent from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 6 per cent from Ulster, 15 per cent from Scotland, 6 per cent from the Midlands and 8 per cent from the North of England, London, Wales and non-British countries.⁵⁷

Since most of the adult males were from the British Isles, the immigrants from any one of those areas might be expected to predominate in particular occupations. Although that occurred, some significant differences were found. For example, 35 per cent of the adult male bounty immigrants to the Port Phillip District were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, but only 31 per cent of the agricultural labourers came from those provinces. Proportionately the Irish from those areas were under-represented by 9 per cent among the building workers, 17 per cent among the shopkeepers and tradesmen, 21 per cent among the skilled, handicraft and factory workers, 5 per cent among the professionals and 6 per cent among the domestic servants, but over-represented by 10 per cent among the unskilled workers.⁵⁸ Since those provinces were rural, their immigrants would be expected to include many unskilled labourers, but the relatively high ratio of professionals (school teachers and veterinarians) is surprising and probably indicates a lack of opportunity.

⁵⁷ Ibid., Table X.

⁵⁸ Ibid., Table X.

Among the Protestant bounty immigrants, the adult males were either unskilled (37 per cent) or agricultural labourers (34 per cent); another 24 per cent were divided equally between building workers and skilled, handicraft and factory workers, and the rest were domestic servants or shopkeepers and tradesmen. Of the Roman Catholic adult males, 55 per cent were unskilled and 31 per cent agricultural labourers; the rest were divided between the building workers, skilled, handicraft and factory workers, domestic servants and shopkeepers and tradesmen.⁵⁹

A large proportion of the adult females were domestic and general servants, whatever their religious allegiance, but in agricultural work, 14 per cent were Roman Catholic females and only 8 per cent Protestant. Conversely, 7 per cent of the Protestant females but only 3 per cent of the Roman Catholics were skilled servants and shopkeepers.⁶⁰

The lowest literacy ratio among the adult male bounty immigrants was among the unskilled workers, of whom only 69 per cent could read and write and 15 per cent knew how to read only. The second lowest was among the agricultural labourers, of whom 76 per cent could read and write and 15 per cent were able to read. In all other male occupations the literacy percentage was between 85 and 90 per cent.⁶¹

⁵⁹ Ibid., Table XI, a.

⁶⁰ Ibid., Table XI, b.

⁶¹ Ibid., Table XII.

Among the adult female skilled servants and shopkeepers, 31 per cent could read and write, while 12 per cent knew how to read only and 6 per cent were illiterate. Over half the domestic and general servants could read and write, 29 per cent were able to read only, and 20 per cent were illiterate. Among the agricultural workers and servants, 30 per cent were illiterate, but 22 per cent could read and 47 per cent read and write.⁶²

Most of the single and married male bounty immigrants were from the South of England, Scotland or Ireland. More than 70 per cent of the married men from England could read and write and 20 per cent knew how to read; less than 10 per cent were illiterate. Among the single males from England, 77 per cent could read and write, 16 per cent were able to read and 7 per cent were illiterate. Their pattern also applied to the immigrants from Scotland and Ireland. The literate Scots, 92 per cent of the married men and 95 per cent of the single males, achieved the highest percentage of immigrants able to read and write. Although the Irish had the lowest proportion of readers and writers, they were well above the 50 per cent literacy mark. Of those from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 64 per cent of the married men and 69 per cent of the single males could read and write, 14 per cent and 12 per cent, respectively, were able to read. The Irish from Ulster were more literate than the males from the South of England; 77 per cent of the married men and 80 per cent of the single males from Ulster could read and write

⁶² Ibid., Table XIV.

while another 12 per cent of the married men and 14 per cent of the single males were able to read. Only the immigrants from London approached the literacy mark established by the Scots; 92 per cent of the married men and 93 per cent of the single males from London could read and write but their small percentage in the total number of males probably makes the figures meaningless.⁶³

