Australia, Migration and Empire

Immigrants in a Globalised World

EDITED BY

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Britain and the World

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In Memory of Eric Richards, 1940 to 2018, doyen of emigration historians.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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Notes on Contributors

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Bridget Brooklyn is a lecturer in the history and political thought discipline in the School of Humanities and Communication Arts at Western Sydney University. Her research interests are late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Australian social and political history, women's political history and eugenics. She is currently researching the life and work of conservative activist and eugenicist Dr. Mary Booth. Recent publications are 'Claiming Anzac: The Battle for the Hyde Park Memorial, Sydney', *Melbourne Historical Journal* 45, no. 1 (2017), and '1954: Did Petrov Matter?' in *Elections Matter: Ten Federal Elections That Shaped Australia*. ed. Benjamin T. Jones, Frank Bongiorno and John Uhr (Monash University Publishing, 2018).

Melanie Burkett completed her Ph.D. at Macquarie University with the support of the International Macquarie University Research Excellence Scholarship and under the supervision of Tanya Evans. Burkett's research interests focus on migrants within the British Empire in the nineteenth century. Her dissertation is a cultural history of the first government-assisted emigrants to New South Wales. She completed her M.A. in history at North Carolina State University and also holds degrees from Duke and Ohio universities.

Heidi Ing is a Ph.D. candidate with Flinders University working under the supervision of Prof. Philip Payton and Prof. Don DeBats. Heidi completed an honours thesis on the German language in South Australia's colonial schools and a master's thesis on South Australia's Institute libraries. Her Ph.D. research investigates the career mobility of immigrants who arrived in South Australia in 1836 and follows the geographic and occupational mobility of their children and grandchildren.

Stephanie James' passion for Irish-Australian history is rooted in direct links with the strength of her Irish descent. The direction of both her M.A. on the early Irish in the Clare Valley region of South Australia and her Ph.D. examining issues of Irish-Australian loyalty during imperial crises can be seen in this context. Her research interests have also been reflected in publications looking at the Irish-Catholic press in the diaspora, Irish South Australia on the eve of World War One and parallels in the treatment of German and Irish-Australians during that war. Most recently, she co-edited and contributed to a 2019 volume which explored *Irish South Australia: New Histories and Insights.*

Skye Krichauff is a historian and anthropologist who is interested in historical cross-cultural relations and understanding the enduring legacies of colonialism. She has convened courses on Australian history, colonial history and Aboriginal-settler history at Flinders University, worked as a history researcher for an Aboriginal community organisation and as an expert ethnohistorian on the successful Kaurna Native Title Claim. Her first book *Nharangga Wargunni Bugi-Buggillu: A Journey Through Narungga History* (Wakefield Press, 2011) examines cross-cultural relations on nineteenth-century Yorke Peninsula, South Australia. Her second book *Memory, Place and Aboriginal–Settler History* (Anthem Press, 2017) is a place-centred ethnography which investigates the absence of Aboriginal people in settler descendants' historical consciousness. Skye is currently a Visiting Research Fellow at the University of Adelaide.

Anthony Nugent is a Ph.D. candidate at Flinders University working under the guidance of principal supervisor, Professor Philip Payton. He arrived in South Australia from Cornwall in 1978 and spent many years in the science faculty at Flinders University. In 2015, after successful completing both an undergraduate and an honours degree (first class) in International Studies, he was awarded a Ph.D. scholarship. His Ph.D. thesis concerns the Cornish contribution to Western Australia 1850–1930.

Philip Payton is a professor of history at Flinders University, South Australia, and Emeritus Professor of Cornish & Australian Studies at the University of Exeter, UK, as well as Hon. Fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities. He is the author/editor of more than fifty books. His recent volumes include *The Maritime History of Cornwall* (ed. with Alston Kennerley and Helen Doe, 2015), *Australia in the Great War* (2015), *One and All: Labor and the Radical Tradition in South Australia* (2016), *Emigrants and Historians: Essays in Honour of Eric Richards* (2016), *Cornwall: A History* (2017), *A History of Sussex* (2017), *'Repat': A Concise History of Repatriation in Australia* (2018), *More than the Last Shilling: Repatriation in Australia, 1994–2018* (2019), and *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's Great Emigration* (2019).

