

BECOMING SOUTH AUSTRALIANS? THE IMPACT
OF THE IRISH ON THE COUNTY OF STANLEY,
1841-1871

By

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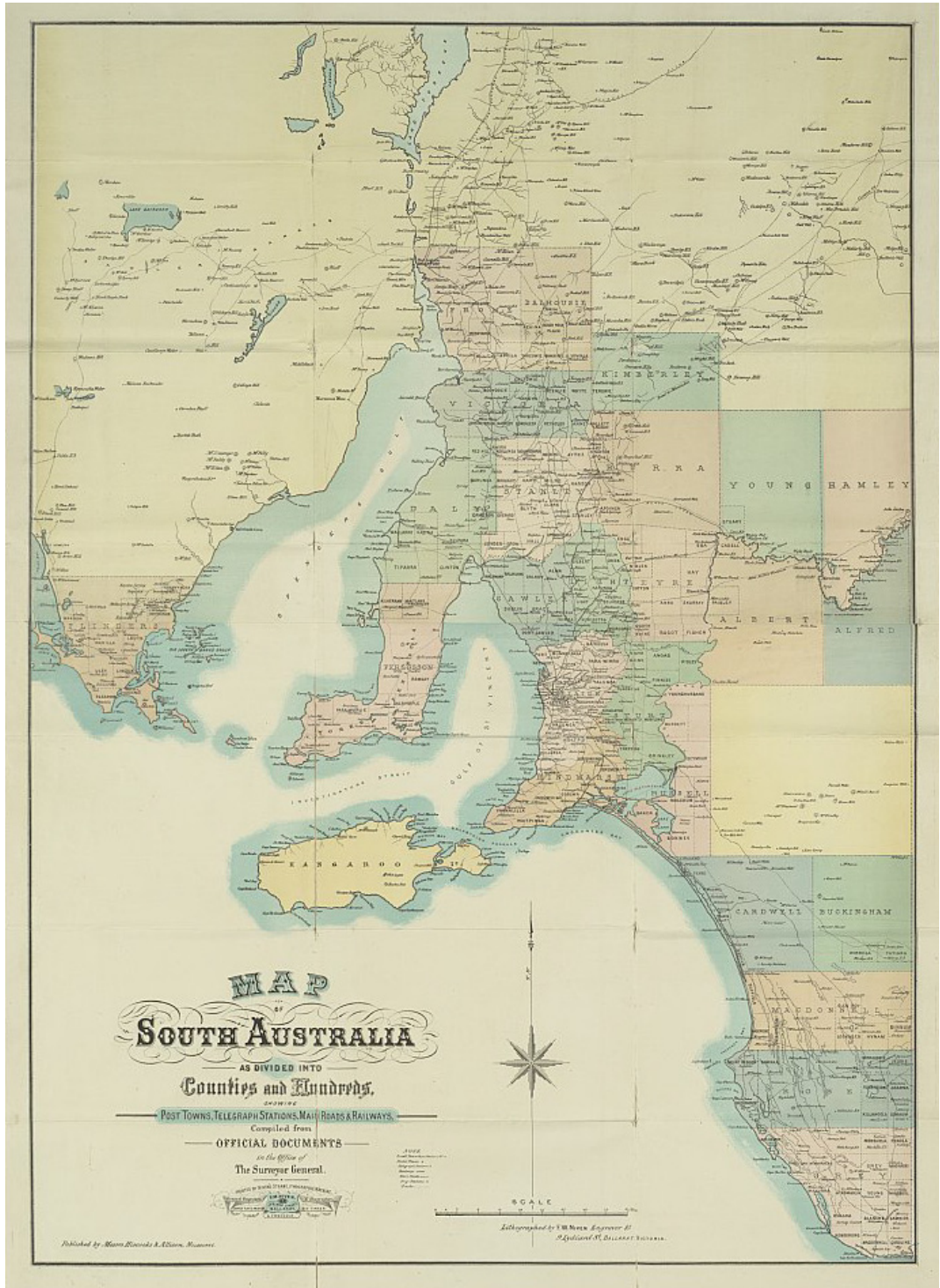
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Portion of Map of South Australia 1876 –
County of Stanley.



Map of South Australia 1876 – Counties and Hundreds.

SUMMARY

This thesis traces the processes by which Irish residents in the County of Stanley made the transition into becoming South Australians, and the ways in which they made an impact on the community between 1841 and 1871. Stanley, proclaimed in 1842, was the colony's most Irish area by 1861. Additional features differentiating this county included the founding role of Irishman Edward Burton Gleeson, the early and distinctive presence of the Catholic Church (linked particularly to the 1848 arrival of Austrian Jesuits), and the benefits derived from Stanley's proximity to the Burra copper mine. The research has examined the nature of the Irish imprint by the early 1870s.

The evidence presented here shows that Stanley's Irish population did not replicate the colonial pattern in terms of county of origin. There were small pockets of Protestant Irish among the visible clustering of the Irish Catholic majority, there was strong Irish involvement at all levels of politics and there was clear commitment to education. Churches, schools and one Loyal Orange Lodge were constructed in the county. There was evidence of networking amongst Irishmen alongside staunch disagreements, status was ascribed to a few Irish individuals as Justices of the Peace, and to more, as spokesmen for the community, success was visible in the lives of many. This was paralleled by economic failure – ordinariness does sum up the lives of many in these decades.

The thesis sets out to uncover and document the process of Irish immigrants becoming South Australians and concludes that by the early 1870s the Stanley Irish cohort were indeed becoming South Australians, but that they also maintained a powerful hold on being Irish. The task of fully becoming South Australian awaited

future generations. The Irish generation which contributed to Stanley's shaping and development in its first three decades died or dispersed, and this region (despite the fame of the Irish-named Clare Valley for wine-growing), is no longer noted for its Irish heritage. Did the strong Irish imprint dissipate after 1870 because the early Irish had indeed become South Australians and journeyed further?

DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

M Stephanie James

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The completion of this research owes much to many individuals. In the foreground, my generous and supportive family have listened to and lived with these Irish lives for more than four years. I am grateful for the understanding and forbearance – from my husband, Peter Howes, in particular as he has necessarily acquired more detail than he ever thought possible about early Irish immigrants. Siblings too have played their part – the early enthusiasm and interest of my older sister provided a major seeding force to this research. Her untimely death in June 2006 deprived me of a mentor and a critic.

The interest of a wider group of relatives and friends has further galvanised the process of piecing together these Irish lives – I reflect on all individual contributions with gratitude. Dymphna Lonergan and Annie Lang have both often buoyed my spirits and provided honest but caring feedback. I am deeply in their debt.

I have received assistance from many individuals in the Flinders University Library, the State Library of South Australia, the Barr Smith Library, State Records of South Australia and at the South Australian Genealogy and Heraldry Society. The interest and lateral thinking of such professionals endowed greater depth to my labours. And, to Professor Eric Richards, the source of constant politeness, questions and direction, thank you.

INTRODUCTION; THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

Theory

History as a discipline interests a range of people. It attracts those seeking information about their family, others pursuing some understanding of the past as a bigger picture and, at a different level, academic historians. It has been suggested that demarcation lines have separated more conventional historical methods from those typically employed by family or “generational historians”.¹ The development of interactive dialogue between these two wings has been limited by inherited and often mutually excluding perceptions. Yet the potential in both approaches has much to offer **all** historians. Strictly conventional accounts of colonial history show the Irish in South Australia’s County of Stanley have occupied a marginal place² and so a different approach was required in order to do justice to the topic. The intersection of public and private records forms the pivotal point of this research.

This juxtapositioning of sources reveals links and connections and enables the application of basic prosopographical techniques. As Richards said in 1980 “The very essence of prosopography is to discover the links and connections between people...”³ This approach – “collective biography” – can highlight previously unexamined relationships between Irish immigrants, showing associations via

¹ While this has often been commented on, little seems to be changing: see for example Eric Richards, “Genealogy and the New Social History” in *The Proceedings of The Second Australian Congress in Genealogy and Heraldry, Adelaide, 1980*, 49-53, Taylor and Crandall (eds) *Generations and Change: Genealogical Perspectives in Social History*, Mercer University Press, 1986 and Elizabeth Shown Mills, “Genealogy in the “Information Age”: History’s New Frontier?” in *National Genealogical Society Quarterly: Centennial Issue*, December 2003, 260-277. Mills defines Generational History as an “interdisciplinary study of the development of individual families across generations – analysing the dynamics of ethnicity, intermarriage, status, and migration in economic, legal and social contexts.”

² Elizabeth Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900: Changing Elites within a South Australian Community*, unpublished MA Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1978 and Robert J Noye, *Clare: A District History*, Investigator Press, Adelaide, 1980, represent the two most detailed studies on Clare, Stanley’s central township. Irish attract passing and minimal coverage in both. In January 2005 Milburn produced an “index of people’s names appearing in [her] thesis”; this includes 24 Stanley Irish-born (or descendants) with most extensive references to EB Gleeson, John Hope, William Lennon and PP Gillen MP. Noye’s index includes one reference to Ireland and 15 to early Irish residents.

³ Richards, “Genealogy”, 51.

nomination, residence and transience or persistence in an area. Incorporating the “precise, meticulous, detailed investigation into genealogical connections”,⁴ the study of Irish who chose Stanley between 1841 and 1871 can portray colonial “history in a microcosm”.⁵ The lives of Stanley’s Irish families to date have largely been unknown. Many questions can be asked about them – whether or not they were “sojourners or settlers”, how they negotiated “the processes of acculturation and assimilation”, whether they preserved “cultural traits and national loyalties.”⁶ Answers to such questions will contribute to a deeper understanding, not only of colonial history but of the experience of Irish migration to South Australia, and of migration in general.

The methodology has also been informed by a focus on cultural theory, a small area of post-colonial theory. Questions about the lives of Stanley’s Irish cohort are examined in the framework generated by concepts of social and cultural capital. Cultural capital has been explored most prominently in recent years by Pierre Bourdieu, but developed much earlier in the twentieth century.⁷ Cultural capital provides insights about ‘social glue’; it incorporates knowledge, skill, education and the possession of advantages which endow greater status in society.⁸ Social capital has been defined as “the investment in the form of institutions, relationships, voluntary activity and communications that shape the quality and quantity of social interactions within a community”.⁹ In the developing pioneer region of Stanley, the growth and operation of social capital or “networks of solidarity” can be viewed. Possessing the social capital or explicit advantages of being Irish in a locality shaped

⁴ *Ibid*, 52.

⁵ Mills, “Genealogy in the “Information Age”, 260.

⁶ Sue Fawn Chung, “Tracing the History of Chinese American Families” in *History Methodology*, Vol 339, No 4, Fall, 2006, 195.

⁷ Robert D Putnam (ed.), *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Society*, OUP, New York, 2004, 4-5.

⁸ Cited in R Harker, “Education and Social Capital” in R Harker, C Mahar, & C Wilkes, *An Introduction to the Work of Pierre Bourdieu: the Practice of Theory*, Macmillan Press, London, 1990, 13.

⁹ *Macquarie Dictionary*, 1338.

by an Irish founder suggests potential for obvious advantages to early residents. Extending the concept of social capital, Robert Putnam discriminates between ‘bonding’ and ‘bridging’ social capital. The former relates to the coming together of “people who are like one another in important respects (ethnicity, age, gender, social class...)”. The latter describes networks “that bring together people who are unlike one another.”¹⁰ This distinction enables social capital to be examined more closely. Cohesive networks among the Irish may be seen to “provide crucial social and psychological support for [some] members of the community“, but as potentially having a negative impact on the wider society. Narrow, vertical interest groups may focus only on their goals to the exclusion of wider community issues. As the more potent form, bridging social capital, if emerging, can contribute to greater social cohesion in a community.¹¹

The connections between social and cultural capital are crucial to this study. The extent to which the emerging networks of solidarity in Stanley were open to the incorporation of Irish cultural capital is central to this study. Bourdieu argues that individuals can embody cultural capital but such capital can also be associated with individuals’ possessions or by their credentials being acknowledged.¹² In 1841 Stanley represented a social relationships vacuum; by 1871 the county had evolved socially in response to population growth and economic diversification. Examining the early years of the county provides new colonial insights as Irish immigrants interacted with a variety of nationalities, all endeavouring to construct networks and establish themselves as participants in a young colony. Deciding if the Irish had

¹⁰ Putnam, *Democracies in Flux*, 11.

¹¹ This research will utilise a range of interchangeable terms to refer to ‘social capital’ as it operated in Stanley. These terms will include prestige, influence, social standing, status, group membership, social relationships, social cohesion, networks of influence and support, social network connections, community cohesion and supportive frameworks.

¹² Harker, “Education and Social Capital”, 13.

become South Australians by 1871, and if they had relinquished their Irish identity in this process, are crucial questions examined by this thesis.

Determining the processes by which incoming Irish acclimatised to the colony, accustomed themselves to the antipodean lifestyle, moulded their families, chose their marriage partners,¹³ adjusted their religious behaviour and moved from immigrant to colonist – becoming ‘South Australians’ – underpins this research. This study examines the lives of Irish colonists resident in the County of Stanley between 1841 and 1871 and the ways they affected the county. During these decades the region developed from a tiny pioneering pastoral outpost of 83 inhabitants to a county of 9785 residents.

