

South Australia and the Imperial World: connections to India and beyond, 1830s to 1860s

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This essay is drawn from a larger study which reconsiders the decades from the 1820s to the 1860s, a foundational period in Australian history, arguably at least as important as Federation. Convict transportation was brought to a staggered end, first in New South Wales and last in Western Australia. The numbers of free settlers rose dramatically, surging from the 1820s and again during the 1850s gold rushes. Most colonies achieved responsible government: a radical shift from penal settlements to self-governing societies. Yet there is much that is little understood about how inhabitants of the Australian colonies perceived the growth of a free settler society from its convict origins, how 'Australians' understood their rapidly evolving place in a profoundly changing world.

The core of my study is the rapid expansion of settler society in Australia in these crucial decades, when the British population shifted from unfree to free, settler colonies dramatically expanded their territorial claims (even though viewed in terms of the whole continent they remained small), and both settlers and colonial officials had grand plans for colonial possibilities. In order to understand contemporary perceptions of the colonies taking shape, I want to consider settlers and residents' knowledge of and reactions to specific events around the British Empire,

reactions to frontier conflicts in other colonies, and commentary on wars elsewhere. The larger project will also consider gendered conceptions of the free settler, and ideas about what it meant to be a free 'white' settler in an empire based on racial hierarchies. My interest in gender includes the conception of political manhood, the cultural process by which men were endowed with political authority and the right to vote, and women excluded from both. Settlers' placing of the maturing Australian colonies in imperial and global context casts light on what the transition to self-government in Australia meant both to them and to others.

Here I wish to look at a few aspects of the ways in which South Australian settlers saw themselves in wider imperial context, to suggest a little of what that broader perspective can tell us. Of course, South Australia was a key colonial experiment

of the 1830s, a successful implementation of Wakefield's systematic colonisation. South Australians knew that they were not the only participants in that particular experiment, and took pride in their own relative success. They learned about the later systematic colonies in New Zealand, also based on Wakefieldian principles, including from 1840 the settlement in the Wellington area, and later those at Wanganui, New Plymouth, Nelson, Otago and Canterbury. They also knew about the less successful version of Wakefield's idea, the settlement of Australind in Western Australia. Australind was established in 1840 by the Western Australian Company, just north of Port Leschenault, or Bunbury. The very name of Australind was significant: it was called Australind to signify its location on the Australian coast, in a situation that would foster a relationship between Australia and India. 'Australind' – the name in fact being a contraction of Australia



Thomas Colman Dibdin, 'A View of Koombana Bay on Port Leschenault, Australind, W.A.', 1840 nla.pic-an6016139 National Library of Australia

and India – would represent the possibilities of trade and exchange between these colonies of the British Empire.

Just like South Australia, Australind was founded on the careful plans and schemes of a group of men in London. Maps were drawn up, plans made for a supposedly ideal town, a prospectus drawn up and much effort put into advertising the colony. The company's prospectus showed the town as they intended it to be laid out, with formal streets, public squares, wharves, market places, even colleges, a hospital, a theatre, a town hall, and six churches. Hundred-acre farms were sold in London, ahead of the settlement being established. As in South Australia, the proceeds of land sales were to be used to pay for the passages of labourers, as well as improvements to the town; the settlers who sailed were thus a mix of the more affluent elite of the colony, and those intended to do the labour. It was a community that would have clear class lines, as well as developing racial divisions – including the employment of both Aboriginal workers and some labourers brought from India. Australind survived, despite setbacks and defectors, and is today a dormitory suburb of Bunbury. But it did not fulfill its founders' dreams, and as an example of systematic colonisation was always overshadowed by South Australia.

South Australians' knowledge and curiosity went well beyond the other systematic colonies. On 23 August 1851, writing from Adelaide to relatives in England Caroline Clark revealed the detailed knowledge settlers in the Australian colonies had of sea routes, cargoes, ports and vessels, including the place of 'the East Indies' in the imperial mercantile economy.