Dr. Andonis Piperoglou grew up on Ngunnawal country and has Cypriot and Castellorizian cultural background. He is a historian who focusses on migration, race and settler-colonialism in the early twentieth century. He completed his dissertation at La Trobe University in 2017. His thesis explored how Greeks were positioned in Australian racial imaginings while also investigating how Greek people articulated a sense of settler-colonial belonging. In 2018, he was a recipient of the AHA/Copyright Agency Early Career Mentorship Scheme, co-founded the Australian Migration History Network, and was elected a member of the International Australian Studies Association Executive Committee. Currently, he lectures at the Australian Catholic University and is a Research Associate in History at Flinders University, where he is a Primary Investigator on the Australian Research Council Discovery Project 'Managing Migrants and Border Control in Britain and Australia, 1901–1981'.

Eric Richards held a professorial chair in history at Flinders University in Adelaide, South Australia, since the early 1970s, and was Emeritus Professor at the university until his untimely death in September 1918. He was a specialist in the history of Scotland, colonial Australia, and

in Australian, British and international migration history. His most recent monographs were: *The Genesis of International Mass Migration* (Manchester University Press, 2018); *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia Since 1901* (University of New South Wales Press, 2008); *The Highland Clearances: People, Landlords and Rural Turmoil* (Birlinn, 2008); *Debating the Highland Clearances* (Edinburgh University Press, 2007); and *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland Since 1600* (Continuum, 2004). In 2003, he received the Australian Centenary Medal for 'Services to the Arts and Australian Society'. In 2009, he won the New South Wales Premier's Literary Prize, and in 2014, he was the Carnegie Trust Centenary Professor in Scotland, when he was based at the University of the Highlands and Islands.

Evan Smith is a research fellow in history in the College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences at Flinders University, South Australia. He is part of the ARC Discovery Project, 'Managing Migrants and Border Control in Britain and Australia, 1901–1981'. He has published widely on the history of immigration, anti-racism and political extremism in Australia, Britain and South Africa. His latest book is *British Communism and the Politics of Race* (Haymarket, 2018).

Andrekos Varnava FRHistS, is an associate professor in imperial and military history at Flinders University, South Australia, and an Honorary Professor at De Montfort University, Leicester. He is the author of three monographs: *British Cyprus and the Long Great War, 1914–1925: Empire, Loyalties and Democratic Deficit* (forthcoming, Routledge 2019); *Serving the Empire in the Great War: The Cypriot Mule Corps, Imperial Loyalty and Memory* (ManU Press, 2017; ppbk 2019); and *British Imperialism in Cyprus, 1878–1915: The Inconsequential Possession* (ManU Press, 2009; ppbk 2012). He is the editor/co-editor of seven volumes, the latest being *Comic Empires: The Imperialism of Cartoons, Caricature and Satirical Art* (ManU Press, forthcoming 2019), and *The Great War and the British Empire: Culture and Society* (Routledge, 2017). He has published numerous chapters in various books and peer-reviewed articles, including in *Journal of Modern History* (2018), *English Historical Review* (2017), *The Historical Journal* (2014), *Historical Research* (2014 and 2017) and *War in History* (2012, 2015 and 2016), and has others forthcoming in *Social History of Medicine* (2019) and *Contemporary British History* (2020).

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Australia, Migration and Empire

Philip Payton and Andrekos Varnava

In the great narratives of Britain and the World, migrants feature routinely, although the sheer diversity of their experience has not always been fully recognised. Migrants played a major role in the creation and settlement of the British Empire and the wider 'Anglosphere' and established global mobility as a defining feature of the Empire's life. Most often this was outward movement, from Britain and Ireland to the far-flung destinations of emigrant settlement, not least to Australia, the focus of this volume. But there were also counter-flows, often distinctive and not always welcome, from the Empire back to Britain itself, establishing pockets of immigrants in the Imperial homeland long before the better known large-scale Commonwealth immigration of the post-colonial era.

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Likewise, despite the numerical and cultural dominance of British-Irish emigrants in Empire settlement, the complexity of global movement had attracted other European migrants to Britain's Imperial project, creating new avenues of loyalty and identity. Contact between settlers and Indigenous peoples was similarly complex, in Australia as in other Imperial destinations, the nature of cross-cultural relations informed by the diversity of migrants' backgrounds, ethnicities, religious affiliations and other factors. This, in turn, alerts us to the fact that British-Irish migrants were by no means the homogenous group often assumed by historians, especially in the Australian context. Despite their shared experiences of migration and settlement, not to mention the primacy of the English language, these migrants nonetheless often exhibited distinctive cultural identities, ones that could be deployed for community, political or economic advantage. In the same way, gender could be a powerful determinant of attitudes and behaviour, overlapping issues of ethnicity and class to influence ways that immigrant women in Australia and the wider Imperial world understood their role and purpose.