Chapter One provides background information about the county and its emergence as well as an overview of its development in these decades.¹⁴

Chapter Two focuses on the county’s handful of Irish residents in the 1840s. Edward Burton Gleeson was the most prominent, but other Irish followed, contributing to the nucleus which attracted priestly visits from 1844. The chapter’s focus includes beginnings – of hamlets, churches, schools, hotels – and the emergence of primitive administrative infrastructure, presence of police and the court. Late in the decade, as the broader effect of copper finds at Burra became more evident, the County of Stanley, proclaimed in 1842, responded to the mining stimulus.

Chapter Three charts the participation of Irish colonists in Stanley’s development during the 1850s. Population growth, local government structures plus additional layers of administration all measured county progress. Gleeson’s founding

¹³ Examination of marriage patterns in this cohort will be limited to those who came as single adults – a wider focus on the children of emigrating couples is beyond the scope of this study.

¹⁴ Chapters on the 1840s, 1850s and 1860s are preceded by a brief biographical profile, then a photograph, of Irishmen who located to Stanley in those decades and who could be considered as exemplifying important themes. In addition, these chapters open with a Preamble, a scene-setting device which provides some dimensions of the decade at a colonial level and raises some aspects developed in more detail in the chapter.

role was variously acknowledged, formally and informally. The pathways to local and colonial self government provided opportunities for Irish participation and disagreement. Economically, pastoral interests were matched by Burra mining-related opportunities attracting Irish carters (and some miners) to the region, providing markets for agricultural produce and ensuring population growth. Sevenhill, the northern hub of Catholicism¹⁵, represented a parallel attraction for many Irish; the Jesuits established a network of churches and Mass centres in and beyond Stanley, they also supported an educational structure in the county. The 1855 establishment of an Irish Servant Depot in Clare evoked widespread community support.

Chapter Four examines Irish-born residents in the 1860s. At that time, their proportion in Stanley reached almost 15 per cent, making the county the most Irish area of South Australia. This was a transitional decade, encompassing Gleeson's death in early 1870 and the county's population peak in 1871. Local government developed further; a Stanley Irishman was briefly in parliament, and political issues created fierce divisions. Sevenhill's clerics continued to minister to the Catholic Irish and greater numbers of children attended schools often staffed by Irishmen or Sisters of St Joseph. The economic cycle challenged many Irish farmers – the combined impact of mining decline at Burra and widespread depression led to insolvency struggles for many and difficulties for most. Land legislation in 1869 finally presented more realistic purchasing opportunities to Stanley's Irish farmers; decisions about moving north signalled the imminent decline of the county's Irish core.

Methodology

The research required a starting point to identify the county's Irish-born residents. The Keain Index in the State Library of South Australia, and the *Sevenhill Student List*

¹⁵ The Jesuits established a network of Churches and Mass centres in and beyond Stanley, See 'Map of the Jesuit Mission to South Australia 1848-1901', 53 below.

from St Aloysius College provided an initial framework of Irish names.¹⁶ During the 1970s genealogist Maurice Keain indexed South Australia's Catholic papers from 1867 to 1945 for birth, marriage and death details.¹⁷ This index (available at the State Library of South Australia) was accessed for all Irish names associated with the county of Stanley. The Jesuit educational institution, St Aloysius College, operated from 1856 to 1886. Its student list was derived from sparse College records (not specific enrolment details), published awards lists, performances, and occasional class groups; the list was used to extract names for this research. The combination of these two sources enabled the gradual construction of a nucleus of families likely to have resided in the county. Details noted in the Keain Index often included Irish counties of origin, emigration details, and reference to additional family members. Despite the Student List providing 359 names, some with years of attendance, and fewer with places of residence, limitations are inherent. As a record it is incomplete, and repetition of surnames such as Ryan (10 entries which include 3 Michaels) present difficulties and, moreover, must be considered in the light of contemporary revision.¹⁸ Additional student names have been identified through this research, some independently from newspapers, and others from family histories.

Very few Irish family histories have been published in South Australia.¹⁹ Given that in 1861 this group comprised 10 per cent of the colonial population, scope exists

¹⁶ In 1978 Father FJ Dennet SJ compiled a list largely inclusive of students after 1862. He notes that "the records are perhaps defective at times." Copy held in SLSA, referred to here as 'Sevenhill Student List.'

¹⁷ The Keain Index has been available since 1980.

¹⁸ In 2006 the original list was reduced to 321 by Father (now Bishop) Greg O'Kelly. The basis for this is unclear.

¹⁹ See 27-8 below for the most significant histories. Other published works include: A Roger Smyth, *Settlers of a Sunburnt Country: The Smyth Family History*, Peacock Publications, Adelaide, 1982, Maureen Kaczan, *The Garrett Hannan Story: An Account of the Lives of Garrett and Mary Hannan and their descendants to the fourth generation in Australia from 1837 to 1987*, Adelaide 1987, Dominic Michael Kelly, *Kelly's of Killark: A Family History*, Seaview Press, Adelaide, 2001.

for further publications.²⁰ Locating family accounts and gaining access to private records has proved stimulating and illuminating.²¹ Connections discovered reveal both Irish network bonds and forgotten or unknown family relationships.²²

The adult cohort forming the basis of this study and derived from the range of sources discussed above includes 626 Irish-born adults.²³ However, many couples arrived with children and others started families in the decades researched. Tracking of families within or beyond Stanley was possible through accessing birth, death,²⁴ marriage and cemetery records (showing places of residence). Baptismal records located some families choosing not to use civil registration. Additional sources of great value included the 1863 Bernard Smyth Index,²⁵ Bishop John Henry Norton's Census,²⁶ and details of Archdiocesan donations from the *Southern Cross* of June 1899.²⁷ Names and locations within all three enabled cross-checking of some individuals, families and places of residence. Local and church histories added details of some families, the former occasionally showing Irish county of origin and dates of

²⁰ The South Australian Genealogy and Heraldry Society (SAGHS) holds a number of unpublished manuscripts relating to Irish South Australians put together by local family historians.

²¹ For example, descendants of Simon Dollard, Patrick Dowd and Dan Sullivan have private, unpublished material relating to early aspects of these families in South Australia.

²² For example, Patrick Leo, son of Patrick Kelly (Co Clare-born and immigrant with parents in 1852), a prolific letter writer, wrote on February 2nd 1904 (as a priest stationed at Port Lincoln) to his sister in Mintaro about visiting a local family named Liddy. They were not only related to his own family, but also to Michael Kelly of Booborowie and Patrick O'Brien of Manoora. These relationships were unknown to contemporary descendants.

²³ Parallel to the predominantly Catholic Irish cohort of 595 largely derived from the combination of the Keain Index and the Sevenhill Student List, some 25 Protestant Irish Stanley residents have been identified and their lives included. Local histories, newspapers and death certificates were all sources for their residency. It has not proved possible to identify the background of all marriage partners in the group. No individuals were included without their verification as 'authentic' Irish immigrants.

²⁴ Registration of births, deaths and marriages were defective; in 1854 RR Torrens as Registrar General estimated that up to half of all entries were inaccurate. *SAPP*, 1854, 49, 2.

²⁵ Three thousand Catholics signed a petition in 1863 about the situation of education in South Australia. In 1988, Brother Rory Higgins located the original in the SA Parliamentary Library and transcribed the signatures, linking them where possible to parish communities of the time. He indicates those who signed, those whose signatures were witnessed, enabling basic literacy assessment as well as family locations.

²⁶ The bishop's 1884 (and beyond) Census details are included as an Appendix by Margaret Press in her text – *John Henry Norton 1855-1923. Bishop of Railways*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1993, 127-151. This material provided invaluable detail of locations beyond Stanley. See Table Twenty Five, 261-3 below.

²⁷ High levels of debt led to Archbishop O'Reily instituting a campaign for donations; names and amounts were published in district groups enabling further checking of individuals and locations.

land acquisition. *The Biographical Index of South Australia (BISA)* emerged as a crucial starting reference point for many families.²⁸ This publication provided a level of baseline data against which further information could be evaluated. (Discovering its errors was merely a confirmation of the value of its certainties.) Internal cross checking of BISA sometimes provided missing material about an individual by examining the record of their offspring. State Directories such as those published annually by Sands and McDougall, Electoral Lists and District Council Rate Books all indicated locations. Identifying details of residence and occupations (typically from State Directories) was critical in the process of determining whether cohort members were transient or persisted in Stanley.

Events, legislation and public decisions shaping the context of life between 1841 and 1871 have been examined. The chronological framework of the decades within which the colony developed and Stanley was proclaimed and grew represents an essential backdrop for these Irish lives. A raft of legislative areas imposed a shape on Stanley: for example land policies, local government, railways, voting and parliamentary representation. Irish residents at times opposed or supported these measures and their reported public responses exemplify changing attitudes and allegiances.

With some regularity inhabitants were compulsorily counted and increasingly complex aspects of their lives measured. Census details and relevant parliamentary material, petitions, select committees and inquiries, for example, identify areas of Irish lives. Public sources such as the *Government Gazette*, lists of Justices of the Peace, local Memorials relating to particular issues and land records all contribute to information available about some individuals. Similar levels of detail about some

²⁸ This publication's limitations are acknowledged by SAGHS.

Stanley residents, potentially more volatile in impact than other official sources, found exposure through court reporting. Here, newspapers performed their critical, if, at times sensational, function in providing information about disputes or alleged crimes.

Newspaper accounts represent different levels of insight: local, colonial, secular and religious. Overall, life in Stanley received brief, inconsistent coverage in Adelaide's press; the county lacked any close, local examination until the emergence in 1869 of the *Northern Argus*. Significantly, the colony had no Catholic paper until 1867— a similarly limiting factor. News selection and interpretation reflect bias; thus research that relies on newspapers requires constant vigilance. Various Catholic records, in particular the first bishop's journal, added depth to understanding the early years of the Catholic Church in South Australia. However, the process of interconnecting public and private records reveals gaps, some considerable.

There are likewise significant gaps in the lives of some cohort members of the study. There are some acknowledged and generic absences in the material. For example, the research, by necessity, largely bypasses the lives of these individuals in Ireland; the focus is life in Stanley after disembarkation. Counties of origin are unknown for 185 (29.5 per cent) of the cohort of 626, while for 231 persons (36.9 per cent) their year of colonial arrival eludes certainty. After 1908 all South Australian death certificates include birth locations and number of years spent in the colony; this administrative change enabled greater certainty about county of origin and year of arrival for a proportion of the cohort. However, for 74 or 11.8 per cent of the group under study, their year of actual arrival in Stanley remains uncertain; similarly the

date of departure from the county is unclear for 116 or 18.5 per cent. Less than 4 per cent of the cohort, or 24 adults, vanish from the records.²⁹

From this research, factors which contributed to Stanley's Irish colonists becoming South Australians (as defined on Page 14), as well as those assisting the retention of their 'Irishness', were identified. Individual lives may have displayed constellations of these factors without all factors being present.

Factors that combined to demonstrate colonial identification included:

- choosing to remain in the colony when other options were available;
- learning the landscape and identifying with the location;
- networking – accessing social capital – both bonding and bridging;
- displaying (and acquiring) cultural capital;
- negotiating Catholicism within a different Church context, combining familiarity with overt differences;
- establishing connections and support structures by non-Catholic Irish;
- participating in local and colonial political affairs;
- displaying personal qualities – entrepreneurial, risk-taking, persevering, resilient;
- experiencing extrinsic 'success' - in land acquisition, farming, status positions, and/or intrinsic Catholic-oriented 'success' in personal life – marriage, children, demonstrated religious commitment;
- recovering and restarting via community or other support after experiencing 'difficulties' personally, economically or agriculturally;
- encouraging/supporting other Irish to emigrate;

²⁹ Adelaide Hospital and Destitute Asylum records provided a 'last known date' for some; cemetery records revealed unregistered deaths of some partners; occasionally remarriage explained the 'disappearance' of women. Leaving the colony sometimes seemed the only explanation.

- being accepted as Irish.

On the other hand, factors that showed the preservation of Irish identification included:

- networking – accessing bonding social capital;
- participating in Church structures;
- choosing colonial locations enabling connection with other Irish colonists;
- mentoring role of significant Irishmen;
- acknowledging Ireland publicly by prominent Irishmen in parallel with colonial admiration;
- marrying endogamously;
- incorporating overt Irish symbols and customs into daily life;
- encouraging migration of family and others from home areas of Ireland;
- unifying in face of perceived challenge to Irish colonists;
- supporting other Irish colonists.

The amalgamation of all the sources contributed to a complex family reconstruction process. And so a detailed pattern emerged which established where particular families or individuals belonged, with whom they interacted, providing some evidence of their place on the continuum of South Australian and/or Irish commitment. That there were networking processes operating between Irish individuals in these decades became very clear when examining the wider evidence.