Your letter came by a direct ship from England and it is best to send 'by first ship direct from Plymouth' unless you know something of the vessels that are about to sail. Letters [come] to us by way of the East Indies. Though many that come here with a cargo go there to obtain a cargo for home again ... Latterly Liverpool vessels have come far more quickly than

any others, but it is not always the case that they carry mails ... Newspaper intelligence is generally ten weeks in advance of information by letter so it is clear enough that our letters are much longer on their route than they need be.¹

Caroline and Francis Clark had arrived only the year prior, in June 1850, with most of their eight surviving children and a servant, hoping for a healthier, more prosperous and religiously freer life than they had led in Birmingham. In March 1867, Caroline Clark was still obsessed with ships and the mail:

The incoming of the English mail is the one event in the month that we colonists all regard with great interest, and its approach is signalled by the hoisting of a chequered flag, and also by the raising of a ball in town ... We can see the flag and ball with the telescope from our garden, and we can see the smoke of the steamer as it passes along near the coast for four or five miles of its voyage.²

Mail to and from England was settlers' source of contact and information with the world beyond the Australasian colonies. Ships carrying mail and newspapers were their lifeline to relatives and friends, and their conduit of knowledge about economic, political, cultural, social and diplomatic affairs. But the knowledge brought and carried by ships extended beyond England: this imperial network had links in many directions, and the contact settlers so desired was to many points.

Settlers and residents in the Australian colonies had personal connections to and knowledge of many places around a rapidly globalising world. Voyages to and from Australia involved calling at ports in Africa, the Indian Ocean, Asia, and South America. Many settlers in the eastern colonies, and some in South Australia, had themselves served in the British army in India; sick soldiers and pensioners from India commonly sojourned in the Australian colonies and stayed. Settler families had members whose service in the British army, ambitions or trading interests had propelled

them around the world; letters brought news from Calcutta, Cuba or Hong Kong. Flourishing colonial newspapers reprinted news from India, Canada, New Zealand and elsewhere. Australian colonial newspapers assumed their readers were interested in a wide range of news items. On 24 September 1832, for instance, the *Sydney Herald's* 'East India News' section included items about the danger of tigers around Singapore, calls for a law court in the Straits Settlements, a list of 'trades and occupations' carried on by 'Europeans and Indo-Britons' in Calcutta, the price fetched by New Zealand flax in Ceylon, and a report of an uprising by Parsis in Bombay.³ Such news items reveal both particular interest in other British colonies in the Asia-Pacific region and a wider curiosity about the world.

We are beginning to learn about the nature and extent of colonial traffic between Australia and India, thanks to research such as Margaret Allen's work on Indian men in Australia, and Australian missionaries in India, and Joyce Westrip and Peggy Holroyde's book on, as they title it, the 'surprising history of connections between India and Australia'.⁴ Some South Australian settlers had direct experience of India, such as Captain Charles Bagot, whose prior military career included South America, the Cape of Good Hope, Mauritius and India.⁵ I want here to touch on a few of the ways in which South Australian settlers knew about connections between the Australian colonies and India: their awareness of trade with India, and of the importation of Indian labourers, as well as how closely they followed events in India – not least the events that became known as 'the Indian Mutiny' of 1857-58, a rebellion that threatened British control in India and thus was of real moment to British settlers in the Indian Ocean region.

Awareness of trade with India

In 1870, Adelaide settlers Nora Burney Young and her mother Lady Charlotte Bacon (daughter of an Earl of Oxford) were much preoccupied

with the possibilities and pitfalls of trading with India and Ceylon, through the ill-fated business enterprise of their brother and son Anthony, also known as Harley. In her youth Lady Charlotte had been immortalised as 'Ianthé' to whom Byron dedicated his poem *Childe Harold's Pilgrimage*. She married Anthony Bacon, an army officer who fought at Waterloo, as well as serving in Spain, France, Gibraltar and India. Despite his imperial service, Anthony Bacon landed in debtors' prison for a time, where he met fellow inmate Robert Gouger, and became an enthusiast for the planned colony of South Australia. Anthony Bacon himself never made it to South Australia, but three of their children and Lady Charlotte eventually did. Lady Charlotte even brought with her a coach bequeathed to her by Lord Byron, which ended up being reclaimed from a chook shed behind a pub near Coffin Bay in 1918. The Bacons' son Harley [Anthony] seemed to have inherited his father's spendthrift tendencies.⁶ In April 1870 Lady Charlotte wrote: '[Anthony] is gone to Ceylon, he sailed on the 19th with 52 horses, most of them his own, cows, flour, potatoes and fruit. If he arrives with his cargo safe I hope he will make a good thing of it.'⁷ Nora, however, gave her sister in England a much less sanguine account of the same undertaking:

