



IRISH FEMALE IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA

DURING THE GREAT FAMINE.

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Thesis presented as
part requirement for the
Honours Degree of Bachelor of Arts
in
University of Adelaide
1964.

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INTRODUCTION.

Irish migration to Australia during the Great Famine^{*} constitutes an interesting but neglected story. It is interesting both because of its effect on the Australian colonies themselves, and because of its contrast with the notorious Famine emigration to the Americas. It has been neglected because the numbers which migrated to Australia were small in comparison with the human flood which surged to the New World; but perhaps also, one suspects, because its pattern does not harmonise with the picture (often painted by those writing of the trans-Atlantic migration) of a neglectful British Government, fever ships, and emigrants dying on the threshold of their new homeland. Australian migration represents one of the happier aspects of the Famine, being beset by few of the problems of its American counterpart. Almost all Famine immigrants to Australia sailed under government-assisted schemes, for the Australian colonies, forced to compete for immigrants with the much shorter American run, instituted assisted-passage migration which the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission organised under the supervision of the British Colonial Office. Such government management not only resulted in a high standard of shipping, but also in commendable efforts to help the emigrants before departure and after arrival.

* I shall take "during the Great Famine" to mean the decade 1845-55.

The portion of the Irish Famine migration with which this thesis is concerned, is the migration of some five thousand single Irish women to the young colony of South Australia. In 1848, six hundred and twenty-one Irish orphan girls were sent out under a specific project within the general assisted-passage scheme. From that date onwards, single Irish women who applied for assisted passages were accepted in the ranks of the general assisted emigrants in increasing numbers until in the year 1855, the peak year for the immigration into the colony of single Irish women, three thousand of them arrived at Port Adelaide.

This thesis is mostly limited to the Australian aspect of this Irish single female migration. Apart from a comparison of shipping standards in the first chapter, it does not directly contrast American and Australian migration. Neither has the British end of the migration stream been adequately covered for the migration has been examined only through documents available in South Australia.

It has been difficult to follow the strict sequence of events because there are two distinct themes which interlock in this thesis. The first theme is the effect of the Irish female immigration on the colony together with the efforts of the colonists to overcome the integration difficulties which such an influx presented. Secondly an attempt is made to sketch the relationship between the British Government and the colony and the effect on their

relationship of this unusual immigration phase.

Chapter One is in two sections; Part I deals with the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission in England and draws a background to South Australia's relationships with it. Part II is concerned with the Irish Famine, some mention of which is necessary for an understanding of the women's behaviour in the colony. Chapter Two covers both themes with regard to the orphans of 1848-9, for these constitute a separate and distinct group from the general immigrants and need to be examined by themselves. Chapter Three deals with the England-South Australia theme and the climax of anti-British feeling in 1855 because of the large number of single Irish women sent during that year amongst the general immigrants. The last Chapter is concerned with the integration of this second group of Irish women, and with South Australia's efforts to cope with this flood which reached its peak in 1855.



CHAPTER I.

BACKGROUND.

I.

Immigration is a subject of vital concern to a young colony. Such factors as the balance of skills amongst immigrant workmen and the rate of immigration can strengthen or kill a community dependent for its expansion, indeed almost for its successful existence, upon new arrivals from outside. The importance of planned immigration was realised by the founders of the colony of South Australia, for the colony was brought into existence during the years when the Colonial Reformers under Edward Gibbon Wakefield were first advocating systematic colonisation. In fact South Australia was born out of a liaison between some English radical philanthropists who wanted to found a colonial Utopia and the Wakefield group.

Wakefield's theory entailed relating land, labour and capital, the three essential ingredients of society, to ensure concentrated settlement and a continuous supply of labour. Land in the colony was to be sold at a uniform price (sufficient to prevent new labourers from becoming land owners too rapidly) and the money obtained from land sales was to be spent on bringing out more labour. Colonisation by young married couples was an essential part of the scheme, for in this way would be ensured both a balance of sexes and youthful initiative. All money

from land sales in South Australia was to be put into the Land Fund and given to a Board of nine men in England. It was the responsibility of the South Australian Commission, as this Board was called, to organise assisted emigration from Great Britain to the new colony using the Land Fund for this purpose.¹

But the Colonial Reformers were not only active in this one colonisation scheme of founding South Australia. During the 1830's, largely due to their efforts, the whole topic of emigration grew in importance in England. A brief look at the changes in England which this growing importance of emigration brought about is necessary as background to the emigration of the Irish girls during the late 1840's and early 1850's.

In 1830, the Colonial Reformers converted Earl Grey, then British Under-Secretary of State for Colonies, to their views, and the following year several parliamentary victories were won by Wakefield and his followers. Most important of these was the appointment of a temporary Commission to enquire into the whole business of British emigration. This Commission was set up by the Colonial Office after a Bill brought in by Grey for the establishment of a more permanent commission had failed to be carried through its readings because of a dissolution of parliament. By the end of 1832 the temporary Commission had been dismissed, although in the meantime much had been achieved,

including the beginning of the first assisted free-emigrant scheme to the Eastern Australian colonies using money derived from the colonial land sales. Elliot, the Secretary of the Commission, on its dissolution was given charge of emigration business in the Colonial Office - a new admission of the importance of the whole topic of emigration. First with the help of a charitable committee and later by himself in the newly-created office "Agent General for Emigration", he continued the assisted emigration scheme to the Eastern colonies of Australia. It was Elliot who began the tradition of humane shipping for which the Land Fund emigration schemes became famous. In 1839, after personally inspecting several ships, he drew up a code of regulations for emigrant ships which proved so successful that it was subsequently enlarged into a printed volume of instructions to the surgeon-superintendents of all ships hired by the government for emigration.

Meanwhile the Colonial Office was becoming concerned about two matters. James Stephen, the Permanent Under-Secretary, had always been irritated by the special privileges of the colony of South Australia and had found the South Australian Commissioners difficult to work with because their authority was so ill-defined. In 1839 he tried to interest Lord John Russell, the new Colonial Secretary, in clarifying the Commissioners' status and authority. The second matter which concerned the Colonial Office was the

costliness of this new responsible attitude to emigration. Elliot's Agent-General's establishment soon expanded to five salaried officials and, in addition to this, in 1839 some of the honorary South Australian Commissioners asked the Colonial Office for remuneration. Stephen's solution of these difficulties was to dismiss the South Australian Commissioners and to set up a small full-time paid Commission to control all Colonial Land and Emigration. This scheme had been suggested by the Select Committee into Colonial Lands of 1836, which was very much under the influence of the Colonial Reformers. By January 1840, Russell had dismissed the South Australian Commissioners and had set up a commission of three men: Torrens, the former chairman of the South Australian Commission, Elliot and E. E. Villiers. Officially these people constituted two boards - the South Australian Commission at some meetings, and the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission at others; but in 1842 the South Australian Commission was dissolved and the board became known simply as the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. The three men were commissioned by the Queen to carry out four duties;

"first, the collection and diffusion of accurate statistical knowledge; secondly, the sale in this country of waste lands in the colonies; thirdly, the application of the proceeds of such sales towards the removal of emigrants; and fourthly, the rendering of periodical accounts both pecuniary and statistical of your administration of this Trust." 2

The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was never popular in South Australia. It had, after all, replaced the colony's own Commission and had reduced South Australia's immigration claims to that of one among many. Officially the South Australia Commission had come to an end in 1842, although its members had for three years been the same as those on the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. The 1842 Act which dissolved the South Australia Commission was the Act which lowered the status of bankrupt South Australia to that of a crown colony.³ Thus the Land and Emigration Commission's control of South Australian immigration was a symbol of the end of its founders' Utopian dreams of an independent colony, and a symbol of the growing power of the British Government over all colonial emigration affairs.

II.

In 1845 the Irish potato crop was infested with blight for the first time in the country's history.⁴ That year, half the crop only was destroyed, but in the few years which followed destruction was almost total, and the Irish peasant, who depended upon his potato crop for survival, was stricken with starvation. The immensity of suffering seemed to paralyse the British Government which fell back upon laissez-faire theory

to justify inactivity. Some public works were provided to give employment; there was a feeble attempt to feed those starving in the Western counties with imported Indian corn from America; some charitable organisations, particularly the Society of Friends, set up soup kitchens in several desperately stricken areas; but in general the problem was too gigantic for concerted action, and the Irish in the stricken West and South lived from hand to mouth, died, or emigrated. How many people succumbed during the famine will never be known precisely. Cecil Woodham-Smith gives the figure of one and a half million,⁵ but to these must be added the thousands who died whilst attempting to emigrate. Deaths were sometimes caused by simple starvation; but most were the result of two fevers which raged through Ireland's bog huts, crammed workhouses, and ill-equipped emigrant ships.

To all who survived it, the famine must have been an unforgettable experience. It was the haunting background of the five thousand Irish peasant girls who emigrated to South Australia between 1848 and 1855. They had seen friends and relations die of starvation and fever, and themselves had experienced hunger and hopelessness. Probably the parents of nearly all the orphan girls had died because of the famine, and, as if this were not enough, the girls had lived for some time in fever-stricken Irish workhouses, crammed at the end of 1848 with 200,000 inmates instead of the intended 114,000.⁶

The background of two of these Irish orphan emigrants is known; one because some correspondence about her has survived, the other because a descendant has kept her story. They will have to speak on behalf of all the others.

Eliza Taafe came out amongst a shipload of orphans in the early months of 1849. She had watched both her parents die in a workhouse in Ireland and had continued to live in the same workhouse until chosen as an emigrant. There was some correspondence between an Adelaide doctor and the ship's surgeon about Eliza's sanity. The surgeon blamed Eliza's experiences in Ireland for her strange behaviour on board ship. The doctor's verdict was that the girl was not permanently insane but simply in need of kindness and care.⁷

For the second orphan girl, a quotation will suffice:

"Mary Downey arrived in South Australia in 1849 in a boat called the Elgin. During December of that year, she came to Peter Brady's home at Mintaro and was married from there. My mother Catherine Smith (nee Faulkner) often told me that her mother told her that only three members of the Downey family survived the "famine" of '48 and she saw her parents and other members of her family buried in common graves. Her brother Eugene went to America and she never heard of him again. Her sister Julia came to Australia but we have not been able to trace her." 8

The Irish women who migrated to Australia chose the only alternative which offered hope to many Irish people during the famine years. The famine created an emigration problem of unforeseen dimensions. After the autumn of 1846 and the second successive failure of Ireland's staple diet, thousands besieged

the ports, prepared even to risk a winter voyage rather than to see that season out on the stricken island. During the decade 1845-55 more than two million people left Ireland for ever, and the migration only gradually eased off.⁹

"These catastrophes, following upon decades of a hand-to-mouth existence, broke his (the Irishman's) exclusive passion for survival at home, and forced him to recognise that there was a deus ex machina at hand, a practicable, if unpalatable, alternative to be considered." 10

Such a rush on the trans-Atlantic shipping was more than the usual passenger traders could meet, and it became impossible to enforce shipping regulations. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission was responsible for drawing up and enforcing the Passenger Acts; but their inspection agents were incapable, during the panic-stricken years, of seeing that the regulations were carried out. Not only were they dealing with captains who resisted interference, and profit-seeking ship-owners, but the emigrants themselves clamouring for passages, resented the delays which a thorough inspection and equipping of a ship made necessary. The 1850's marked the very beginning of passenger shipping as a trade, and even the better emigrant ships in the early famine years were cargo boats which took passengers instead of ballast on the outward run to North America. In the panic years of 1847-8, any and every kind of vessel was requisitioned.¹¹

Nightmare voyages resulted from the inspectors' inability to cope with the rush. Voyages across the Atlantic lasted about forty days and for the whole of this time many passengers never came on deck, but sat miserably in their own filth in crowded quarters. Even on the better-equipped ships such a length of time with nothing to do and no space led to a fatal apathy and a lowering of moral and hygienic standards with a consequent invitation to disease. Passengers on the average-to-poor vessels have left horrifying accounts of their experiences. Stephen de Vere's famous letters to his uncle, Lord Monteagle, tell of hundreds of people lying quite motionless for days with no light or air, food or medicine aboard the mediocre ship in which he travelled.¹² The worst vessels would perhaps compare with the "Sarah and Elizabeth" which left Ireland one month late with thirty-six bunks for two hundred people, no fresh water and hardly any food.¹³ In all, about five percent of those who took ship perished at sea, and this figure does not include the thousands who died in quarantine stations on arrival or soon after disembarkation.¹⁴

But although the Commissioners failed to enforce their regulations on the private passenger trade across the Atlantic, they managed throughout the Famine to take scrupulous care with the passenger shipping to Australia which they conducted themselves. Lord John Russell had given the Commissioners detailed

instructions on the subject of government sponsored emigration and, in any case, Elliot, the man responsible for improvements in government shipping in the late 1830's, was part of the Commission until 1847 and then Assistant Under-Secretary of State for Colonies.¹⁵ The Board profited, one suspects, from the experiences of the Navy Board and (from 1832 onwards) the Admiralty in sending convicts to Eastern and Western Australia. Like the Navy Board, they chartered private vessels, but carefully supervised their fitting-out and appointed a surgeon-superintendent for each ship responsible only to themselves.¹⁶ They took as guiding principles that they were "responsible for securing to the best of (their) power the safety, health, comfort, and good conduct of the emigrants during the voyage, and their adaptation to the wants of the colony to which (they were) sent."¹⁷

They were meticulous in their choice of vessel and carefully supervised its fitting out. Rations were issued to all passengers, and these were not simply the regulation rations of bread, biscuit, flour, rice or potatoes. Here is the diet of an assisted migrant who was victualled in a mess of six to eight people: one pound of fresh meat, one pound of soft bread, one pound of potatoes per day plus vegetables whilst in port; and at sea a diet which varied from day to day amongst the following provisions: salt, preserved meat, flour, suet, raisins, rice, peas, oatmeal, lemon juice, wine, brandy, preserved milk, arrowroot, sago and even

the special provision of stout for nursing mothers.¹⁸ Ships were despatched only from London or Plymouth, as at these ports special agents could ensure the scrupulous fulfilment of instructions. Married couples and children were berthed in family groups in separate berths in the middle of the ship, whilst single men and women were bedded down in distinct compartments at opposite ends of the vessel.¹⁹ A surgeon accompanied all ships and was responsible for preventative measures against ill-health as well as for attending the sick. The Commissioners even provided the following: woollen mattresses, bolsters, blankets and counterpanes, canvas clothes bags, knives and forks, spoons and several other articles, all of which were given to the emigrant at the end of the voyage if his conduct had been satisfactory. The result of all this care was that the long run to Australia claimed very few deaths and the colonists rarely sent home anything but praise for this part of the Commissioners' work.²⁰

The Irish famine could have but little effect on Australia's rate of immigration. The voyage was too costly to attract much private trade and as it was colonial land sales which paid for government emigration, the prosperity of the colonies rather than the number of emigrants seeking passages decided the immigration rate. The flow of shipping to Australia improved rather than declined during the Famine years. As the colonies

flourished, the rate of emigration increased providing a refuge for more and more Irish people. However, emigration to Australia was the refuge of the privileged and fortunate few, chosen from those who applied by agents of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. Its importance lies not so much in that it solved Ireland's problems to any marked extent, but in its effect on those who emigrated, on the Australian colonies themselves, and their relationship with the Colonial Office.

CHAPTER I.

REFERENCES.

1. For this paragraph I have drawn on D. Pike:
Paradise of Dissent, Chapter IV.
2. F.H. Hitchens: The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, p. 47. My section dealing with the events leading to the formation of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission is taken largely from Chap. I of this work.
3. "An Act to provide for the better government of South Australia" (5 & 6 Vict. C.61). C. M. H. Clark (Ed): Select Documents in Australian History, Vol. II p. 34.
4. This paragraph is derived largely from C. Woodham-Smith: The Great Hunger.
5. C. Woodham-Smith: The Great Hunger, p. 411.
6. ibid: p. 374.
7. Surgeon of Inconstant to Moorhouse, 26-6-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1200)
8. Private letter from D. Smith, Mintaro, S.A., (grandson of Mary Downey who married George Faulkner at Clare, S.A., in 1852) to author, 2-7-1964.
9. O. MacDonagh: "Emigration during the Famine." R. D. Edwards and T. D. Williams (eds.): The Great Famine, p. 328.
10. ibid: p. 331.
11. ibid: p. 363.
12. C. Woodham-Smith: op. cit., p. 226.
13. O. MacDonagh: op. cit., p. 364.
14. ibid: p. 366.
15. F. H. Hitchens: op. cit., p. 315.
16. For an account of the organisation of convict shipping see C. Bateson: The Convict Ships, Chaps. II, III and IV.
17. F. H. Hitchens: op. cit., p. 205.

18. Notice on Free Emigration to Australia, enclosed Commissioners to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-3-1848 (C.O. 13/61).
19. F. H. Hitchins, op. cit., p. 140.
20. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report, enclosed Young to Colonial Office No. 51, 23-4-1849 (C.O. 13/62).

CHAPTER II.THE IRISH ORPHANS OF 1848-49.

At the time of the outbreak of the Great Famine in Ireland, South Australia, still a very young colony, was trying to stride ahead after a major economic mishap in 1840 followed by a few years of recovery. Bankruptcy had nearly finished the colony in 1840; but, with the help of the British Government and the copper miners' Jack o' Lantern, by 1845 life was looking prosperous again. Prosperity, however, demanded labourers, and since 1840 only one shipload of migrants had arrived in the colony. In 1845 requests by the colonists for immigrants were answered by only one further shipload because, the Commissioners said, labourers were hard to obtain while the British railway boom lasted.¹ Colonial impatience began at last to be soothed in 1847 when, from September onwards, one ship per month arrived regularly at Port Adelaide;² but, until the end of 1847, complaints that the progress of the colony was being held up by labour shortage reached England every quarter in the Immigration Returns of the Colonial Secretary. Private citizens of the colony made deputations to the Governor,³ and a petition with two hundred and forty-two signatures was sent to the Queen.⁴ Pastoral interests went to the extent of raising two thousand pounds to bring coolies from Hong Kong,⁵ but the Governor eventually thwarted this scheme. All types of labour were urgently needed, both in Adelaide and in farming and pastoral districts, and the immigration returns listed mechanics, miners, builders, shepherds, farm labourers and skilled workmen

of every description as being in short supply. Above all, the local Colonial Secretary emphasised the need for female domestic servants - a sure sign of growing prosperity.

"Domestic servants of that (the female) sex, of respectability and industrious habits, cannot be introduced too plentifully to satisfy either the wants of present householders, or the increasing demand for their services occasioned by the numerous changes which are continually occurring from a single to a married state, both among persons of their own class and among those of a higher rank in life." 6

Governor Robe, the Lieutenant-Governor of South Australia, shared the colonists' anxiety about the labour market. In May of 1847 he wrote to Earl Grey, who had been appointed Colonial Secretary in 1846 under Lord John Russell's government, and urged that emigrants be sent more rapidly. He suggested a scheme to provide money for this.⁷ From the foundation of the Colony until 1842, all money received from land sales had been appropriated by law for emigration, although money had been borrowed from this Land Fund for general purposes. The Act of 1842 regulating the sale of waste land had established a uniform system of land sales throughout the Australian colonies - a system of auction from a minimum upset price. Under this new law, at least half of the gross proceeds of land sales was appropriated to emigration, and the remaining half was to be spent in the public service of the Colony and directed by the British Treasury.⁸ When the Colony of South Australia had begun to get into the financial difficulties which had preceded bankruptcy in 1840, Governor Gawler, to pay general expenses, had borrowed nearly sixty thousand pounds from the Land Fund (at that date still solely an emigration fund);

and, because of the financial crash, the money had never been repaid, although the British Government had stepped in and paid Gawler's other debts to the extent of £200,000.⁹ Robe, then, in 1847 suggested to Grey that the amount owing to the old Land Fund, namely £56,746.14.8., should be paid into the new Emigration Moiety of the new Land Fund from the new Crown Portion of that fund. This sum amounted to almost the whole of the Crown Moiety available, and would increase substantially the amount of money set aside for emigration.¹⁰ Thus the debt from general expenses to Emigration Fund would be paid, and at the same time the rate of arrival of urgently needed labour would be increased.

The British Government had never recognised this debt to the Emigration Fund as one which it was under any obligation to repay, and the first reaction of the Colonial Office to Robe's despatch was far from favourable. Elliot, who had left the Land and Emigration Commission in 1847 to take up a Colonial Office appointment as Assistant Under-Secretary of State, scribbled a note in defence of the British Government's stand in 1840 on the margin of Robe's letter:

"The Queen's Government refused to take . . . part of the taxes raised from the people of Great Britain in order to pay a debt from one local fund to another. This, I must confess, has always appeared to me a perfectly just and reasonable conclusion." 11

This statement set the tone of the Colonial Office's attitude, although the statement was quite irrelevant, for Robe in 1848 was not asking for British taxpayers' money, but for permission to

transfer money from one South Australian fund to another.