The focus on marriage patterns among Irish marrying in the colony provides a measure of assimilation in these decades; documenting both exogamous and

endogamous marriages in Stanley suggests limited interaction between denominations and nationalities.³⁰

Examining factors as diverse as demography, individual influence, status, county administration, political engagement, economic behaviour, social interaction, educational participation, religious patterns and cultural dimensions in Stanley, this study establishes the extent to which Irish residents had impact on, or a noticeable effect on, the county. The research answers some questions about where this Stanley cohort merges into the bigger picture of Irish colonists participating in South Australia's mid-nineteenth century life. It demonstrates dimensions of what it was like to be Irish in nineteenth century South Australia, "the actual effect upon human lives" of being Irish residents in Stanley.³¹

³⁰ This marriage research is limited to first generation immigrants; tracking the patterns of the children of those couples who came with large families was beyond the feasibility of this study. In the context of this research, exogamous incorporates both individuals marrying non-Irish spouses as well as those who married beyond their religious group while endogamous includes marriage between Irish and/or within religious denomination.

³¹ Mills, "Genealogy in the "Information Age", 260.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Writing in 1969, Greg Tobin asserted that “No coherent body of literature exists to place the Irish in their colonial context and assess the distinctiveness of their contribution to an emerging Australian ethos.”¹ Four decades later this statement is less compelling because more of the national picture has been sketched in depth, and the shape of the various colonial contributions has been partially laid out. Yet there is a sense in Tobin’s following claim of a point which continues to have resonance: the Irish, he argued, “have been seen as a group of secondary importance, often to be found on the periphery of large and significant events...”² Geoffrey Bolton commented similarly that the Irish story “came to be seen as a sideline...of no particular relevance to mainstream interpretations of the Australian past.”³ These statements can certainly be applied to the story of South Australia’s Irish as well as to other states, although Patrick O’Farrell argued for a very different role.⁴ Globally, the volume of analysis of Irish emigration has expanded greatly since Tobin’s research. Within this writing there is a constant theme: a plea for more comparative, regional and local studies.⁵ There seems to have been a much greater urgency among scholars to uncover more detailed local examples of the international pattern. Malcolm Campbell’s 2008 focus on the specifics of a comparison between Irish experiences in America and Australia sketches the “diversity of Irish immigrant experience in

¹ GM Tobin, *Sea-Divided Gael: The Irish Home Rule Movement in Victoria and New South Wales 1880-1916*, unpublished MA thesis, Australian National University, 1969, Introduction.

² *Ibid.*

³ Geoffrey Bolton “The Irish in Australian Historiography” in Colm Kiernan (ed.) *Australia and Ireland 1788-1988: Bicentenary Essays*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1986, 12.

⁴ Patrick O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, New South Wales University Press, Sydney, 1986, 10-21.

⁵ See for example Andy Bielenberg (ed.), *The Irish Diaspora*, Longman, London, 2000, 2.

different regional settings”; his exploration of different environments in terms of their influence on Irish lives and experience presupposes comprehensive local research.⁶

The work of O’Farrell arguably identifies him as the individual who documented most visibly for Irish Australians that place identified by Tobin as having been denied them.⁷ His approach was both a national one – inscribing the Irish role across the country – and one which explored the Irish and Catholic interconnections.⁸ His strongest claim was that the Irish have been at the dynamic heart of Australian history⁹ – “an internal energizing element” not a “separatist or alienated revolutionary force.”¹⁰ Oliver MacDonagh’s identification of the Irish as a “founding people” – early and persistent participants in the nation’s development due to their numerical weight – positions him near O’Farrell.¹¹ Chris McConville’s approach focusing mostly on Eastern Australia, aimed to move beyond myths of the “quintessential Irish character” participating in all major epochs, to examine generally “how the Irish responded to life in the colonies.”¹² Other historians such as Malcolm Campbell insist that real understanding of the national picture is impossible without in depth regional studies such as his in south-west New South Wales.¹³ In South Australia, Ann

⁶ Malcolm Campbell, *Ireland’s New World: Immigrants, Politics and Society in the United States and Australia 1815-1922*, University of Wisconsin Press, Wisconsin, 2008, ix.

⁷ O’Farrell’s published work on Australia’s Irish and the Catholic Church suggest his importance in exploring these dimensions of Australia’s history. See for example, *The Catholic Church in Australia: A Short History 1788-1867*, *Documents in Australian Catholic History 1788-1968*, *The Catholic Church and Community in Australia. A History*, and *Letters from Irish Australia 1825-1929*.

⁸ O’Farrell, *The Irish*, 8, 17, 184.

⁹ *Ibid*, 9-19.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, 16.

¹¹ Oliver MacDonagh, “The Irish in Australia: A General View” in Colm Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland 1788-1988, Bicentenary Essays*, Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1986, 170.

¹² Chris McConville, *Croppies, Celts & Catholics: The Irish in Australia*, Edward Arnold (Australia), Melbourne, 1987, 6.

¹³ Malcolm Campbell, *The Kingdom of the Ryans: The Irish in Southwest New South Wales 1816-1890*, UNSW Press, Sydney, 1997, 10.

Herraman's focus on Mount Barker's Irish community represents an important and isolated example of a detailed regional study.¹⁴

Herraman's research evaluates the processes by which some early Irish moved from labourers or tenant farmers towards landowning in the Adelaide Hills, and the ways that the Church supported the often struggling Irish community, and vice versa. Marriage and baptismal records demonstrated the relatively uncomplicated local integration of numbers of 'Irish servant girls' who arrived in 1848 or 1855, part of two unanticipated influxes which precipitated wide colonial concerns. Public celebrations of Irish identity – Hibernian Society picnics – were portrayed as significant community events.¹⁵ Her conclusion that the "Sisters of St Joseph ensured that both education and Irish culture were sustained among the Catholic population" underlined the value of a regional study focusing on this nationality.¹⁶ Her findings raise questions about whether and how these goals were achieved in the colony prior to the foundation of this religious order in 1866-7. This thesis addresses the question by focussing on another very Irish area, the County of Stanley. It provides the opportunity to examine a similar set of questions between 1841 and 1871. Three main categories of sources cover South Australia's Irish history: firstly, published family histories, then histories focusing on the role of the Catholic Church, and finally academic research. There are few well documented and comprehensive family accounts covering the background and lives of early colonial Irish: *The Dempsey Family History*, first published in 1933¹⁷, and the *Fitzgerald History of*

¹⁴ Ann Herraman, "Irish Settlers Beyond the Tiers: Mount Barker, South Australia 1836-1886" in *The Australian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol 1, 2001.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, 42-3.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, 48.

¹⁷ Joseph Dempsey, *The Dempsey Family History*, Adelaide, 1933.

1986,¹⁸ are notable exceptions. Works by Margaret Press fully utilized Church archival records; she was commissioned to write the two volume history of the Catholic Church in conjunction with the state's sesqui-centenary in 1986. These and other works by Press have contributed a solid base for understanding the role of local Irish clergy and laity generally.¹⁹ Her research demonstrates that despite the vicissitudes of insufficient clergy, dysfunctional individuals, factions and poverty, a scattered flock was wielded into a largely Irish Church structure. Because family history and church-related publications have been limited, more weight is placed on writing in the academic domain. Irish South Australia attracted some research interest from the late 1970s to the mid 1990s. This was finely balanced around quite a small number of sources which nevertheless have withstood the test of time – and until Herraman's work and the 2009 publication by Marie Steiner, *Servants Depots in colonial South Australia*,²⁰ little new had emerged for some years.²¹

Steiner's work focuses specifically on the depots established in 1855 in response to the over-supply of (largely) young Irish women. Using government records and newspaper accounts, the book details the processes of depot establishment in Adelaide and seven country areas, the operation of the Female Immigration Board (on which there were three Irishmen) and outlines the history of each site.²² The account provides details of some young women – the combined impact of their vulnerability and dependence in a young society is powerfully evident. Many

¹⁸ Matt Fitzgerald, *Irish Pioneers of South Australia: The Fitzgeralds*, The Fitzgerald Book Committee, Adelaide, 1986.

¹⁹ Margaret Press, *From Our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836-1906*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1986, *Colour and Shadow, South Australian Catholics 1906-1962*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, 1991 and *John Henry Norton*.

²⁰ Marie Steiner, *Servants Depots in Colonial South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2009.

²¹ This is not to suggest that other aspects of South Australian history have been overlooked. The publication of Brian Dickey's, *Rations, Residences, Resources. A History of Social Welfare in South Australia since 1836*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, and Peter Howell's, *South Australia and Federation*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2002 provide two examples of comprehensive accounts.

²² Depots were established at Willunga, Clare, Robe, Gawler, Encounter Bay, Mount Barker and Kapunda.

administrative, press and local responses to these Irish women suggest a colony struggling to respond adequately, if not prejudice.

The works of Woodburn (Pruul), Richards and Nance recur in researching aspects of Irish South Australia. Other more peripheral examinations of colonial Irish questions focus on emigration issues,²³ or relate to the endeavours of individual Irishmen²⁴ – Kingston²⁵ or Torrens²⁶, – or St Patrick’s Day.²⁷ Such studies raise questions about why other Irish lives remain untold. Without research knowledge, generalisations about Irish moving immediately to rural areas, clustering in cities or achieving either wealth or penury cannot really be substantiated. Clearly it has been, as Nance wrote in 1978, “less easy to identify” Irish influence on South Australia in comparison to Eastern Australia. There he judged the impact on “Australia’s cultural and political development during the nineteenth century” to have been profound. However to then dismiss the Irish impact on South Australia’s social and cultural development as “seemingly slight” points more to differences between Irish populations in the two regions.²⁸ This research seeks to examine the impact of Irish immigrants when they constitute more of a critical mass as they did in Stanley – a colonial high of 10 per cent (South Australia in 1861) represents different potential for impact than a county high of almost 15 per cent (Stanley in 1861).

²³ Peter Moore, “Half-Burnt Turf: Selling Emigration from Ireland to South Australia, 1836-1845” in Philip Bull, Chris McConville & Noel McLachlan (eds), *Irish Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Sixth Irish Australia Conference*, Latrobe University, 1991, 103-119.

²⁴ Australian Dictionary of Biography (ADB) coverage of other early Irish-born colonists includes members of the Bagot and Cudmore families, Governor Dominick Daly, Patrick McMahon Glynn, and the O’Halloran brothers, Thomas Shuldham and William Littlejohn.

²⁵ Donald Langmead, *Accidental Architect: The Life and Times of George Strickland Kingston*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1994.

²⁶ Peter Moore, “Colonel Robert Torrens’, Some Bicentennial Observations” in *JHSSA*, 8 1980, 68-83.

²⁷ Clement Macintyre, “The Adelaide Irish and the Politics of St Patrick’s Day 1900-1918” in Rebecca Phelan (ed.), *Irish Australian Studies: Papers Delivered at the Seventh Irish Australian Studies Conference*, Crossing Press, Sydney, 1994, 182-196.

²⁸ Christopher Nance, “The Irish in South Australia during the colony’s first four decades”, *The Journal of South Australian Historical Studies*, No 5, 1978, 66-73.

Much research to date emphasises the Irish cohorts in more populous colonies of New South Wales and Victoria.²⁹ A pioneering work, such as Woodburn's 1974 thesis which included South Australia in its eastern comparison, has provided many subsequent scholars with detail and analysis of both press and parliamentary aspects of immigration.³⁰ Other factors such as the different founding frameworks, population figures, the nature of clerical leadership as well as secular political development, while illuminating important differences, have also narrowed the lens through which local Irish have continued to be seen. Thus, from Woodburn's valuable comparative study there have emerged limiting judgements about the nature of Irish South Australia. And although aspects of some individual Irish lives were interpolated into this study (Dempsey and Gillen families for example) the balance of coverage weighed heavily towards newspaper and more official commentary.³¹ And so generalizations abounded; there was little evidence to challenge descriptions penned to contrast South Australia against eastern neighbours, such as "a history of Irish passivity"³² or of the Irish being a "small and unimportant community."³³ Such claims have generated questions for this research about the roles and participation of Irish in Stanley. Embedded in Woodburn's study lurks a critical point about the level of latent opposition to Irish immigrants. She refers to "concerted and effective protest from the general South Australian community" at times of high intake,³⁴ and to the absence of "real acceptance" which went unrecognized "except at times of abnormal crisis."³⁵

²⁹ See for example the emphasis in O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, and in McConville's text. The latter's passing coverage of South Australia refers to Gleeson and his "old loyalties"; however, referring to Gleeson's path as smoothed by earlier Irish settlements and the Jesuits reveals a knowledge chasm. See McConville, *Croppies*, 59.

³⁰ Susan (Pruul) Woodburn, *The Irish in New South Wales, Victoria and South Australia 1788-1880*, Unpublished MA Thesis, The University of Adelaide, 1974.

³¹ See for example *Ibid*, 286-7, 307-312.

³² *Ibid*, 337.

³³ *Ibid*, 301.

³⁴ *Ibid*, 304.

³⁵ *Ibid*, 381.

Exploring this claim in the region of Stanley will enable greater clarity about Irish colonial experience.