Harley ... has gone to India with horses. I am sure I hope he will succeed, but I very much fear because somehow he always makes a mistake in everything he undertakes and he's lost so much money, it must be acknowledged that Harley is not clever and he has no head for business transactions ... [Mama] is in very good spirits just now, I think she anticipates a certain success with regard to the horses, but I am afraid she will be disappointed.⁸

In July Nora wrote to her sister, now concerned that her brother's folly may have implicated the new Governor, Sir James Fergusson, who had arrived the year before:

We have heard from Harley, & I am afraid he has [not?] done very well, he says he has made

enough to pay expenses only, so I hope and trust Sir James will not be let in, his kindness was beyond that of even a brother, but I quite tremble for altho' Harley means well and would intend to repay he is so weak and foolish that he is led into all sorts of extravagances & all his money goes in rioting in the Town, if the Governor knew it I am sure he would be very vexed, for he is so particular and Harley does not even riot in a gentlemanlike way but goes about with such a low set. Pray don't mention this, burn my letter ... People see Mama's weak points and to please her they praise Harley and she believes it all, and a man who is a known liar told her the other day that nothing could have exceeded the manner in which he transacted his business in Ceylon, the energy and knowledge of business he showed was surprising and dear Mama tells this to everybody and I feel so sorry to hear her because I know people smile at it afterwards, for Harley has no notion of business.⁹

By September, Nora's anxiety was focussed on whether and how much of the Governor's money Harley had lost in his failed trade speculation:

I have not been able to find out from Mama whether Harley was able to return all Sir James' money, she will not say a word except that he did himself very little good. I want so much to know, but she is so touchy about him, I dare not say anything, if he has lost any of the money and I knew it, I would never show my face at Government House again. I think with such advantages he might have done better, but you know Harley is not clever.¹⁰

If Nora was worried about her own social acceptability at Government House, Sir James's involvement in the speculation was not based on ignorance of colonial mercantile relations; he had served in London as under-secretary for India from 1866 to 1867. Harley's undertaking was only one instance of wider trading connections between India and the Australian colonies.

Knowledge of Indian indentured labourers in the Australian colonies

On 8 September 1838, the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register* reported on the 'Importation of Indian Laborers'. Refusing to engage in a prolonged discussion of the issue, the paper limited itself to commenting on evidence from 'the coroner's inquest on the body of a Hill Coolie'. The paper thought its readers would agree it was 'quite clear that these poor men ought to have some protection from the misconduct, neglect, or cupidity of their masters', and would share its 'pleasure in stating that his Excellency the Acting Governor has promptly determined to make formal communications on the subject to the Colonial office and to the Indian Government.'¹¹ The unfortunate Indian worker whose death prompted this discussion was one of the group brought by settler Joseph Bruce from Calcutta when he took up a land grant in South Australia in 1838.¹²

But the issue of labourers from Asia did not go away. In May 1847 the *South Australian Register* ran a longer piece, commenting on proposals in South Australia for the importation of labourers from China, comparing them to plans in New South Wales for importing labourers from Polynesia. The paper argued that, rather than bringing in 'cooley labour', the colony's government should spend money on assisting destitute labourers in the United Kingdom to emigrate, because British labourers 'would form a permanent addition to our numbers, and would mix, without tainting our population'. Yet Asian labour was not out of the question: 'our fields must be tilled', the *Register* continued, 'our flocks must be watched, our mines must be wrought, and if the labour needed for these purposes, and for which we have paid, is not furnished to us, we are fully justified in adopting whatever means are at our disposal in order to procure an adequate supply'.¹³ Westrip and Holroyde contend that in 1848 Indian shepherds were employed 'in the northern reaches of South Australia'.¹⁴