Although 29 per cent of the married males were from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, only 25 per cent could read and write. Of the total married males, 34 per cent came from the South of England, 14 per cent from Scotland and 8 per cent from Ulster, and had nearly the same representation among the married males able to read and write. This pattern also applied to the immigrants from the Midlands, the North of England and London. The Irish from Leinster, Munster and Connacht were below the average among the single males who could read and write, but had a higher proportion of illiterates.⁶⁴

Of the female bounty immigrants, 85 per cent of the married women and 97 per cent of the single were from the British Isles. Of the married women from the South of England 61 per cent could read and write, 32 per cent could read and 7 per cent were illiterate. Among the single females from the South of England, almost 70 per cent were able to read and write, 27 per cent knew how to read and less than 5 per cent were illiterate. The Scottish females included 78 per cent of the married

⁶³ Ibid., Table VXi.

⁶⁴ Ibid., Table xvii.

women and 74 per cent of the single females who were able to read and write; an additional 18 per cent of the married women and 22 per cent of the single females were able to read, while 4 per cent of each group were illiterate. This record was not reached by the female immigrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht; of the married females, just under 50 per cent could read and write, and 20 per cent read; only 42 per cent of the single females could read and write and 31 per cent were able to read, each group having a large proportion of illiterates. The picture was even darker for the orphan females from those provinces: only 27 per cent could read and write, and 34 per cent could read, leaving a high rate of illiteracy. Among the married females from Ulster, 64 per cent could read and write, 24 per cent could read and the rest were illiterate; of the single females, 50 per cent could read and write, 39 per cent could read, and the rest were illiterate. Although the percentage of literate orphans from Ulster was slightly higher than that for their counterparts from other Irish provinces, the percentages of the two groups show marked differences: 44 per cent of the Ulster orphans could read, compared with 34 per cent among the orphans from the rest of Ireland. Only 26 per cent of the Ulster orphans were illiterate in contrast to the 39 per cent of those from Leinster, Munster and Connacht.

Of the total married females, 29 per cent came from Leinster, Munster and Connacht but accounted for only a quarter of those who could read and write, while those from the South of England (34 per cent) and Ulster (8 per cent) achieved those same figures for reading and writing; the 14 per cent

of Scots accounted for 18 per cent who were literate. Among the single females, over half came from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, 20 per cent were South English, 12 per cent Scots and 10 per cent from Ulster. The percentage of literate females was high for the South English and Scots, but illiteracy was swollen by the large proportion of single and orphan females from Leinster, Munster and Connacht.⁶⁵

Of the Protestant married males, 80 per cent could read and write and 14 per cent were able to read; the literate single males had an even higher percentage. Among the Roman Catholic married men, 58 per cent could read and write and 27 per cent were illiterate, while the single males included 65 per cent of literates and 21 per cent of illiterates.⁶⁶ Of the Protestant married females, nearly 70 per cent could read and write and 6 per cent were illiterate, whereas the Roman Catholic married females included only 43 per cent literates and 35 per cent illiterates. The figures for the Protestant single females were similar to those of the Protestant married females, but among the single female Roman Catholics, 34 per cent could read and write and 32 per cent were illiterate. Less than half the Protestant female orphans could read and write, 13 per cent were illiterate and 39 per cent were able to read only; but among Roman Catholic single females, less than a quarter could read and write, more than 40 per cent were illiterate and 36 per cent could read.⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Ibid., Table XIX.

⁶⁶ Ibid., Table XX.

⁶⁷ Ibid., Table XXII.

Of the total number of adult bounty immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1850, 64 per cent were Protestants and 36 per cent Roman Catholics. Over 90 per cent of those from London, the South of England, the Midlands, the North of England and Scotland, and 88 per cent of those from Wales were Protestants. Roman Catholics accounted for only 12 per cent of those from Wales, 9 per cent from London, 11 per cent from non-British countries, 6 per cent from Scotland and less than 5 per cent from the South of England, the Midlands and the North of England. Roman Catholics accounted for nearly 80 per cent among the adult immigrants from Leinster, Munster and Connacht, and almost 30 per cent from Ulster.⁶⁸

Typical Bounty Immigrants to the Port Phillip District, 1839-1850

John Byrne, aged thirty-three, a literate Roman Catholic labourer and father of four children,⁶⁹ was typical of older married males among the bounty immigrants who arrived at the Port Phillip District between 1839 and 1850, while John Ede, a twenty-three-year-old Protestant labourer from Surrey, who could read and write and had no children,⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Ibid., Table XXIV.