This volume is designed to address each of these considerations, using Australia as our example in illuminating the complexity and diversity of the British Empire's global immigration story. Eric Richards, in his chapter, sets the scene and establishes many of the themes elaborated in the book. He alights upon the mass emigration from the British Isles to the Empire and wider 'Anglosphere', noting especially its sudden acceleration in numbers and intensity during the 1820s, an unprecedented surge that underpinned the fundamental relationship between migration and Empire. It was an outstanding outrush, a new dynamic force unleashed upon the world. But the first stirrings of this 'great emigration' had been noticeable in previous centuries, especially after 1770, and the outward movement from Britain and Ireland remained significant until at least the 1950s. Eventually about 19 million left the British Isles and they re-populated three continents—North America, South Africa and Australasia—creating the Anglosphere and acting as the spear carriers or foot soldiers of the greater Empire narrative. But there were discontinuities, as new destinations for potential emigrants appeared, and within the British Isles there was a fundamental disparity between the trajectories of Ireland on the one hand and Britain on the other. Within this dichotomy, there were also significant regional variations, such as the distinctive emigration regions of Ulster and Cornwall, and identifiable shifts in population from localities such as Scotland, Wales and various parts of England.

Within the grand narrative of a globalised Anglosphere, there were, as Richards notes, the sub-narratives of specific destinations. South Australia, he explains, forms a significant case study. The newly proclaimed colony began recruiting immigrants at the very moment emigration from the British Isles acquired its mass characteristics, entering the migrant market in 1835–1836 and offering special incentives to intending migrants who could meet the criteria. In this way, South Australia was successful in diverting some migrants away from more 'mainstream' destinations within the Anglosphere. Yet, as Heidi Ing shows in her chapter, among the early intending migrants to South Australia who had already applied for assisted passages and had been accepted, there were those who after all did not embark in the ships bound for the new colony in 1836. Some had become disillusioned by the seemingly interminable waiting and delays. Life-changing events—such as marriage, pregnancy, the birth of infants— also served to change people's minds or lead to eleventh-hour alterations of plans. Some of these people may have merged back into the general population but many eventually chose competing destinations in the Anglosphere, such as New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, Canada and the USA, which lured potential emigrants away from the South Australian scheme. As Heidi Ing demonstrates, these individuals and families can be 'hunted down' by using techniques to interrogate online-digitised databases to identify their varied outcomes, and she employs such forensic methods to discover the fates of those early applicants for assisted passage to South Australia. Thirty-year-old Joseph Dennis, for example, was scheduled to emigrate to the colony in 1836, along with his wife, two sons and daughter, but instead the family headed for New South Wales in 1837. John Garread, meanwhile, abandoned plans to go to South Australia—a long and potentially hazardous journey of some four to five months—deciding upon the alternative destination of New York. His wife was pregnant, and they had a three-month-old son as well as an eighteen-month-old daughter, so the shorter trip across the Atlantic no doubt appeared a safer and more attractive option.

Emigration to early South Australia, then, was not quite as straightforward as its founders had hoped, and, despite the special attractions of the new colony, including incentives, not all intending migrants took the plunge, many ending up eventually in more 'mainstream' destinations within the British Empire and wider Anglosphere. Likewise, the seemingly attractive plan devised by the British government in the 1830s to encourage single female emigration to New South Wales was met with

unanticipated opposition. Designed to address the acute gender imbalance in New South Wales, thought to be the source of all manner of social and moral evils in the colony, the single female emigration programme was seen by the British government as an 'improving' device. However, as Melanie Burkett explains in her chapter, the plan was viewed as anything but improving in the colony itself, especially among its elite. Still smarting from its reputation as a 'convict colony', New South Wales was alert to any development that might further damage its reputation. The prospect of a flood of single women, mostly from working-class backgrounds (with lives and socio-economic characteristics not unlike the convicts themselves), filled many with horror. The potential female immigrants were seen, not as models of acceptable (middle-class) femininity and 'respectability', but rather as a potential new threat to the moral fabric of New South Wales. This was a theme taken up in the colonial press, the plan's vociferous detractors often motivated by their own political agendas, the emerging debate linking the proposed single female immigration explicitly to the convict 'problem' and highlighting the stark disconnect between British and colonial expectations of the programme. As a result, as Melanie Burkett concludes, 'the single female immigrants were doomed to disappoint'.