Fortunately for South Australia, Earl Grey decided to disagree with his Colonial Office staff on this issue, for reasons of his own. When in June 1846 Russell had appointed Grey Secretary of State for War and Colonies, the Wakefield group thought that their one crowded hour of glory had arrived. Not only did Grey have the reputation of a colonial reformer, but he was known to have converted Russell to some of his views; and Grey had a cousin and a brother-in-law in the Cabinet as well. But disappointment was in store for Wakefield and his friends, for radicalism in opposition did not mean radicalism in office. By January 1848, when Robe's letter was being discussed in the Colonial Office, systematic colonisation under Grey had been limited to one scheme for community emigration from Ireland to Canada which had proved hopelessly impractical.¹² As well as being under fire from the Colonial Reformers, all through 1847 Grey had suffered continuous attacks in the House of Lords for his timidity in applying the solution of emigration to the Irish Famine problem. A colonisation committee had been set up by the Lords as a result of agitation against Grey's laissez-faire Irish policy, and, although on most points the committee's report agreed with Grey that government emigration from Ireland was not a practical proposition, one of the witnesses suggested that many young orphans whom he had seen in Irish workhouses would be suitable applicants for the already existing government emigration schemes to the Cape of Good Hope and the Australian

Colonies.¹³ Such an orphan emigration scheme had also apparently been suggested to Grey by Nassau Senior, the influential British political economist and authority on the Poor Law.¹⁴

Grey was signally susceptible to schemes for sending young women out to the colonies. If any one of his former colonial reforming principles had survived, it was this: that an unbalance of sexes caused depravity in colonial societies.¹⁵ In 1847, Grey supported Mrs. Chisholm against the Commissioners in her scheme to send out five hundred single women to New South Wales, and although on that occasion he allowed the Emigration Commission to win, he was not convinced that female emigration was unmanageable.¹⁶ The Commissioners were wary of immigration schemes for single females. Such schemes had been tried in New South Wales in the 1830's under Elliot's supervision and with the help of a London Emigration Committee, but, in spite of great care in selection, they had not proved satisfactory. Regarding even the best of the four female immigrant ships sent from England in 1833, complaints were made that fifty-two of the two hundred and twenty-six passengers were common prostitutes.¹⁶ Because of such experiences in the past, the Land and Emigration Commissioners were usually opposed to sending shiploads of unprotected women to any colony.¹⁷ They thought it was impossible to ensure good selection, or the

safety of the women from the crew on the voyage and from the dregs of colonial society on disembarkation. Thus it is surprising that when the Commissioners were asked to report on the possibility of an orphan emigration scheme from Ireland, their reply should include the remark that young female orphans seemed particularly suitable.¹⁸

Such a reply was enough for Grey. The Commissioners were asked to fill in the details of the scheme, and the final plan envisaged sending two and a half thousand teenage orphans of both sexes to New South Wales, South Australia and the Cape over a two-year period. Next, the Commissioners had to write to the Irish Government requesting their co-operation in the scheme - a mere formality considering famine-stricken Ireland.¹⁹ And finally, the Commissioners had the much more difficult task of tactfully informing the colonies about receiving the orphans. New South Wales had been asking for wives for emancipists, so it was not difficult to obtain support for female immigration schemes from that colony; and besides, New South Wales immigration was operating on money borrowed from Britain so that the colony was in no position to complain.²⁰ South Australia was another matter, though the need there for domestic servants gave Grey a strong argument and Robe's letter concerning repayment of the Emigration Fund loan provided him with a further means of persuasion.

"I have received your Despatch No. 51 of 10th of May last in which you suggest that almost the whole of that moiety of the Land Fund which is not by law appropriated to Emigration should be expended on that object, and that such extra expenditure should be considered as extinguishing the debt of £56,746.14.8. which at the time of the Financial difficulties of South Australia remained due to the Emigration Fund. Although I am not prepared to admit that a valid claim could now be set up by any parties founded on the transfer of this amount from the Emigration Fund, yet considering the great advantage of maintaining a continuous stream of Immigration, I have been led favourably to consider the proposal contained in the enclosed report from the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, that with a view of keeping up the supply of labour required, a free passage to South Australia should be offered to certain classes of Orphans of both sexes in Ireland between the ages of 14 and 18."

Grey added that he had asked for £56,746.14.8. to be transferred from the Crown Land Fund to the Emigration Fund, and that "in order to remove all possibility of future complaint" the transaction was to be treated as "technically extinguishing the former debt."²¹ In other words, although Grey would not say so precisely, the money was transferred in order to enable Grey to start his Orphan scheme.

There was some protest in all Australian colonies against the scheme when the news finally reached the ears of the colonists. The famous Dr. J. D. Lang of New South Wales, a Presbyterian of strong anti-Catholic feeling, linked the scheme with Catholic Mrs. Chisholm and protested against the girls being sent to New South Wales. He called the plan a

"Jesuitical device to supply Irish Roman Catholic wives for English and Scotch Protestant shepherds and

stockmen, farm-servants and mechanics of New South Wales, and thereby to promote the interest of Romanism in this country by the well-known Romish device of mixed marriages." 22

When news of the proposed Orphan Scheme reached South Australia, the South Australian "Register" commented -

"We happen to know that the duties of those Commissioners were sufficiently onerous who had South Australia alone to care for, but now that these gentlemen have the British colonial possessions throughout the world to provide with emigrating British labourers, the delicate duty of equalising the sexes being one very important branch of arrangement, we can easily imagine that, like other civilians in a large way of business, they prefer the lumping bargains of wholesale dealing to an infinitude of retail transactions: and thus they have unconsciously become the passive tools of indolent or designing statesmen." 23

Everyone seems to have realised from the beginning that male orphans were to play a minor role in this scheme of Grey's. His reasons for sending the orphans were all reasons for sending female emigrants - equalising the sexes, providing domestic servants, providing wives for emancipists - and, although both Ireland and the colonists were told "orphans of both sexes", Ireland was informed that young girls were particularly suitable, and, in fact, few work-houses put forward many boys.²⁴ Indeed, no Irish orphan boys at all arrived in South Australia.

While the "Register" grumbled, Robe prepared for the arrival of the immigrants, following the explicit instructions of the Commissioners. Learning from New South Wales' experiences with single women immigrants in the 1830's, the Commissioners

instructed the respective Governors of the three colonies receiving orphans to set up boards of guardians in the ports where the orphans were to be landed. The task of these boards, which were to include the highest church dignitaries of the Anglican and Roman Catholic Churches in each place, was to apprentice the orphans to respectable citizens.²⁵ In South Australia, those asked to act on the orphan committee were the two Bishops (Bishop Short and Bishop Murphy), Rev. M. Haining, Rev. M. Draper, the Advocate-General, the Honourable Jacob Hagen, M.L.C., the Honourable Captain Bagot, M.L.C., Mr. S. Davenport, Mr. W. Giles, Mr. A. Elder, Mr. W. Younghusband, and Mr. M. Moorhouse, any three of whom were to constitute a quorum.²⁶ Mr. Elder refused the appointment on the grounds that he opposed the scheme,²⁷ but the others accepted and stamped the whole venture with South Australian respectability. No appropriate South Australian law covered the indenture of young girls, so the Advocate-General was asked to prepare an ordinance suited to the occasion and along the lines suggested by the Commissioners. Early in November, 1848, this ordinance became law, and the Orphan Immigration Committee became the Children's Apprenticeship Board with power to bind apprentice all State wards under the age of nineteen, and to deposit their full wages in the Savings Bank of South Australia.²⁸ Soon after Governor Robe's return to England in August 1848, Young, the new Governor, carried preparations a step further by appointing a full-time Immigration

Officer to assist settlers on their arrival at the Port, and to keep a check on shipping conditions and fulfilment of shipping contracts. Captain Brewer, the Immigration Agent, was given special instructions to help with the single orphan women.²⁹

Preparations in Britain to send the orphans were equally as careful. The Poor Law Commissioners in Dublin sent letters to the Poor Law Inspectors explaining the scheme, and urging that suitable orphans be chosen. The inspectors informed the guardians of poorhouses and then themselves visited the poorhouses, selecting orphans from the group which the guardians had thought eligible.³⁰ The scheme was received thankfully and enthusiastically at all levels in Ireland. Pressure to speed its execution was put on the Colonial Office by the Dublin Commissioners who wrote in November 1848 that they had been -

"much pressed, since the arrangements were made known, by many of the Boards of Guardians to give their Unions the benefit of the proposed Emigration at as early a period as practicable, and the pressure on the Workhouses has been so considerable as to make a reduction of the number a matter of much importance as soon and as far as this might be properly carried into effect." 31

Grey himself commented -

"From Limerick and Cork to Derry there is not a Union which is not looking for Relief from this source."³²

At the lowest level, that of the orphans themselves, there is evidence that they too were enthusiastic about the scheme. One Irish newspaper reported that many of them

A page of the Irish Poor Law Commission's summary of the orphan emigration scheme up to 31-10-1848. Sent by the Irish Poor Law Commission to the Colonial Office 9.11.1848 (C.O. 10/61)

100

Poor Law Commission.

UNIONS.—IRELAND.

Summary of Orphan Emigration from Workhouses, up to 31st October, 1848.

Copy to C.O. 10/61

Names of Unions in Ireland.	Unions reported as containing Orphans in Workhouses who are fit Candidates for Emigration, up to 21 st Sept. 1848.	No. of Orphans in the Union, up to 21 st Sept. 1848.			Number of Female Orphans selected and sent.				Total	Females remaining for future Ships.	Observations	
		Males	Females	Total	By 1 st Ship	By 2 ^d Ship	By 3 ^d Ship	By 4 th Ship				
					29 July 1848	17 July 1848	5 th Sept. 1848	20 th Oct. 1848				
1 Abbeyleix	Abbeyleix		13	13							13	
2 Antrim	Antrim	7	18	25	13					13		
3 Ardee	Ardee	18	30	48							30	
4 Armagh	Armagh	11	46	57	28					28		
5 Athlone	Athlone		65	65							65	
6 Athy	Athy	15	24	39							24	
7 Bailieborough	Bailieboro											
8 Ballina	Ballina	38	64	102			25	22	47			
9 Ballinasloe	Ballinasloe						38	15	53			
10 Ballinrobe												
11 Ballycastle	Ballycastle		12	12	2					2		
12 Ballymena	Ballymena	5	12	17	11					11		
13 Ballymoney	Ballymoney	2	5	7	None sent from in Workhouses.							
14 Ballyshannon	Ballyshannon		27	27				20	25			
15 Balrothery	Balrothery	12	11	23							11	
16 Baltinglass	Baltinglass	38	29	67							29	
17 Banbridge	Banbridge	4	16	20	19					19		
18 Bandon	Bandon	25	28	53							28	
19 Bantry	Bantry		45	45							45	
20 Belfast	Belfast	22	46	68	55	4				59		
21 Boyle	Boyle		30	30							30*	* Selected.
22 Cahirciveen												
23 Callan	Callan		18	18							18	
24 Carlow	Carlow		22	22							22	
25 Carrickmacross	Carrickmacross	15	25	40	14					14		
26 Carrick-on-Shannon												
27 Carrick-on-Suir	Carrick-on-Suir		3	3							3	
28 Cashel	Cashel		57	57							57	
Forward	25 Unions	212	647	859	126	20	63	57	266	376		

expected husbands to be waiting for them on the Australian wharf, and, besides, they had the thrill of receiving a whole outfit of clothes from the Poorhouse guardians before leaving on their long adventure.³³

The Emigration Commissioners had proceeded steadily with their plan in England. First they had drawn up a Memorandum to the Irish Government, most of which was fully endorsed by the Colonial Office although some of the plan involved expenditure by the British Government. Each ship was to have a teacher and a course of instruction using books authorised by the National Board of Education. Ships carrying female orphans were to carry a matron, and several sub-matrons were to be elected from amongst the older passengers, and of course a surgeon-superintendent was to have general charge of the welfare of passengers. All orphans were to be shipped at the expense of the Poor Law authorities to Plymouth, as here special depot facilities were provided and inspectors were available to look after the girls before embarkation, to instruct them about their passage, to give the girls a thorough medical examination and to vaccinate them. As usual, detailed instructions were given about clothing - six shifts, two flannel petticoats, six pairs of stockings, two pairs of shoes and two gowns were to be provided by the poorhouse for each girl.³⁴ A few points of the Memorandum were altered: the age range was to have been thirteen to eighteen, but this was changed to fourteen

to eighteen as fourteen was the minimum age at which a passenger received adult rations on board ship; likewise the Colonial Office suggested that Roman Catholic and Presbyterian girls go in separate shiploads to ease the problem of religious instruction during the voyage.³⁵

Appropriately, the first shipload of orphans left Plymouth for Sydney in a ship called the "Earl Grey" in June 1848.³⁶ The first ship to South Australia soon followed. On 17th July, the "Roman Emperor" left Plymouth for Port Adelaide with two hundred and twenty-one orphan girls on board. However, it did not manage to slip out of Plymouth Harbour before South Australian vested interests in England voiced their opinion of this new scheme. Edward Divett, M.P., Chairman of Directors of the South Australia Company, managed to inspect the girls while they were in Plymouth depot. He called them "a rough lot", and reported unfavourably on their appearance.³⁷ The Emigration Commission indignantly replied (well after the "Roman Emperor" had sailed) that the girls had been inspected by a Commissioner, and

"though generally short and not at all well-looking, they did not appear weak or unhealthy; they seemed good-humoured and well-disposed."³⁸

Mr. Childs, a Plymouth clergyman, agreed with the Commissioners, whilst Lieutenant Carew, the emigration officer at the harbour, pointed out that the girls who had "from infancy always been ill fed" could not be expected to be of the standard of English women of the same age.³⁹

Such an argument was by then purely theoretical, as the girls were now out of reach of any British help or action. Nevertheless, the Commissioners were probably very relieved to hear six months later that the "Roman Emperor's" journey and reception had been very successful. When the ship at last dropped anchor at Port Adelaide it had proved once and for all that with care and attention it was possible to send shiploads of young women on long voyages without excessive physical and moral dangers. Not one death had occurred on the voyage - and this in spite of the fact that these girls had come from work-houses on a poverty- and fever-stricken island.

The "Roman Emperor" was described as a "truly splendid ship" by Mr. Eades, the conscientious ship's surgeon, who added: "Nothing could have been more satisfactory than the arrangement of everything for the comfort and well-being of the emigrants on board."⁴⁰ The fitting of the ship and the care of the girls was said to be vastly superior to that of ordinary vessels. The crews' quarters were entirely cut off from those of the emigrants, and the emigrants were put first on every occasion, so much so that a crew member later complained that thirty sailors were crammed into the forecabin where there was no room for more than twelve.^{40A} Complaints about food were limited to the poor quality of the tea and the richness of the meat - the latter trouble soon remedied by reducing the ration. A full-time cook looked after the food and saw that

the girls were properly fed. As for the physical well-being of the orphans, the surgeon-superintendent was well schooled in preventive medicine. There were several cases of diarrhoea and bad dysentery at the beginning of the voyage due to "the epidemic constitution of the poor from the Irish workhouses", but the orphans concerned were carefully tended. Every morning at 10 a.m. the captain of the ship accompanied Mr. Eades on a thorough inspection of berths, under-spaces, bedding and "tween decks", and "enquired if any had the slightest complaint; if corporeal sent them at once to the Dispensary, if moral cheered or sympathised with them." Each afternoon the surgeon made a similar round dispensing medicine, and again at 9 p.m. each evening he spoke to each orphan in turn. All early cases of fever, he recorded, were discovered in the evening inspection. The girls' day was taken up partly with keeping clean their quarters and clothes, and to some extent their time was occupied with lessons. The matron proved too delicate to manage teaching as well as caring for the girls, as was originally planned for this ship, but her teaching task was taken over by one of the submatrons, and the progress of each emigrant in education and "industry" was recorded by the surgeon. Then again, the surgeon reported:

"I gave several lectures on the cultivation of moral virtues, social and relative duties, independent of my daily advices, and Sunday address, and have substantial reason to state that much good has been

effected and these poor Irish emigrants are likely to become useful respectable members of society."

Under the supervision of a surgeon like Mr. Eades the girls had little time for idleness or for any mischief.

One substantial difficulty was encountered, due to Victorian prudery. More than half the orphans menstruated for the first time during the voyage, possibly because of the higher standard of living and more nourishing food. Not a single extra piece of cloth or linen had been provided for the shipload of adolescent girls. The surgeon had difficulty with all washing and hanging out of clothes and linen, "these important duties interfering somewhat with seamen's notions of clean decks, and trim rigging"; and private washing of clothes and bedding was apparently one continuous headache. But the whole problem was a backhand compliment to the excellent standard of living on the Commissioners' ships.

South Australia had its first taste of unprotected single Irish women on 23rd October, 1848, when the "Roman Emperor" docked at Port Adelaide.⁴¹ Unfortunately for the Governor and all those concerned in the scheme, the ship had been preceded by news of Mr. Divett's remarks, and the "Register" gloomily greeted the new arrivals with dark predictions about the colony becoming "a receptacle for unfledged thieves, juvenile bastards and incipient prostitutes."⁴²

Wisely, the first shipload had been announced by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners to be loyal Protestants from the north of Ireland,⁴³ so the wind, one suspects, was rather taken from the newspaper's sails. In fact, one hundred and eleven of these two hundred and twenty-one girls were Roman Catholics, although this fact was not discovered for a week even by the Roman Catholic clergy of South Australia, and after the first week interest in the new arrivals had simmered down somewhat. One Anglican clergyman, on discovering the deception, told the girls "that they wanted no Catholics here; that they should all become Protestants."⁴⁴ However, he was promptly reprimanded in the columns of the "South Australian", Adelaide's most conservative newspaper.

There was really no need for the Governor to worry unduly about the girls' reception, for South Australians were renowned for their lack of prejudice and their philanthropy, just as the "Register" was renowned for its hot-headed articles; and, although pauper immigration was officially disapproved of in the colony, there was no past experience of any similar kind of immigration to make people apprehensive.⁴⁵ Also there was much sympathy for Irish famine victims. The South Australian British Destitution Relief Fund Committee had sent home one thousand pounds at the end of 1847 for the relief of "Irish and Scottish distress", and early in 1848 another one thousand pounds was sent to provide emigration outfits for poor but

otherwise suitable emigrants from distressed areas to South Australia.⁴⁶ Such was the philanthropic nature of the liberal, strongly Protestant, society which the orphans were now entering.