⁶⁹ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1848-9. 4/4816, p.237. John Byrne and his wife, Bridget, aged thirty-one, arrived in the colony on 10 April 1849, aboard the General Palmer, accompanied by their sons: John, seven; Martin, five; Peter, three; and an infant male.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 1840-3. 4/4818, p.9. John and Sarah Ede arrived in the Port Phillip District on 18 June 1842, aboard the Earl of Durham. Both could read and write.

was illustrative of younger married men. Like the bounty immigrants to New South Wales, the typical married male was in his twenties or thirties and most likely to be an unskilled worker or an agricultural labourer.

The typical married female was younger than her husband and likely to be in her twenties and a literate domestic servant. Most of the group had children: Sarah Ede had none but some, like Margaret Jardine, a twenty-eight-year-old housewife, had three,⁷¹ and others, like Sally Jefferson, had five.⁷²

The average single male among the bounty immigrants who went to the Port Phillip District was similar to his counterpart in New South Wales; he was likely to be between eighteen and twenty-four, an unskilled worker or an agricultural labourer; whether a Protestant from England or Scotland, or a Roman Catholic from Ireland, he was likely to be able to read and write. Of the Roman Catholics, Martin Flinn was a literate twenty-year-old farm servant from Ireland,⁷³ and Thomas Power,

⁷¹ Ibid., 1839-41. 4/4813, p.8. Margaret Jardine and her three children; Abel, six; Isabella, four; and Betsy, two, accompanied John Jardine, a twenty-four-year-old ploughman from Castletown. John and Margaret Jardine were Protestants and could read and write. They arrived on 24 November 1839, aboard the Palmyra.

⁷² Ibid., p.2. Sally Jefferson, a thirty-five-year-old dairymaid, and her husband, William Jefferson, a thirty-nine-year-old farm servant, arrived on 24 November 1839, aboard the William Metcalfe, with their children: Nicholas, ten; Catherine, six; Sarah, five; William, four; and Mary, one. The parents were illiterate Roman Catholics from County Tipperary.

⁷³ Ibid., p.13. Martin Flinn arrived in the Port Phillip District on 13 December 1839, aboard the Westminster.

a twenty-year-old labourer from Tipperary, was also typical except that he was illiterate.⁷⁴ Among the Protestants, Henry Golding was a twenty-three-year-old porter from Middlesex, and an Anglican, who could read and write.⁷⁵

Like her counterpart in New South Wales, the average single female in the Port Phillip District was most likely to be a domestic servant between eighteen and twenty-four. One was Mary Martin, a Roman Catholic housemaid, who came from County Cavan and could read only,⁷⁶ while Mary Anne Tucker, a nineteen-year-old Protestant governess from Gloucestershire, could read and write.⁷⁷ Biddy Brennan, a fifteen-year-old nursemaid from County Tipperary and a Roman Catholic who could read,⁷⁸ was a fair example of the orphan females sent to the Port Phillip District as bounty immigrants, except that she could read while most of the orphans were illiterate.

⁷⁴ Ibid., p.118. Thomas Power arrived in the colony on 1 March 1841, on board the Argyle.

⁷⁵ Ibid., 1848-9. 4/4816, p.356. Henry Golding arrived in the Port Phillip District aboard the Medway on 9 August 1849.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 1839-41. 4/4813, p.192. Mary Martin arrived in the colony on 23 July 1841, aboard the George Fyffe.

⁷⁷ Ibid., 1840-3. 4/4818, pp.19-20. Mary Ann Tucker arrived in the colony on board the Lady Keane on 14 September 1843.

⁷⁸ Ibid., 1848-9. 4/4816, pp.340-1. Biddy Brennan arrived in the Port Phillip District on 9 August 1849, aboard the New Liverpool.