This county represented the northern outpost of settlement until the late 1860s; the pastoral industry defined the shape of life in its first decades.³⁶ Aspects of this pioneering history have been written, slices of Clare's history,³⁷ research about its elites and power,³⁸ material about the Hawkers north of Clare,³⁹ about the Bowmans of Martindale Hall near Mintaro,⁴⁰ and a number of district histories.⁴¹ But the story of the county remains untold, and neither the roles nor the impact of its Irish population have been evaluated. This research is a response to those gaps. Thus long-held notions about pastoral pioneers and the extent to which their success was determined by both arrival time and assets, can be examined in terms of Stanley's Irish. An important study⁴² used quantitative analysis techniques to examine what contributed to the success or failure of Cockburn's *Pastoral Pioneers*.⁴³ Macklin's study is impressive, both in its critique of his historical and procedural limitations and in its explanation of individual triumph or tragedy.⁴⁴ But the uses to which it has been

³⁶ DW Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth. The South Australia Wheat Frontier 1869-1884*, Rigby Limited, Adelaide, 1976, provides a vital framework of understanding for processes of northern settlement following the Strangways Act of 1869.

³⁷ See for example Noye, *Clare*, and *Talking History: Tales of Clare SA*, Clare Regional History Group Inc, Clare, 2003.

³⁸ Milburn, 'Clare 1840-1900: Changing Elites within a South Australian Community', see 6-25 for the theoretical framework within which she examines the role of Clare's elite. She defines the term 'elite' in a number of ways but always with the sense of it being "the highest social group in the town."

³⁹ James C Hawker, *Early Experiences in South Australia*, Libraries Board of South Australia, Adelaide, 1975.

⁴⁰ Elizabeth Warburton, *The Bowmans of Martindale Hall*, Department of Continuing Education, University of Adelaide, 1981.

⁴¹ See for example Alison Palmer, *Head of the Rivers: A District History, Black Springs, Manoora, Waterloo*, Saddleworth Auburn District Council, 1992.

⁴² Shirley M Macklin, *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia: A Quantitative Analysis*, unpublished BA Hons. Thesis, Flinders University, 1978.

⁴³ Rodney Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneer of South Australia*, Vol.1 and 2., Publishers Ltd, Adelaide, 1925 and 1927. The text was published after first appearing as articles in the *Stock and Station Journal*, Cockburn then requested contributions from readers.

⁴⁴ Macklin, *Pastoral Pioneers*, 4-5, her criticisms included Cockburn's amateur historian status, little analysis, the reliance of most evidence on "anecdotes and unconfirmed statements" with sparse verification, limited source acknowledgement, and the absence of a bibliography.

put “as the only systematic study of wealth in colonial South Australia,”⁴⁵ and as the means of validating the ‘success’ of other pastoralists, without qualification or reference to Macklin’s comprehensive caveats means it is difficult to apply to the study of the Irish in Stanley. Only two Irishman qualified in Eleanore William’s examination of wealth in the Central Hill Country.⁴⁶ From this approach, broader questions emerge about what constitutes success and power, and how these can be measured.

In a further example of significant research on the region, Milburn’s 1978 thesis on Clare’s changing elite virtually omitted Irish residents (apart from E.B. Gleeson and John Hope) as having any role in the transition process from pastoral to town-based power. The few Irish mentioned are covered only in brief text or footnote references.⁴⁷ In 1871 Stanley was a county with a predominance of Catholics: 28 per cent compared to 23 per cent Anglican.⁴⁸ This was in direct contrast to the pattern in the rest of South Australia. Given the county’s profile of almost 15 per cent Irish-born, as mentioned above, this thesis will examine some consequences of these factors. Stanley’s unusual demographic profile receives passing comment only;⁴⁹ questions about the roles and participation of the county’s significant Irish cohort in its first three decades propel the current research.

⁴⁵ Eric Richards, “Irish life and progress in colonial South Australia” in *Irish Historical Studies*, VolXXVII, No 17, May 1991, 231. While the statement is strictly accurate, not acknowledging the basis on which the ‘systematic’ study was developed reduces its impact.

⁴⁶ Eleanore Williams, *A Way of Life, The Pastoral Families of the Central Hill Country of South Australia*, Adelaide University Union Press, 1980, 13. Williams utilizes Macklin’s general findings about colonial wealth in relation to the Central Hill Country pastoralists but does not refer to her Cockburn-related qualifications. Irishmen John Hope and Patrick Dowd receive brief mention only.

⁴⁷ See for example brief references to Peter Brady of Mintaro (excluding any mention of his Irish background, early residence, economic or social success) in reference to 1857 opposition to the Agricultural Society and his District Council election in Milburn, ‘*Clare 1840-1900*’, 68, 98-9.

⁴⁸ Stanley’s other major denominational groups were Wesleyan (17.8%), Presbyterian (6.8%), Bible Christians (7.6%), Lutheran (3%) with Primitive Methodists (2.9%), Protestant Undefined (2%), Baptists (1.8%), Congregationalists (1.2%), and with statistical representation together of 44%, Methodist-New Connexion, Unitarian, Christian Brethren and the Society of Friends. Other religions constituted 2%, 0.5 were Jewish, 2.6% objected to the question and 1.3% did not state their religion.

⁴⁹ Milburn, ‘*Clare 1840-1900*’, 47, 138-40, 159, 253, 282 and 359.

Similarly, many important questions raised by Richards in 1991 about the nineteenth century colonial population remain unanswered.⁵⁰ Examining Irish lives in Stanley before 1871 can suggest some answers. These questions include whether those who moved north after 1869 were South Australian-born, constituting Richards' 'second stage group', whether there were disparate levels of residential persistence, the volume of 'colonial outflow' and greater information about employment patterns. Echoing McConville's exhortation that "we need more local studies...of Irish success and failure; local studies mindful of a broader pattern but still clearly focused on the experiences of small groups of immigrants in the localities where they lived out their lives,"⁵¹ Richards has contributed much to understanding the colonial Irish experience. Developing a more comprehensive explanation about colonial "Irish life and progress" in the absence of regional studies presented challenges. An overview of the lives of successful Irishmen, both early arrivals and later immigrants, provides a crucial backdrop to his goal of "avoiding the automatic assumption of Irish marginalization and remov[ing] us from the territory of national stereotypes."⁵² Yet the implications of statements made by both Richards and Nance that Irish settlement patterns distinguished them from minorities like the Germans⁵³ and led to their even colonial distribution, await examination.⁵⁴ The fact that high density Irish residential patterns only lasted a generation may be true in Stanley⁵⁵, but how and when did these develop, in what ways was the county affected, and what factors precipitated their change?

⁵⁰ Eric Richards, "Paths of Settlement in Colonial South Australia" in Susan Marsden & Kerrie Round (eds) *Terowie Workshop: Exploring the History of South Australian Country Towns*, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1991, 30, 36.

⁵¹ Chris McConville, *Irish Australian Studies*, 1990, 261, Bob Reece makes a similar point in "Writing About the Irish in Australia" in John O'Brien & Pauric Travers (eds), *The Irish Immigrant Experience in Australia*, Poolbeg Press, Dublin, 1991, 239.

⁵² Eric Richards, "Irish Life and Progress..." 235.

⁵³ *Ibid*, 232-3.

⁵⁴ Nance, "The Irish in South Australia..." 68.

⁵⁵ Richards, "Irish life and progress..." 233, fn 51.

Statements about the colony's Anglo-Scotch environment in relation to the Irish minority shift subtly when census data about Scottish-born immigrants is examined.⁵⁶ The highest colonial figure was 6.1 per cent in 1861, a decade later it was 4.4 per cent. In contrast, Irish figures were 10 per cent and 7.7 per cent. Scrutiny of Stanley's population profile via census counts will identify nationality clusters as well as statistical representation. These details will all contribute to a more meaningful analysis of this "most Irish area of South Australia."⁵⁷

Other regional studies have much to contribute; Malcolm Campbell promotes what he described as "an intensive regional approach."⁵⁸ He argued that historians have tended to overlook ways that immigrant contributions may have varied between regions, neglecting recognition of groups contributing differently in various locations.⁵⁹ Campbell's contention was that developing intensive regional studies would allow "the internal chemistry of the immigrant society, the effect of generational change within the migrant community, and the interaction of the Irish with the broader population, [to] all be observed at a depth and a level of precision impossible in studies undertaken on a larger scale."⁶⁰ His findings about southwestern New South Wales – that the "permanent clerical presence" of the Catholic Church in the 1860s lagged decades behind the 1830s frontier – cannot be replicated in this study.⁶¹ Church involvement in Stanley from 1844 followed by the Jesuit arrival in 1848 ensured the early, visible presence of Catholicism. The two regions were differentiated by colonization date, the convict factor and the specific profile of Ned Ryan and his realm in New South Wales. Campbell refers to widespread

⁵⁶ *Ibid*, 216-7. The phrase "In the flood of Anglo-Scottish immigration..." ascribes greater significance to Scottish numbers than can be supported.

⁵⁷ Richards, "The importance of being Irish ...", 101, fn 68.

⁵⁸ Campbell, *The Kingdom of the Ryans*, 11.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, 11-12.

⁶⁰ *Ibid*.

⁶¹ *Ibid*, 151.

recognition of the “apathy and weakness of religious practice in frontier Australia.”⁶² Again the evidence in Stanley suggests another pattern as will be discussed later. But his findings about the contribution and vibrancy of the Irish indicated some insufficiency in previous explanations about ways that immigrant culture and identity developed after arrival. Campbell asserted that the domination of a national focus in research shrouded “the existence of wide variations in immigrant adjustment to colonial Australia.”⁶³ His regional perspective, like his focus on willing emigrants,⁶⁴ suggests questions for this study of Irish who chose life in Stanley. In particular, his discussion about the “complex negotiation between the Irish-born and their co-regionists,” Irish identity formation and its lasting local impression raises crucial issues for Stanley.⁶⁵ More recently Campbell has reiterated the potential for comparative regional studies to augment those of greater national emphasis. He argues that these “open new possibilities for the intensive study of immigrant communities and provide the opportunity to scrutinize that critical seam between regional life and nation state where so many newcomers’ lives are indelibly marked.”⁶⁶ The County of Stanley, relatively densely Irish in these decades, provides just such an opportunity for the intensive study of an Irish community.

The concept of diaspora has been a prominent mechanism for dealing with the impact of Irish immigration on the ‘new societies’. Numbers of recent studies⁶⁷ have been critical of the unexamined implications of its usage; Hall and Malcolm echo

⁶² *Ibid.*

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 12-13.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 135-7.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 12.

⁶⁶ Campbell, *Ireland’s New Worlds*, 184.

⁶⁷ Donald M MacRaild “‘Diaspora’ and ‘Transnationalism’: Theory and Evidence in Explanation of the Irish World-wide” in “Symposium: Perspectives on the Irish Diaspora” in *Irish Economic and Social History*, Vol XXXIII, 2006, 51-2 emphasises “inherent tensions within historians’ attempts to deploy the term [diaspora] in an analytical way.”

earlier designations of the term's "slippery" characteristics.⁶⁸ In the literature forming this study's backdrop, 'diaspora' has featured widely as an explanatory tool; however it is not always defined nor is its appropriateness to Irish migration fully examined.⁶⁹ For Irish immigrants to South Australia, this concept, in its usage as the largely involuntary Irish dispersal associated with trauma, illuminates little of their story. Kerby Miller's framing of the emigrant experience⁷⁰, according to Kevin Kenny, in terms of grievance or banishment, acute homesickness and "alienation from the host society"⁷¹ seems to have limited colonial resonance. This was because immigrants made a series of **voluntary** choices to locate themselves within what Richards describes as "the most alien quarter of the new continent."⁷² There was no criminal compulsion; there was widespread family exploitation of the various administrative and financial mechanisms enabling relatives to emigrate. Having voyaged here willingly, there was possibly "intense longing and homesickness for the homeland," but perhaps little of the "sense of grievance" and less antipathy towards their new homeland than qualified this group as meeting the 'diasporic' characteristics."⁷³ A focus on Stanley's Irish cohort will enable some examination of immigrant attitudes towards Ireland **and** their chosen environment.

Some perspectives on the story of South Australia's Irish do seem to fit within the current framework of Irish 'diaspora studies.' Within this field, fiercely held positions are evident. A pioneer researcher, Donald Harman Akenson, examined a

⁶⁸ Dianne Hall and Elizabeth Malcolm, "Diaspora, Gender and the Irish" in *The Australasian Journal of Irish Studies*, Vol. 8 2008/9, 6-10.

⁶⁹ An exception is Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, Hambledon and London, London and New York, 2004, 7-9, 255-6, 306-7.

⁷⁰ The publication by Kerby Miller of *Emigrants and Exiles: Ireland and the Irish Exodus to North America*, OUP. New York, 1985, ensured continuing discussion between scholars about the framework of "involuntary exile" and "alienating and sometimes dysfunctional" adaptation to life in America he established on 3-4 of this text.

⁷¹ Kevin Kenny, "Diaspora and Irish Migration History" in "Symposium...", 49.

⁷² Richards, "Irish life and progress...", 216.