The girls were very excited on arrival. In fact, Mr. Eades was so disturbed by their high spirits that he enquired anxiously whether they might be permitted to leave the ship. The Governor replied firmly that they must stay on board for the fourteen-day period for which all shipowners contracted to allow passengers to remain on ship after arrival.⁴⁷ So during this time the ship's officers lived surrounded by teenage exuberance, and Governor Young pretended indifference. On the twelfth day of the fortnight, Young could contain himself no longer and, complaining in an irritated manner of being uninformed of what was going on, ordered a daily report from the Immigration Agent on the number of girls employed.⁴⁸ In spite of the "Register" and the Governor's anxiety, on the fifteenth day there was not one girl left on the ship to be transferred to the new female immigrant depot. Brewer, the Immigration Agent, was able to report that all the orphans had been apprenticed to respectable citizens, and that so far there had been no complaints.⁴⁹

The Orphan Board and the Governor were naturally delighted and a special despatch was sent to the Commissioners saying that in spite of "unfair" reports of the character of the immigrants,

seventy applicants could not be supplied with servants; and the Orphan Board recommended that three or four hundred young orphans be sent during the year - some English and Scotch as well as Irish.⁵⁰

But this happy initial moment was deceptive. Brewer's report that the girls had been apprenticed was an overstatement, for very few employers had actually executed an indenture. Moreover, by 31st December, the last date for signing the indentures, in spite of repeated notices in the "Government Gazette", one hundred and forty-two employers had failed to apprentice their orphan servants.⁵¹ It soon became clear that all the care which had been taken with the Apprenticeship Ordinance had been a waste of effort. Not only did the masters object to the legal formality of binding the girls, but the orphans themselves objected to being put on a bond. More importantly, taking out an indenture did not profit an employer, for if a girl broke service legal proceedings would cost him one pound, and the girl would then be sent to jail, not back into service.⁵² Naturally enough, instead of wasting their pound, orphan employers preferred to complain to Mr. Moorhouse, Secretary of the Orphan Board and Protector of Aborigines, who lived near the Aborigines' School House, just east of Government House, hoping that he would sort out their problems. By January 16th, 1849, Mr. Moorhouse reported that thirty-two of the sixty or so indentured girls had left their

situations, but only one had been taken to court.⁵³ The Orphan Board bowed to the facts, and announced early in March that indenturing was from now on only compulsory for orphans under fourteen years of age.⁵⁴

Trouble with the paper side of the failure of the apprenticeship system, however, was only the beginning. The Board still had a role to play as "friends and guardians"⁵⁵ of the orphans, and this was a difficult task when service was being broken every day through dissatisfaction either of employer or servant. Girls needed accomodation while seeking new employment. A Board minute for November 21st, 1848, reads:

"The Board finds that a depot is required for the reception of those girls in respect to whom a change from the first situation proves desirable. Three instances occurred in which the Board removed the girls, five in which the girls and mistresses could not agree, and several others may possibly happen before the two hundred and eighteen become permanently settled." ⁵⁶

As Mr. Moorhouse was already being consulted by Orphan employers, the most expedient step was adopted, and part of the Aborigines' School House was converted into a Female Immigrant Depot.⁵⁷ To the Board fell the worrying task of sorting worthy applications for shelter from less worthy. The government could not afford to let the girls think that they could use the depot as a free hotel in which they could stay to bargain for high wages whenever they grew dissatisfied with their employment and yet the Board did not

wish to gain a reputation for throwing helpless orphan girls onto the streets of Adelaide. There were many genuine applications for entry into the depot. Some of the girls were returned by dissatisfied employers, so that they had not left of their own accord; whilst others had good cause to give notice. By March, 1849, Moorhouse had been given a full-time assistant to help deal with such problems.⁵⁸

At the meeting at which the Board decided to discontinue the apprenticeship system, it also resolved to find out methodically how the "Roman Emperor" girls were settling in. A circular was drawn up and sent to all Justices of the Peace, requiring them to fill in details about the orphan girls in their particular areas. The circular was drawn up with three columns - one for the names of the orphans, one for any specific complaints, and one for a general rating of each orphan's character and usefulness. Unfortunately, as with the Indentures, notices in the "Government Gazette" reminding the Justices to fill out the circular did not produce the full desired result, for only twenty-one replies were received. These mentioned only fifty-six of the two hundred and twenty-one "Roman Emperor" girls, so that the survey yielded no conclusive data. Amongst the replies were few specific complaints, and in the general classification twenty-eight were returned as "good", twenty as "indifferent" and eight as "bad".⁵⁹ Thus ended South Australia's first social survey, of which the best that can be

said is that it proved to be the forerunner of a more comprehensive survey taken of the orphans two years later.

Two shiploads of Irish orphan girls arrived in South Australia during 1849. The "Inconstant" brought one hundred and ninety-seven girls in May,⁶⁰ and the "Elgin" two hundred and three in September,⁶¹ making a total of six hundred and twenty-one girls on the three ships. The two 1849 voyages were also accomplished successfully, although the orphans of the "Inconstant" were given the added excitement of a liaison between their matron and the Captain, a complication for which eventually the Surgeon, matron and Captain were all rapped on the knuckles.⁶² Mr. Moorhouse reported that this second shipload of orphans was less suited to the colony's needs than the "Roman Emperor" girls. One hundred and fifty of the latter had been accustomed to farm work, whilst this was true of only thirty-five of the "Inconstant" group; and, as Moorhouse pointed out, "the Irish orphans are chiefly wanted for the Country Settlers and are almost useless if they cannot milk cows and wash clothes."⁶³ Probably because of previous indenture difficulties, the "Inconstant" girls were sent gradually to the depot during the fourteen-day period after arrival, to be hired out from the Aborigines' School location under Moorhouse's eye.⁶⁴ At the end of the initial two weeks,

forty-four unemployed girls were moved into the depot - a disappointingly large number after the record of the "Roman Emperor", but few enough considering Moorhouse's views on the suitability of the girls to service.

The orphans on the "Elgin" were of a higher class than either of the two earlier shiploads, but they hired out very slowly,⁶⁵ partly because it was September (a bad time of the year to find employment in that agricultural community), and partly because other immigrants were now arriving in large numbers. By September, in fact, the servant demand was rapidly being satisfied. The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission reported that from September, 1847, to September, 1849, one thousand six hundred and sixty-six female domestic servants had been sent to South Australia.⁶⁶ The three shiploads of Irish orphans described above made up only 37 per cent of the young women seeking employment in the colony,⁶⁷ although it was they who made the most striking impact, for the others arrived on ordinary Land and Emigration Commissioners' ships amongst other immigrants whilst the Irish orphans came in three large shiploads. Some of the other 63 per cent of single women were also Irish, several of them probably from Union workhouses like the Orphans; but they were not part of Grey's original Irish Orphans scheme, and, arriving as they did in small numbers on a ship carrying scores of other immigrants, they created little interest.

These other women came out under several schemes. In September, 1848, both the Board and the Immigration Agent had written from South Australia to the Commissioners asking that the orphan scheme be extended to England and Scotland.⁶⁸ This request proved superfluous, as the English parishes, themselves struck by the same idea, had already written to the Commissioners asking to be permitted to send their orphans, and offering to pay £5 per orphan towards the cost of passage. The Commissioners agreed, but instead of sending these English parish orphans in large shiploads, they added them to the passenger lists of ordinary ships and also put on board a matron, a teacher, and books. This scheme greatly increased the pleasure and value of the voyage for their fellow-passengers, for the schoolteacher was instructed to teach in addition any adult on board who desired tuition and also to lend out to all passengers the library of books; and at the end of the voyage the books were distributed among the most deserving emigrants.⁶⁹ By the end of 1849, eight hundred and ninety-two parish-assisted emigrants had been sent from Great Britain to South Australia, many of them probably single women.⁷⁰ But in addition to these and to the Irish orphans, philanthropic English societies also began to send single women to South Australia. The London Female Colonisation Society and the National Benevolent Society were both hard at work in 1849, while the Society to Establish Female Emigration became interested in South Australia in 1850.⁷¹

Finally, when a request for permission to send out single women came from The Society for Promoting and Assisting the Emigration of the Widows and Orphan Daughters of Gentlemen who may be left in Destitute Circumstances, Governor Young decided that things had gone far enough, and replied firmly in the negative.⁷²

Of all these single women, what proportion were Irish in origin is impossible now to say. From the passenger lists, the proportion of Irish names seems high - higher than one would expect, since the philanthropic societies were English, and the parish-assistance scheme was supposedly English also. It seems likely that some Irish workhouses managed to join the parish-assisted scheme, sending girls out to Australia for £5 each; but no definite proof of this is available in Australia.⁷³

By September, 1849, the month when the "Elgin" arrived, South Australia was feeling overwhelmed by the flood of single women. One hundred and three girls had arrived on three ships in August, and two hundred and sixty-seven were to follow the two hundred and three "Elgin" girls in the three months before the year ended.⁷⁴ Women were staying for longer and longer periods in the depot before being offered employment. Wages had fallen from £20 to £10 a year, but even so the Orphan Board was finding it difficult to put the depot girls into

service.⁷⁵ In some cases the girls obviously preferred the sheltered life in the depot with their friends to earning their owing living. The situation became more and more irksome to the Board as new single women continued to arrive. All single women were allowed to use the depot and the services of the Board upon arrival in the colony, but only the Irish Orphans were permitted to return there once they had been employed. The reason for this distinction was purely pragmatic - the Irish orphans were frequently out of employment, but for the English, as Moorhouse remarked, "the service did not appear to be required."⁷⁶ The Board soon realised that this depot system was unwise, because some of the Irish orphans were even breaking service on trivial pretexts in order to return to the depot to live with their friends. In fact, the depot had become a meeting house for Irish orphans.⁷⁷ In October, 1849, the Board decided to tighten up the rules. Any girl who had returned from employment to the depot must go to the first situation offered to her, or be struck off the ration list.⁷⁸ By June, 1850, depot entry was made even more difficult by the Board's decision that it was not responsible for any unindentured orphan girl over the age of fourteen years after she had once been employed.⁷⁹ One would hope, however, that this last rule did not in fact affect many Irish orphans, as the last full shipload had arrived nine months beforehand. In 1851, the Irish Poor Law Commissioners, condemning South Australia's depot system, wrote:

"The Asylum was . . . most injudiciously and improperly conducted, and deficient in all aspects from such an Institution as might with safety have been opened for the casual reception of these young women in the event of their becoming destitute . . . The inmates appear to have been subjected to no discipline, to have had the opportunity of leaving the premises and returning at their discretion, to have been equally without employment and without restraint . . . The . . . system enables them (the orphans) to gratify any wish they may have to see the Town, and when once in, they are apt to meet with bad companions and become tempted to go astray." 80

Such criticisms were exaggerated, for in reality the discipline within the depot was strict; in authority were three matrons, a superintendant, and later even a gate-keeper. But there seems to have been some truth in the general complaint concerning the bad influence of the depot on the girls. Naturally the inefficient servants found themselves most frequently in the depot; so that those good servants who, lonely in their new work, yielded to the temptation of returning to the depot for company, would not have been subjected there to the best of influences.

Slowly the depot inmates earned a poor reputation in Adelaide, although public knowledge of depot activity was very hazy. Not always justly, bad behaviour was usually attributed to the Irish girls. But a group of girls from Marylebone workhouse, for instance, was a riotous crowd, who had misbehaved on the voyage out, and of whom it was officially said: "Their continued immorality since their arrival is reported to be very flagrant."⁸¹ Likewise, early in 1849, the

"David Malcolm" had brought many English parish orphans whose disgraceful behaviour on the voyage had prompted from the Immigration Agent his first official protest against the whole orphan immigration scheme.⁸²

However, the Irish orphans themselves were no angels either in personal habits or social behaviour. It is interesting to note that each shipload seemed to develop its own peculiar characteristics. The "Elgin" girls proved themselves artists at deception, deceiving at every opportunity both their superiors on board ship and their employers later on. Surgeon W. Hewer of the "Elgin", whose passengers were later described by Brewer, the Immigration Agent, as the most suited to the colony of the three shiploads of Irish orphans, gave the following opinion of his charges:

"I was so disgusted by the behaviour of the orphans per "Elgin" - so worried by their tricks, simulating fits day after day to procure porter and spirits - so disheartened by their misrepresentations and utter disregard of truth, that I would not come out in another Irish Orphan Vessel if the Government would pay me £10 per head for each orphan." 83

In personal habits the Irish orphans easily rated the lowest of all the female immigrants. When Mrs. Hill, the matron of the Orphan depot, and Mr. Moorhouse, the Superintendent, were accused before a special Board meeting of calling the Irish girls "dirty brutes", they protested that

the description was justified.⁸⁴ The orphans had no idea of hygiene - the Irish peasantry had no money for such middle-class items as lavatory facilities; and a workhouse crowded with all sorts and conditions of famine-stricken men and women was no place in which to learn sanitation. The "Inconstant" orphans had a reputation for being particularly repulsive in matters of personal hygiene. Some of them remained in the depot for nine months after arrival, and Mr. Moorhouse reported of them in his role as depot Superintendent that there was -

"ample water closet accommodation, but they were really too lazy to cross the yard to use this convenience. On paying my morning visit, I beheld quantities of human faeces about the verandah and door, and one girl had not bothered to go that far but had soiled the wall against which her bed was lying. I had to complain five days in succession before I could get the wall cleaned. In an adjoining building we had sixty native children whose habits were much more cleanly than those of the orphan girls." 85

The patience of Mrs. Hill, the matron, was sorely tried by girls who insisted on using her cooking and their drinking vessels for night-pots!⁸⁶

As for social behaviour, the Irish orphans were hardly genteel or feminine. On one occasion at the depot, on learning that there were potatoes for dinner (what bliss!) the girls arose in a body from the dinner-table, seized the matron and tore the clothes from her back in their

efforts to get possession of their favourite dish. A footnote to the report of this incident records that Mrs. Kelly, the matron in question, spent some days in the depot hospital to recover from her fright.⁸⁷

It was not surprising that the respectable members of Adelaide society frequently returned such girls to the depot as unfit for domestic service. Many of them were, of course, happily and profitably employed; it was only the hard core who were repeatedly returned to the depot with reports like the following:

"What she professed to clean, I had to do over again - she was quite a child in the house." 88

"We did give her some washing to do once, but she made a complete mess of that - she could not or would not wash." 89

"Would not" rather than "could not" applied to many of the orphans, especially those from the "Elgin". Mary Creed, the girl about whom the words set out above were spoken, falsely complained to her employer that she was unable to wash because she had sprained her wrist on board ship (in any case five months before).⁹⁰ Another Irish girl, after being hired several miles out of Adelaide, complained of a sore foot soon after her arrival there, but no local treatment would satisfy her - nothing less than a visit to the depot hospital and her friends.⁹¹ Employers complained not only of deception but also lack of obedience and respect, and several mistresses reported that girls threatened to return to the depot at the

first suspicion of discipline. Jane Hall, an Irish orphan who had been employed by a grocer at Brighton, broke a valuable china basin. When reprimanded, she told her employer that the basin was "not worth more than twopence", and repeated the words after being told not to be cheeky. As her master became more severe, she went outside the house, threw herself down on the ground and screamed in order to alarm the neighbours. She was another orphan from the "Elgin."⁹²

But tensions such as these were largely concealed from the bulk of society as the Irish orphans fitted into the pattern of life in South Australia. Only a small proportion of the population had contact with completely unsatisfactory Irish servants, and even fewer people knew what went on at the Orphan Immigrant depot. There were occasions, however, when the orphan immigration scheme provided choice items for Adelaide gossip. The "Register", which had resorted to occasional rumblings since its explosion on the arrival of the "Roman Emperor", burst forth again in January, 1850. A gentleman named Mr. D'Arcy wrote to the editor accusing the orphans of gross immorality within the depot and complaining that Mr. Moorhouse was incapable of controlling the girls.⁹³ Moorhouse's assurance that the charges were untrue resulted in the following burst of fire from the editor:

"We have already asked Mr. Moorhouse if he has not more than once applied to the Police Commissioner for an officer of the force to guard this colonial "Abode of Love". We now ask him if he has not heard that the walls of the confessional have echoed with tales of infamy and seduction which have transpired at the location, and whether one Catholic priest at least has not interfered in consequence? And is it not within Mr. Moorhouse's knowledge that some of the Police have been more than suspected of nocturnal visits to the Government Brothel of which he is the Guardian Angel?" 94

But the "Register's" accusation backfired on this occasion.

An enquiry was held by the Orphan Board, calling as witnesses both Mr. D'Arcy and Margaret Kennedy, on whose evidence the letter to the "Register" had been written. It transpired that Margaret was at the very least the victim of her vivid imagination, and even her honesty was put in question by the fact that she had concealed from her employer her own marriage a few weeks previously to a man from Willunga. The worst charge that could be proved against the depot was that several sailors had been seen "romping in the park lands" with English orphan girls.⁹⁵

But the "Register" was not to be defeated. The following week the orphan girls were again under fire, this time in an article which described in great detail the moral cess-pools of Adelaide, and the orphans' downfall through the neglect of depot officials and Board members.

"The dens of infamy kept by these slaughter-souls (the 'Black Bills' or 'Black Georges' of Light Square) are swarming with the poor polluted proteges of the

Enclosure N^o 4

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Return of female Orphans who
 have appeared before the Police Magistrate
 during the last two years

Date	Name	Offence	Result
1849 Sept. 3	Murray, M ^{rs} . J. <i>Constitute</i>	Indecent behaviour	14 days imprisonment
Oct. 8 th	Kuegg, Lucy	Stealing wine and spirit from her master.	Committed for trial
Nov. 10 th	Walsh, Ellen	Stealing a 5 £ note from her mistress Miss Cope	Committed for trial
Dec. 12	Murray M. A.	Violent behaviour	fine 5/-
Dec. 22	Weir Sarah	Drunk in streets	fine 5/-
1850 Jan. 16	Ward Rose M ^{rs} Limby Ellen	Stealing from their employer Daniel Deas	discharged
23	Davis Amelia	Disorderly conduct	fine 5/-
Feb. 7 th	Moore Mary	indecent behaviour	fine 10/-
23	Kenny Margaret	Drunk and disorderly	fine 10/-
Mar. 11	J ^r . J ^r	riotous	14 days imprisonment
" "	Murray M. A.	J ^r .	" " "
18	Curran Ann	Drunk	fine 5/-
" "	Johnson Sarah	Disorderly	fine 5/-
" "	Ingram Eliza	J ^r .	J ^r .
6 23	Duffy Catherine	Receiving stolen goods	Committed for trial
April 8	Curran Ann	Drunk and obscene language	fine 10/-
25	M ^{rs} Luke Mary <i>Prostitute</i>	Stealing money from an East Indian	Committed for trial
June 3.	M ^{rs} Mahon Cath.	Stealing a 20 £ note from her mistress M ^{rs} Southern	Committed for trial

Emigration Board. At the worst, they would only die in the 'auld counthry', and their pastors and priests would bless their humble grave. Here both priests and pastors stand by and let them be killed body and soul." 96

This shot was nearer the mark, for, although discipline at the depot prevented immoral behaviour there, outside the depot was another matter. By April of 1849, the Immigration Agent was complaining of poor selection of single women, "as it is quite evident that many of them must have been improper characters at home";⁹⁷ and in October, 1849, the Orphan Board recorded its opinion that there was a greater proportion of Irish orphans on the streets of Adelaide than of any other class of women.⁹⁸ Governor Young then estimated the number as twenty-one, while the Survey of 1851 gave the number as thirty-nine;⁹⁹ in 1853 Mr. Giles, in the Legislative Council, gave the number of Irish orphan girl prostitutes as sixty, but this was probably only a guess.¹⁰⁰

The Survey of 1851 referred to above was taken by the Orphan Board two years after the "Roman Emperor", the first orphan ship, arrived in South Australia. By this survey the Board took a broad backward look at the whole orphan immigration scheme. In the columns were listed the orphans living in prostitution, including the names of ships on which they had travelled; also those orphans who had appeared before magistrates, and the offences with which they had been charged. The survey included too a general estimate of their worth as servants (again very incomplete), and fragments of other evidence.

In round terms, Irish orphans made up forty-two percent of the prostitutes living in Adelaide and vicinity in 1851, while seventy-two percent of Adelaide's prostitutes were orphans or other single women who had arrived in the State since the "Roman Emperor" berthed, and therefore had presumably passed through the Depot. Seventeen of the "Roman Emperor" girls were prostitutes, in comparison with sixteen from the "Inconstant" and six from the "Elgin". Altogether, thirty-two charges of various kinds had been laid against all orphans during the two years. Seven of the charges were for stealing, the remainder for drunkenness, disorderly conduct or obscenity. Other aspects of the survey were happier. The Justices had few specific complaints to make of the girls in service. In fact, Moorhouse's summary in the survey papers put the balanced picture very neatly:

"Thirty-two cases of crime, one of misconduct were brought before the public magistrate, six are mothers of illegitimate children, six are living in adultery in the country. Forty-three are common prostitutes, although all had been placed by the Board in respectable situations . . . About one hundred are respectably married, and many of these are now employers of servants . . . The remainder are in domestic service." 101

It is not surprising that comments sent back to the Commissioners regarding the orphan scheme did not sustain for very long the lyrical note which had immediately followed the original wholesale employment of the "Roman Emperor" girls in November, 1848. In the following April, Brewer, the Immigration

Agent, wrote of misbehaviour of English orphans on board the "David Malcolm", and recommended that single women should henceforth be sent out only under the protection of married couples - a precaution which had formerly been insisted on. However, at the same time as he thus recommended the winding-up of the present orphan scheme, Brewer spoke also of the continuing need for domestic servants, thus somewhat clouding the issue:

"If all the marriages in different parts of the colony are added, the scarcity of cooks, housemaids and nurses is easily accounted for. The great mistake in sending Irish orphan girls in such large numbers is discovering itself in a way to awaken the sympathies and regrets of all right-minded citizens." 102

Also counterbalancing Brewer's remarks was a memorial from South Australia's newly-formed St. Patrick's Society which reached the Colonial Office in November, 1849. This document complained that South Australia was not receiving its fair share of Irish settlers. 103

But between January and October, 1849, the Orphan Board and the Governor both swung from cautious acceptance of the scheme to a firm recommendation that "orphan emigration from Ireland be suspended until the relative proportion of Orphan Emigration shall have taken place from England and Scotland." 104 The opinion sent to London in October had been strengthened by January, 1850, when a despatch from the Orphan Board through Governor Young condemned the whole orphan scheme from England and Ireland as a misapplication of the Land Fund "inasmuch as the labor so imported is costly and inefficient, as well as

inferior in point of moral character."¹⁰⁵

Such evaluations of the orphan scheme were largely a waste of pen and ink, as the scheme had, in fact, ended from the English point of view before any protests were made. South Australia had either not noticed that the original planners had intended to ship only two and a half thousand Irish orphans to the three colonies in Australia, or had not trusted the planners to keep within that number. The "Elgin", which left Plymouth in July, 1849, was the last ship in the scheme, as Grey promptly pointed out in reply to Young's October despatch. South Australia's belated protests were, in the event, not in vain, because at the time of their arrival in England the Irish Government was fighting hard for the continuance of the scheme.¹⁰⁶ Ireland was still desperately in need of any assistance in famine relief, and the orphan emigration scheme, though small, was, in Irish eyes, worth continuing. Besides, on the Australian level the scheme had been fairly successful. Even South Australia had reacted favourably at first, and the Irish government tried to explain away later difficulties by pointing to the perniciousness of the depot system and arguing that the scheme had not really been given a fair trial in that colony.