Meanwhile, as potential migrants from Britain and Ireland mulled over the relative advantages and disadvantages of competing destinations, and as British emigration schemes sometimes met colonial resistance, so the new waves of emigrants intruded upon the traditional owners of 'new' land ostensibly only now being opened up for settlement. Again, South Australia is our case study. Skye Krichauff, in her chapter, focusses on the agricultural mid-north of South Australia. Initially, in the years after 1836, the mid-north was pastoral country, where the 'squatters-cum-pastoralists' ran large herds and flocks across extensive leases. During this period, the Aboriginal population outnumbered the new arrivals, and there were numerous opportunities for, and instances of, cross-cultural contact, sometimes violent. By the 1870s, however, the pastoral leases had given way to the freeholder farmers of the wheat frontier, a time of much closer settlement with fewer opportunities for cross-cultural contact, the European settler population now larger and the numbers of Aborigines already much diminished.

It is in this historical context, argues Skye Krichauff, that one can begin to explain the relative absence of Aboriginal people in the historical consciousness and oral narratives of those farming families today in South

Australia's mid-north descended from the nineteenth-century settlers. Conventional explanations for the absence of Aborigines in the historical consciousness of such descendants have ranged from 'denial' to 'averted gaze', a collective conspiracy (almost) to perpetuate what William Stanner famously labelled 'the great Australian silence'. Skye Krichauff, however, calls for a more nuanced understanding of the phenomenon, pointing out that Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal people's experiences of colonialism were diverse across Australia and often specific to particular eras and areas, with a range of factors, including geography, topography and resources, affecting cross-cultural contact. In the case of South Australia's mid-north, she shows that settler families today, far from exhibiting the discomfit of the 'averted gaze', express genuine ignorance and sometimes surprise when asked to consider the erstwhile Aboriginal owners of their land. Moreover, the same lack of historical consciousness extends to an absence of knowledge regarding the earlier 'squatters-cum-pastoralists', the oral narratives of today generally going back no further than the arrival of a descendant's first forebears on the land. If the traditional Aboriginal owners of the land are forgotten, then so too are the 'squatters-cum-pastoralists' who predated the freeholders.

Memory of a different sort helps explain the otherwise puzzling role played by South Australia in responses to the 'Distress in Ireland' in 1879–1880. Although, as Eric Richards once observed, South Australia was for the nineteenth-century Irish immigrant, 'the most alien corner of the new continent', the colony retaining its overwhelmingly Protestant flavour well into the twentieth century, there had been a significant arrival of Irish, particularly after 1850. Irish settlement was on a smaller scale than in the eastern colonies, and although their numbers were relatively low, the Irish formed a visible minority within the South Australian settler population, even to the extent of attracting the anti-Irish sentiment observable elsewhere in Australia. Moreover, many of those who had arrived in the colony in earlier years had experienced or remembered the great Irish Famine of 1845–1851, and when news broke of the renewed dearth and distress in Ireland in 1879–1880, they were moved to do something about it. As Stephanie James observes in her chapter, the actual extent of this response is at first sight surprising, given the modest size of the Irish community. Yet South Australia led the continent in initiating the relief movement. As she explains, the rapid and largely seamless mobilisation of South Australia's population—Irish and non-Irish—in raising funds for the

'Irish Distress', when prejudicial opinion was broadly put to one side, was mainly due to the fund-raising energy and public relations flair of the Fund's enigmatic Honorary Secretary, Irishman M.T. Montgomery. Although Adelaide's Lord Mayor, E. T. Smith, was pivotal in launching the official response to the appeal, it was Montgomery who systematically engaged local government to support the establishment of colony-wide relief committees. Subscription lists demonstrated the breadth of community generosity, and extensive newspaper coverage revealed the range of fund-raising events and activities, which garnered more than £8000 in just three months. It was not all plain sailing, as Stephanie James shows, and there were very public disagreements, with Montgomery emerging as a somewhat divisive figure. Nonetheless, South Australians pulled together in a remarkably efficient and well-organised campaign to rise to the challenge of the 'Irish Distress'.