CHAPTER V

THE GOVERNMENT ASSISTED IMMIGRANTS ARRIVING IN THE PORT PHILLIP DISTRICT, 1848-1850

Introduction

Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, revived two kinds of emigration to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1848 and 1850: first, the transportation of convicts, which met organized resistance from the colonists and was quickly abandoned, and second, government immigration which, although disliked intensely by the colonists in 1837-40, was accepted and introduced some 1,300 migrants into the Port Phillip District between 1848 and 1850. The number of government immigrants could be greater but, because they were recorded in the same lists as the bounty migrants and indicated only by a red asterisk which has faded over the years and is now sometimes indistinguishable, the tally cannot be precise.

The Sex, Marital Status and Ages of the Government Immigrants

Six hundred and ninety-five of the government immigrants who arrived in the Port Phillip District between 1848 and 1850 were males and five hundred and eighty-one were females. Of the total, 38 per cent

were adult males, 29 per cent were adult females and 33 per cent were children under fourteen of whom more than half were boys.¹ Of the adult males, 44 per cent were married, 3 per cent widowers and 53 per cent single; 56 per cent of the adult females were married, 3 per cent widows and the rest single.²

John Hay, the nine-year-old son of Robert and Isabella Hay,³ was typical of the 31 per cent under fourteen in the total males; another 46 per cent were between fourteen and thirty and 23 per cent over thirty. Among the females, 36 per cent were children, 39 per cent between fourteen and thirty and 26 per cent over thirty. Of the total government immigrants, 24 per cent were over thirty, 43 per cent between fourteen and thirty and the rest children under fourteen.⁴ Of the adult males 12 per cent were single and between fourteen and seventeen, 54 per cent between eighteen and thirty, and 35 per cent over thirty. Of the married males none was below seventeen, but 62 per cent

¹ Appendix H, Table I.

² Ibid., Table II.

³ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1848-9. 4/4816, p.375. John Hay accompanied his parents, Robert, a forty-one-year-old policeman, and Isabella, aged thirty-six, who arrived on 4 October 1849, aboard the Mohamed Shah. They were Presbyterians, migrated from Maine, Renfrewshire, and were recorded as knowing how to read and write.

⁴ Appendix H, Table III.

were above thirty, and 38 per cent between eighteen and thirty,⁵ a sample being Mathew Barber, who was twenty-four.⁶ Ten of the twelve widowers were over thirty, but the average age of male adults, was lowered by the single men who accounted for three-quarters of the three hundred and seventeen adult males under thirty, while some 80 per cent of the adult males over thirty were married. The pattern was similar among the adult females; 16 per cent were single and between fourteen and seventeen, 44 per cent were between eighteen and thirty and forty per cent over thirty. Among the married females none was below eighteen, 36 per cent were between eighteen and thirty and 63 per cent over thirty. All the widows were over thirty;⁷ a representative was Juliana Welsh a forty-five-year-old widow and house servant from St Mary's, Devonshire. She arrived at Port Phillip with two daughters, Jane, aged twenty-five, and Mary, aged fifteen, both dressmakers from Bath, Mrs. Welsh and her daughters were Anglicans and, although the mother and Mary could read and write, Jane was only able to read.⁸ Of the single

⁵ Ibid., Table IV.

⁶ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1849-51. 4/4817, p.375. Susan Barber, a thirty-eight-year-old housewife, arrived with her husband Mathew, a twenty-four-year-old sawyer from Kent who could read and write, on 24 December 1849, aboard the Andromache. Susan was illiterate.

⁷ Appendix H, Table IV.