The reaction of New South Wales to the scheme had been quite different from that of South Australia, in spite of bad first impressions. The orphans on the first ship to reach

Sydney, the "Earl Grey", had created a stir, Governor Fitzroy reporting to Grey that fifty-six of them, known amongst the other orphans as the "Belfast Girls", were of the "most abandoned character." Some of these girls had come under assumed names, and some were nearer thirty years than nineteen; at least two were married and were running away from their husbands. Fitzroy's report was passed from the Colonial Office to the Commissioners, to the Irish Poor Law authorities, and finally to Lieutenant Henry, the Belfast Inspector, who managed to wriggle out of trouble very neatly, leaving the accusations hanging with nobody prepared to shoulder responsibility.¹⁰⁷ But the girls on later ships seem to have been more acceptable. By January, 1849, a total of six shiploads had arrived at Port Phillip and Sydney; and no further adverse comments had been sent to England about the scheme. At the end of 1849, however, Melbourne's Orphan Committee recommended that the scheme be suspended for the present because of employment difficulties; and Sydney cautiously asked that only eight hundred girls be sent in 1850 if the scheme was continued.¹⁰⁸ But before either of these recommendations had reached London, the Land and Emigration Commissioners had yielded to pressure from Ireland and had decided to send a second group of two thousand orphans to the colonies.¹⁰⁹ Because of her timely protests, South Australia was spared this second onslaught, but Sydney was invaded by one thousand more Irish orphan girls during the first four months of 1850, whilst by July of that year Melbourne had been sent one thousand three

hundred girls.¹¹⁰ Before the end of 1850 even the New South Wales Legislative Council had joined the ranks of disapprovers, and the whole orphan immigration scheme in Australia was suspended indefinitely.¹¹¹

The fact that South Australia asked much earlier than New South Wales for the suspension of the Orphan Scheme reflects basic differences in the composition of their respective societies and, consequently, their respective means of absorbing female immigrants. Single female immigration was not new to the Eastern colonies, and this fact alone made absorption easier; again, society in New South Wales was much less homogeneous than in South Australia, and many Roman Catholic Irish were there already. By 1851, New South Wales supported a population of almost 190,000 people, of whom 40,000 had been born in Ireland and 80,000 in Australia, many of these latter being children of Irish settlers and emancipists.¹¹² South Australia's population was less than half that of New South Wales, and only one-tenth Irish in origin, many of these Irish being Protestant. New South Wales tolerated the scheme for a longer period also because that colony possessed a better organisation for disposing of its charges; Mrs. Chisholm in her journeys with female servants through the New South Wales bush had accustomed colonists there to the idea of sending women to country areas for employment, and this procedure was used quite extensively with the Irish orphans.¹¹³ Thus New South Wales was able

to absorb more than her fair share of orphans - a total of three thousand five hundred and eight,¹¹⁴ compared with six hundred and twenty-one in the three big shiploads to South Australia.

Nevertheless, South Australia had struggled quite creditably with a completely new social problem. Relations with the Commissioners remained cordial in spite of suspicions of questionable motives for sending the girls, and the Irish orphans had been adequately cared for and remarkably well tolerated. In fact, considering the personal habits of the girls; their frequent unsuitability for domestic service; the fact that South Australia had not been consulted about sending them out; and that the scheme arose (as South Australia suspected) largely through British political pressure on the Colonial Office - considering all these things, it is interesting, not that South Australia eventually objected to the scheme, but that so many colonists accepted and even approved of it for so long. Two factors contributed towards this tolerance - the great need for servants and South Australian philanthropy; but by mid-1849 the first of these factors had disappeared and the second was wearing thin. The colonists now looked for quality, not quantity, in their immigrants.

The Orphan girls from Ireland had given South Australia its first experience of a substantial immigration into its society of a solid group differing from its adopted home in race, religion, culture and standard of living; and to cap all these difficulties, the group consisted entirely of that most troublesome of all classes of immigrants - young, unprotected females. From this experience the colony had learned a great deal which was to be of assistance in dealing with the still greater problems which lay a few years ahead.

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16. M. Kiddle: Caroline Chisholm, pp. 109-110.
- 16A. Colonial Office to Young, No. 3, 12-1-1850.
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21. Colonial Office to Governors of N.S.W. and S.A., enclosed Robe to Colonial Office, No. 51, 10-5-1847 (C.O. 13/53).
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24. Letter from Irish Poor Law Commissioners to Irish Poor Law Inspectors, 5-7-1848. Enclosure 1: Immigration Agent to Colonial Secretary (C.S.O. 1848/1644).
25. ibid. Enclosure 2: This letter from the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners gives detailed instructions for the care of the orphan girls on arrival.
26. S.A. Government Gazette, 24-8-1848. Rev. M. Haining was a Presbyterian minister; Rev. M. Draper was a Methodist minister; Jacob Hagen was a merchant and land-owner, and a member of the Society of Friends; Captain C.H. Bagot, Retired Military Officer, was a land-owner at Kapunda and an active member of the League for the Preservation of Religious Freedom; Mr. S. Davenport, a Congregationalist, was a land-owner at Macclesfield, and a strong supporter of civil and religious liberties; Mr. William Giles was manager of the South Australian Company and Treasurer of the League for the Preservation of Religious Freedom; Mr. Alexander Elder, M.L.C., was a merchant and a dissenter; Mr. W. Younghusband was a merchant, a member of the Church of England, and was elected to the Legislative Council in 1851; Mr. Matthew Moorhouse, a physician and fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, was a Congregationalist. He was originally appointed in England as Protector of Aborigines in S.A.
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29. Young to Colonial Office, No. 14, 9-9-1848 (C.O. 13/60).
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37. Register 25-10-1848.
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40. Report of Surgeon R. Eades to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 10-11-1848, (C.S.O. 1848/1763). This report of the voyage of the Roman Emperor is very detailed.
41. R. Eades (Surgeon) to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 23-10-1848 (C.S.O. 1848/1647).
42. Register 25-10-1848.
43. Commissioners to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 5-7-1848 (C.S.O. 1848/1644).
44. South Australian 7-11-1848.
45. The only "pauper" emigration to South Australia prior to 1848 was that of 361 English adults who were assisted by their respective parishes (D. Pike: op. cit., p. 184).
46. South Australian British Destitution Relief Fund Committee to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide 28-8-1847 (C.S.O. 1847/1075).
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48. See Young's note on Captain of Roman Emperor to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 6-11-1848 (C.S.O. 1848/1710).
49. Immigration Agent to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 8-11-1848 (C.S.O. 1848/1726).
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51. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-1-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/124).
52. Orphan Board to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 20-3-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/601).
53. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-1-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/124).
54. Minutes of Orphan Board, 9-3-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/601).
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57. See S.A.A. 419 for notes on Female Immigrant Depot buildings.
58. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 20-3-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/554).
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60. Surgeon of Inconstant to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 10-2-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1068).
61. Immigration Agent to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 12-9-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1701).
62. Immigration Agent to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-6-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1142).
63. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 23-6-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1170 $\frac{1}{2}$)
64. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 23-5-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/966).
65. Minutes of Orphan Board, 3-10-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1837).
66. Tenth Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission: British Parl. Papers 1850, Vol. XXIII, p. 20.
67. D. Pike: op. cit., p. 378.
68. Immigration Agents Quarterly Report enclosed Young to Colonial Office, No. 29, 12-10-1848 (C.O. 13/60).

- 68A. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1849, Vol. I, p. 521.
69. See Instructions to Schoolmaster, enclosed in papers of Prince Regent. Immigrant Ships Papers, S.A.A. 314.
70. Ninth Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission. British Parl. Papers 1849, Vol. XXII, p. 5.
71. D. Pike: op. cit., p. 314.
72. Young to Colonial Office, No. 14, 26-1-1850. (C.O. 13/67).
73. Parish-assisted emigrants paid a £5 deposit rather than the £6 usual for domestic servants. There are groups of girls with Irish names, notably on the shipping lists of the Eliza and the Constance, who paid only £5 towards their passage.
74. Shipping Lists (S.A.A. 47/0 $\frac{1}{4}$).
75. D. Pike: op. cit., p. 314.
76. Minutes of Orphan Board 21-11-1848 quoted Colonial Office to Young, No. 23, 24-2-1851.
77. Perhaps this is the reason why the Depot inmates were always called "Irish", although in reality more English than Irish passed through the Depot.
78. Minutes of Orphan Board, 3-10-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1839).
79. Minutes of Orphan Board, 24-6-1850 (C.S.O. 1850/1369).
80. Irish Poor Law Commissioners to Young, enclosed Colonial Office to Young, No. 23, 24-2-1851.
81. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report, October, 1849, enclosed Young to Colonial Office, No. 147 (C.O. 13/64).
82. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report, 13-4-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/713).
83. Report of Orphan Board Enquiry, enclosed Young to Colonial Office, No. 47, 8-3-1850 (C.O. 13/67). See Section 33.
84. ibid. See Section 45.

85. ibid. See Section 48, p. 41.
86. ibid. See Section 45.
87. ibid. See Section 48.
88. ibid. See Section 31. Evidence of Eliza Day.
89. ibid. See Section 32. Evidence of Edward Grey of Port Road.
90. ibid. See Section 33.
91. ibid. See Section 43. This girl had been hired by a Mr. Robinson of Brighton.
92. ibid. See Section 39.
93. Register 21-1-1850.
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103. Young to Colonial Office, No. 81, 14-7-1849 (C.O. 13/63).
104. Minutes of Orphan Board, enclosed Young to Colonial Office, No. 143, 21-10-1849 (C.O. 13/64).
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106. Irish Poor Law Commissioners to Young, enclosed Colonial Office to Young, No. 23, 24-2-1851.
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109. O. MacDonagh: op. cit., p. 358.
110. R.B. Madgwick: op. cit., p. 212.
111. ibid.
112. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1851, Vol. II, p. 125.
113. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1850, Vol. II, p. 295.
114. R.B. Madgwick: op. cit., p. 212. Madgwick gives a wrong figure for the number of orphans sent to South Australia.

CHAPTER III.THE IRISH WOMEN OF 1854-5 AND THEIR EFFECT ON THE ORGANISATION
OF SOUTH AUSTRALIAN IMMIGRATION.

During the six years following the end of the orphan scheme in 1849, immigration to South Australia continued against a bustling background of seasons both bad and good, the struggle for colonial self-government, and the Victorian gold rushes. The first of these factors created variations in the demand for labour; the second made the colonists more critical of British control of colonial land and immigration, and of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners; and the third was the parent of a labour shortage unique in the history of Australia.

A bad harvest would affect the whole colony, for South Australia's wealth lay in its land, the towns serving the farming community. Thus in a bad season nearly everyone was forced to tighten his belt, and blacken his own boots, though hundreds of prospective labourers and servants might arrive at Port Adelaide. The harvest of 1849-50 was only mediocre, a fact which helps to explain some of the difficulties experienced in finding employment for the orphans. Moreover, the season which followed in 1850-51 was one of the worst in the experience of the settlement.¹ New immigrants arriving in a constant stream joined the ranks of unemployed, or worked for miserly wages. Between 1846 and 1850 the population of the colony

had trebled, and in 1850 it became clear that immigration at such a rate could only be absorbed in a good season.² But in 1851 the newly arrived labourers took their revenge, for towards the end of that year hundreds of men trekked to the Victorian diggings, leaving employers of labour to offer higher wages in vain.

Immigrants arriving in excessive numbers during a bad year, and the wastage of those South Australian free-passage immigrants who succumbed to the lure of Victorian gold, were both irritating reminders to the colony of British control of immigration. All colonial land by law belonged to the Crown, and all money derived from the sale of South Australian land was controlled by the Colonial Office in England. This British control of Australian land policy was resented by all Australian colonies. One major criticism of the Australian Colonies Government Act of 1851 lay in the fact that this provision for the self-government of the colonies left control of colonial land and immigration still in British hands. New South Wales in 1851 wrote to the Colonial Office complaining of the present emigration system and asked that power over land and emigration be handed to the colonies with self-government.³ It was strongly felt that the colonies alone could judge the number and type of emigrant required at each particular stage of development.

This irritation was to be aggravated in the four years which followed the despatch from New South Wales, by the wholesale exodus of immigrants to the Victorian diggings from New South Wales and South Australia. Between 1851 and 1855, South Australians paid at least thirty-six thousand visits to Victoria. Some ten thousand of them left the colony permanently. But most of the diggers left their families behind, the farmers returning to their farms to sow and reap. At last in June, 1854, the "Register" reported that many men were returning home to stay.⁴ During the following year -

"South Australian diggers were still 'constantly going to and coming from the gold fields', but the numbers had dwindled progressively after 1852."⁵

Life was coming back to normal.

Immigration into South Australia under the Land and Emigration Commissioners continued to expand during the gold rush years in spite of some debate in South Australia regarding the wisdom of allowing South Australian Land Fund money to be thus used whilst such an attraction lasted to lure new arrivals across the Victorian border.⁶ The Commissioners were not entirely oblivious of this problem. In 1852 they altered the free passage qualifications in order to encourage married men with large families to emigrate to New South Wales and South Australia, as such men were thought less likely to desert to the diggings.⁷ These large family units were not always popular with colonial employers, who wanted the impossible -

an abundance of cheap single male labourers. Even without the gold rushes to lure away single men, the Commissioners would never have answered such a demand, for, although Grey had left the Colonial Office, the Commissioners' convictions of the need to maintain a balance of the sexes still ran very deep. When in 1852 Governor Young casually remarked that 10.65 percent more males than females had been sent out during the previous year, the Commissioners were stung into a justifying explanation which occupied a whole despatch. Such was their pride in their equal-sexes policy. As usual, their reply included an attempt to throw blame back upon the colony, this time because of its refusal to take more Irish orphan girls:

"The position in which we have sometimes been placed has been that we were required to keep up a large and continuous emigration to the Colony - but we were not permitted to send out more male than female emigrants - and at the same time we have been prohibited from obtaining female emigrants from the only source from which they can be obtained in any considerable numbers." 8

This particular exchange of despatches was to be remembered by the Commissioners for several years. Its first ramification came in September, 1852, when Sir John Pakington, Grey's successor as Secretary for War and Colonies, sent to South Australia a request that the colony receive some more Irish orphan girls.⁹ About a year later, this request was introduced into the South Australian Legislative Council where it was

debated at some length. The "Register" complained that the members took sides on the basis of their national origins:

"All the members who had Irish blood in their veins ... seemed to consider it necessary to vindicate the honour of their fatherland."

whereas the real question, continued the newspaper article, was simply

"whether the Emigration Commissioners should be allowed to repeat at the expense of the Land Fund, an experiment which previous experience had shown to be hazardous if not positively injurious."

The editor ended with a broadside against the Commissioners "who are not under our control, who are not responsible to us, and who will take no orders from us."¹⁰

The debate, though lengthy, was not without lighter moments. Mr. Baker put the view of those in favour of the Commissioners' proposal:

"The hon. the Collector of Customs had referred to the miseries of those who were in want of servants, but they should also reflect upon the miseries of a man in want of a wife. (Laughter) That was the view which he took of it. (Increased laughter.) To bring forward exceptional cases of immoral conduct was no argument against a system, because accidents would occur in the best-regulated families. (Laughter.)"

The Advocate-General unwittingly put the opposite point of view when he said:

"With regard to the remarks of the hon. member for East Adelaide that he had known many of these girls (the orphans) become good mothers and faithful wives, he (the Advocate-General) would rather they had reversed that order of proceedings and become

faithful wives first, and good mothers afterwards."

An amendment to the motion, put forward by Mr. Kingston, one of the Irish members above referred to, brought the debate to an end. Kingston proposed that several provisos be added to an acceptance of the request; namely, that the girls be selected carefully with particular regard to moral character and experience in domestic service; that adequate arrangements be made to protect them during the voyage; that only a limited number be sent on any one vessel, so that they could be absorbed before the next shipment arrived; and finally that there be as much encouragement to single female immigration from England and Scotland as from Ireland. These provisos were to be applied to all emigration plans for single women. With the addition of these amendments the motion passed almost unchallenged.¹³ But this official sanction of the South Australian Legislative Council to a new orphan scheme had no immediate result because by the time the Colony's reply reached England, the Commissioners were experiencing little difficulty in filling quotas of women from conventional sources. The Commissioners therefore decided to send Irish orphan girls as a last resort should their present sources of single women give out.¹⁴

The Legislative Council's decision to sanction another immigration of Irish orphan girls was made against the background of the severe labour shortage caused by the gold rushes.

This shortage in itself produced a change in attitude to Irish immigration. Though always less welcome than English and Scotch immigrants, the Irish labourers who migrated between 1852 and 1855 readily found employment.¹⁵ In 1852, the St. Patrick's Society of South Australia could seriously suggest without fear of ridicule "that Irish pauper girls be brought out as farm workers to replace labourers lost to the diggings."¹⁶ Previous experiences with the Irish orphans were fading from memory.

As South Australian immigration expanded during the gold rush years, the proportion of Irish amongst the general immigrants rose too. In 1853, four and a half thousand assisted immigrants sailed to the colony, and ten percent of these were Irish, the highest proportion ever.¹⁷ The following year, immigration nearly doubled the 1853 figure, and the proportion of Irish took a huge leap to twenty-seven percent.¹⁸ It was becoming obvious that South Australia's immigration was being expanded by the Commissioners largely by accepting more and more Irish applications. This scheme was not very acceptable to South Australia, for large numbers of Irish could only be employed if other labour remained scarce and good seasons continued. A reversal of either of these two factors would probably leave many unemployed. Perhaps worse than the increase in Irish as a whole, was the fact that the proportion of Irish women was becoming so great. Even in 1853, unmarried

Irish women numbered sixty percent of all Irish immigration.¹⁹ In September, 1854, the Immigration Agent in South Australia, Dr. Duncan, at last expressed alarm at the high proportion of single Irish women and warned against the sending of any more of them.²⁰

Dr. Duncan's foreboding proved only too well founded. The proportion of Irish single women amongst the general immigrants, already too high, took a further tremendous leap upwards in November, 1854, just as it became clear that the harvest of 1854-55 was to be very poor. By December, 1854, one thousand and forty-four single Irish women - four times the number sent in 1853 - had arrived in twelve months.²¹ Unknown to the authorities in Adelaide, the rate of despatch of these women was becoming still greater. Ten ships, each carrying a number of single Irish females, left England at the end of 1854 to arrive at Port Adelaide by March, 1855.²² Between January and September, 1855, two thousand eight hundred single women arrived in Adelaide, of whom two thousand and forty-seven were Irish "and of a class generally speaking unsuited to the wants of the colony."²³ The rate of despatch increased to the point where over two hundred were sent on one ship. A total of four thousand and two single Irish women invaded the colony during the two years 1854-55 - six times as many as had arrived in the orphan ships of 1848-9.²⁵

At first, surprisingly little notice was taken of this remarkably numerous female immigration. The Adelaide newspapers were full of Crimean War news, while the Legislative Council wrangled about the proposed new constitution for the colony. Dr. Duncan's mild remonstrances in his September Immigration Report in 1854 when he expressed a fear of the consequences of the increase in Irish female immigration, were deleted by the Governor who suspected the Agent of anti-Irish sentiments.²⁶ By March, 1855, problems had definitely begun to appear. A second poor harvest in succession had just been reaped and employment was not available for unskilled labour. At the end of that month, one hundred and eighty-eight girls crowded the Female Immigrant Depot at the Native School House.²⁷ But this was only the beginning. By July, nine hundred girls were without employment, and even finding shelter for them was a difficult task.²⁸

The severity of the situation dawned almost overnight on Adelaide in June, 1855. Governor MacDonnell had arrived in the colony at the beginning of the month, six months after the departure of Young. Perhaps the arrival of a new Governor, the start of a new regime, provided the occasion for taking stock of the colony. Whatever the explanation, soon after MacDonnell's arrival, the "Register" suddenly noticed the overcrowding at the Female Immigrant Depot. On June 19th a

leading article expressed the following wish:

"We hope that Sir Richard MacDonnell in the course of his peregrinations through the various public establishments will not omit to look in at the Female Immigrant Depot on North-terrace. There is something to be seen there which requires his instant attention. They (the single Irish women) have been sent to the Colony at the expense of nearly £20 per head by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. By a fiction in which these Commissioners are fond of indulging they are called domestic servants." 29

In Governor MacDonnell, the "Register" had the right man to whom to appeal. A reputation for severity had preceded him from his former appointment in the West Indies, but in dealing with this female immigrant problem a firm hand was needed; and besides, his severity was tempered by the fact that he himself was Irish. He was courteous but determined in his dealings with South Australian officials, and equally firm, though sometimes less courteous, with the Colonial Office in London. As the man on the spot, he believed that he was the best judge of what was to be done. MacDonnell saw his duty as presenting the colonial point of view to England rather than acting as the arm of the Colonial Office in South Australia.