Significantly, as Fidelma Breen argues in her chapter, the relatively small Irish population was likewise able to make its influence felt in the wider South Australian community during the debate over Irish Home Rule. Between 1883 and 1912, envoys from the Irish Parliamentary Party visited South Australia at the behest of its Irish population, engaging in fund-raising and enhancing the reputation of the Irish (in the absence of a coherent Orange opposition to Home Rule) through favourable press treatment of Irish issues. It is clear that the assumed assimilation of the Irish into the broad 'Britishness' of the colony was misplaced, and that during the Home Rule debate they were increasingly politicised. But it is also clear that the Irish were successful in reaching out to other components of South Australian society, garnering strong support for the Home Rule cause in a colony where the majority of the population was neither Irish nor Catholic. Paradoxically, in marked contrast to the eastern colonies, where the Irish proportion of the populations was much larger but with fractured loyalties, including a structured Orange opposition, in South Australia the size, unity and nature of the Irish nationalist voice were complemented by the colony's natural affinity with the notion of self-government and through the fraternal bonds moulded by issues of land ownership and control. Indeed, while fund-raising was the prime object of the series of visits to Australia by Irish MPs between 1883 and 1912, acceptance of the Irish claim for Home Rule among Australians in general proved equally important. As Fidelma Breen concludes, despite the relatively small Irish community in South Australia, the colony contributed generously to the Home

Rule cause, attracting widespread involvement from non-Irish and non-Catholics alike.

As Eric Richards has shown, among the distinctive emigration regions of the British Isles was Cornwall. In the period from 1815 to 1914, perhaps as many as 250,000 people left Cornwall for overseas destinations (with a similar number bound for other parts of the UK), many in response to the demand for Cornish skills and technology on the rapidly expanding international mining frontier. Cornish miners—'Cousin Jacks'—were much sought after for their practical experience and their ability to improvise in seemingly unpromising conditions, and they turned up across the Anglosphere and beyond in often remote locations. In 1867, for instance, as Anthony Nugent describes in his chapter, Captain Samuel Mitchell and a group of Cornish miners arrived near was is now Geraldton in Western Australia to take over the management of the Geraldine Lead Mine. Mitchell was considered the epitome of the 'practical mining man' and went on to carve out a varied and successful career in the mining industry and in parliamentary politics in Western Australia, as did other notable Cornish mine managers in the colony.

Yet, as Anthony Nugent shows, these eminently practical Cornish miners were increasingly the butt of criticism from scientifically trained mining engineers and geologists who objected to what they saw as the 'rule-of-thumb' and 'old school' methods of the Cousin Jacks. An early detractor was the Irish-born and Dublin-educated Edward Townley Hardman, and his criticisms of the Cornish were echoed forcefully by the American college-trained Herbert Hoover, who arrived in Western Australia in 1897. By then the Cornish had already secured their dominance in the newly developed Eastern Goldfields of the colony. However, Hoover agitated for the appointment of scientifically trained mining engineers in their stead, and Cornish hegemony was correspondingly diminished in the years ahead. Yet, as Anthony Nugent shows, the Cornish were by no means as untutored as their detractors claimed (several leading Cornish mine captains in Western Australia having authored technical and scientific papers). Moreover, their departure from the Eastern Goldfields in the late 1890s was not so much evidence of their managerial failings but rather a function of the growing attraction of the South African goldfields, increasingly the focus of British capital investment. Some 5000 Australian miners moved from the Eastern Goldfields to the Rand during the early 1900s, and among them a goodly number of Cousin Jacks, deploying their globalised information networks to identify preferred destinations, in this case South Africa.