⁸ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1849-51. 4/4817. Juliana Welsh and her daughters arrived in the Port Phillip District on 9 January 1850, aboard the Maitland.

females 40 per cent were between fourteen and seventeen and 95 per cent were under thirty. Like their male counterpart, the single girls lowered the average age of the adult females and comprised approximately sixty-six per cent of the total number of the group under thirty. On the other hand, some 70 per cent of the females over thirty were either married or widows.⁹

The Number of Children

A total of four hundred and twenty-one children, or an average of almost two children per family unit, arrived in the Port Phillip District among the government immigrants. Most of them were between four and twelve, but they ranged from infants a few days old to boys and girls almost fourteen. In general, they differed little from the children who accompanied their parents as bounty immigrants between 1848 and 1850, except that there were more children per family unit among the government immigrants.¹⁰

The Occupations

Of the adult male government immigrants, 25 per cent were agricultural labourers, 22 per cent skilled, factory and handicraft workers, 20 per cent were building workers and 18 per cent unskilled; the remainder were distributed between the domestic servants, shopkeepers

⁹ Appendix H, Table IV.

¹⁰ Ibid., Tables I and II.

and tradesmen and professionals. The married males were proportionately fewer among the agricultural and unskilled labourers and more numerous among the building workers and skilled, handicraft and factory workers. In contrast, the single males accounted for 52 per cent of agricultural and unskilled labourers.¹¹

Among the adult females, 72 per cent were domestic and general servants, 16 per cent skilled servants and shopkeepers and 12 per cent agricultural workers and servants. Since occupations were recorded for only three of the two hundred and eleven married females, the statistical data is meaningless for them. However, occupations were given for all except four of the one hundred and fifty-one single females.¹² Jane Welsh, a twenty-five-year-old dressmaker,¹³ was typical of the 16 per cent of the single females who were skilled servants and shopkeepers.¹⁴

The Native Places

Of the adult government immigrants, 50 per cent of males and 46 per cent of females came from the South of England, 27 per cent of males and 29 per cent of females were from Scotland while 11 per cent of males and

¹¹ Ibid., Table V, a.

¹² Ibid., Table V, b.

¹³ See supra, Chapter V, note 8.

¹⁴ Appendix H, Table V, b.

10 per cent of females were Irish. Among the married males and females, 56 per cent were from the South of England, and 23 per cent from Scotland, but among the single females a third were from the South of England and 37 per cent from Scotland, and among the single males, 44 per cent were South English and 31 per cent Scottish. In total, over three-quarters of the adult government immigrants to Port Phillip came from Scotland and the South of England and only 10 per cent from Ireland.¹⁵

The Religious Allegiances

Perhaps because of the small proportion of Irish, few Roman Catholics were among the government immigrants. Protestants accounted for 85 per cent of the adult males and 87 per cent of the adult females, and Roman Catholics for 15 per cent of the males and 13 per cent of the females. The proportion of Protestants was highest among the married males and females and Roman Catholics were highest among the single immigrants. Altogether religious allegiances were recorded for 80 per cent of the government immigrants.¹⁶

The Literacy

Literacy was recorded for over three-quarters of the government immigrants. Over four-fifths of the adult migrants were described as able to read and write.¹⁷ Among the married and single males, near

¹⁵ Ibid., Table VI, a and b.

¹⁶ Ibid., Table VII, a and b.

¹⁷ Ibid., Table VIII, a and b.

90 per cent could read and write, 6 per cent could read only and the rest were illiterate while all the widowers were literate.¹⁸ Some 80 per cent of the adult females could read and write and 15 per cent could read only; of the married women 7 per cent were illiterate, but only 2 per cent of the single females.¹⁹

Typical Government Immigrants Assisted to the Port Phillip District,
1848 - 1850

The average married male among the government immigrants to the Port Phillip District was older but more skilled than the bounty immigrants. He was in his thirties or forties, a Protestant from the South of England or Scotland, a skilled, handicraft or factory worker, or in the building trade. Typical of the group was Robert Hay, a policeman aged forty-one, from Renfrewshire, the father of five children and able to read and write. His wife, Isabella, aged thirty-six, was a literate housewife,²⁰ and representative of the married females, most of whom were in their thirties or forties, domestic and general servants, Protestants, and from the South of England or Scotland.

¹⁸ Ibid., Table VIII, a.

¹⁹ Ibid., Table VIII, b.