But in June, 1855, all this was yet to be proved. With regard to the Female Immigrant Depot, MacDonnell took the advice of the "Register" and visited not only the Female Immigrant Depot but also the German Hospital building³⁰ which had been rented by the Destitute Asylum to house the overflow from the Depot³¹ and ships at Port Adelaide from which women

were still to disembark. On June 25th, the new Governor wrote a long despatch to the Colonial Office pointing out that five hundred and twenty girls were being supported by South Australian public funds; that five to eight girls were being returned daily from private employment as useless servants; and that two thirds of the girls should never have been selected for emigration. As Governor of only a few weeks' standing, MacDonnell's forthright statements must have startled the Colonial Office:

"It is probable that the Emigration Commissioners may object to this description of the above emigrants, and if so disposed may produce documentary and other testimony of an opposite character, by which no doubt they have themselves been misled - No evidence, however, can alter the plain facts which I have personally examined into, and which are palpable to the whole community here, and I therefore trust H.M. Government will not expend any valuable time in enquiries which cannot now remedy the evil, but will immediately stop all such emigration for the present." 32

The Immigration Agent, Dr. Duncan, sent his quarterly report to England early in July, confirming MacDonnell's opinions. By this time eight hundred and ninety-five single women were on the Government's hands, and, following the deficient harvest, Duncan despaired of their obtaining employment for six months at least.³³

Without waiting for a reply, MacDonnell sent another long, forceful despatch to the Commissioners.³⁴ The purpose of this second communication was to expand and give evidence for certain accusations which had merely been mentioned in passing in the

first despatch. Several of the women had complained, both on board ship and on arrival in Adelaide, that they had not applied to be sent to that colony, but to some other. Some of those who had applied for Sydney or Melbourne had been persuaded by emigration agents in Britain to sail in Adelaide ships by assuring them that these other towns were within walking distance of Adelaide. As these selecting agents in Britain were paid by the number of emigrants they enrolled, they did all in their power to persuade emigrants to accept whatever passages were offering. Likewise, an emigration agent at the port of embarkation, who was responsible for filling each ship so that the Commissioners did not waste money by sending vessels half-empty, would be tempted to coerce emigrants to change destination.³⁵ Of the five hundred and sixty-four single Irish women emigrants whom Adelaide's Immigration Agent interviewed, seventy-two had applied to be sent to Sydney, one hundred and fifty-nine to Melbourne, three to Geelong and one to the United States of America. To send such emigrants to South Australia was, according to MacDonnell, a gross abuse of South Australian money, for they took the first opportunity of moving to the Eastern colonies and so were lost to the colony who had paid for their passage.³⁶

The second large-scale abuse which the Commissioners were failing to remedy was the departure to the colony of many single women travelling under assumed names. Free passages to

Australia had a market value of five shillings each in Ireland. An eligible woman would apply for a passage and, when notified of acceptance, would sell her papers to some less desirable woman who was anxious to emigrate. Surgeon Davis, who had travelled on more than one emigrant ship, believed the shipload on the "Velocity" to be a fair average of those sent out in 1855.³⁷ One of his single woman passengers had come from a penitentiary in Ireland, four others had been "bad characters" at home, and he knew of at least one other who was travelling under a false name. An embarkation order had been purchased for this last woman by the son of her former employer, the lad responsible for her present pregnancy.

In case the Colonial Office was still unconvinced of the Commissioners' sins after reading his second despatch, MacDonnell sent a third in September:

"Even in ordinary years and under the most favourable circumstances, serious difficulty would have been experienced in settling eight thousand six hundred new arrivals in eight months, amounting to one-tenth of the previous population of the colony. In a year of high prices and scarcity caused by the partial failure of the harvest of 1854, this influx of immigrants was certain to occasion very great embarrassment and heavy expense which might, and I think ought to have been foreseen." 38

In the remainder of his despatch, the Governor accused the Commissioners of failure to abide by the provisos on the sending of single women attached to the motion of the Legislative Council passed in 1853. More than two hundred

and twenty women had arrived in one ship, contrary to one proviso; the proportion of Irish girls was far too high, contrary to another; and clearly there had been inadequate care in selection, contrary to the most important proviso of all.

Such a battery of accusations begged for a reply from the Commissioners, to whom the Colonial Office had handed MacDonnell's despatches. Whilst they looked into the charges and composed an answer, the Commissioners sent MacDonnell a copy of a despatch sent by them to Governor Fitzroy of New South Wales, who had complained in 1854 of the quality of Irish female immigration to Sydney.³⁹ In 1853, about one thousand Irish female domestic servants had been sent to New South Wales,⁴⁰ and during the next year one thousand six hundred and fifty-eight⁴¹ more had arrived in that colony. The Immigration Agent in New South Wales described these women as "the most inferior that have, since the Orphan Immigration, come under my observation"⁴², and sent home continuous complaints. The despatch from the Commissioners to Fitzroy pleaded that sending Irish was imperative if emigration was to be expanded. The Crimean War had created a demand for labour in England, whilst rumours of a depression in Australia were affecting applications for emigration.⁴³

On receipt of a copy of this despatch to Fitzroy, MacDonnell wrote immediately to the Commissioners to repeat

once again that no excuse was reason enough to justify the continuation of Irish female emigration to South Australia, and emphasising that to send any more girls would be disastrous.⁴⁴

When these four despatches from MacDonnell were received in London, the Colonial Office was indignant;⁴⁵ perhaps "hurt" is the adjective which best describes the reaction of the Commissioners.⁴⁶ Elliot, at the Colonial Office, went over MacDonnell's letters very carefully, describing the last with great satisfaction as so contradictory "as to shake my confidence in the opinions he expresses."⁴⁷ If MacDonnell had hoped that in view of his complaints the Colonial Office would insist on reform of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission's emigration system, he was soon to learn otherwise. Elliot had been a Commissioner himself and his sympathies lay with them. The Commissioners had never felt themselves appreciated by South Australia; and now that stiff-necked colony had acquired a Governor whose despatches were, to say the least, lacking in proper respect. Elliot could hardly hide his distaste at such colonial criticism, and Merivale, the Permanent Under-Secretary, found the Governor's despatches equally irritating.⁴⁸ Labouchere, the Colonial Secretary, had more sympathy for the colonial point of view,⁴⁹ but at no stage was there any suggestion that the Colonial Office should interfere with the Commission over the issues which MacDonnell had raised.

At last, in October, 1855, the Commissioners replied to MacDonnell's first despatch.⁵⁰ Their reply, though judged "satisfactory" by the Colonial Office, evaded answering the most important accusations, as the Governor lost no time in telling them. According to the Commissioners, until 1854 they had favoured South Australia at the expense of other Australian colonies by sending to the former colony less than its due proportion of Irish. Over the last few years they had felt compelled to send many single women to balance the many single men who had emigrated at their own expense, and, as "young women of unimpeachable character (could) not be got to emigrate from England and Scotland",⁵¹ they had sent Irish women. (The reference to "many single men" referred to in this despatch was not explained until a despatch a year later.)

About six months later they expanded upon this first reply in a despatch⁵² intended as an answer to MacDonnell's second and third letters. Very neatly, they quoted MacDonnell's own words in his advertisement to prospective employers to prove that the girls were in reality better than he had described them in his despatches. Then, they quoted favourable descriptions of Irish women which they had received from Sydney and Hobart in order to support their contention that South Australia's Governor was being unreasonable.

MacDonnell was not the man to allow matters to rest there. Apparently he still hoped to win over the Colonial Office to his point of view. In reply to the Commissioners' first letter, he insisted that the alleged favouring of South Australia prior to 1854 was no excuse now:

"for sending here suddenly in one year from Ireland, not merely more than half of the entire Female Immigration, but nearly treble the number of the United English and Scotch single adult females." 53

As for the second letter in which the Commissioners had tried to maintain the suitability of the Irish girls to the colony, MacDonnell replied⁵⁴ that his quoted words had been written for the purpose of inducing settlers to employ the girls. Moreover, he was not impressed by the Commissioners' quoting of favourable descriptions of Irish women from Sydney and Hobart, for he was well aware that the descriptions were four years old, and that since they had been written both colonies had complained of the quality of their Irish immigrants. the Governor made one last appeal to the Colonial Office:

"From their report of the 7th July it is evident that the Commissioners were well aware of the difficulty of settling in these Colonies large numbers of Irish single Females, yet despite of these known difficulties, they hazarded an exportation to this Colony of 4,049 females in one year including 2,978 Irish. Their defence appears to me strangely weak. They quote a Despatch of Sir Henry Young written as long back as 1852 expressive of alarm at a temporary diminution in the number of Female Immigrants, but they do not state that the gold discoveries since then, drained the Country of its excessive male population Is it that when the Immigration Agent's reports

harmonize with the views of the Commissioners they are noticed and acted on, but when the reverse are discredited and ignored?" 55

MacDonnell should have realised that he was only creating trouble for himself, rather than helping South Australia. Had the Colonial Office admitted that the Commissioners had been mistaken about the suitability of the girls, the Colonial Secretary would have placed himself in an awkward position. Such an admission might well have brought financial repercussions, for South Australia's Legislative Council was irate at the wastage of colonial money involved in both bringing these girls to the colony and maintaining them after arrival.⁵⁶ Shipping and care of the girls after embarkation cost the colony about £100,000⁵⁷ during the two years 1854-5. To have condemned the Commissioners' actions would have been tantamount to admitting responsibility and perhaps financial liability, and so the Colonial Office had strong practical reasons for standing behind the Commissioners.

The Legislative Council of South Australia had taken up the issue of who was responsible for the unsuitability of the immigrants. In mid-1856 the Council set up a Select Committee of Enquiry to report on the "Excessive Female Migration."⁵⁸ MacDonnell's correspondence with the Commissioners was examined. All immigration correspondence from Young's 1852 despatch onwards was laid on the table; and several witnesses, some of

whom had recently been in England, were questioned to try to find some reason for the Commissioners' policy. The Committee concluded thus:

"your Committee . . . call the attention of your Honourable House to their (the Commissioners') marked laxity of procedure in the discharge of their duties, as appears from their violation of the instructions transmitted them from this Colony, and of the expressed resolutions of your Honourable House - from their inattention to their own published rules, and the mutual interests of the emigrants - and for their misapplication of the public funds of this Colony, so largely entrusted to them for suitable emigration." 59

At the time when this Committee was in session, only the Commissioners' first reply had reached South Australia. Their second reply arrived just as the Committee's report was being presented to the Council, and was handed to all Council members; but it failed to alter the opinion which the Committee had just presented, and a vote of censure of the Commissioners was passed.⁶⁰

MacDonnell had not approved of the Legislative Council Enquiry. He was enough the Crown's representative for that; and, besides, he considered that the Enquiry would not bring to light anything new.⁶¹ Yet afterwards he sent off the Legislative Council papers to the Colonial Office with a flourish of triumph which was almost personal.⁶² Among these papers were the names of all Irish female immigrants who had left South Australia for another colony, together with a list of the Colonies for which they had originally applied -

useful ammunition for support of MacDonnell's own complaints.

Until November, 1857, an inconclusive correspondence dragged on with the Colonial Office on the subject of the Commissioners' liability. A letter came from the Commissioners in reply to the despatch containing the Select Committee's Report. Of the one hundred and fifty-eight girls who claimed that they had been sent to South Australia against their wishes, only sixteen were admitted by the Commissioners to have applied originally for another colony, and fifty of the names could not be traced at all. The Commissioners concluded that one hundred and forty-two of the girls had deceived South Australia's Immigration Agent, hoping thereby to obtain free passage to another colony.⁶³ At the end of 1857, MacDonnell gave in. It had become manifestly clear that neither side would win the argument, and, even more to the point, the British Colonial Secretary was the Governor's superior in the Colonial Service and quarrelling with one's master is not always the healthiest of occupations. A letter from the Colonial Office early in 1857 had delivered to MacDonnell a sharp reprimand.⁶⁴ Labouchere condemned the Governor for his "controversial spirit", and for his unwillingness to accept any explanation offered by the Commissioners. The last letter from the Governor on the subject of single Irish women apologised for "forcible expressions" of earlier despatches and let the matter rest with the simple remark that he was still dissatisfied.⁶⁵

Perhaps one explanation of MacDonnell's surrender lay in the fact that ill-feeling toward the Commissioners was reaching alarming proportions in Adelaide. MacDonnell was not anxious to abolish the organisation set up by the Commissioners, but wanted to reform it. His quarrel was not due to a distaste of British organisation of emigration to Australia, but to a desire to eliminate imperfections in the system.⁶⁶ However, from the point of view of many colonists, after the publication of the Select Committee's Report and the open censure of the Commissioners in the Legislative Council, nothing less than the complete withdrawal of South Australian emigration from the Commissioners' clutches would be satisfactory. Such withdrawal had become possible in mid-1855, for the Colonial Office had heeded colonial protests against British control of colonial land and emigration.⁶⁷ Thus the Act which gave self-government to New South Wales abolished the 1842 Land Sales Act and gave the Australian Colonies control of their own land and emigration.

The "Register" for its part had advocated a South Australian-controlled emigration scheme during the whole of the life of the Commission. After the repeal of the Land Act of 1842, stronger pressure was applied by the newspaper to persuade the Colony to withdraw from the Land and Emigration Commission's scheme. During the second half of 1855, no less than fifteen editorials were devoted to condemning the Commission. Here is one example:

"We come to the general defence set up for excessive emigration, and that defence is, that Ireland is the only part of the empire in which emigrants in any quantity can be found. The reply to this is short and simple - we do not believe it. That the Commissioners have not found emigrants in Great Britain is true enough, but it is because they have not wanted to find them. There was a political party interested in thinning the Irish workhouses and a political party interested in not thinning too much the rural villages of England. And the Commissioners have connived at the use of the colonial land fund to suit political purposes. At any rate if the Commissioners cannot find persons in England willing to emigrate, other persons can; and therefore the sooner they resign their office the better." 68

Nothing escaped the "Register's" eye, or the adverse comments of its columns. In January, 1856, an article pointed out that the Colonial Office had officially reported that it had stopped single female immigration to South Australia on September, 12th, 1855, and yet two ships bound for that colony had left England in October carrying two hundred and eighty-three single women. Commented the editor:

"Every new chapter in the records of the Emigration Commission is more abominable than its predecessor." 69

However, when a few weeks later the editor learned that many single women had been disembarked from the "Lord Raglan" at Plymouth early in November, no praise or thanks to the Commission were forthcoming from the editor:

"The women must be very much under the sway of false promises to have their destination changed with so little trouble." 70

On this subject of single Irish women, even those two rivals, the "Adelaide Times" and the "Register", could agree, though the "Times" was less outspoken:

"The Commissioners or their Agents made a radical mistake in sending to a colony, for the most part composed of natives of the three kingdoms . . . a sudden and perhaps over-liberal supply of female servants, all or nearly all selected from one particular part of the kingdom." 71

As for the Legislative Council, from the time of the vote of censure onwards, new immigration schemes were being discussed. The problem was to set up a system of immigration controlled by South Australia without adversely affecting the rate of immigration. It would take time to set up in England new emigration machinery of the magnitude needed to continue the despatch of thousands of settlers each year, and the newly-formed Dominion could not afford a break in immigration. Governor MacDonnell advocated that the colony continue to work with the Land and Emigration Commission, even though there was no longer any compulsion to do so.⁷² New South Wales and Victoria were continuing to do this, and the system had many advantages - the Commission had a trained staff; they had a reputation for good shipping among prospective emigrants; it was less expensive for several colonies to work together through one emigration channel in England, for in this way staff expenses were shared; and finally, the class of emigrants sent to South Australia in 1856-7 were a great improvement on that of the previous two years.

But South Australia could not forgive the Commissioners for its experiences with single Irish women, and it would no longer trust them with emigration unless the colony could exercise some control. In November, 1856, the Legislative Council planned a scheme whereby the Commissioners took their orders directly from South Australia. MacDonnell pointed out that this scheme was not practicable,⁷³ for the Commission had been constituted under an Imperial Act and could be responsible only to the Secretary of State in England. So the scheme was quickly dropped.

A year later a more plausible scheme was devised and adopted by the Legislative Council:

"It is expedient to continue all the emigration business of this colony in the hands of Her Majesty's present Emigration Commissioners, provided all intending emigrants selected by the said Commissioners or their Agents be subject to the supervision of an Agent to be appointed by this Government, with power absolutely to reject such intending emigrants as he may consider unsuitable for this colony." ⁷⁴

Originally, this scheme had been suggested to the Governor in 1855 by the Hindmarsh District Council,⁷⁵ and, unknown to South Australia, the Colonial Office had heard of it also. Mr. R. F. Newland, former manager of the Bank of Australasia in Adelaide, had returned to England, and in December, 1855, had written to the Colonial Office offering his services as Emigration Officer in England for South Australia;⁷⁶ but this offer, needless to say, had been refused

by the Colonial Secretary as almost a personal insult.⁷⁷

By 1857, however, the Commissioners were only too happy to accept South Australia's plan. In their last letter in the long argument with MacDonnell they had written of the South Australian colonists:

"It is possible that they might repose more confidence in officers appointed by and responsible to themselves than in officers holding their appointments from the Crown and responsible only to the Secretary of State. At all events they are not likely to do us justice until they have had experience through their own Agents of the difficulty of conducting Emigration on a large scale in a safe and satisfactory manner." 78

Mr. G. F. Dashwood, formerly a member of the first South Australian Legislative Council⁷⁹ and Police Commissioner of the Colony, became South Australia's Emigration Agent in London, taking up his new appointment in November, 1858.⁸⁰ Matthew Moorhouse had been appointed Emigration Agent in 1857⁸¹ but had resigned after six months service, so the work of building up an emigration system fell on Dashwood. As Dashwood became more competent and experienced in the work of supervising emigration, South Australia prepared to take over completely its own emigration organisation, giving a lead in this field to the other colonies.⁸² By 1869, government emigration to all colonies had been removed almost completely from the hands of the Commissioners.⁸³ Selection of emigrants had been taken over by the colonies themselves.

There is no doubt that the sending of four thousand single Irish women to South Australia during the two years 1854-5 was a serious error on the part of the English Commissioners. But there is still the question of whether the Commissioners can be blamed for this error. Some of South Australia's accusations were undoubtedly unfair. There was no evidence for the "Register's" imputation of political pressure, for instance. It must be confessed also that during the years 1853-4, South Australia gave little indication of what type of immigration was needed in the colony other than just crying for more. The colonists too made little allowance for the difficulties of distance and slowness of communication under which the Commissioners worked. G. Morrell, writing of Australian immigration under the Commission, has pointed out these difficulties and sided with the Commissioners:

"The charge that the Colonial Office and the Commissioners in their conduct of Australian emigration failed to consult the interests of the colonies was a mere parrot-cry." 84

Nevertheless, when the fiasco of Irish female emigration is examined, it can be fairly said that in this particular case the Commissioners acted in a way that difficulties of communication cannot explain or excuse. In one of the last despatches from the Commissioners to MacDonnell concerning the Irish women, Walcott, the Commissioners' Secretary,

explained the obscure passage in the Commissioners' first reply which had stated "that they had been compelled to send a large number of single women to counter-balance the number of single men voluntarily emigrating to the colony."⁸⁵ These men, so the explanation ran, had come out to the Victorian gold-fields. The Secretary now admitted that perhaps the Commissioners had in this instance made a slight error in "not having made a sufficient distinction between the emigration to this colony and to the adjacent colonies of New South Wales and Victoria."⁸⁶ This admission, if the true explanation of the excessive female migration, displayed a gross lack of understanding of South Australia's situation on the part of the Commissioners, who had not troubled to find out or thought hard enough to realize that South Australia had lost rather than gained men because of the Victorian diggings.