Richard Broome has shown that, while in South Australia from 1836 Aboriginal people worked as servants, messengers, seamen, blacksmiths, and gatherers of wood and water, in southern New South Wales and the Port Phillip District from 1830 they worked in similar capacities as well as clearing ground, ferrying sheep across rivers, as native police troopers and guides, in fishing, sealing, whaling, and gardening, and in the pastoral industry as shepherds, stockmen, bullock drivers and in sheep washing.¹⁵ Similarly, in documenting and paying tribute to the Aboriginal people who worked as 'stockworkers, shepherds, trackers, troopers, pearl-divers or servants' across the Australian frontier, Henry Reynolds contends that they 'were in a very real sense Australia's black pioneers'.¹⁶ Indeed, evidence of the employment of Aboriginal servants and labourers crops up in records from a range of colonial sites. Mrs Alice Hughes wrote in her memoir of her 1840s childhood in the village of Wellington in South Australia about 'a black lubra who [did] washing for us' and other Aboriginal people who 'would do a little work for tea or sugar or a stick of tobacco'.¹⁷ Mrs J. Fairfax Conigrave, who arrived with her parents in 1853, and whose father purchased land on Hindmarsh Island, recalled:

Papa used to employ a number of [Aborigines] at harvest time, as the wheat had to be reaped with the sickle ... The consequence was we often had a whole tribe of blacks, with their lubras and piccannies camped a few hundred yards below our house ... Some of the women made excellent servants and we became very attached to them ... We had a washerwoman who was really a fine character.¹⁸

Across the Australian colonies in the first half of the nineteenth century, in addition to the employment of Aboriginal workers, various indentured labour schemes brought Indian and Chinese workers. Apart from the Indians who arrived as convicts, from 1816 onwards groups of labourers were brought from India under indenture. Instances included the fourteen servants taken to Port Phillip in 1843, the twenty-five domestic workers including women and children taken to Sydney in 1844, and

the fifty including men, women and children who arrived in Sydney in 1846.¹⁹ Indentured labour schemes that brought Indian workers to Australia may have been more common in New South Wales, Queensland, Victoria and Western Australia (including at Australind), but we know that there were several in South Australia, both from the newspaper reports just cited, and other sources too. The memoir of Eliza Sarah Mahoney, for example, provides evidence of both Aboriginal and Indian labour. Mahoney, whose family arrived in Adelaide from Ireland in 1839, recalled of her parents' farm north of Adelaide in the Gawler area:

The blacks we were very much afraid of at first, though they were very quiet. There were about 250 in the Para tribe. We tried to get them to work for us and to wear clothes. After a time they did some work for us, but would never wear the clothes we gave them.²⁰

A little later in the memoir, she notes: 'While in Adelaide a picturesque sight I remember was the camp under the fine trees in the Parklands of Mr. Gleeson, an Irish gentleman, who had just come from India with his ... rupees, Arab horses and Indian servants. He afterwards lived at Clare'.²¹

The employment of Aboriginal people by settlers is often studied in a separate historiographical frame from the importation of indentured labourers. When we put both forms of nonwhite labour together, we see how widespread it was in these decades of rapid settler expansion.

South Australian press coverage of the 'Indian Mutiny' (the War of 1857-58)

In May 1857, Indian soldiers at Meerut near Delhi mutinied, killing their officers and all the other Britons they could find. They set fire to their cantonment, and then marched to Delhi, to proclaim the Mughal ruler the head of Hindostan (or India). When word spread, similar uprisings occurred by sepoys (Indian soldiers) in other parts of northern India. The rebellion was a protest against British presence and rule in India, and was

largely sparked by the way that the British were running their army. While problems in the army were the specific cause of unrest, it was fuelled by deep resentment about British power, British intervention, and British economic and political control in India – in short, resentment against British imperialism. It took the British two years to completely quash the uprising and the ensuing rebellions. In those two years, the British fought hard to regain control, even though the spate of rebellions was in one particular area of northern India. A number of peasants rebelled in support of the sepoys, and in the cities of Delhi and Lucknow support for the uprising was such that there was extensive fighting and destruction.