²⁰ 'Persons on bounty ships arriving at Port Phillip, 1839-51.' 1848-9. 4/4816, p.375. Robert and Isabella Hay arrived in the Port Phillip District with their children, Robert, thirteen; Isabella, eleven; John, nine; Charles, six; and James, one, on 4 October 1849, aboard the Mohamed Shah. The parents were Presbyterians and could read and write.

The single males among the government immigrants were younger and less skilled than their married counterparts; they were between eighteen and twenty-four, agricultural labourers or unskilled workers and Protestants from the South of England or Scotland. The single females were likely to be between eighteen and twenty-four, domestic and general servants, Protestants, and from the South of England or Scotland.

CONCLUSION

Immigration was 'a decisive episode in transforming the sick society ... into a healthy community.'¹ That transformation resulted from the arrival of approximately 85,000 free immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District. Assuming their birth and death rates to have been reasonably comparable with those of the other residents, the assisted migrants can be said in 1850 to have accounted for approximately 31 per cent of the total population in New South Wales and 35 per cent in Victoria. Moreover, they had been of great importance in lowering the male-female ratio in New South Wales between 1836 and 1850 as well as in reducing the convict-related proportion of the total population. However, their importance was not confined to their numbers. Compared with the convicts transported to New South Wales, the assisted immigrants were generally more skilled and literate and less bound together in any deviant fraternity. The migrants, with raw memories of the voyage out, seem to have made few attempts to return to their native lands and also seem to have accepted their adopted country. Except for the Germans, the immigrants seldom settled in clans but mixed well among themselves and the colonial

¹ W. K. Hancock, Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs, Vol. 11a, (Oxford 1940), p.18, as quoted in G. Greenwood (ed.), by R.M. Hartwell, 'The Pastoral Ascendency, 1820-1850,' Australia A Social and Political History (Sydney, 1968; first published in 1955), p.84-5.

communities. Whatever the jibes against 'new chums,' they had come with their families to stay and if possible to make good. Although most sank into the oblivion of the masses, a few achieved fame, fortune and prominence. Despite their rural origins and subsequent rural places of first employment in the colony, many families drifted to the cities as they had possibly done in the British Isles before emigrating, thus contributing greatly to the growing urbanization of eastern Australia. The feckless and the independent might stay in the country, but Melbourne and Sydney offered better medical and dental services, more schools and churches, better entertainment, more comforts and community life as well as a variety of employments not physically exhausting.

Most assisted immigrants gropingly adopted the colonial ways but revealed their British labouring-classes origin through leaders such as Henry Parkes by working for economic security and stability, and democratic ideals, as demonstrated by T. H. Irving.² Those ideals, and the assisted immigrants who held them, formed the ideological and numerical basis of the radical working-class movements of the 1840s. Moreover, 'the immigrants ... introduced new social forces into society, and provided a liberal bulwork against the conservatism of squatters and officials.'³ Although they failed to achieve unity, they led the fight

² T.H. Irving, 'Some Aspects of the Study of Radical Politics in New South Wales before 1856,' Labour History Bulletin of the Australian Society for the Study of Labour History, No. 5, November 1963, pp.18-25.

³ Hartwell, 'The Pastoral Ascendency,' in Greenwood, p.85.

against the squatter oligarchy then dominant in New South Wales and helped to establish representative and later responsible government in the colony.

Michael Roe, in his study of church and hierarchy in eastern Australia between 1835-1851, identified an attitude strongly imbued in the assisted immigrants. Roe concluded that 'The migrant's particular attachment to the new faith helps explain why periods of migration have been periods of vitality in Australian history.'⁴ The 'new faith' or 'moral enlightenment' that Roe identified in the gentry of New South Wales between 1835 and 1851, if not brought to the colonies as intellectual baggage by the assisted immigrants, was strongly reinforced and supported by them. After all, nearly three-quarters of the assisted migrants were of Protestant persuasions. In a very real sense, the newly arrived immigrants helped to formulate and firmly affix that 'new faith' in the society of New South Wales.