The Commissioners' explanation, however, - that they had sent women to South Australia because of the numbers of men who had paid their own passages to the diggings - can only be a part of the truth. If this had been the whole explanation, then why were fewer Irish women sent to Victoria and New South Wales than to South Australia in 1855?⁸⁷ The number of single Irish women sent to New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia, were as follows:-

	<u>N.S.W.</u>	<u>Vic.</u>	<u>S. A.</u>
1853	1,658	2,023	251
1854	1,674	2,883	1,044
1855	2,091	1,692	2,978

The populations of New South Wales and Victoria were much larger than that of South Australia,⁸⁸ and what is more, they too had been urgently requesting more immigrants. Victoria in particular had been asking for single women. The Victorian Immigrant Agent reported in his Return for 1853:

"The demand for single females as domestic servants was never greater; the number of registered marriages which took place in the Colony in the last half of the year amounting to 1515." 89.

The New South Wales Immigration Agent in his Return for the same year said:

"Wages of all classes of mechanics, laborers and domestic servants, have been gradually increasing to a most unprecedentedly high rate, particularly those of female servants, of which class there as so few available that they receive almost any wages they choose to ask." 90.

Both the Returns would have reached the Commissioners about September, 1854, so one would expect them to affect the Commission's plans for 1855 emigration.

However, by the end of 1854, both these colonies were objecting to the quality of female immigrants. Victoria's 1854 immigration report from the Acting Immigration Agent reads:

"The Immigration Agent expressed in 1854 his regret that selections should have been made so largely from the Irish Unions, in the case of single women." 91

The New South Wales Immigration Agent reported in October, 1854:

"The class of female domestic servants who have lately arrived are not at all suitable for the wants of the Colony being principally composed of persons from the Southern counties of Ireland." 92

The first complaint from South Australia about Irish women immigrants left the Colony for England in April, 1855.⁹³ Thus it is possible that the Commissioners, having planned to send a large number of Irish women to Australia in 1855, were confronted at the end of 1854, with objections from New South Wales and Victoria; and because of this, many Irish girls were transferred to South Australian ships. This explanation of the deluge on South Australia would fit in with the girls' own stories of being sent to the wrong colony. The Commissioners checked with their agents and denied that any involuntary transfer had taken place,⁹⁴ but the evidence collected by the Immigration Agent in South Australia is very convincing. The fact that several girls were sent for by relatives and friends in the colonies⁹⁵ for which they said they originally applied, is good evidence that they had been transferred to South Australian shipping lists from those for other colonies.

If South Australia received many more than her intended share of Irish immigrants to Australia in 185~~5~~⁵ because Victoria and New South Wales complained of such immigration, then the Commissioners must take some blame for irresponsibility. The total number of domestic servants in South Australia was estimated at four thousand one hundred and twenty-six.⁹⁶

Under the best of conditions, no one could have expected the Colony to have employed that number again in one year - and this is what the Commissioners seem to have believed possible. Probably the injustice to the girls themselves, in deceiving them into transferring to South Australian ships, can be laid upon the selecting agents or with some other public servants in the Commissioners' selecting system. Yet for the injustice done to the Colony of South Australia, the Commissioners who planned and sanctioned the emigration must take responsibility. They should have realised that a Colony of eighty-six thousand people, still recovering balance from the temporary migration of many of its men to the goldfields, could not cope with four thousand and twenty-two single Irish women in two years.

Appendix to Minutes of Evidence on Excessive female
immigration (S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No.137)

This table shows that several of the women had friends or relatives in other Australian colonies and therefore gives quite strong evidence in favour of their claim that they had been sent to the wrong colony.

CHAPTER III.

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19. ibid: p. 11.
20. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 158C, p. 9.
21. S.A.L.C.P. 1858 No. 18, p. 12.

22. MacDonnell to Colonial Office No. 100, 15-7-1856 (C.O. 13/93).
23. MacDonnell to Colonial Office No. 25, 24-9-1855 (C.O. 13/91).
24. ibid.
25. S.A.L.C.P. 1858 No. 18, p. 12.
26. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 158C, p. 9.
27. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report enclosed MacDonnell to Colonial Office No. 35, 1855 (C.O. 13/89).
28. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report enclosed MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 5, 13-7-1855 (C.O. 13/90).
29. Register 19-6-1855.
30. The German Hospital building was commenced in 1852 on acre 433 Adelaide at the East End of Carrington Street. The site had been donated in 1850 by Osmond Gilles to the S. A. German community (Observer 22-6-1850). The building was as yet unoccupied in 1855.
31. MacDonnell to Colonial Office No. 2, 25-6-1855. (C.O. 13/90).
32. ibid.
33. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report enclosed MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 5, 13-7-1855 (C.O. 13/90).
34. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 20, 31-8-1855 (C.O. 13/90).
35. F. H. Hitchins: The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, p. 205. See also S.A.L.C.P. 1855 No. 137, p. 9.
36. The names of women who were sent to South Australia but who later moved to another colony were collected for the Select Committee of Enquiry into Excessive Female Immigration which sat in 1856. See S.A.L.C.P. 1856 No. 137. Part of this list is reproduced on page 82 #
37. Surgeon Davis to Immigration Agent, quoted in MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 20, 31-8-1855 (C.O. 13/90).
38. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 25, 24-9-1855 (C.O. 13/91).
39. Colonial Office to MacDonnell, No. 16, 7-7-1855 (S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 25, p. 1).

40. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1853 Vol. II, p. 63.
41. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1854 Vol. II, p. 1075.
42. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1855 Vol. II, p. 539.
43. Colonial Office to MacDonnell, No. 16, 7-7-1855
(S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6, No. 25, p. 1).
44. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 32, 26-10-1855 (C.O. 13/91).
45. ibid. See comments of Colonial Office staff written on receipt of despatch.
46. See draft reply pencilled on MacDonnell's despatch to Colonial Office No. 100, 15-7-1856 (C.O. 13/93).
47. See pencilled remarks of Elliot on MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 32, 26-10-1855 (C.O. 13/91).
48. ibid.
49. ibid.
50. Commissioners to MacDonnell, S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6, No. 54C, p. 1.
51. ibid.
52. Commissioners to MacDonnell enclosed Colonial Office to MacDonnell, No. 4, 12-2-1856.
53. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 62, 2-2-1856 (C.O. 13/93).
54. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 100, 15-7-1856 (C.O. 13/93).
55. ibid.
56. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6, No. 137.
57. This is an estimate only. The number of Irish girls known to have arrived in South Australia in 1854-55 is 4,022 (S.A.P.P. 1858 No. 18). The Register gave the cost of sending each girl to South Australia at "nearly £20" (Register 14-6-1855). The cost of caring for the girls after arrival is precisely set out in an Appendix to the Report of the Select Committee of Enquiry into Excessive Female Immigration, 1856. This Appendix is reproduced at the end of Chapter IV. My estimate of £80,000 is made from the above data.
58. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6, No. 137.

59. ibid. p. 4.
60. Register 20-5-1856.
61. MacDonnell to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 29-1-1856 (S.A.A. Temporary Accessions).
62. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 100, 15-7-1856 (C.O. 13/93).
63. Commissioners to MacDonnell No. 26, 13-7-1857.
64. Colonial Office to MacDonnell No. 26, 13-7-1857.
65. MacDonnell to Colonial Office 24-10-1857 (S.A.P.P. 1858 No. 18, p.p. 10-11).
66. MacDonnell to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 12-10-1856 (S.A.A. Temporary Accessions).
67. E. Sweetman: Australian Constitutional Development, p. 293.
68. Register 9-11-1855.
69. Register 24-1-1856.
70. Register 7-2-1856.
71. Adelaide Times 23-6-1855.
72. MacDonnell to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 12-10-1856 (S.A.A. Temporary Accessions).
73. MacDonnell to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 5-11-1856 (S.A.A. Temporary Accessions).
74. Memorandum from S. A. Executive Council (S.A.P.P. 1858 No. 18, p. 15).
75. Clerk of Hindmarsh District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2263).
76. R. F. Newland to Colonial Office. Misc. and Public Offices 1855 (C.O. 13/92).
77. ibid. See marginal notes by Colonial Office staff.
78. Commissioners to MacDonnell No. 26, 13-7-1857.
79. D. Pike: op. cit., p. 247.

80. S.A.P.P. 1859, No. 72.
81. S.A.P.P. 1860, No. 78.
82. F. H. Hitchins: The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, p. 210.
83. ibid: p. 211.
84. W. P. Morrell: Colonial Policy in the Age of Peel and Russell, p. 358.
85. Commissioners to MacDonnell (S.A.P.P. 1858 No. 18, Enclosure No. 2, p. 4).
86. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, S.A.P.P. 1858 No. 18, p. 13.
87. Compiled from Immigration Agents' reports from the three colonies.
88. Victoria's population was 273,792 on 31-12-1854. (Vic.L.C.P. 1854-5 Vol.II, p. 378).
New South Wales population was 187,243 in 1851. (N.S.W.L.C.P. 1851 Vol.II, p. 125).
South Australia's population was 92,545 on 31-12-1854. (S.A. Blue Book 1854).
89. Vic. L.C.P. 1854-5 Vol. II, p. 757.
90. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1854 Vol. II, p. 1075.
91. Vic. L.C.P. 1855-6 Vol. II, p. 372.
92. N.S.W.L.C.P. 1855 Vol. II, p. 446.
93. Immigration Agent's quarterly report April, 1855, (C.S.O. 1855/1213).
94. Commissioners to MacDonnell 10-2-1857. (S.A.P.P. 1858 No. 18, p. 1).
95. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 137. Appendices.
96. Register 4-2-1856.

CHAPTER IV.THE IRISH WOMEN OF 1854-55 AND THEIR EFFECTON SOUTH AUSTRALIAN SOCIETY.

It would have been of no immediate comfort to South Australians in the midst of their predicament of 1855 to have known that the Colony was shortly to take control of its own immigration. In 1855 the pressing problem facing the South Australian community was the employment of the hundreds of Irish girls who had arrived and were still arriving at Port Adelaide. Whilst future control of immigration was a matter concerning authorities in the Colony and in London, the problem of hundreds of unemployed single women in the buildings and on the streets of Adelaide was something which concerned all colonists. They were concerned not only for the welfare of the girls, but also for the possible effects on Adelaide society of hundreds of unemployed young women. Moreover, the colonists did not just express concern; they came forward with constructive suggestions for employing and dispersing the girls, and then helped to carry these suggestions through to a successful conclusion.

South Australians had always been proud of their sense of community responsibility, for such responsibility was thought to be the very bricks of the liberal self-governing society which they were trying to build. Representative institutions

were intended to aid rather than replace private initiative and concern. Pride in community spirit had been strengthened in the early 1850's by the manner in which together South Australians had solved the gold-rush problems of the drainage of labour and capital to the diggings.¹ Some such community effort was now in 1855 needed again to deal with Adelaide's female immigrant troubles. Moreover, while the gold-rush difficulties had been largely confined to the capital, almost every colonist in the State, from Port Lincoln to Penola, was called upon for help in 1855.

In June, when MacDonnell's attention was first directed to the flood of female immigrants, priority had to be given to finding shelter for them. During 1854 another room had been built onto the Female Immigrant Depot,² and another Matron had been appointed.³ By early 1855, more accommodation was urgently required, and a shed was built to house the immigrants' boxes, thus allowing more room in the dormitories.⁴ This, however, was only a stop-gap measure. By June the "Register" reported that thirty women were sleeping in a room sixteen feet square:

"Scarcely any convenience exists for cooking provisions or for preserving the ordinary decencies of life. The result is that the moral tone of the colony is being fearfully undermined, whilst the institutions of British pauperism in their worst form, threaten to establish themselves permanently amongst us." 5

On June 11th, the German Hospital Building was hired as a temporary measure at £10 per week, to accommodate about two hundred and eighty single women;⁶ and at the same time the Colonial Engineer began to build new dormitories at the depot on North Terrace,⁷ designed to accommodate four hundred women together with their baggage. The new building, however, took two months to complete, and during the quarter April to June, 1855, one thousand four hundred and forty-six⁸ single women arrived. Of these, at the end of June, four hundred were on ships at Port Adelaide,⁹ awaiting the end of the fortnight's free board which was allowed to them by contract. Moorhouse, who was still the depot superintendent, applied on 9th July for permission to put these new arrivals in the armoury of the Police Barracks.¹⁰ At last, towards the end of August, the girls in the German Hospital and the armoury moved into the new building at the Depot.¹¹ But the accommodation crisis was still not over. Four ships, each carrying more than one hundred single women, berthed at Port Adelaide at the end of August and early in September.¹² Soon Moorhouse was asking desperately for more room:

"Our rooms contain on the average 15,000 cubic feet of air and we have had ninety persons sleeping in each room which affords only 166 cubic feet for each adult . . . The rooms are not calculated to hold more than ninety - there is not mechanical room for more - they contain 920 square feet and this only allows 10 square feet for each adult." 13

After such a precise statement of the problem, the Governor could hardly refuse the request. But soon after this the rate of arrival of girls fell, the crowding eased, and the Depot with all its new buildings could cope adequately.

Accommodating the girls in Adelaide was only the beginning: in fact, such large-scale accommodation created problems of its own, for many South Australians entertained genuine fears that a permanent pauper institution might be set up.¹⁴ Something had to be done to disperse the girls.

The Immigration Agent calculated carefully¹⁵ that there were about 17,000 homes in the Colony, of which at present only a quarter employed servants. Two factors hindered colonists from hiring servants. Firstly, some families could not afford to pay the £20 normal annual wage for a single woman servant, and in a bad season the number of families in this position increased. Secondly, the country settlers, who were the most likely colonists to hire rough Irish girls, lived on farms so isolated and so far from the capital that it was extremely difficult for them to come to Adelaide to hire a servant. The furthest out-posts of the South-East were a week's journey by ship and bullock-dray; whilst even Clare, only 80 miles to the north, was a three-day trek over rough bush tracks.

In April, 1855, Mr. Moorhouse wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Adelaide, suggesting that the immigrant girls be sent to country centres.¹⁶ He thought that six girls at a time might profitably be sent to the private homes of contractors at Gawler and Mt. Barker, two large country towns relatively close to Adelaide. The Colonial Secretary promised to make enquiries, but nothing seems to have come of the matter until after MacDonnell's arrival, two months later. Probably Moorhouse had been inspired in this plan by Mrs. Chisholm's work¹⁷ in New South Wales in 1841. Mrs. Chisholm had taken her immigrant girls to "branch homes" in the country where they were placed under the charge of clergymen and one respectable resident who was responsible for hiring them out. Within a few months the lady had set up twelve country depots at centres as far-flung as Moreton Bay in the north, Wollongong in the south, and Yass to the south-west.

Before 1855, South Australia had no need of such highly-organised distribution of labour. In 1849, the Orphan Board had discussed sending the orphans to country centres,¹⁸ but had decided against doing so. Early in 1855, however, Dr. Duncan, the Immigration Agent, asked that something be done to convey general immigrants to the outback, where they could find employment.¹⁹ At this time the Executive Council was governing South Australia pending MacDonnell's arrival.

The Council answered by requesting local magistrates to send a list of employment vacancies in their districts to Dr. Duncan, who would organise the sending of labourers.²⁰

Early in April another attempt was made to disperse the growing numbers of unemployed among the general immigrants.

The government offered grants for public works to District Councils on condition that immigrants were employed.²¹

Perhaps it was because of greater concern for the plight in a poor season of the general labourer - the man with wife and children to support - that the Executive Council left the solution of the thorny problem of the employment of the single women until after MacDonnell's arrival.

By June, 1855, everyone agreed that the single women could not be permitted to remain idle in Adelaide. Some of the women were potentially good domestic servants, having been so employed in Ireland, but even of these Adelaide could absorb only a few hundred. Many of the others were completely inexperienced and could only hope for employment on a farm. The question was how best to distribute them. Some settlers in different parts of the Colony suggested that the girls be sent in companies to outlying settled districts at Government expense; but the "Times" editor considered that this plan would only be possible if the

settlers organised themselves into committees to receive and look after the parties which might be sent to them.²² Others proposed that the girls be compelled to serve settlers for board and lodging only until after the next harvest,²³ for under such conditions sufficient employers would probably be found for all the girls, and, moreover, the employers would probably come to Adelaide to get them. The Roman Catholic clergy generously offered their services in looking after girls sent to the country to find employment, and the "Register" warmly thanked them on behalf of the colonists.²⁴

It was the Governor's prerogative to make the final decision on what measures should be taken. On June 28th, three days after sending off to England his first despatch on the female immigrant problem, MacDonnell announced his plan for looking after the women.²⁵ Its basis was to establish country depots as suggested by Moorhouse and other colonists. Each depot was to be under the charge of a matron (the Colonial Secretary's suggestion);²⁶ and MacDonnell himself solved the problem of a local committee by proposing that District Councils take responsibility for the welfare of girls within the depots. Such a plan would involve quite heavy expense, but money was

"a secondary consideration in comparison with the evils attending the concentration in town of many hundreds of uneducated women condemned to hopeless inactivity." 27

Keeping the women in Adelaide was costing £50 a day in any case, and MacDonnell wrote to the Colonial Office that he expected £25,000²⁸ to be spent on maintaining the female immigrants during the year. Of this amount, dispersing them would cost only £5,000. All these expenses were to be charged to the Crown moiety of the Land Fund, so MacDonnell proposed to the Colonial Office, for no other Colonial fund could afford to pay out the money required.²⁹

As the first step in MacDonnell's plan, a circular was sent to all Justices of the Peace, Magistrates and District Council Chairmen, explaining the crisis with which the Colony was faced, and appealing for help.³⁰ In particular, the circular asked whether it would be possible to establish a depot in the area, stating that the Government would like the District Council concerned to take responsibility for any depot so set up. By mid-July, most circulars had been returned to the Colonial Secretary's office in Adelaide, and it became clear from them that the Governor had acted wisely in asking the District Councils to take charge. Most of the Councils were extremely flattered at being consulted over the problem. The letter from the Mitcham District Council to the Governor was typical of many. The Chairman wrote:

"I, of course, submitted it (the circular) to the council at their next meeting when it received at the hands of the meeting that full and free

discussion which the subject matter of your letter calls for, a matter second in importance to none that has ever been brought before the council over which I have the honor to preside." 31

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Some Councils such as Mount Barker thought the matter so important that they called special council meetings to discuss it. Two Councils, Talunga and Mudla Wirra, went one step further, calling a meeting of all district residents.³³ Not only, however, were the councillors flattered at being asked to help, but they were in the best position of all country authorities to do so. Justices and Magistrates were appointed by the Governor, and represented often the "aristocracy" of the colony - the village squires like Robert Davenport, J.P., of Macclesfield, and George Fife Angas, J.P., of Angaston district.³⁴ The Councillors, on the other hand, were elected, and appear usually to have been small farmers and tradesmen. They were the class of person who would best know the need for milk-maids and farm servants in the district.