The story of Cornish emigrants overseas is often a male-oriented narrative. But among the early applications for assisted passage to South Australia were two single 'female mine workers'—'bal-maidens' in Cornish parlance—Sukey and Jane Fletcher, who hailed from Wheal Butson, near St Agnes, in Cornwall. Not long after, bal-maidens were observed at work, sorting and grading the ore brought to surface, at the newly discovered Wheal Gawler silver-lead mine, near Adelaide. However, despite this early visibility, women soon found themselves excluded from employment in the rapidly expanding mining industry across Australia, an exclusion that—until very recently—has been reflected in the historiography of Australian mining itself. Increasingly criticised as unfeminine in the British press, female mine workers were encouraged to retreat to the domestic sphere, a critique that was echoed in the Australian press, not least in mining districts such as the goldfields of Victoria, where there was by now general resistance to female employment in the mining industry. Insofar as women were allowed a space in the narratives of Australian mining communities, it was in supportive roles which emphasised their 'civilising' qualities and their ability to bring order and domesticity to otherwise rough and ready mining camps. As Philip Payton explains, this was an important component of the 'myth of Cousin Jenny', part of the story that the emigrant Cornish told about themselves, asserting the superiority of such women on the international mining frontier. Moreover, despite the desired confinement to the domestic sphere, there is evidence that female agency could on occasion play a decisive role in the life of Australian mining communities, not least in strikes and industrial actions, such as the significant interventions by women on South Australia's northern Yorke Peninsula and at Broken Hill in New South Wales from the 1870s until the turn of the twentieth century and beyond. Today, a memorial at Broken Hill commemorates the role of women in the city's long history of industrial struggle. But behind the sentiment lies the reality that, despite their earlier prominence, women at Broken Hill were increasingly marginalised by the male-dominated trade unions who sought to confine them to the domestic sphere, or at least to clearly delineated areas of 'women's work' outside the mining industry itself.

Yet there were professional spheres, beyond the mining industry, where women were active in Australia by the early twentieth century. Dr. Mary Booth, for example, a feminist and adherent of the American-inspired reformist 'Progressivist' movement, was a successful childcare

specialist and practitioner. During the First World War, she shifted her humanitarian gaze, as did many women of her class and background, to voluntary support services for soldiers and their dependants, notably her extremely successful Soldiers' Club in central Sydney, opened in 1915. A primary aim of this Club was to preserve the health of the 'British race' in Australia by protecting the purity of new recruits from 'the bush' from the evil temptations of the city. In the aftermath of the war, the Club eventually closed in 1923. By this time, as Bridget Brooklyn demonstrates in her chapter, Mary Booth was already moving her attention to providing wholesome accommodation for 'British boy' immigrants. Migration programmes after the First World War targeted British youth—for example, some 18,000 young farm workers were enticed to Australia between 1922 and 1930—these youngsters being seen as the epitome of British vigour and racial purity. Here was a continuity of Booth's eugenic preoccupations from her Soldiers' Club days, but her 'Progressivist' ideas were increasingly wedded to a politicised Australian Imperial nationalism. She ran unsuccessfully for parliament in New South Wales in 1920 and did not try again. But, as Bridget Brooklyn concludes, Mary Booth's active engagement in a variety of causes all pointed towards her embrace of an 'Empire nationalist' political vision, one which incorporated the eugenic and Imperial values of her profession, class and generation, but also offered practical and sympathetic support to those she saw as carrying the promise of British Australia.

Despite the 'British race' dimension of Australian Imperial nationalism, there was room for others within the often carefully constructed world of Australian Empire loyalty. An intriguing insight into this process is provided by Andonis Piperoglou in his discussion of the fate of Hector Vasyli, an eleven-year-old schoolboy of Greek background. On 9 June 1918, Hector Vasyli was walking along a road near the southern end of Victoria Bridge in Brisbane to join a group of children who were cheering Australian soldiers returning from the First World War. These soldiers were travelling in a convoy of motor cars from South Brisbane railway station to the Military Hospital at Kangaroo Point. Suddenly, one of the cars veered to the side and struck Hector, killing him. In the outpouring of grief that followed, negotiations between the Hellenic Association of Queensland, the Returned Sailors' and Soldiers' Imperial League, and South Brisbane Council led to the erection of a memorial in honour of Hector's patriotism. When the memorial was unveiled in early December 1918, the President of the Hellenic Association of

Queensland, Christy Freeleagus, delivered a rousing speech in which he outlined the civilisational prestige and trans-imperial association of Greek settlers in Australia. In Freeleagus' account, Hector Vasyli, and his unexpected death, epitomised Greek settler pro-British loyalty in Australia. Freeleagus extolled the supposed historical, trans-imperial and racial affiliations between Britain and Greece, while the memorialisation of Hector Vasyli served to emphasise and validate early Greek settler ties with Australia, a permanent physical manifestation of cross-cultural interaction. Thus the memorial stood as a sombre moment of public recognition and unanimity that seemed to entrench forever the prestige of Greek civilisation within Brisbane and in Australian society more generally.