On 2 August 1858 the British Parliament passed the Government of India Act, transferring all the rights the East India Company had previously enjoyed in India to the Crown, that is, Queen Victoria and the British Government. A cabinet level position was created: the Secretary of State for India. Perhaps the most pervasive impact of the war was in the increasingly bitter and tense race relations that would characterise the British Raj for the rest of its existence. On both sides, memories and stories of the acts of violence during 1857-58 were constantly replayed. On the British side, exaggerated stories circulated from the beginning, so that events like the killings at Kanpur/Cawnpore were told in highly melodramatic and untrue ways, that exaggerated the numbers dead and the way they were treated. Not least, stories of sexual assault by Indian men on British women became central to these accounts. Memoirs, fiction and plays were produced by the British for the rest of the nineteenth century.²²

We can track interest in the 'Mutiny' through its coverage in the *South Australian Register*. In the 1840s, the *Register's* interest in India extended to occasional articles on political and military events. In 1857 the frequency and extent of the coverage escalated dramatically. The *Register* printed stories arriving from Calcutta newspapers, the *Lahore Chronicle*, Singapore newspapers, the *Friend of*

India and the *Bombay Telegraph*. By July 1857 the *Register* editorialised on the crisis, considering that although 'the disaffection appears to be more widespread than was at first imagined', the likely outcome would mostly consist of punishments of the Indian troops involved, which it hoped would not be too extremely severe – a merciful attitude that later evaporated.²³ In September 1857, its tone had shifted: the Indian troops involved were now called 'the monsters engaged in the recent inhuman butcheries', yet the paper pointed to the vast size of the British colonies in India, the small proportion of Englishmen compared to Indians, and corruption in British administration. 'The extension of our Indian frontier, like the extension of our African frontier, has involved the British Empire in accumulated expenses, and has rendered the administration of its colonial government infinitely more difficult than before', it opined.²⁴ By October, the *Register's* tone was irate.

It may, indeed, be useless to dwell upon these horrors, but is it right to dismiss from our minds the consideration of the unutterable sufferings of our fellow-subjects? Ought we not, even in these remote dependencies of the British Crown, to evince some measure of sympathy with the unhappy victims of this most fiendish rebellion? Had the sepoys merely united to exterminate the European population, brutal as it would have been to murder inoffensive women and children, our feelings of indignation would have been less intense than they now are; but to practise every conceivable refinement of slow torture upon shrinking women and harmless babes is so utterly inhuman that its perpetrators have no claim to any other treatment than would be awarded to wolves and tigers.

The paper continued with a lurid account of the violence at Kanpur/Cawnpore, with highly detailed stories of extreme violence supposedly conducted by sepoys on British children, and the rape and mutilation of British women, before pointing out that 'a great degree of uncertainty characterizes all the accounts received from India'.²⁵ By July 1858, the paper openly displayed racial and religious bias, alleging that even the

most horrific stories from India gained credibility from 'our knowledge of Asiatic cruelty', and the way power is 'wielded by depraved idolators and the sensual disciples of Mahomet'.²⁶

Perhaps the best evidence of the extent to which South Australians cared about events in India are the poems penned by Caroline Carleton, who arrived in Adelaide in 1839 with her husband Charles who had served as ship's surgeon on their vessel the *Prince Regent*. Caroline Carleton undertook projects such as setting up schools, but she is famous as the author of the lyrics of 'The Song of Australia'. Most of us know the first verse of that song, written for an 1859 competition run by the Gawler Institute, starting with the lines 'There is a land where summer skies/ Are gleaming with a thousand dyes', though few would know the words of all five verses. Even fewer among us, I suspect, would know that her patriotic and pro-imperial poems included at least two poems about the 'Indian Mutiny'. One, titled 'The Cawnpore Massacre' [about events in Kanpur], includes the lines:

The music of the sunlit wave.
With its crest of rainbow light,
Sounds like the footfalls of the past,
On memory's tablet bright.