⁷³ Kenny in "Symposium...", 49.

range of Irish migration destination points, including Australia, publishing *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer* in 1996. In this he refers to the work of Eric Richards as “outstanding” and to the “quality of...work [being] extremely high.”⁷⁴ Akenson disputes elements of contemporary research into Irish dispersal, describing as “largely based on anecdote, [material which] sees the Irish diaspora as tragedy and as having been largely an involuntary movement.”⁷⁵ Within the framework endorsed by Akenson, at least some of the emphasis in Richards’ detailed work on colonial Irish has established their ordinariness and comparability to other immigrants.⁷⁶ A close focus on Stanley’s Irish represents an opportunity to examine such propositions. The theme of ‘ordinariness’ has characterised some of David Fitzpatrick’s writing about Irish immigrants.⁷⁷ Such an approach seems to place him with Richards in Akenson’s corner, because the latter argues strongly for emigration as a positive experience for Irish rather than forced disadvantage.⁷⁸ Yet some of Fitzpatrick’s opening comments to his collection of personal migration stories suggest new considerations. Discussing his methodology, he refers to both Miller, clearly perceived by Akenson as misguided in his interpretive emphasis, and to Patrick O’Farrell, one of Australia’s most noted scholars of Irish matters. He writes about the “eclectic approach” of linking “aggregate profiles with individual chronicles.” And he asserts convincingly that “Eclecticism allows the historian to deploy one sort of evidence as compensation for omissions or distortions in another.” Interweaving of

⁷⁴ Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora: A Primer*, PD Meaney Company Inc, Toronto, 1996, 91.

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, 10-11.

⁷⁶ Richards, “Irish life and progress...” 233 – “The evidence, impressionistic though it remains, is generally consistent with Dr Fitzpatrick’s hypothesis about the ‘ordinariness and normality’ of Irish migration.”

⁷⁷ David Fitzpatrick, “Irish Emigration in the later nineteenth century” in *Irish Historical Studies*, XXII, No 86, 1980, 137, “Irish Emigration to Nineteenth Century Australia” in Colm Kiernan (ed.), *Australia and Ireland 1788-1988*, 144, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1995, 35.

⁷⁸ Akenson, *The Irish Diaspora...*, 108, extols Fitzpatrick’s use of this term, describing it as a “lapidary phrase.”

the general and particular within a narrative, according to Fitzpatrick, creates enduring tension “between these disparate forms of representation.”⁷⁹ This statement (although left without comment), implies degrees of intensity in amalgamating and interpreting such divergent sources. Locating and incorporating family profiles into an explanation of Irish lives in Stanley is accompanied by comparable creative tension.

Nineteenth century Irish immigration to New Zealand offers some points of connection with this study. Various communities developed or were established, some in the shadow of post-Land War planning and others in response to gold discoveries.⁸⁰ O’Shea-Miles’ focus on three generations (1864-1940) in Hamilton East’s Irishtown highlighted complex dimensions of cultural and religious behaviour. The scope is greater and allows the incorporation of oral history to “establish the texture of the community;” however, some insights about “the community’s very essence, its people,” can be applied to Stanley’s Irish cohort.⁸¹ Interviews with former residents “revealed the perceptions of life in an Irish community, and just how a *sense* of Irishness was transmitted from generation to generation.”⁸² O’Shea-Miles had access to oral accounts in her history of Hamilton East, something not available in the study of the Irish in Stanley; however the Irishtown study underlines the importance of uncovering whether similar tendencies can be identified there before the 1870s. Irishtown was described as a “church-centric collectivity” by way of contrast to Irish enclaves adjacent to workplaces.⁸³ Evidence suggests that Irish choice of location in Stanley was influenced by the existence of the Sevenhill Church community from the

⁷⁹ Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation*, 4-5.

⁸⁰ For example Pukekohe was founded in 1865, Katikati in 1875 and Otago and West Coast gold settlements during the 1860s.

⁸¹ Cathy O’Shea-Miles, “Irishtown Hamilton East 1864-1940” in Brad Patterson (ed.), *The Irish in New Zealand: Historical Contexts & Perspectives*, Stout Research Centre for New Zealand Studies, Wellington, 2002.

⁸² *Ibid*, 133.

⁸³ *Ibid*, 136. O’Shea-Miles refers to David M Emmons, *The Butte Irish: Class and Ethnicity in an American Mining Town 1875-1925*, University of Illinois Press, 1989, 408.

early 1850s. But major factors in addition to the time span – community size, concentrated urban location and Irish clerics in contrast to the three decades studied here, rural setting and Austrian priests – also demonstrate significant differences between the communities.⁸⁴ (Further details about Sevenhill’s Jesuit domain will be presented in following chapters.) However, final comments by O’Shea-Miles about the importance of “detailed demographic and community investigations [being] necessary at the micro level before meaningful generalizations can be made,” plus the “need for new methodologies,” augment the approach of the Stanley research.⁸⁵ New Zealand research has increasingly responded to defining claims in the wider debate about the Irish diaspora. For example O’Shea-Miles challenges Akenson’s claim that the Irish ‘did not bunch’⁸⁶, and Lyndon Fraser disputes the application of Miller’s alienated designation to Irish miners on New Zealand’s West Coast.⁸⁷ Angela McCarthy, like Fitzpatrick, Patrick O’Farrell, Miller and Akenson uses letters – her selection penned in Ireland and New Zealand between 1840 and 1937.⁸⁸ She found some resonance with Miller’s view of immigrant alienation, and with O’Farrell’s letter-based assessment that imported kinship systems became dysfunctional in Australia, leaving “social atomism” in its wake.⁸⁹ But she argued that the texts also contained the makings of “an alternative portrait.”⁹⁰ In her “more nuanced explanation,” Irish New Zealanders adapted, networked and sustained “extensive kin and neighbourhood ties.” Challenging Miller’s generalizations about **all** Irish migrants as ‘exiles or victims,’ she urged further exploration of additional issues in letters. But

⁸⁴ O’Shea-Miles comments on large numbers of religious vocations from Irishtown, *Ibid*, 143, a feature highlighted in Stanley’s Mintaro community. See Gerald Lally, *A Landmark of Faith: Church of the Immaculate Conception, Mintaro and its Parishioners 1856-2006*, Gerald Lally, 2006, 20 and 80.

⁸⁵ O’Shea Miles, “Irishtown Hamilton East”, 148-9.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, 137.

⁸⁷ Lyndon Fraser, *Castles of Gold: A History of New Zealand’s West Coast Irish*, Otago University Press, Dunedin, 2007, 155.

⁸⁸ Angela McCarthy, *Irish Migrants in New Zealand 1840-1937*, The Boydell Press, Britain, 2005

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, 2-6, 262-5.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 2-4.

she also emphasized the importance of uncovering the “experiences of individuals” hidden in studies – statistical, for example – in order to develop balanced explanations.⁹¹ Strong responses to assertions about Irish experience in host countries distinct from the United States forms a crucial backdrop to this research.

The 1990 publication of Houston and Smyth’s study of Canada’s Irish included comment about the rarity of such discussion and “generalizations proposed for the whole country on the basis of patterns distinctive only in some regions.”⁹² Such statements resonate with studies of Irish immigration to Australia, and particularly South Australia. In their discussion of Canada’s evolving pattern of Irish immigrants – first Protestant, then greater balance in terms of denominations, and by 1845 “an all-Ireland dimension”⁹³ – the authors demonstrated how “settlement experience varied...according to the economic and ethnic contexts into which newcomers were inserted.”⁹⁴ The statement that “no one Irish community developed just like another” established an important parameter for this research.⁹⁵ An example of a micro-study of 775 localised Tipperary families emigrating to Canada between 1818 and 1855 moved beyond previous aggregate studies, developing a “technique which amount[ed] to family reconstitution and individual biography pursued on a wide scale.”⁹⁶ In *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, Elliott referred to the possible challenge his “wide-ranging approach to family re-constitution” might have represented to many historians; the task of examining the immigrant cohort via family records for “many years both before and after the move in which the

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 264-5.

⁹² Cecil J Houston and William J Smyth, *Irish Emigration and Canadian Settlement: Patterns, Links and Letters*, University of Toronto Press, 1990, 3, 6.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 337.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 339.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 340.

⁹⁶ Bruce S Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, McGill-Queen’s University Press, Canada, 1988, 4.

[researcher] is interested.” He argued that “its necessity is commonplace to genealogists who confront the individual implications of high rates of population mobility every day.”⁹⁷ Elliott’s work includes detailed exploration of emigration precipitants as well as settlement patterns in the host country. While the former emphasis is beyond the scope of this research, his subsequent focus on post-arrival residential patterns and attitudes form a critical element of this study. Elliott’s general findings about the former are discussed below; his closing comments covering Irish attitudes to Canada have resonance with the focus of this research. He describes first and second generation poets exchanging poetic responses, both knowing “that their country was now Canada...and round about them the families with whom their ancestors had associated...had sunk new roots.”⁹⁸

In 2004 when the second edition of this text was published, Elliott’s “Epilogue” presented powerful statements about the fusion of genealogy and history.⁹⁹ In acknowledging that he was an early practitioner of the former before adopting the latter, and proceeding to discuss, clarify and explain his methodology, Elliott’s pinpointing the value of synthesising all available sources, resonates powerfully with the approach in this research.

Richard Reid’s approach to Irish Assisted Immigrants to New South Wales has similarities to Elliott. His interest in “compil[ing] a full emigrant profile” involves the amalgamation of six different sources and certainly results in a family account balanced at both ends.¹⁰⁰ However his opening rationale for such a methodology – the

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, 243.

⁹⁹ Bruce S Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, McGill-Queens University Press, Canada, 2004, 244-277.

¹⁰⁰ Richard Reid “Tracking the Immigrants: Assisted Movement to Nineteenth-Century NSW” in Eric Richards, Richard Reid & David Fitzpatrick, *Visible Immigrants: Neglected Sources for the History of Australian Immigration*, Department of History and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, Canberra, 1989, 44.

plethora of **existing** coverage on the Irish as an *immigrant* community, their “politics, religion, social organization and demographic peculiarities” – does not apply to South Australia.¹⁰¹ Were there to be more of such studies about this nineteenth century colony, Reid’s exhortations (not his methodology) would be redundant.

Returning to Elliott, it is clear that his approach, interest in chain migration and the “clustered settlements” examined in Canada’s London and Ottawa areas have ramifications for the wider diaspora debate. He directed his findings to challenge assertions about “Irish emigration in general and Protestant emigration in particular.” He challenged Miller’s claim of Catholics after the 1820s increasingly adopting the more “individualist Protestant attitude,” arguing that this did not apply to the Tipperary cohort.¹⁰² Questioning Miller’s evidence about immigrant hesitation relating to incoming relatives, Elliott demonstrated the powerful role played by family precedent in the choice of settlement location – destination was “influenced most strongly by the presence of kin.”¹⁰³ Further, he showed the extent to which chain migration operated for both Catholics and Protestants. He dismisses Miller’s claim that emigration functioned as “a refuge for the disinherited,” arguing that differences between Canadian and United States immigration patterns were much greater than allowed by Miller.¹⁰⁴ Elliott concluded that a “neat dichotomization between Catholic and Protestant,” especially in relation to the role of the family, cannot be sustained.¹⁰⁵ Examining the extent to which county of origin figures in Stanley replicated wider colonial figures will provide some data about chain migration patterns.

Polar stances in the field of Irish ‘diaspora studies’ between historians such as Miller and Akenson, revolve around emigration as exile **or** opportunity. The findings

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, 23.

¹⁰² Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas*, 53.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, 115.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, 239-41.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid*, 241-2.

of, and disparities reflected in, their accounts (and those of others mentioned), provide a background which delineates major threads for this research. Akenson's interest emerged in 1984 when he began evaluating how Canadian evidence could inform understanding of American patterns.¹⁰⁶ After the 1985 publication of Miller's, *Emigrants and Exiles*, Akenson increasingly became an exponent of a position extolling Irish 'success' in contrast to what he termed the "Gaelic-Catholic Disability" thesis. He challenged Miller's reading of immigrant letters – an absolutely critical source¹⁰⁷ – contrasting his approach to that of Patrick O'Farrell in his *Letters from Irish Australia 1825-1929*.¹⁰⁸ Having endorsed O'Farrell by implication, Akenson then critiqued Miller's persistent emphasis on exile, the "cultural handicap" faced by Catholics in the 'new world,' and his exclusion of Protestant letters.¹⁰⁹ Finally Akenson displayed his growing interest in New Zealand by referring to letters from Irish colonists there to redress what he perceived as the unbalanced and non-verifiable emphases in Miller's research.¹¹⁰

Issues debated between Akenson and Miller have been included in Patrick O'Sullivan's six volume series focusing on what he terms "Irish Migration Studies."¹¹¹ The scope of this inter-disciplinary approach embodies convergence between local and wider studies. He observed that Irish migrations required analysis

¹⁰⁶ Donald Harman Akenson, *The Irish in Ontario: A Study in Rural History*, McGill-Queen's University Press, Canada, 1984, 3-47, 332-353. He developed his ideas further in 1985 with the publication of *Being Had: Historians, Evidence and the Irish in North America*, PD Meany Publishers, Canada, 1985, and in 1990 published both "Reading the Texts of Rural Immigrants: Letters from the Irish in Australia, New Zealand, and North America" in *Canadian Papers in Rural History*, Vol 7, Langdale Press, Canada, and *Half the World from Home: Perspectives on the Irish in New Zealand 1860-1950*, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1990.