Hellenic Empire loyalty was one thing; disreputable Cypriot immigrants quite another. In 1928, the exasperated Australian authorities told the British government that they would no longer allow Cypriots into Australia because of the widespread destitution of those already in the country. In their chapter, Andrekos Varnava and Evan Smith take a comparative approach to understand the problem of Cypriot immigrant destitution, which was also endemic within the UK as well as in Australia. They explore how both the British and Australian authorities attempted to deal with the issue of destitute Cypriots, those who had emigrated abroad before, during and immediately after the First World War. The problem was complex, not only as a result of the destitution itself, but because many had not acquired British Cypriot nationality at the time of British annexation of the island in 1914, having been absent overseas. Indeed, emigration from Cyprus to various parts of the world had become noticeable before the outbreak of the First World War and, although the British prohibited the emigration of men of military age in 1916, it restarted again as soon as the restriction was lifted after the Armistice in 1918. Recent research has shown that the British authorities had considered the London Cypriots a deviant community by the 1930s, both for their perceived criminality and their communist activity. Andrekos Varnava and Evan Smith, however, shift the focus to the preceding period and adopt a broader context (Australian as well as British) to focus on how Cypriot destitution was handled from before the First World War up to 1929.

Although Australia enjoyed a renewed surge of British and Irish immigration after the Second World War, by the 1950s, as Eric Richards has noted, the first signs of the beginning of the end of the

long emigration from the British Isles to the Anglosphere were already observable. Indeed, many of the defining characteristics of *Australia, Migration and Empire* had been in place long before 1939, ranging from the early emigration schemes of the 1830s that had coincided with the sudden upsurge of British and Irish migration, through the complex issues of Aboriginal displacement and settler memory, to the impact of transnational identities such as the Irish and the Cornish. Although there remained throughout a commitment to 'British race' identification, which was subsumed within an emerging Australian Empire nationalism, there were opportunities for other immigrant groups to demonstrate their worth as loyal members of the (White) Australian community, although there were notable exceptions which demonstrated the limits of this inclusivity. Over the long period since 1788, the propensity of the populations of Britain and Ireland to emigrate to Australia has varied widely, not least due to the attractions of alternative destinations in an increasingly globalised world, but what is most noticeable perhaps is that, behind its often homogenous façade, British and Irish emigration to Australia has been remarkably diverse in character and impact.

British Emigrants
and the Making of the Anglosphere:
Some Observations and a Case Study

Eric Richards

Eric Richards was eager to contribute to this volume and had intended to offer a chapter on the peopling of the Anglosphere, with South Australia as a case study. At the time of his death, in September 2018, it was not ready for publication. In its place, Robert Fitzsimons and Philip Payton have drawn on Eric's unpublished writings to produce the chapter that follows. It is a composite piece but the text is almost entirely in his words. Editorial additions have been kept to a minimum, but some have been necessary to achieve better coherence and narrative fluency. The more substantial intrusions have been placed within curly brackets, thus { }

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Long Trends in British Emigration Since 1600[1]

In William Boyd's novel *The Ice Cream War*, Gabriel Cobb, a soldier of Britain's remote West African empire, says to himself that 'maps should be banned. They gave the world an order and reasonableness which it didn't possess'. This is also the demographic historian's hazard and is especially the case with the British Diaspora, that is, the spread of people from the British Isles since 1600. The emigrants were not nearly so neatly regimented as the lines stretching across the globe in the maps in my book *Britannia's Children* suggest: there has always been an untidy, uncontrolled and indeed chaotic dimension to emigration, which is one of its intellectual attractions.[2]

Over the past four centuries, departures from the British Isles have been exceedingly uneven. There have been times of widespread and sustained emigration at high and concentrated levels. Some of these exoduses have been so large that the country as a whole took such a fright at the loss of its bone and sinew that the government was urged to intervene to staunch the flows.[3] At other times, the outflows from the British Isles have been slight and even negative, and the recruiters of migrants abroad sought other human supplies to compensate for the deficits. These fluctuations, these surges and retreats, are one of the most intriguing aspects of the history of British migration—the more so because emigration was often regarded as a barometer of the health of the home nation. When people left the country in large numbers, it was natural for social commentators to think that something was wrong with the body politic or body moral. On the whole, however, the British have been more anxious about immigration than emigration, though both are accompanied by severe statistical problems.