This sadden's heart can only hear,
In the music of the sea,
A wailing from a far-off land,
A dirge like melody.

To fancy's ear the murm'ring waves
Echo a funeral strain,
And chant a requiem for the souls
Of the Cawnpore victims slain –

The fresh'ning winds fan the glad brow;
Sweet is the evening breeze,
That gently stirs the pensile leaves
Of the silvery wattle trees.

But a taint of blood is on the blast,
A death-shriek fills the ear,
A tortured mother's bitter cry
Of agonized despair! –
.....

In February 1858 an 'Indian Relief Fund' was set up in South Australia, at the request of the Governor. Carleton wrote another poem, simply titled *Lines* in support of the 'Appeal of the Committee of the Indian Relief Fund to the Australian Colonies'. Its first stanzas ran:

Tho' we must tread the circling earth
Till half its space be traversed o'er,
Before our longing eyes can greet
The white cliff of Britannia's shore.

And tho' beneath Australian skies,
Our children pluck the clust'ring vine
With throbbing hearts we proudly own –
Britain, our fealty is thine!

And when the quivering needle points
To woe and danger, threat'ning thee –
The answering chord responsive owns
Th' electric touch of sympathy.

.....²⁷



Caroline Carleton, 1830 Image courtesy of the State Library of South Australia. SLSA: B 6675.

These lines, and Carleton's desire to help the Indian Relief Fund, speak to the connection at least some South Australians felt to the imperial effort to put down the uprising in India. Imperial troops were despatched from the Australian colonies to fight in India; some press reports reveal a feeling of vulnerability when the British troops stationed here left. More amorphously, the threat to the British Raj implicitly unsettled the stability and prospects of the British colonies in Australia.

These press reports tell us several things about Australians' perception of their relationship to India, and their position in the world. The reports are written from a stance of imperial unity and identity, using the pronouns 'we', 'our', and 'us'. They show the significance to Australian settlers of identifying as Christian, versus Muslims and Hindus. They reveal a sense of involvement, of wanting to defend the interests of the British Empire. Not least, the supposed horrors perpetrated on British women show how ideas of both gender and race shaped stories of Indian insurrection.

The war of 1857-58 in India was far from the only imperial event the *South Australian Register* covered. The paper had earlier covered the so-called 'Kaffir wars' in South Africa in the 1840s and early 1850s with unambiguous bias against both the indigenous Africans and the Afrikaners. In 1846 as well as later in 1860, the *Register* followed in detail the wars in New Zealand, frequently expressing great respect and sympathy for Maori, while of course ultimately supporting both British right and British might.

South Australians were interested in the world around them, an interest that extended well beyond economic matters of trade and labour. They keenly followed imperial and global news and events via both their newspapers and personal letters. From such sources, we can reconstruct their sense of themselves as participating in the wider project of British imperialism, a shared enterprise

in which British colonisers and settlers supported each other, through trade, the sharing of troops, charitable relief, religious commonality, moral support and racial solidarity. Settlers here viewed the Australian colonies as dependent on British success elsewhere, even in the very years that they sought to gain greater autonomy through self-government.