¹⁰⁷ No letters corresponding to the Stanley cohort or time frame have been located.

¹⁰⁸ Akenson, "Reading the Texts of Rural Immigrants...", 388-9.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, 388-9.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, 391-406.

¹¹¹ Patrick O'Sullivan (ed.), *Patterns of Migration*, (Volume One), Leicester University Press, London, 1992, px111. In Volume Two, *The Irish in the New Communities*, London 1992, 7-9, O'Sullivan shows how Miller has not only raised questions about his own use of 'exile' in 1985, but has also extended these, 7-9. In Volume Four, *Irish Women and Irish Migration*, Leicester University Press, London, 1995, O'Sullivan included a contribution by Kerby A Miller, David N Doyle & Patricia Kelleher, "'For love and liberty': Irish Women, Migration, and Domesticity in Ireland and America."

as a process **and** as part of the history in the destination countries.¹¹² O’Sullivan proposed two frameworks to explore connections between the various disciplinary approaches in his series. One involved a far more focused look at the emigration process, using Everett S Lee’s “Theory of Migration,”¹¹³ to recognize immigrant positives and negatives at both departure and arrival. The second encompassed a broader view of Irish migration history as “oppression, compensation or contribution,”¹¹⁴ rather than any **one** narrow perspective. O’Sullivan argued that imposing limitations would lead to “certain sorts of Irish people becoming ‘lost’ to us”¹¹⁵ if their lives did not fit narrow paradigms. The application of this thinking has informed research into the Irish population of Stanley. Their story is less lost than unwritten. Examining Irish lives after arrival in Stanley can “allow us to hear their voices”¹¹⁶ even if indistinctly through glimpses in newspapers, local history and family anecdote. The possibility then exists of a greater understanding of their experience of migration and an assessment of the transition process from immigrant to more engaged resident.¹¹⁷

The apparent sense of urgency among scholars of the Irish suggested earlier has been accompanied by feisty debates as historians dispute over migration research methodology. Sources, interpretations and approaches divide scholars as they access, collate and interpret materials previously untapped. The way government records, letters, diaries, songs and family histories are used can identify where historians fit

¹¹² O’Sullivan, *Patterns of Migration*, xiv.

¹¹³ *Ibid*, xvii. Everett S Lee, “A Theory of Migration” in *Demography*, 3 (1), 1966, 47-57. Based on inter-relationship between four factors - those associated with both point of origin and destination, plus intervening obstacles and personal issues, Everett then developed hypotheses in relation to the processes of migration.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid*, xviii-xx, O’Sullivan acknowledges the work of Gerda Lerner in relation to the history of women in his application of this framework, Gerda Lerner, *The Majority Finds its Past: Placing Women in History*, OUP, Oxford & New York, 1979.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid*, xix.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, xx.

¹¹⁷ Patrick O’Sullivan (ed.), *The Irish in the New Communities*, Leicester University Press, London & Washington, 1992, 1-2.

along a continuum of Irish motivation, adaptation and integration as emigrants. Some practitioners are intent on establishing a global emigration picture, positioning the Irish as one cohort choosing many destinations. Others operate in the debate seeking to determine the journey's motivation as positively or negatively inspired. Still others strive to closely link family details at both ends of the voyage. Within the last decade, often in the shadow of more globally ambitious scholars, others have laboured to paint detailed pictures of Irish lives after the descent from the gangplanks. The latter perspective offers opportunities to better understand more of colonial South Australia by revealing the largely hidden lives of one tenth of its late nineteenth century population.

Eric Richards recently positioned Irish voyagers as an important subset of their British counterparts.¹¹⁸ This extended his earlier argument about South Australia developed in order to “avoid the automatic assumption of Irish marginalization” and national stereotypes. Using the Irish as exemplifying “flows of people emerg[ing] in response to conditions at each end of the migrant chain” enabled Richards to compare national groups, and allowed for the possibility of other variables.¹¹⁹ Furthermore, it encouraged speculation about bypassing nationality, viewing emigrants within early economic globalization, and positioning “them in the perspective of the greater diaspora of the European peoples in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.”¹²⁰ The ambitious focus of this 2004 publication was directed at explaining “the shape, scale and direction of British emigration and its connection with changes within the British Isles.”¹²¹ The Irish story features here as contributing to the ebb and flow of the

¹¹⁸ *Ibid*, 11, 24, 52.

¹¹⁹ Richards, “Irish life and progress...”, 235.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, 236.

¹²¹ Richards, *Britannia's Children*, ix.

diaspora as well as demonstrating a distinctive pattern.¹²² The importance of such an overarching explanation of British emigration's detail over four centuries is that it contributes both skeleton and sinews which interconnect with the extremities of Irish settlements internationally.

This background can inform the emerging and increasingly rich literature focusing on the detailed patterns of emigrant Irish.¹²³ The range of findings and Irish immigrant experiences documented by historians interested in this field, provide a background which delineates major threads for the present research. From these studies, it is clear that there were a range of factors influencing the nature and development of communities of Irish emigrants in these 'new' societies. But scholars emphasising exile or advantage differ about the process of Irish accommodation to the new environment. Such divergences can be useful in emphasizing the importance of a close study of the available data in all host countries. But where a historian's framework is disputed – for example, Miller's use of letters to establish the exile theme – any opposite argument, like total integration, demands careful documentation. The temptation to allow the universal application of any compelling explanation needs to be avoided.

This thesis examines where Irish colonists in Stanley located themselves in terms of Irish pride and/or local identification. As such, it adds to existing insights about the South Australian experience of immigration. It offers greater understanding of the processes by which newcomers assimilated, their transience or permanence in the county, their contribution to the Stanley community, and the nature of their

¹²² *Ibid*, 153-4, 163-4, 180, 183, 193, 210, 213-4.

¹²³ Patrick O'Sullivan's six volume series, *The Irish World Wide*, includes discussion on Irish communities in England, Argentina, Scotland, Wales, Canada, the United States of America and Australia, while Akenson's *The Irish Diaspora*, refers to the Americas, New Zealand and South Africa.

identification to both country of origin and country of choice. It thus puts the Irish into the foreground so that their contributions can be properly evaluated.

CHAPTER ONE: EVOLUTION OF THE COUNTY OF STANLEY

The emergence of and the factors which shaped the County of Stanley in South Australia provide important background for this research about its Irish residents. The existence of apparent anomalies – the inclusion of townships beyond county boundaries for example – requires clarification. Across the county of Stanley, a series of notional layers for various administrative purposes were imposed after 1841, replacing the area’s Indigenous identification as Ngadjuri territory. The markings or boundaries were usually invisible, but dissected the region in different ways for various purposes. Within Stanley these related primarily to local matters but of necessity connected to Adelaide centres of power. The demarcations involved land, church management, local government and administration, township development, elections, census counts and transport. Generally it was **only** their representation on maps which made them visible. For all Stanley’s residents, their impact related only to the area of life the boundary aimed to shape or control.

The region of the Ngadjuri or the ‘peppermint gum’ people¹ appealed to early explorers. A sheep station was established late in 1839 in anticipation of the Hutt Special Survey,² which was initiated on December 2nd 1839³ and concluded on January 11th 1841. Irishman Edward Burton Gleeson was one of nine who contributed to the £2000 required to finance the survey.⁴ The Central Hill Country, in which Stanley is located, was described as one of the colony’s most “favourable Areas,”

¹ Warrior Fred, Knight Fran, Anderson Sue, Pring Adele, *Ngadjuri: Aboriginal People of the Mid North Region of South Australia*, SASOSE Council Inc, South Australia 2005, 10. See 59 below.

² The system of Special Surveys, operating between 1836 and 1846, formed part of Wakefield’s scheme to regulate settlement and land sales; it enabled individuals or groups to finance survey costs of land parcels beyond the surveyed districts and then to receive first choice of these blocks.

³ *Government Gazette*, January 16th 1840.

⁴ The other eight were John Horrocks, John King (Calcutta), Francis Wilson and Henry Riggs (London), Col George Wyndham, Edward John Eyre, John Banter and Osmond Gillies.

combining land both flat and hilly within well-watered territory.⁵ It proved attractive to early colonists.

Events moved fast. Gleeson visited the area briefly and had shepherds (some probably Irish) working by late September 1840.⁶ Late in 1841 the Hawker brothers, James George and Charles, established their station, Bungaree, northwest of Gleeson's land. The colony's 1841 census did not include the region, so Gleeson and other Stanley residents were not listed.⁷ Noye suggests that by 1842 numbers probably totalled "83 souls in a diameter of 14 miles."⁸ By early 1843 the basic administrative structure for closer settlement existed. Official surveying processes had attracted other entrepreneurial individuals such as Irishman John Hope. In the area since 1841, he began acquiring land by 1843. Peter Moore describes early Irish immigrants moving "up-country [from Adelaide] in easy stages... finally to the Clare Valley and the Gleesons of Inchiquin."⁹

The County of Stanley was proclaimed on June 2nd 1842.¹⁰ During the 1850s colonial possession was clearly demonstrated by "a fairly rigid survey hierarchy of Counties, Hundreds, rural Sections and town allotments."¹¹ Increasingly land was sold in hundreds so these map lines effectively controlled the spread of settlement and

⁵ Michael Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape: A Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*, Academic Press, London, 1974, 6-7.

⁶ *Southern Australian*, September 29th 1840. Gleeson's 1842 Insolvency details, discussed further 64, 72-5 below, show he employed Irish shepherds, but the records do not clearly identify their 1842 location.

⁷ Some of those absent from the only colonial census naming individuals included EB Gleeson, Patrick Butler, Patrick Weathers, Dennis Kenny and Daniel O'Leary and families. Exclusions from this census seem not to have been the subject of previous comment.

⁸ Noye, *Clare*, 12.

⁹ Peter Moore, "Half Burnt Turf...", 110. Reasons apart from Gleeson's presence for such early, sustained and disproportionate numbers of Irish moving to Stanley remain elusive. The existence of networks based on sea voyage is suggested by the move to Stanley of eight arrivals from Clare and Wicklow on the *Prince Regent* (1839), and ten from Kerry on the *Mary Dugdale* (1840).

¹⁰ See Appendix One, 223 below.

¹¹ Trevor Griffin and Murray McCaskill (eds), *Atlas of South Australia*, SA Government Printing Division, 1986, 14.

agriculture.¹² Within the hundreds emerged population centres, established for various reasons: location along transport routes, government policy, private or religious imperatives or, later, mining hopes. Some failed to develop beyond the drawing board, while others prospered.¹³ Irish immigrants were foundational in some; others provided attractions around which Irish immigrants clustered, sometimes only temporarily. Venturesome Irish, having made the unusual decision to emigrate to South Australia,¹⁴ had typically lived elsewhere in the colony before journeying to Stanley.¹⁵ The lure of mining or farming encouraged some, while for others it was the security offered by family. Random economic events caused some moves; defining factors such as a visible clerical role influenced others – regular priestly visits to Clare after 1844, and later, the Jesuits. The Irish were in Stanley, however, before the arrival of any clerical figure.

The ideas of incoming colonists about land usage changed over the decades. Lamenting the attractions of the grazing country, Colin Harris argued that these precipitated quick pastoralist occupation “with large numbers of sheep and cattle depastured on the tussock grasslands.” The pastoralists then became “so powerfully entrenched...that they successfully retained their holdings against later pressures to subdivide the land for agriculture.”¹⁶ The fate of population centres was determined by proximity to mineral deposits, legislative decisions about land, or obstructive actions of self-protecting pastoralists as their land dealings limited towns developing.

¹² Department of Lands, *The Measure of the Land*, Department of Lands, South Australia, 1986, 8.

¹³ For example Anama, Hilltown, Euromina, Davies and Canowie were all Government towns, but according to Hans Mincham, “The Historical Background of the Mid North of South Australia”, in Derek Whitelock (ed.), *The Mid North of South Australia: Some Aspects of its History*, Department of Adult Education, The University of Adelaide, 1977, 2, “None of these was allowed to develop by the wealthy pastoralists who quickly bought the allotments offered for sale.”

¹⁴ Eric Richards, “Paths of Settlement...”, 26-9.

¹⁵ In the cohort under study, few families are documented as moving immediately to Stanley.

¹⁶ Colin Harris, “Pre-History: Aboriginal settlement and its impact”, Unpublished paper presented at Seminar on the Clare District, Its History and Natural History (held by History Trust of South Australia), 1982, 5.

In addition to the early moves of pastoralists, mining discoveries such as the 1845 Burra copper find adjacent to Stanley and the consequences of the Austrian Jesuit contribution all affected Stanley, its economic expansion, and its overall growth.