The 'British Diaspora' has been crucial in the demographic development of large parts of the modern world. A large proportion of the population of the United States, Canada, South Africa, Australia (including South Australia, as we shall see) and New Zealand trace their origins to the British Isles. In the second and third centuries of international migration out of Europe, the British Isles were the leaders of mass emigration and remained so until the end of the nineteenth century.[4] They constituted a *völkerwanderung*, much celebrated in Victorian literature.[5]

But the measurement of its extent, composition and range is extremely difficult.

The most striking and significant statistic of international migration in the long run relates to the extraordinary precocity and dominance exerted by the British Isles in the so-called Great Age of Emigration. This refers to the long nineteenth century (1825–1930). The best estimate is that about 52 million people left Europe. The British Isles constituted about 10% of the Europe's population at that time but contributed about 36% of the European exodus.[6] Within this broad proposition, there were further disproportions—such as the very large contribution of Ireland to the total.

The purpose of this chapter is to depict the broad flows of people out of the British Isles at various moments in the past 400 years, initially as a panoramic overview, and then presenting as an exemplar a case study of South Australia. The chapter is also concerned with the trends in the propensity to emigrate over that period, expressed as a proportion of the population leaving each year. Establishing authentic migration data, even in the most recent times, is notoriously problematic. Until the late nineteenth century, systematic data were simply not collected. Even in the twenty-first century, the statistics of immigration and emigration are fraught with difficulties of definition, provenance and reliability. Many of the data for this paper are derived from population reconstructions from fragmentary and fragile sources. Moreover, migration is often derived as the final residual calculation at the end of a chain of estimates of total population change and the relationship between birth and death rates. Migration is therefore almost always expressed in *net* terms—essentially because the actual data for inflow and outflow simply do not exist. Consequently, many of the assumptions underpinning the data are, at best, heroic.

Nevertheless, the long perspective on migration trends is a matter of great significance not only for a measure of the vitality of the British Diaspora, but also for the internal demography of the British Isles. Thus, as a simple example, it is clear that in 1630, when the population was a mere six million, the country had a much higher propensity to emigrate than when the population was more than 60 million in 2001. It is also transparent that some parts of the British Isles passed through different chronologies: thus, for example, most of Ireland had a different emigration history from most of rest of the British Isles. By the

mid-twentieth century, some demographers announced 'the end of the British Diaspora'.[7]

The notoriety of migration data does not abate with time and technology. As every demographer knows, current measures of movements across international borders are as dubious as they were in 1900 and little better than in 1800. The problems of registration, reporting, deception, informality, changing of minds, re-categorisation, category-jumping and definition remain largely unresolved. Meantime, both the scale and the complexity of such movements have multiplied and even computerised systems are stretched to their limits.

Fluctuations in migration over time are matched by a great unevenness in the origins of British emigration. Sometimes, certain regions have dominated the exoduses—the Scottish Highlands and Ulster were remarkably prominent in the mid-eighteenth century, and less so in the following century. Sometimes, England has been a great donor, sometimes much less generous. This unevenness charts the shifting structure of the nation at large. The regional disparities in emigration run parallel with the changing fortunes of the component parts of the economy, and it is tempting to read special significance into these flows—such as the high outflows from industrial Scotland in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.[8]

Convict transportation, which had nourished the American colonies (to 1776) and then the new Australian settlement from 1788, aroused severe criticism at home and abroad by the 1820s. By 1840, the convict flows were largely brought to a halt. Thereafter, the outflows from the British Isles comprised, overwhelmingly, individuals and families travelling volitionally to a widening array of destinations within and beyond the formal empire.

The maps and tables presented here gather together several current estimates of the flows of British emigration over the long run. Despite the great scholarly investment in recent times devoted to the demographic history of England and Wales since 1570, the emigration dimension has not been settled. Until the late nineteenth century, there was no official and systematic registration and categorisation of movements of passengers into and out of British ports.[9] The problem of distinguishing authentic emigrants from all other travellers is perennial and has been exacerbated by the greatly increased flows of international traffic in recent decades.

For the pre-statistical age, and even into the twentieth century, most estimates of emigration are normally derived as the residual graph once