Endnotes

- ¹ State Library of South Australia [SLSA], PRG 389/1, letter from Caroline Clark to relatives in England, 23 Aug 1851.
- ² SLSA, PRG 389/1, letter from Caroline Clark to relatives in England, 26 Mar 1867, p. 10 'Arrival of the English mail'.
- ³ 'East India News', *Sydney Herald*, 24 Sep 1832, p.2.
- ⁴ For example, Margaret Allen, 'A fine type of Hindoo' meets "the Australian type": British Indians in Australia and diverse masculinities', in Desley Deacon, Penny Russell and Angela Woollacott (eds.), *Transnational Ties: Australian lives in the world*, Canberra, ANU E-Press, 2008, pp.41-56; Joyce Westrip and Peggy Holroyde, *Colonial Cousins: a surprising history of connections between India and Australia*, Kent Town, SA, Wakefield Press, 2010.
- ⁵ *A holograph memoir of Captain Charles Hervey Bagot of the 87th Regiment*, Adelaide, 1942.
- ⁶ This detail of Lady Charlotte's early life, her marriage to Anthony Bacon, and the story of the coach she inherited from Lord Byron ending up in a chook shed on Eyre Peninsula is from a paper by Jeff Nicholas, 'From Elinor to Ianthe: Byron's barouche and an outback Aussie chook house', presented at the 'Robert Southey, Romantic Renaissances and Contexts' conference at Keswick, Apr 2010. I thank Jeff for allowing me to read and quote from this paper.
- ⁷ SLSA, PRG 541/1/2 [this folder is letters from Lady Charlotte Bacon to her daughter Luz (Mrs Hext Boger) in Plymouth], letter 23 Apr 1870.
- ⁸ SLSA, PRG 541/2/2 Letters from Mrs Nora Burney Young (wife of Charles Burney Young and daughter of Lady Charlotte Bacon) to her sister Luz (Mrs Hext Boger) 1866-1872, letter 24 Apr 1870.
- ⁹ SLSA, PRG 541/2/4 Letter from Mrs Nora Burney Young, Walkerville, 17 Jul 1870.
- ¹⁰ SLSA, PRG 541/2/5, Letter from Mrs Nora Burney Young, Walkerville, 10 Sep [1870?].
- ¹¹ 'Importation of Indian Laborers', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, p.3.
- ¹² Westrip and Holroyde, *Colonial Cousins*, p.154. See

- also Heather Foster, 'The first Indians: the Bruce and Gleeson indentured labourers in nineteenth century South Australia, in this number of the *Journal*.
- ¹³ 'Cooley Labour', *South Australian Register*, 26 May 1847, p.2.
- ¹⁴ Westrip and Holroyde, p.139.
- ¹⁵ Richard Broome, 'Aboriginal Workers on South-Eastern Frontiers', *Australian Historical Studies* no. 103 (1994), pp.202-220.
- ¹⁶ Henry Reynolds, *Black Pioneers*, Ringwood, Vic., Penguin Books, 2000, pp.15,16.
- ¹⁷ Mrs F. [Alice] Hughes, *My Childhood in Australia*, London, Digby, Long and Co., 1892, pp.28,47.
- ¹⁸ Mrs J. Fairfax Conigrave, *My Reminiscences of the Early Days*, Perth, Brokensha and Shaw Ltd., 1938, p.21.
- ¹⁹ James Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People: an encyclopedia of the nation, its people and their origins*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001, p.427.
- ²⁰ Eliza Sarah Mahoney, 'The First Settlers at Gawler', in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch*, XXVIII, 1926-27, from manuscript dated 1898, p.70.
- ²¹ Mahoney, p.77. Presumably she refers to Mr E.B. Gleeson, an early settler in the Clare area and the first mayor when Clare was incorporated in 1868. Gleeson named his property 'Inchiquin' from his home in Clare County, Ireland, and thus bestowed the South Australian region's name. 'In the Northern Areas. Clare', in H.T. Burgess (ed.), *The Cyclopaedia of South Australia* Vol. II, Adelaide, Cyclopaedia Co., 1909, p.468.
- ²² On this, see Nancy L. Paxton, *Writing Under the Raj: gender, race, and rape in the British colonial imagination, 1830-1947*, New Brunswick, NJ, Rutgers University Press, 1999 and Jenny Sharpe, *Allegories of Empire: the Figure of woman in the colonial text*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1993.
- ²³ 'India and Persia', *South Australian Register* 14 Jul 1857, p.2.
- ²⁴ 'The Indian Mutiny', *South Australian Register* 10 Sep 1857, p.2.
- ²⁵ 'The Indian Mutiny', *South Australian Register* 24 Oct 1857, p.2.
- ²⁶ 'Sepoy Atrocities and the Indian Relief Fund', *South Australian Register* 2 Jul 1858, p.2.
- ²⁷ Rae Webling, *A Song for Australia: Caroline Carleton – her poems and biography 1820-1874*, privately published, 1977.