The population quadrupled from 226 to 1283 between 1844 and 1851. While the power of pastoralists was visible early, more lasting impacts came from mining-related population surges, including Irish immigrants. Mine workers, those in allied economic expansion, farmers and labourers arrived; the population increase required greater organizational structure in Stanley. Cartage between the mine and shipping points contributed to the opening up of the area as well as the development of population centres. Initially the 100 mile route between Burra and Port Adelaide involved a ten day bullock dray trip. Subsequently, the development of Port Wakefield on the St Vincent Gulf (the first Government town north of Adelaide) reduced this by a third.¹⁷ Between 1849 and 1856 this port facilitated coal imports and copper exports.¹⁸ Many carters were Irish. According to Auhl, this was particularly evident after carrying rates contracted in 1850: “Bullock driving was...left to hired men...many of them Irish migrants.”¹⁹ By 1850 Burra had over 5,000 residents.²⁰ As a consequence of both copper carrying routes, new centres developed: Saddleworth (just beyond Stanley) by 1846, Watervale in 1849, Leasingham and Auburn the following year. Mincham emphasizes the extent to which the “rise of Burra quickened the settlement of the Mid North and the production of farm and agricultural products” in the Clare region.²¹

¹⁷ Mel Davies’s “Copper connections –Burra Routes and Transport: A Matter of Economics?” in *JHSSA*, No.30, 2002, 52, 54-6, challenged the argument that the SA Mining Association (SAMA) either used or invested much on the Port Wakefield route.

¹⁸ Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 33.

¹⁹ Ian Auhl, *The Story of the ‘Monster Mine’. The Burra Burra Mine and Its Townships 1845-1877*, Investigator Press Pty Limited, Adelaide, 1986, 156.

²⁰ Kooringa, surveyed by the SAMA in 1846, in combination with Government-surveyed Redruth and privately-sponsored Aberdeen, became Burra.

²¹ Mincham, “The Historical Background of the Mid North...”, 2.

More detailed surveys of Stanley closely followed the increasing trickle of settlers north. Thus between 1842 and 1869 when the Hundreds were successively declared, the County of Stanley was administratively finalised; the area covered 1,420 square miles or 908,800 acres.²² This development reflected the county's transition from distant outpost, bordering the limits of settlement, to a more developed location, displaying many 'civilised' benefits which no doubt attracted settlers, the Irish included.

The gradual emergence of a range of services and facilities demonstrated the growth of Clare in particular over these three decades. A post office was established in 1847. By 1849 the police force was based there, then a local court and barracks in 1851. A sense of the region and Clare's development were conveyed in the 1851 journey to the Northern Districts undertaken by an anonymous 'Old Colonist.' The quality of the Burra/Clare road and the absence of signage were highlighted. Comments about the "want of funds or energy" and the "considerable alterations and improvements [needed to make] even as a remote country inn" the Clare Inn, comfortable, provide an outsider's view. Clare's population was estimated at 200 in "fifty tenements."²³ Irishman E.B. Gleeson (mentioned earlier), was credited with establishing the region and quoted as stating that "his countrymen did not predominate among the population."²⁴ The Old Colonist's encouragement of visits to Clare so soon after its settlement demonstrated growth. Local government's importance was recognized and established early. Stanley's administrative layer developed over the decades in response to demographic pressures as well as legislative change.

²² See Appendix One, 223 below.

²³ EM Yelland (ed.), *Colonists, Copper and Corn in the Colony of South Australia 1850-51*, EM Yelland, 1983, 136-8.

²⁴ *Ibid*, 137. Gleeson's reasons for such a statement are unclear.

In July 1853 Clare's first District Council was established, bounded on the south and south east by the counties of Gawler and Light, on the east by the Hundred of Upper Wakefield, and on the north and the west by the Hundred of Clare. By 1860 telegraphic communication between Adelaide and Clare was completed. In September 1868 Clare township became a corporation: it had a population of just over one thousand in the 1871 census. The district acquired a newspaper in February 1869 with the first publication of the *Northern Argus*. The Rate Assessment Book that year revealed Clare had 30 shops, 26 with dwellings; there were a further 112 to 120 houses. From 1870 Clare operated as the headquarters of the Northern Division of the Mounted Police, demonstrating its regional centrality. By 1871, with Clare as its centre, in population terms as well as services, Stanley displayed many aspects of development, in contrast to its pioneering past. Thus the area was a good place for immigrants, including Irish, to settle.²⁵

Further district councils were established. In October 1854 Upper Wakefield, which included Watervale and Auburn, was established, followed in April 1868 by Stanley, Black Springs, Waterloo and Saddleworth. Additional measures of closer settlement proximate to Clare were evident when a post office was opened at Sevenhill in 1858. This site (formerly Open Range) was the location to which the Jesuits, having arrived in 1848, moved from their rented Clare accommodation in 1851.²⁶ Their purchase of land, their subsequent sale of sectional divisions and site development, encouraged a population centre. Three years later St Aloysius College was under construction, with more than 20 pupils in attendance by 1858. The Jesuit contribution to the northern Catholic population, including numbers of Irish, was

²⁵ See Table Eighteen , 250 below for 1871 details of township populations and number of houses in District Council areas in and adjacent to Stanley.

²⁶ Ruth Schumann, "'...In the Hands of the Lord': The Society of Jesus in Colonial South Australia" in *JHSSA*, No 15, 1986, 36, documents Jesuit optimism about "a permanent mission" in Australia from October 1849.

reflected by Bishop Murphy drawing the Mission boundary south of Lower Light, Tanunda and Angaston in 1851.²⁷ Priests from Sevenhill provided a peripatetic ministry to isolated Catholics.²⁸ They also offered education to hundreds of young men between 1856 and 1886. Jesuits thus contributed enormously to the region's spiritual and cultural life. Their pivotal role with German and Polish immigrant farmers helped shape the county's nineteenth century ethnic combination. Their labours contributed to an increasingly visible layer of Church infrastructure across Stanley.

Michael Williams acknowledged agriculture's contribution to the area's consolidation in the late 1840s and early 1850s. But he emphasized that "the discovery and mining of copper...at Burra in 1844" had focussed attention on the productive potential of Central Hill Country.²⁹ Mining discoveries contributed to the promotion of the district, particularly in the wake of what Noye describes as

²⁷ See 'Map of Jesuit Mission in South Australia 1848-1901', 53 below.

²⁸ The pattern of Catholicism was to make contact with outlying communities of Irish (or German) settlement and encourage the later development of Catholic infrastructure. At other times the Church bought land and built the infrastructure that would, in time, attract members.

²⁹ Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 27. The mines at Kapunda, Burra and Kanmantoo "brought about a major influx of capital and people into the colony. By the end of the period in 1849, minerals constituted about 67 per cent of the value of exports of the infant colony compared with 29 per cent for wool and 4 per cent for wheat and breadstuffs."

THE JESUIT MISSION IN SOUTH AUSTRALIA 1848 - 1901

- Jesuit Residence (including a church in same town).....●
- Dependent Church ("station" - regular service).....●
- Most probable road link between above.....—
- Mass - Centres (visit four or more times a year).....●
- Route taken by Fr Johann Pallhuber, S.J. (taken from Baptismal Reg. 1861 and 1863).....—

Compiled by Paul Cleary, S.J., December 1973 - April 1974



Map Showing Churches and Mass Centres in the County of Stanley and Adjacent Areas.

the “coppermania” emanating from Kapunda and Burra.³⁰ Most mining ventures faded fast, but their role in attracting settlers to Stanley should not be underestimated. The strength of their appeal helped determine the shape of the area’s development. That there were several mining proposals across the locality emphasized different locations, and as a consequence, some settlements developed while others languished. For example, Section 131 of the Hutt River Survey in 1850 was the site for Armagh, where growth was affected by Emu Flat copper enterprises between 1850 and 1870. Armagh’s proximity to both Clare and the mine was used to promote its sale. Anticipating an influx of workers, Outa Wurta township was planned near Jacob’s Springs, houses constructed, and allotments offered for sale in September 1850.³¹ In 1850 a Clare brewery was constructed in anticipation of a mine-related population increase.³² However, little ore was ever removed. The ‘Old Colonist’ was informed in 1851 that the mine was to be “abandoned as hopeless... ‘because it cannot afford a penn’orth of copper, or any other available product.’”³³ By that time, however, Stanley’s population had grown to 1283.³⁴

Elsewhere in the county, mining optimism had also attracted colonists; copper discovery in a Mintaro creek bed led to the short-lived Wakefield Copper Mine in November 1845.³⁵ Possibilities seemed promising; prospectors relocating to Mintaro found a well-established hamlet.³⁶ Even in 1842 it had approximately 60 permanent families, and its prospects were boosted by the 1845 copper finds at Burra. Mining

³⁰ Noye, *Clare*, 118-121.

³¹ *Ibid*, 119.

³² *Ibid*, 145.

³³ Yelland, *Colonists*, 138.

³⁴ The 1851 census did not utilise counties; this figure amalgamates counted individuals in the region.

³⁵ Quoted in HYL Brown, *Record of the Mines of South Australia*, 4th edition, CE Bristow, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1908, 18. The company had 160 acres, capital of £1,300 in 650 £2 shares and 5 directors. Details were published in ‘Mines and Mining Companies in South Australia’ in the *Royal South Australian Almanack for 1848*.

³⁶ *Mintaro Notes*, Mintaro History Centre, nd, 1. Early European habitation of the area preceded Eyre’s 1838 exploration – his report noted overlander, James Stein, with 5,000 sheep and cattle in the Upper Wakefield district east of Mintaro.

discoveries changed transport needs; the vital bullock jinker route, the Gulf Road, passed northwest of the township.³⁷ Mintaro town lots were first sold in 1849: five years later it included hotels, blacksmiths, flour and chaff mills, shops, five churches, a bank and a slate quarry.³⁸ Irish numbers increased in Mintaro during the 1850s; the opening of its Catholic Church, the second in Stanley, testified to this Irish clustering. Like many in Stanley, bullock drivers and miners from Mintaro were attracted east by Victorian gold. Many returned; by 1866, Mintaro was a township with a population of 350, including farmers. As previously indicated, the origins of other Stanley townships were directly connected to the transportation demands of the Burra mine.

Population sites in Stanley also emerged in response to other transportation issues. Farrell Flat, with a licensed hotel in 1853, became an important interconnector station after the railway was opened on August 29th 1870. It operated both as the “main shipping station for all the large runs just beyond Clare”³⁹ and as the destination for daily stage coaches meeting the Adelaide train from places like Clare. A post office opened in 1870 and by the following year the population was 126, with 24 dwellings. The transportation ribbon was visible on the landscape. Routes of roads and railways were hotly contested between townships; their importance in determining local prosperity was recognised.

By the end of the 1850s, farmer numbers in South Australia had grown from two and a half thousand to about seven thousand (with the area of cultivation quadrupling), and the colony’s population had almost doubled. New townships

³⁷*Ibid*, 3. “The Mintaro Belt, a wooded section of the Gulf Road, had a backlog of jinkers negotiating Mt Rufus and Mt Horrocks. The belt became an economic boom for Mintaro saddlers, blacksmiths, wheelwrights, chaffcutters, also soup kitchens and a sly grog shop.”

³⁸ *Ibid*, 2-3, When Joseph Gilbert first laid out the town in 1848 it was sited at the expected crossing point for the Gulf Road. Plans for the second site (nearly four miles away on Sections 187 and 316) were lodged before the sale in November 1849.

³⁹ Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 160.

adjacent to Stanley, such as Marrabel and Manoora, emerged during the early 1860s.⁴⁰ However, concurrently, and in response to the “new [north eastern] tier of hundreds” proclaimed after 1863, the entrenched pastoralists were ready “to outbid the small-scale selector at the [land] auctions and so establish themselves on large freehold estates created out of their ‘old runs.’”⁴¹ Such resolute efforts imposed pressures on the decisions of early farmers about their family’s future. Reasons for either persisting in Stanley or moving north cannot be established with certainty. But what is certain is that following the introduction of the *Waste Lands Amendment Act* of 1869 (the Strangways Act) and its land-owning implications, the 1870s witnessed the beginnings of a population shift within Stanley. Dissatisfaction with the availability of land had led to the legislative intervention which facilitated land purchase on credit; it replaced a system where cash was required for 80 acre sections. Now bidders could provide 20 per cent for blocks up to 320 acres and pay the balance over four years. Numbers of early county residents moved north and the county’s ethnic profile reflected their decisions. By 1871 Stanley’s Irish population had fallen to 11 per cent from almost 15 per cent in 1861.

Agricultural expansion in South Australia declined in the late 1860s, due partly to the drought years of 1865-6 and then wheat disease. Many small farmers experienced severe financial difficulties. Many of Stanley’s struggling farmers, the Irish among them, as in other older settled areas, were tempted by hopes of better agricultural opportunities in the “Northern Areas”.

In 1851, of the colony’s 63,000 inhabitants, Stanley’s contribution was 1,283; exact figures of Irish birth remained unclear because race rather than country of birth

⁴⁰ See Maps of ‘The County of Daly and Stanley’ (1879) and ‘Clare Region’ (1980), 60 and 61 below. Together these provide detail of the location of population sites in and adjacent to Stanley.