Some of the Justices were quite offended that District Councils had been offered responsibility for the depots, as the oldest council had been established for only four years, and council members were not of the class who traditionally took responsibility in South Australia. Justices of the Peace had been part of the social structure of the Colony since very early in the history of South Australia, for they were part

of that genteel English society which the Colonial Reformers had wished to transplant. Robert Davenport wrote to the Colonial Secretary in Adelaide:

"I certainly cannot in the least recommend His Excellency to employ District Councils as a medium of dispersing or providing for so unprotected and isolated a class as these immigrants . . . Those who occupy office in what are called District Councils are certainly not the respectable or influential persons resident about." 35

Apart from expressions of resentment from some of the Justices, everyone took the single female problem very seriously and did all they could to help. Even those Councils who were unable to recommend the establishment of a depot in their particular area suggested schemes for employing the girls either in their own districts or in Adelaide. The Yankalilla-Myponga Council, for instance, sent through the district "two Rangers" who found positions for fifteen girls - nine domestics, two milkmaids, one farming servant, one general servant and one nurse-maid.³⁶ Morphett Vale Councillors had personally found places for ten servants within one week after the arrival of the circular, and asked that the ten girls be sent to the Wheatsheaf Inn, Morphett Vale, where Council members would meet them.³⁷ Those Councils which could not give direct help were nevertheless encouraging. The Salisbury District Clerk, for example, wrote that his district was too close to Adelaide and Gawler for a depot to be established there, but that

"we have individually anticipated in some measure the object of your circular by employing a few of the class referred to as domestic servants and at farm work, and we feel much pleasure in being able to report favourably on them." 38

Mitcham Council suggested many ways of employing the girls in Adelaide so that they could at least earn their keep. Laundry work, boot repairs, glove-making, dress-making and even the cultivation of the silkworm were proposed.³⁹ West Torrens Council went one step further, and asked the Governor to deal with the source of the trouble by appointing South Australian Emigration Agents in England.⁴⁰

The Justices and Magistrates wasted much more paper in penning pessimistic remarks than did the practical councillors. Some spoke of objections to employing Roman Catholics,⁴¹ and of the poor quality of Irish servants;⁴² and added that they did not see any hope of employment before next harvest "notwithstanding every effort made."⁴³ Others fulminated against British control of South Australian emigration.⁴⁴ But some Justices did attempt to make useful suggestions. Two proposed that the Colony should claim expenses for maintaining the girls from the Commissioners,⁴⁵ and two others suggested that the girls should be returned to England⁴⁶ - a solution with which MacDonnell violently disagreed: "the worst use we can put the Irish immigrants to is to send them away."⁴⁷

A few others thought of various schemes for employing the girls without employers paying wages. Either they suggested that the girls work for board and lodging only for a while, or that the Government itself should pay wages for the first six months.⁴⁸ Edward Stephens sent in eleven pages of suggestions for employing the girls in Adelaide, similar to those put forward by the Mitcham Council.⁴⁹

Ordinary citizens, who had not received circulars, voiced their opinions in the newspapers. C. J. Carleton, for instance, proposed through the columns of the "Register" that the girls in the depot be put to cleaning wool, as English buyers were always complaining of the colour of South Australia's wool.⁵⁰ The editor of the "Register", Mr. Forster, made a suggestion which he was very soon to regret - that the single women do pick-and-shovel work in the new Botanical Gardens.⁵¹ Adelaide's growing Irish community took this as an insult to the femininity of the Irish Colleen,⁵² and in revenge for it, when Mr. Forster later stood for the West Adelaide seat in the Legislative Council, it came out in force to ruin his election campaign. As Mr. Forster rose to speak, a wag marched up to the hustings and tied to them a pick crossed with a shovel and crowned with an Irish shamrock - a joke hugely enjoyed by the editor of the "Adelaide Times". Eventually the crowd was won over by "Paddy" Kingston, a supporter of Forster, but not until some

of the Irish women from the Depot had shown their feminine charms by pelting stones at "Misther Forsther."⁵³

Most of the proposals for employing the girls whilst they were in the Adelaide Depot were rejected by MacDonnell because he hoped that the girls would only be in the Depot for a short time.⁵⁴ Allowing the girls to earn money whilst living in the Depot would "lay the foundation of permanent pauperism in the colony."⁵⁵ Nevertheless one scheme for employing the Depot girls was eventually instituted, namely the establishment of a bakery to supply the Female Immigrant Depot, the Lunatic Asylum and the new Destitute Asylum next door to the female immigrants.⁵⁶ A baker was engaged at £3 per week early in 1856 and the girls in the Depot worked under him. Reports of this arrangement were all commendatory, so apparently the scheme proved successful, both in employing some of the girls and in saving money for the Government.

In addition to planning to employ the girls in Adelaide and in District Council areas, some people suggested sending the girls quite long distances for employment. A Mr. Flaxman reported⁵⁷ that most of the settlers around Warrnambool in Victoria were Irish Roman Catholics. If MacDonnell could get the Victorian Government to pay travelling expenses, Flaxman was sure that two hundred girls could be employed in that district. Although nothing came of this suggestinn, it

probably inspired MacDonnell to write to Sir Henry Fox Young, then Governor of Tasmania, offering to send him two hundred girls if Tasmania would re-imburse their passage money from Plymouth to Adelaide and also pay half the cost of their journey to Hobart.⁵⁸ Young, however, was not interested in the offer.⁵⁹ The most promising proposition of all came from N. J. Murray, the Government Resident at the tiny outpost of Port Lincoln on Eyre Peninsula. Murray wrote that the adult population on the peninsula comprised twenty-nine married couples and two hundred and ninety-nine single men - three hundred and fifty-seven in all. Irish girls would have to be employed by married couples, and thus only twelve could be taken at a time, but

"should twelve females be sent here, they will after a short term of service in their first places be taken in marriage as was the case with six Irish Orphans sent here some time ago." 60

MacDonnell wrote back to say that he would send the first group of twelve girls as soon as possible.⁶¹

Although the Governor did not make use of every suggestion offered, he obviously appreciated all efforts to help him. South Australians had evidently given much thought to the whole matter, and the editor of the "Register" was very proud of them. He began an editorial in praise of the colonists' attitude to the female immigrant problem with the words -

"It is always a good sign in a community, and shows an aptness for self-government when the people, instead of delegating to the Executive authority the solution of all difficult social or political problems, bravely take the onerous duty on themselves, and, fairly grappling with all the difficulties, and not pretending to shirk any of the accompanying responsibilities, themselves determine the policy of the State." 62

By mid-July, the time for mental efforts had passed and the time for exertions in dispersing the girls had begun. Willunga District Council was the first to offer its services in establishing a country depot. Smith Kell, the Council Chairman, wrote⁶³ on 3rd July, offering the old Court House in the town as good accomodation for twenty women, and stating that Father Hughes, the Catholic priest of the district, would make himself responsible for the good conduct of the women. As soon as the Council's offer was received, MacDonnell ordered twenty girls to be sent to Willunga, and these girls, plus matron, set out on a muddy mid-winter journey by bullock-dray. On the way the party was bogged in the mud, a shaft broke on the dray, and two of their boxes were lost. Finally, as an appropriate finish to the journey, the party arrived at Willunga a week before the depot was ready.⁶⁴

Next, Clare Council wrote⁶⁵ to say that they had set up a committee within the Council to be responsible for the welfare and employment of the women should the Governor decide to set up a depot there, eighty miles north of Adelaide. With little delay, the Government rented from Mr. Kingsmill a house in the

main street of the town,⁶⁶ and sent up twenty girls in the care of a matron, Mrs. Kienan. The party reached Clare on July 24th. They, too, had a miserable journey by dray, which took three days to cover the distance, so that they "wear out tow nights" in "the wett."⁶⁷

Soon after these two prompt proposals had been accepted and acted upon, the Governor was compelled to reject two offers. Clarendon Council was prepared to house some of the girls in tents,⁶⁸ but the Governor tactfully refused this suggestion. Likewise, Mr. Dean's enterprising offer⁶⁹ to hire out his house at Angaston for a depot, with his wife as matron, was not accepted, because the District Council there did not see much hope of employing the Irish girls in that area as many girls from German families in the area hired out as servants.⁷⁰

However, July 9th saw the beginning of the largest depot of all. On that day, the District Council Chairmen of Echunga, Macclesfield, Nairne, Onkaparinga and Mount Barker agreed to combine to support a proposal to establish one depot in Mount Barker township.⁷¹ A month later the proposal materialised and the first party of girls for that depot followed the well-beaten track from Adelaide to Mount Barker in the care of Matron Eliza Frankpitt.⁷² The five Councils concerned worked hard, and within nine months found employment for several hundred Irish girls in that neighbourhood.⁷³

Three more depots were established in 1855, and one at the beginning of 1856. Firstly, Port Elliot District Council, together with the Reverends J. Matron and R. W. Newland, took responsibility for a depot at the old Police Station building which was situated mid-way between Encounter Bay and Port Elliot.⁷⁴ Next, a public meeting in Gawler Town called by the Mudla Wirra District Council agreed that a depot for female immigrants be established in the town as a first step towards a permanent depot for immigrants of both sexes.⁷⁵ Then at the end of July, the Governor sent⁷⁶ eighty girls by ship to the Government Resident at Robe Town on the South-east coast in reply to the latter's cautious letter⁷⁷ asking that twenty girls be sent to the nearby Penola district. Sixty of these girls, who arrived without warning, were housed in the general store, the police station, and the Court House, until a separate building was erected for them. The remaining twenty were sent off immediately to Penola.⁷⁸ Later ten of the Robe girls were forced to trek to Mount Gambier and an equal number to Mosquito Plains (the site of Naracoorte.)⁷⁹ Finally, early in 1856 a depot was set up at Kapunda to save the local employers the trouble of travelling to Clare to hire servants.⁸⁰ To the remainder of South Australia's country districts, those not served by a depot, MacDonnell made an offer at the end of July, 1855. A notice in the Government Gazette stated that the government would forward at its own expense to any point on the mail route any number

of servant girls asked for in writing by parties not being near a depot.⁸¹

Most of the depots began their existence very successfully. Clare asked for thirty more girls on August 20th, only a month after the initial establishment of the depot there.⁸² By August, 1855, MacDonnell was confident that matters were under control. In fact, he rejected an offer to set up a depot at Koorringa (Burra) with the words:

"It is not desirable that the Government should establish many depots as the present want of accomodation for immigrants will probably soon pass over." ⁸³

The arrival, however, of a fresh flood of women in September again crowded out the Depot in Adelaide, and dealt a severe blow to such optimism. Moorhouse felt that he could no longer manage the depots by himself, and applied to the Executive Council for an Immigration Board to take some of the load from his shoulders.⁸⁴ Such a Board was quickly set up. Its members were:⁸⁵ Dr. Duncan (the Immigration Agent), Major O'Halloran, Mr. Kingston and Rev. M. Ryan - three of them Irish, as suggested by MacDonnell, who thought that this weighting of the Board would be best "for adopting and defending a somewhat stringent discipline now highly necessary amongst Irish persons."⁸⁶ Just before the Board was set up, there had been some riotous behaviour at the Depot, the first incident of this nature reported of the Irish women of 1855. In July, MacDonnell had been able to report that

"the character and conduct of the latter (the single female immigrants) have been remarkably good under very trying circumstances."⁸⁷ But by September, not only were the women becoming restless, but Moorhouse himself was showing signs of strain. There were some who believed that the riot was as much his fault as that of the girls.⁸⁸ Margaret Fay, an Irish girl, had refused to move her bed from a prized corner of one of the dormitories to make room for a newcomer - an English girl, so Margaret thought. That her compatriots supported her in her stand suggests that the Depot official had previously discriminated against the Irish.⁸⁹ There is no doubt that Moorhouse handed over the problem of discipline to the Board with great relief.

After the Board had been set up, the newspapers forgot the single women. Harvest-time was only a few months away, and it was generally assumed that the women would be slowly dispersed under the stern eyes of the Board Members until harvest employment should cause rapid emptying of the depots. In December, however, MacDonnell and the newspapers realised with a shock that the depots still contained girls, although the colony was in the process of bringing in a bumper harvest.⁹⁰ Apparently many of the girls had objected to country employment, especially heavy harvest work, and the Board's discipline had proved almost as ineffective as that of Moorhouse in persuading them to undertake this work. On

December 18th, there were three hundred and forty-five girls still housed in the central Depot, a hundred of whom had been there for five months or more.⁹¹ The "Adelaide Times", formerly a champion of the female immigrants, commented angrily on the attitude of both Board and women:

"the Government we are told has condescendingly asked them (the girls) if they would like to go to work - if they would be pleased to undertake situations in the country and they have replied no. They prefer town to country life, work is rather a disagreeable novelty to them and so the Government . . . leaves the would-be employers to do their own work, whilst the very hands required to supply the colony with bread for next year's consumption are doing nothing on the Park Lands." 92

An irritated MacDonnell was inclined to agree with the "Times" editor. The girls were simply refusing to go into the country⁹³ and Moorhouse reported that only Father Ryan had any control over them at all. This report was almost too much for the Governor:

"Deplorable as the impotence of the Board appears to be from the within statements of Mr. Moorhouse of their not daring to enforce any orders for the last three months, it would be more so, if he had told the whole matter - viz - that the girls who refused to go to Clare at first and who afterwards condescended to do so, were coaxed to this sacrifice by the Rev. M. Ryan's promising them boots - and which were actually supplied before they would leave." 94

A farmer from Gumeracha who visited the central Depot on December 16th, wrote to the "Observer" that not one of the three hundred girls would accept his offer of employment,

and that one of them had even thrown a stone at him and grazed his hand as he left the buildings.⁹⁵

After the Governor's outburst, the Board made more effort to enforce discipline, although it refused to be as strict as MacDonnell would have liked. Indignantly they pointed out in January, 1856, that one thousand three hundred and forty-three girls had left the Depot since the Board had been set up three months previously,⁹⁶ and this figure, they asserted, should be noted rather than the number of girls still unemployed. But, as the harvest season came to an end, the Board's assurance that all was well must have faltered, because the depots began to fill once again. The last ship carrying single Irish women did not reach the colony until January, 1856. This ship added one hundred and fifty-one⁹⁷ girls to about one hundred and forty who were returned from temporary harvest work,⁹⁸ so that the number of girls in the central Depot reached a new peak at four hundred and fourteen on January 28th.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, as the "Register" pointed out,¹⁰⁰ one thousand and sixty single women had arrived in South Australia during the last quarter of 1855, and the entire effect of this immigration had been neutralized by the efforts of the Board. There were fewer in depots at the end of that quarter than at the beginning, and this fact supplied cause for optimism.

By the end of February, there were two hundred and sixty-one

in the central Depot and fifty-nine in country depots.¹⁰¹ Several country depots had been closed at the Governor's suggestion, partly because it was thought that all the wants in servants had been supplied in some districts, but partly, one suspects, because MacDonnell wanted to make it more difficult for employers to return unsatisfactory girls as winter approached. Mount Barker depot was still flourishing after having already hired out about two hundred girls.¹⁰² The relatively new depot at Kapunda, formed when the Gawler depot closed down, was still open. Six girls were still at Guichen Bay (Robe), and six at Encounter Bay,¹⁰³ The other depots had been emptied and their matrons brought back to Adelaide.

Early in April, 1856, Mr. Moorhouse resigned from all of his official posts including that of Superintendent of the Female Immigrant Depot; and later in the same month, on April 28th, the Immigration Board, which had been set up for six months only, held its last meeting. One hundred and twenty-five girls still remained in the central Depot as the secretary penned the following final minute:

"The Board at the close of their duties have the satisfaction of adding that they leave the Depot in a state of perfect order and cleanliness, its inmates vastly reduced in numbers, generally healthy and likewise tractable, obedient and respectful in their conduct." 104

The last country depot, that at Kapunda, closed on July 24th.¹⁰⁵ As each closed, the few girls for whom employment was hopeless were returned to the Adelaide Depot. Many of the latter appear to have contracted an eye disease which spread through the depots, particularly at Encounter Bay and Clare.¹⁰⁶ Several at the central Depot were afflicted also, and unable to work. In July, the government was still supporting at least thirty women. Moorhouse, now acting in an honorary capacity, reported of these that "they are all delicate persons and many have been in the sick ward for months."¹⁰⁷ By September, plans were afoot to turn the empty Depot into an army barracks,¹⁰⁸ and a month or so later the few women who still found shelter there moved into the Destitute Asylum next door,¹⁰⁹ whereupon the opposite sex invaded their old home.

Statistics show how very noteworthy was the whole process of dispersing the female immigrants. During the year from July, 1855, to July, 1856, the Colony employed three thousand two hundred and thirty-eight single females. This represented a herculean effort, especially when it is realised that two thousand single women had already been given employment during 1854 and early 1855 before MacDonnell's appeal for help. Of the three thousand two hundred women put into employment over the period while the country depots system was operating, about seven hundred girls were dispersed through these temporary depots, and the rest, though probably largely destined for

farms, were selected from Adelaide. The central Depot cost the Land Fund £12,793 during 1855, and the country depots £2,783.¹¹¹ Although the worth of the country depots cannot be calculated from these figures (because the Central Depot figure included the cost of maintaining all the girls in the six months of 1855 before the country depots were established), it is clear that Davenport's gloomy predictions, based on his fear that the South Australian government had "taken too flattering an estimate of the qualities and capabilities of the Country Communities",¹¹² were not substantiated. At the very least, the country depots had provided some relief to Adelaide from the pressure of unemployed Irish women, and this at a reasonable cost. Their value, however, in dispersing these women to those isolated parts of the Colony where there was still an overwhelming predominance of males cannot be calculated in money.

It is much easier to make such a statistical evaluation of the dispersal of the Irish women than to calculate South Australia's effect on them as persons and vice versa. Although the colonists were anxious to help in the dispersal of the girls, it is clear from the replies to MacDonnell's circular that many did not welcome the prospect of employing Irish servants. Attitudes had changed since prospective employers had rushed the girls on the "Roman Emperor" in 1848. Before MacDonnell's appeal for help, the Immigration Agent had written:

"the prejudice against the Irish women is so great that really good Irish servants cannot now find families willing to engage them.

Let it be clearly understood that the prejudice did not originally exist, it has arisen solely from the circumstances that far the greatest number of the Irish girls sent, were of a class utterly unfitted for domestic service of any kind." 113

And one Magistrate replied to the circular:

"It would tend much to their being employed, if a more correct notion of the kind of out door labour that they are capable of could be spread amongst the settlers generally, as on this point I have found great doubt and disbelief." 114

Many settlers, though willing to employ Irish servants for the colony's benefit, did not bother to hide their distaste in doing so. A Mr. Milne heroically offered to take two or three Irish girls, adding rather doubtfully, "I think with proper treatment that they may not be so bad as reported." 115

South Australians, from Moorhouse downwards, thought that they treated the Irish girls very well. Many of the humiliations which the girls suffered were blamed by the colonists onto the Commissioners who had sent the girls in such large numbers, rather than onto colonial prejudice. Most colonists were genuinely sorry for the immigrants themselves, even though they were inclined to treat them en masse as a problem. It was recognised that the girls had left Ireland full of hope for husbands, good wages and good food, and had arrived in South

Australia to find themselves unwelcome and unemployed. The "Times" dramatically described the arrival of one shipload at the Depot in July, 1855:

"One hundred and forty of these young women, we believe, were yesterday brought up from the Port, and the blank look of despair, often ending in a bursting flood of tears with which many a poor girl, as she was put down at the building with her small bundle, mutely regarded the crowd of fellow-unfortunates, was most distressing."¹¹⁶

But although South Australians were generally sympathetic towards the immigrants, many colonists considered that dispersing the girls quickly was more important than not humiliating them. Ultimately, MacDonnell argued, it was in the best interests of both the colony and the immigrants to employ the girls as soon as possible, wherever possible and at whatever cost to the government or the girls.¹¹⁷ Some colonists disagreed with this attitude, and sympathised with the Irish girls when they objected to compulsion or the suggestion of hard outdoor labour.¹¹⁸ Those who sympathised with the girls resented attitudes such as that of Mr. Forster, who had suggested that the women do pick-and-shovel work at the Botanical Gardens site, and of the farmer from Gumeracha, who probably offered half-a-crown a week for heavy harvest work. The stray stones thrown at these men by the Irish women were acts of revenge from those whose pride had been hurt by this policy of employing them at almost any price.

Arguments between those who thought it in the best interests of all concerned to employ the girls quickly at whatever sacrifice, and those, mostly with Irish blood in their veins, who saw only the present cost of such a policy in human terms, dogged the whole process of dispersing the immigrants. When the country depots were first set up, MacDonnell and Moorhouse had drawn up a stringent set of rules.¹¹⁹ Girls had to take the first offer of employment provided that the wage offered was at least half-a-crown a week; this represented one-third of the normal servant's wage. At Willunga, which was the first depot to be set up, Father Hughes, the local Catholic priest, had tried to insist on a wage of four shillings, and that the employer should sign a sheet authorising the servant to attend weekly Mass.¹²⁰ When MacDonnell heard of this through Smith Kell, the Chairman of the District Council, he insisted that Bishop Murphy himself write to the priest with instructions to stop such attempts to see to the girls' interests.¹²¹ At Clare, Mary Kienan, the Irish matron, refused to let the girls be hired for half-a-crown a week, and Moorhouse had to resort to a letter threatening dismissal to Mrs. Kienan unless she obeyed the rules.¹²² At Gawler, Father Mahoney and a Mr. Reid objected to the treatment which the girls were receiving.¹²³ Many of the girls sent to Gawler were from the "Nashwuuk", a ship which had run aground at the mouth of the Onkaparinga River at Port Noarlunga. Although the Destitute Board had supplied the girls from this

ship with clothes and a shawl,¹²⁴ they were hurried to Gawler from the central Depot before their mattresses had been replaced, and Moorhouse advised the matron there to buy straw for them to sleep on. An indignant Mr. Reid accused Moorhouse of treating the girls like "a mere lot of pigs,"¹²⁵ and persuaded the "Times" to open a subscription list to provide beds for the depot at Gawler.