John Barrett, in his study of the role of Churches in New South Wales between 1835 and 1851, demonstrated that 'religion distinctly gained ground,'⁵ a fact that materialized largely because of the influx of the assisted immigrants. Barrett also observed that

colonial legislatures do not wrangle for decades over state aid and church schools without some impact on community life and thinking; and churches and ministers have not appeared in every Australian town and hamlet without cause and effect.⁶

⁴ Michael Roe, Quest for Authority in Eastern Australia, 1835-1851 (Melbourne, 1965), p.206.

⁵ John Barrett, That Better Country: The Religious Aspect of Life in Eastern Australia 1836-1850 (Melbourne, 1966), p.205.

⁶ Ibid.

The assisted immigrants brought to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District had the above-mentioned effects because they were what they were: a selected cross-section of the British rural and urban labouring classes. Because they were selected within certain age levels there were few old people among them. Because there were limits on the number of children they could bring, there were relatively few large families among them. Because they were selected for a colony with a pastorally-based economy, many of them had rural-oriented occupations. Because there was a preponderance of males in the colony, more females than males were selected. Because the restrictions on bounty migrants were more severe than on government immigrants, and because the bounty agents could recruit their migrants from wide areas while government officials had to select from among those offering themselves for emigration, the bounty immigrants more closely matched the real or fancied needs or wants of the colony.

The government assisted immigrants were older than the bounty migrants. Moreover, government immigrants were accompanied by a larger proportion of children than their counterparts who arrived as bounty migrants; there were more than two children per family unit among both groups of government immigrants while the two groups of bounty migrants averaged approximately one and one-half per family unit. The Irish were more prominent among the bounty immigrants than among the

government migrants. Admittedly, the proportion of Irish migrants found among the bounty immigrants was increased by the large number of single and orphan females recruited by the bounty agents. Not only were the bounty migrants more Irish than the government immigrants, but also they were more Roman Catholic. That was also true of the female migrants; a larger proportion of the females than males were Irish and Roman Catholic.

Although the bounty immigrants were younger and brought fewer children with them than the government assisted migrants, the government immigrants were more skilled than the bounty migrants. In the short term, the bounty immigrants were probably the most valuable to the colony because they could take their place in the economy directly upon their arrival. Moreover, because they were accompanied by proportionately fewer children a larger proportion of the bounty migrants could contribute to economic production and social development. In addition, the bounty immigrants seemed to satisfy the colonial needs or wants more satisfactorily because their occupations, ages and smaller proportion of children more closely met the desires of the colonists.

On the other hand, it is possible that the government immigrants were the most important acquisition to the colony in the long term. Because they were proportionately more skilled and their proportionately more numerous and older children could take their places in the economy and society after immigration was suspended during the drought and depression in the mid-1840s, they served as an untapped labour supply. However, a number of the government migrants were unable to secure work

in their trade while the depression lasted and were forced to appeal to the Colonial Government for assistance.

The immigrants brought to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 were a selected cross-section of the British labouring classes. As such, they were a remarkably homogeneous group: they were predominantly of the same ages - between 14 and 30; they had approximately the same proportion of married and single persons; they averaged approximately two children per family unit; they were divided approximately equally between the sexes, although there were a few more females than males; and they were predominantly of the same occupations - agricultural labourers and unskilled workers, chosen to assist in developing the pastorally-based colonial economy. Although there were differences in characteristics between the groups of immigrants, those differences consisted of literacy, native places and religious allegiances, rather than of ages, sex, marital status, number of children per family unit and occupations. The differences were mostly a matter of degree, not of kind, except for the differences in religion which possibly contributed to the controversy that raged in New South Wales in the 1830s and 1840s over Government aid to church-sponsored schools. For the most part, however, the immigrants assisted to New South Wales and the Port Phillip District between 1837 and 1850 were a basically homogeneous group from the British labouring classes that was remarkable only because they blended in with those who had come

before them as convicts or free settlers and those who followed them as gold diggers or other free settlers. Nevertheless, because they arrived in that period when New South Wales was changing from an outdoor gaol to a respectable society and when the Port Phillip District was developing rapidly, they played a vital, though unobtrusive role in creating a secure and stable society capable of absorbing the subsequent influx of a half-million gold diggers in the decade following their arrival. .