But arguments between colonists in contact with country depots and Moorhouse were short-lived in comparison with MacDonnell's long battle with the Immigrant Board. The Governor must very soon have regretted his insistence that three of the Board members should be Irish, because these three refused to be as ruthless as he thought necessary. During November and December of 1855, when many girls were refusing to go into the country, MacDonnell wanted such renegades turned out of the Depot.¹²⁶ At Robe Town, the Government Resident had actually done this to one girl who would not join the party to Mount Gambier.¹²⁷ In November, the Board had held a special meeting to consider expelling from the central Depot a group of girls who would not go to Clare,¹²⁸ but apparently they decided against such drastic action. In December, the Governor laid a memorandum before the Board as a reply to their refusal to compel girls to go to country depots or hire for outdoor work:

"I confess that, as an Irishman, I infinitely prefer seeing my country women employed in any honest work, whether reaping, stacking, or other out-door farm occupation, to seeing them leading as at present,

"a life of forced idleness, demoralising to themselves and injurious to some of the best interests of the Colony." 129

In the same memorandum he suggested that rules be tightened up at least to the point where girls once employed could not be re-admitted to the Depot. The central Depot had relapsed to the lax rules for readmittance which the Irish Poor Law Board had deprecated in 1850. MacDonnell complained that the Depot rules encouraged girls to break service, and even more importantly in December, 1855, during the height of harvest, it encouraged employers to hire and dismiss girls as they pleased.¹³⁰ Again the Board could not agree with MacDonnell:

"To adopt the harsher line of policy and refuse admission to all girls once engaged even for a week, the Board considers to be highly impolitic, unjust and cruel, and that it would lead to many disastrous results." 131

The most serious disagreement of all occurred over the Willunga depot. Smith Kell, the District Council Chairman, who had been active in caring for the girls and finding employers for them, wrote to the Board asking that one girl be recalled to Adelaide because of violent behaviour.¹³² He said that several girls under this ring-leader had assaulted him for refusing to let them wander around the countryside visiting their friends who had found employment. Eliza Lewis, the matron, denied Mr. Kell's charges and the Board supported both matron and girls. MacDonnell, on the other hand,

remembered Kell's exertions in looking after the depot and pointed out to the Board that the police at Willunga had confirmed Kell's account of the trouble. At this, the three non-official members of the Board threatened to resign. They had never viewed with pleasure the authority which had been given in the matter of the Irish women to the District Councils for it undermined their own control, and they decided to take MacDonnell's stand as a vote of no-confidence. Ruffled feathers in Adelaide were eventually smoothed at the expense of Mr. Kell, who withdrew his support from the Willunga depot - a result which MacDonnell much regretted.

In all these clashes between the Governor and the Board, the Board and leniency won. However, early in 1856, the Board members themselves began to be more strict. One Irish girl was dismissed from the Depot in February for refusing to accept a place, and was told by Maj. O'Halloran that she was "a good-for-nothing girl, and one of those who brought disgrace upon her country."¹³³ At their first meeting in March, the Board decided to give two weeks' notice to all girls who had been in the Depot for twelve months or more, and then to turn them out if still unemployed.¹³⁴ This they duly did, although the girls were very distressed.¹³⁵ In March they reclassified the girls and told them that any girl refusing to accept a situation of the kind under which she was classified would be dismissed from the Depot.¹³⁶ Their final resolution before the Board dissolved

in April, 1856, was that no girl would be re-admitted into the central Depot unless she stated her willingness to go to the country if offered employment there.¹³⁷ From this it seems that MacDonnell had at last made his point: that strictness at the outset, which forced the girls to take employment, was in the long run the most humane solution. The natural fears of rough bush tracks, of not getting letters from home, of isolation from friends, and of poor wages - these fears had to be overcome at some stage, and the sooner the easier for all concerned.

Perhaps to take Clare depot as an example will illustrate the correctness of MacDonnell's reasoning. This was the depot to which girls first refused to go,¹³⁸ so it is appropriate that the fate of the girls who were sent there should prove MacDonnell to have been wiser than his critics. On the other hand, Clare may be an unfair example of a country depot, because the village "squire", "Paddy" Gleeson, was Irish, and also Chairman of the District Council - a very exceptional state of affairs. The first girls sent to Clare were hired out at the regulation half-a-crown per week, and all thirty were employed within a month.¹³⁹ Wages were soon raised, for the girls proved satisfactory servants, and the District Clerk wrote at the end of the month asking for more girls to be sent. Paddy Gleeson took a personal interest in the

depot,¹⁴⁰ and the girls seem to have been systematically distributed by a committee of the Council to surrounding townships, for the Clerk wrote at one stage to Adelaide to report that Skillogalee and Mintaro were yet to be supplied.¹⁴¹ Gleeson himself employed one girl, as did most of the other councillors. The Roman Catholic Silesian community just south of Clare employed several of the girls, and their leader personally took two. Some of the girls went to Auburn, where several Irish people had settled. The Clare schoolmaster employed two girls, the inn-keeper and the manager of the post office each took one. Of the first forty girls sent there (these are the only ones which can be traced) one quarter were married within three years of their arrival; the inn-keeper to his Irish servant-girl, and five others to Protestant miners from Kooringa.¹⁴²

The fact that nobody in Clare today knows of its invasion by one hundred and twenty-one Irish girls when the town was only six years old, suggests that the girls were absorbed rapidly into the community and soon became accepted in the district. There is no reason to think that the absorption of the girls in other districts was much more difficult than at Clare.

By 1857, the whole crisis had been forgotten by all except those in authority still negotiating with the Commissioners in England. All the girls were either employed or married, and the depots had been abandoned. In fact, the whole threat of "permanent pauperism" had passed, and passed far more cheaply than anyone in authority had anticipated. These results were a credit to MacDonnell, who had voluntarily taken so much responsibility for the fate of the girls. They were also a credit to Moorhouse and the Immigration Board. Above all, they justified the "Register's" pride in the willingness of the colonists to feel personally responsible when South Australia was faced with a problem; for, in spite of experiences in 1848 and 1849 and in the years that followed which prejudiced the Colony against Irish female immigrants, in the crisis of 1855 the colonists made every effort to employ the girls. It was to the credit of South Australians in many parts of the Colony that the whole process of distributing the girls came to such a successful conclusion.

CHAPTER IV.

REFERENCES.

1. C. Jaques: The Effect of the Gold Rushes on South Australia.
2. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 14-12-1854 (C.S.O. 1854/3631).
3. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-2-1854 (C.S.O. 1854/561).
4. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-4-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/1232).
5. Register 28-6-1855.
6. Minutes of the Destitute Board 11-6-1855 (S.A.A.).
7. Register 28-6-1855.
8. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report 6-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2166).
9. ibid.
10. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 7-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2135).
11. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 23-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2377).
12. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report 20-10-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3450).
13. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-9-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3111).
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15. Register 4-2-1856 (see Editorial on Immigration Agent's Report).
16. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 24-4-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/1271).
17. M. Kiddle: Caroline Chisholm, p. 44.
18. Minutes of Orphan Board 3-10-1849 (C.S.O. 1849/1839).

19. Immigration Agent to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-2-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/491).
20. ibid. See marginal note.
21. Draft of newspaper notice, 13-4-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/1163).
22. Adelaide Times 23-6-1855.
23. Adelaide Times 28-6-1855.
24. Register 19-6-1855.
25. Register 28-6-1855.
26. Marginal comment on Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 24-4-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/1271).
27. MacDonnell to Colonial Office No. 25, 24-9-1855 (C.O. 13/91). See Section 16.
28. ibid. See section 22.
29. ibid. See section 25.
30. Register 28-6-1855.
31. Chairman of Mitcham District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 7-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2136).
32. Minutes of Mount Barker District Council 9-7-1855 (S.A.A.).
33. Minutes of Mudla Wirra District Council 2-7-1855 (S.A.A.). Also Clerk of Talunga District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 3-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2094).
34. Wakefield had envisaged the establishment of a society in South Australia closely resembling that of rural England. For the first generation of settlers this pattern was largely followed. Those who bought up the original large holdings could nominate labourers as emigrants up to the value of their purchase money. Often these labourers settled as tenants in a village on the land-owner's property. The land-owner or "squire" seems to have lived as any English squire would have done. Several of them, for example, built private chapels with padded pews for themselves and wooden benches for their tenants. Their appointment to the office of Justice of the Peace gave official recognition of their status.

35. R. Davenport, J.P., Macclesfield, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 3-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2125).
36. Chairman of Yankalilla District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 2-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2441).
37. Chairman of Morphett Vale District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 6-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2128).
38. Clerk of Salisbury District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2279).
39. Chairman of Mitcham District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 7-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2136).
40. Chairman of West Torrens District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 2-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2059).
41. Stipendiary Magistrate of Mount Barker to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 9-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2151). Also Henry Evans, J.P., North Rhine, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 4-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2227).
42. J. Gilbert, J.P., Pewsey Vale, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 9-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2154). Also H. Seymour, J.P., South-East District, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 6-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2233).
43. P. Butler, J.P., Yattalunga, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 30-6-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2036).
44. G. F. Angas, J.P., Angaston District, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 1-5-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/1546). Also R. Davenport, J.P., Macclesfield, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 3-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2125).
45. J. Morphett, J.P., West Torrens, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 17-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2268). Also Mr. Thompson, Balhannah, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2281).
46. R. Montgomery, J.P., Clarendon District, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 4-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2114). Also J. Gilbert, J.P., Pewsey Vale, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 9-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2154).
47. W. H. Trimmer, J.P., Brighton, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 12-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2181).

48. B. W. Beddome, Currency Creek, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 3-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2092). Also Stipendiary Magistrate, Southern Districts, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 10-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2152).
49. E. Stephens, J.P., to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2296).
50. Register 23-7-1855.
51. . . . "And one spalpeen, bad luck to him for a baste, had the impudence to say that the poor things ought to be put on the Parklands . . . and med to work like wild bastes" Letter to Editor Adelaide Times 1-8-1855.
52. D. Pike: Paradise of Dissent, p. 477.
53. Adelaide Times 24-9-1855.
54. MacDonnell's comment on E. Stephens to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2296).
55. MacDonnell to Colonial Office, No. 5, 13-7-1855 (C.O. 13/90).
56. Minutes of Female Immigration Board 14-1-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/141).
57. C. Flaxman to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 17-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2775).
58. Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, to Colonial Secretary, Van Dieman's Land, 10-10-1855 (S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 54, p. 14).
59. Colonial Secretary, Van Dieman's Land, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, ibid.
60. A. J. Murray, J.P., Government Resident, Port Lincoln, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 27-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2549).
61. ibid. See marginal note from MacDonnell to Colonial Secretary.
62. Register 11-7-1855.
63. Smith Kell, Chairman of Willunga District Council, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 3-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2063).
64. Smith Kell to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 14-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2245) and 18-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2270).

65. P. B. Gleeson, J.P., Chairman of Clare District Council, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 30-6-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2095).
66. W. D. Kingsmill, Clare, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 11-10-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3345).
67. Matron Mary Kilnan, Clare, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 5-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2431).
68. Clerk of Clarendon District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 5-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2113).
69. Mr. Dean, Stipendiary Magistrate, Angaston, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 2-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2049).
70. Clerk of Angaston District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 8-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2149).
71. Stipendiary Magistrate, Mount Barker, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 9-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2151).
72. See note on back of District Clerk, Mount Barker, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 20-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2793).
73. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 137, Appendix.
74. B. Flaurie, Stipendiary Magistrate, Pt. Elliot, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 6-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2153).
75. Minutes of Mudla Wirra District Council 9-7-1855 (S.A.A.).
76. See note on back of Stipendiary Magistrate, Penola, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 10-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2318).
77. C. P. Brewer, J.P., Government Resident, Robe Town, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 10-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2205).
78. C. P. Brewer, J.P., Robe Town, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 31-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2531).
79. C. P. Brewer, J.P., Robe Town, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 15-9-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3109).
80. Register 6-2-1856.
81. Draft notice for Government Gazette, 23-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2369).
82. Clerk of Clare District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2748).

83. Note on back of Stipendiary Magistrate, Kooringa, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 30-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2488).
84. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-9-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3112).
The Board was given the following specific instructions:
1. To frame regulations to maintain discipline for all depots.
 2. To frame regulations as to diet, cleanliness and sanitation.
 3. To decide on the best means of transport to and from country depots, to select matrons and suggest new depot sites.
 4. To decide the clothing, etc., "absolutely necessary" for the immigrants.
 5. To find the most economical mode of managing the depots.
 6. To devise means of improving the girls' knowledge of domestic and other duties.
 7. To prevent the present surplus of immigrants from growing into a "permanent pauperism."
- (C.S.O. 1855/3369).
85. Register 4-10-1855.
Major O'Halloran, J.P., was an ex-Army officer who owned a large land grant near Adelaide. He was a member of the first S. A. Legislative Council.
G. S. Kingston had been Assistant Surveyor-General and was to become the first Speaker of the Parliament of South Australia.
Father Ryan was assistant to Bishop Murphy, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Adelaide.
86. See note on back of Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-9-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3112).
87. See draft reply on back of Chairman of Mount Crawford District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 2-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2093).
88. Adelaide Times 10-9-1855.
89. Register 19-10-1855.
90. Adelaide Times 7-12-1855.
91. Return of female immigrants in Adelaide Depot 18-12-1855 (S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 86, p. 1).

92. Adelaide Times 7-12-1855.
93. Moorhouse to Immigration Agent 19-11-1855 (Immigration Agent's Incoming Correspondence, S.A.A. 333).
94. See MacDonnell's note on back of Female Immigration Board to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-1-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/228).
95. Observer 15-12-1855.
96. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 95, p. 3.
97. Register 28-1-1856.
98. Register 11-1-1856.
99. Register 28-1-1856.
100. Register 4-2-1856.
101. Report of Meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 3-3-1856.
102. Report of Meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 20-3-1856.
103. Report of Meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 3-3-1856.
104. Report of Meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 28-4-1856.
105. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 24-7-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/2422).
106. Report of Meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 17-3-1856.
107. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-7-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/2355).
108. Draft plan of new Army Barrack 6-9-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/2901).
109. See notes on Destitute Asylum, S.A.A. 419.
110. S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 137, Appendix p. XIII.
111. ibid.

112. R. Davenport, J.P., to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 3-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2125).
113. Immigration Agent's Quarterly Report, April, 1855. (C.S.O. 1855/1213).
114. A. Hardy, J.P., Glen Osmond, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 7-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2130).
115. B. Milne, Glen Osmond, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 10-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2172).
116. Adelaide Times 12-7-1855.
117. MacDonnell to Colonial Office No. 25, 24-9-1855 (C.O. 13/91).
118. Adelaide Times 5-7-1855.
119. Moorhouse to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 24-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2368).
120. Smith Kell, Willunga, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 18-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2270).
121. Bishop Murphy to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 27-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2408).
122. Clerk of Clare District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 25-7-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2431). Note comments by Moorhouse.
123. Adelaide Times 25-8-1855.
124. Minutes of Destitute Board 18-6-1855 (S.A.A. D 3866).
125. Dr. John Reid, Gawler Town, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2790 $\frac{1}{2}$).
126. Female Immigration Board to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-1-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/228). See note from MacDonnell on back.
127. C. P. Brewer, Robe Town, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 1-9-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2969).
128. Immigration Agent's Incoming Correspondence, 19-11-1855 (S.A.A. 333).

129. Memorandum from MacDonnell to Female Immigration Board 9-1-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/228).
130. The correspondence on this issue between MacDonnell and the Female Immigration Board was laid on the table before the Legislative Council (S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 95).
131. Female Immigration Board to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 21-1-1856 (C.S.O. 1856/228).
132. The correspondence on this controversy is contained in S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 97.
133. Report of meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 14-2-1856.
134. Report of meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 3-3-1856.
135. Report of meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 28-4-1856. One hundred and fifty-three girls were dismissed from or refused re-admittance to depots during the Board's period of control.
136. Report of meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 10-3-1856.
137. Report of meeting of Female Immigration Board, Register 20-3-1856.
138. Immigration Agent's Incoming Correspondence 18-11-1855 (S.A.A. 333).
139. Clerk of Clare District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2748).
140. P. B. Gleeson, Clare, to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 8-9-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/3043).
141. Clerk of Clare District Council to Colonial Secretary, Adelaide, 16-8-1855 (C.S.O. 1855/2748).
142. The names of the first forty girls sent to Clare in 1855, together with the names of their respective employers, have been preserved (C.S.O. 1855/2431). Because Matron Kienan had shown herself reluctant to hire out the girls at low wages, she was instructed by Moorhouse to forward periodical lists of the girls, their employers, and the wages at which they had been engaged. The marriages were traced from the Marriage Register of the Jesuit College at Sevenhill, S.A., established in 1848.

APPENDIX I.COST OF SINGLE FEMALES TO THE GOVERNMENT 1-5-1854 TO 25-12-1855.Expenditure at Adelaide.

Food, Clothes, furniture	5,900.	4.	2.
Salaries of officers, matrons etc.	287.	10.	9.
Rent and repairs at German Hospital	104.	17.	3.
Additional building at Depot	6,500.	0.	0.
			12,792. 12. 2.

Expenditure at Country Depots including
rent, transport.

At Clare for 121 females	371.	10.	11.
At Willunga for 61 females	337.	7.	8.
At Guichen Bay, Mt. Gambier and Penola for 80 females	661.	15.	3.
At Encounter Bay (inc. £370 for building depot) for 91 females	646.	16.	7.
At Gawler Town for 129 females	250.	2.	0.
At Mt. Barker for 246 females	160.	7.	10.
At Morphett Vale & Yankalilla for 29 females	354.	13.	7.
(inc. miscellaneous country expenses, chiefly transport)			
			2,782. 13. 10.
			<u>£15,575. 6. 0.</u>

(See S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 137 Appendix p. XIII)

APPENDIX II.LAND FUND.

	<u>Receipts.</u>	<u>Expenditure on Immigration.</u>
1848	£36,112. 0. 3.	£33,535. 0. 11.
1849	61,073. 2. 0.	20,501. 0. 9.
	Immigration Moiety only.	
1850	53,469. 14. 2.	53,193. 10. 1.
1851	Not recorded.	
1852	57,828. 8. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	7,509. 8. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1853	161,634. 17. 4.	24,129. 1. 1 $\frac{1}{2}$
1854	193,492. 17. 7.	24,018. 4. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1855	142,044. 3. 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	200,877. 11. 11.
1856	149,052. 11. 11.	264,597. 16. 9 $\frac{1}{2}$

(See S. A. Blue Books 1848-1856.)

APPENDIX III.POPULATION OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA ON 31ST DECEMBER OF YEAR STATED.

	<u>Total</u>	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>	
1848	38,666	21,527	17,139	Estimate
1849	52,904	29,361	23,543	"
1850	63,700	35,902	27,798	Census taken.
1851	66,538	Not recorded		Estimate
1852	68,663	36,310	32,353	"
1853	78,944	43,400	35,544	"
1854	92,545	50,517	42,028	"
1855	97,387	48,843	48,544	Census taken.
1856	107,886	56,264	51,622	Estimate.

(See S. A. Blue Books 1848-1856).

APPENDIX IV.IMMIGRATION TABLES (for Assisted Immigrants).

<u>Year</u>	<u>Total</u> <u>Immigration</u>	<u>Adult</u> <u>Males</u>	<u>Adult</u> <u>Females</u>	<u>% Irish</u> <u>of Total</u> <u>Immigr.</u>	<u>Irish</u> <u>Single</u> <u>Females</u>	<u>Total Adult</u> <u>Single</u> <u>Females</u>
1848	5,922	1,913	2,179	12		
1849	5,175	1,706	1,939	11		
1850	2,422	914	807	21		
1851	3,670	1,522	1,192	23		
1852	5,279	1,871	1,714	20		
1853	4,583	1,239	1,773	9.3	251	826
1854	8,824	2,472	3,865	27	1044	2,093
1855	11,871	3,308	5,989	43	2978	4,049
1856	4,177	1,826	1,328	18		

(D. Pike: Paradise of Dissent, Appendix }
(S.A.L.C.P. 1855-6 No. 137 }

ABBREVIATIONS IN REFERENCES.

S.A.A.	South Australian Archives.
C.S.O.	Local Colonial Secretary's Incoming Correspondence in South Australian Archives.
C.O.	Colonial Office Papers.
S.A.L.C.P.	South Australian Legislative Council Papers.
S.A.P.P.	South Australian Parliamentary Papers.
N.S.W.L.C.P.	New South Wales Legislative Council Papers.
Vic.L.C.P.	Victorian Legislative Council Papers.
Vic.P.P.	Victorian Assembly Papers.
Commissioners:	The Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners.
Register:	South Australian Register.

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