⁴¹ Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 33, 346.

formed the census question until 1860.⁴² By 1855 Stanley's population had increased to 2,259, and colonial confusion over the meaning of 'race' was more apparent.⁴³ The 1861 census results demonstrated the increasingly formal presentation of the colony's profile with more detailed census tables, occupational categories and clarification of the educational background of the population.⁴⁴ South Australians were asked about their birthplace: of the 117,967 residents, 12,237 or 10.38 per cent were Irish, but in Stanley it was 714, almost 15 per cent of 4,835. Those from Scotland and the agglomerated foreign-born made up less than 7 per cent throughout the colony.⁴⁵ In terms of colonial religious affiliation, Catholics numbered 15,594 or just over 13 per cent while the Lutheran cohort made up 9.5 per cent with 11,235 adherents. By 1866 within Stanley, numbers declaring allegiance to both the Church of England and the Catholic Church were, surprisingly, identical at 1,768,⁴⁶ with other denominational groups such as Wesleyan Methodists and Bible Christians trailing with 924 and 633 followers, and Lutheran representation limited to 100.⁴⁷ By 1866, 979 persons of Irish birth (14.2 per cent of the total) contributed to the 6,936 making up Stanley's population. In 1871 there were 9,785 living in Stanley but the Irish contribution, although increasing numerically to 1,102, fell by 3 per cent as previously indicated.⁴⁸

Colonial development in terms of representative government was reflected in changes to Stanley's electoral system before 1871. During the 1850s (when the

⁴² Thomas L Stevenson, *South Australia in Transition: A Geographical Interpretation of the Beginning of Fertility Decline, 1836-1901*, PhD Thesis, Flinders University, 1982, 17, 24, clarifies that while 'race' was a census question between 1844 and 1860, the schedules could not identify birthplace or country of origin and any tabulations of racial disclosure were not made public.

⁴³ *Ibid*, 24.

⁴⁴ Census issues are discussed further in later chapters.

⁴⁵ See Tables Sixteen and Seventeen, 249 below for population details of Scottish and German-born in the colony and in Stanley and adjacent councils 1861-1871.

⁴⁶ Surprising in the sense that such denominational parity was an unlikely statistical possibility.

⁴⁷ See Tables Five and Twenty Two, 233 and 252 below, for details of denominations within Stanley District Councils in 1871, and in Stanley and adjacent counties 1844-1871.

⁴⁸ See Table One, 227 below for details of the population in the colony and in Stanley and adjoining counties 1844-1871. See Table Thirteen, 247 below for details of the Irish-born population colonially and in Stanley and adjacent counties in 1861 and 1871.

franchise was restricted), the county moved from being part of an electorate including sections of the city to one including the county of Gawler. By 1857 the Counties of Stanley and Light were part of the three member Burra and Clare electorate.

Following the granting of the 1857 constitution, all males could vote but by then the electoral pattern in which voting was unrelated to county area was well established.

Thus electoral boundaries represented a further administrative layer for Stanley's male citizens, one which crossed county demarcation.

Population growth in Stanley – from 83 in 1842 to almost 10,000 thirty years later – explains the gradual evolution of a more complex administrative and community framework whose layers affected all county residents. Layers incorporated all areas: the declaration of hundreds, evolving ideas about the best ways to use land, the provision of different levels of public community and/or church related infrastructure. As these various administrative levels spread, intersected and changed the county, their influence on individual lives was diverse: greater police presence, church availability, work opportunities and local government, for example, affected groups differently. Although some Irish families lived outside Stanley's borders – for example, in Saddleworth or Manoora – this did not affect their participation in county activities.⁴⁹ Stanley was invisibly crisscrossed with lines and boundaries, most of which, in the short term, probably had minimal impact on lives. But as individuals responded to colonial life, made location and/or employment choices, established families or adjusted family structures, and adapted religious behaviour, they were changing. In the more general, longer term sense, the integration of these factors was imperceptibly transforming Irish immigrants into South

⁴⁹ In the second edition of *Irish Migrants in the Canadas*, 247, Elliott refers to some limitations of focussing on single municipalities because “people do not settle in neat administrative boxes for the convenience of the historian. They follow landforms...settle as near as they can to relatives or friends but often this leads them over a township or county line.”

Australians. Edward Burton Gleeson, an early colonist and founder of Clare, was one Irishman whose immersion in Stanley reflected a deep identification with his chosen home.

Meantime the Indigenous population was missing from the historical record and their story therefore remains essentially untold. The land of the ‘peppermint gum people’ had been fully expropriated by Stanley colonists, this Irish cohort among the dispossessors. Subsequent county history is largely silent about Indigenous lives; Noye’s narrative is instructive in referring to “troublesome” behaviour, Indigenous resentment and some resulting violence with colonists always being “well armed” in the early years.⁵⁰ Occasional glimpses of Stanley’s original inhabitants appeared in press references to gatherings or celebrations in townships as well as in census counts; five Stanley Aboriginal residents (who may not have been Ngadjuri) were included in 1861 and twenty four in 1871. Evidence of any specific interaction with the research cohort or of any Irish comment about the Ngadjuri people has yet to be located.

⁵⁰ Noye, *Clare*, 10



1876 Map of the County of Stanley.



Portion of Map of Clare Region 1980.

Profile: Edward Burton Gleeson:

Born 1802 Clare, Ireland, died 1870 Clare, South Australia.

Irishman Edward Burton Gleeson (E.B.) came to South Australia in August 1838 following some years in India where he was employed in Calcutta by the East India Company. Born in 1802 to an educated Irish family, E.B. and his brother arrived with their families. His entrepreneurial skills and capital seemed to quickly equip him for agricultural endeavours, extensive social interaction and contribution. He was the colony's largest individual landowner by 1840.¹ The extent of his opulent lifestyle was fully revealed in the insolvency processes which beset him in early 1842. He withdrew from the Adelaide existence in which he had prospered and headed north to the Hutt River land he had selected following the Special Survey of 1841; this was financed in 1840 by a nine member consortium which included Gleeson.² Establishing himself appropriately 'squire style' in a village eventually named Clare (after his county of birth), Gleeson's northern property helped attract early Irish colonists to the region.

His successes – both agricultural and personal – were many³ and were reflected in his appointment as a JP in 1849, as Chairman of Clare's first District Council in 1853, and as first Mayor in 1868. According to early reminiscences, "He was a man of great physical bulk and cut an imposing figure on his...cob as he rode

¹ *Northern Argus*, June 6th 1924. He followed the South Australian Company in the Royal Geographical Society's list of major stockholders.

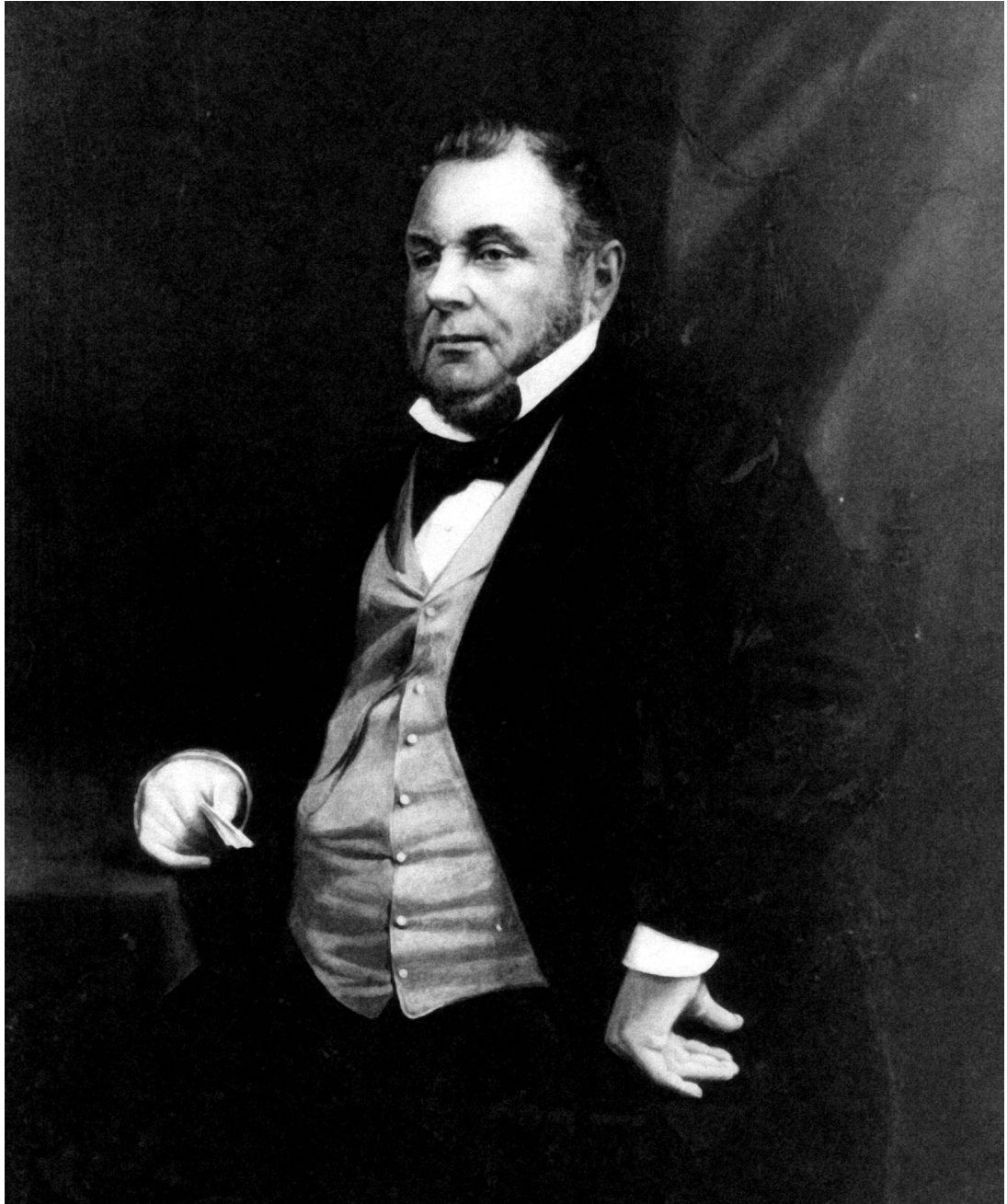
² SLSA, PRG 239/15/33. This document reveals the precise planning on June 30th 1840 for the proposed allocation among eight landholders – two groups of eight slips of paper were to decide firstly the order of choosing and secondly the numbered selection on the plan. Three of those named, including Gleeson, actually became landholders.

³ Given Gleeson's extensive achievements, particularly in relation to Clare, but also at a broader level of colonial life, his non-inclusion in the *Australian Dictionary of Biography* is puzzling.

down the main street, acknowledged by all as the Squire of the place, known as Paddy Gleeson, the King of Clare.”⁴

Towards the end of the 1840s he had resumed participation in Adelaide events, notably in 1849 as a founding member of the St Patrick’s Society. The breadth and depth of his official appearances – particularly locally, but also in the city – provided him many opportunities for the promotion of both his Irish background and his colonial allegiance. Gleeson’s identification of Ireland as his greatest love, followed closely by South Australia, raises questions about whether at his death in 1870 he remained in the transition process, still becoming a South Australian rather than having become one.

⁴ *SRSA Research Notes* 126.



Edward Burton Gleeson, circa 1865
Founder of Clare.

CHAPTER TWO: 1841 to 1850 – FOUNDATION OF STANLEY

Preamble

This chapter examines the County of Stanley in the 1840s. Edward Burton Gleeson relocated his family by 1842 to land in the Hutt River region, an area subsequently described as Irishtown.¹ This research has identified details of 42 adult Irish immigrants who reached Stanley by 1850. Irish numbers in Stanley determined an early role for the Catholic Church, although being Irish was not synonymous with this creed.² The significance of the pioneering Irish contribution to Stanley has not been fully recognised beyond Gleeson.³ This research examines the activities of a number of Irishmen in the 1840s in a range of county occupations and roles. The nature of the Irish impact in this decade provided important background for Stanley's subsequent development as the colony's most Irish region. Examining the story of Gleeson's Adelaide-based life provides a crucial backdrop to his successes and role in Stanley.

The 1840s presented the new colony of South Australia with economic problems and opportunities. During Governor Gawler's leadership (October 1838 to May 1841) bankruptcy loomed, becoming a reality under his successor George Grey (May 1841 to August 1848). Copper discoveries – Kapunda in 1842 and Burra in 1845 – salvaged the colony. Gleeson, a casualty of the financial crisis, moved north. During the later 1840s basic aspects of pioneer Stanley's administrative and religious

¹ See for example, Win Johnson (comp), *Cottages and Cameos of Clare*, District Council of Clare, Clare, 1988, for frontispiece map of 'The Township of Clare' identifying a town area as 'Irishtown.'

² There were small numbers of Protestant Irish residents in Stanley.

³ Woodburn, *The Irish in New South Wales*, 239-41 begins her focus on Stanley in the 1850s and only mentions Gleeson briefly in the 1840s.

framework were established. This decade reflects Gleeson's Adelaide rise and fall, then his unexpected re-emergence in Stanley.⁴

In addition, this early decade witnessed the construction of significant networks of Irish colonists. Whether these were centred on the Catholic Church after the arrival of Adelaide's first bishop, Francis Murphy, in November 1844, the Sons of Erin (1840), or its successor, the St Patrick's Society (1849), they clearly demonstrated the existence of bonding social capital, namely Irishmen gathering as a homogeneous group to access and reinforce what they shared in a community where being Irish could in some instances be perceived as a disadvantage. The non-sectarian⁵ St Patrick's Society's early focus was directed towards increasing Irish immigration.⁶ Recognising the importance of potential emigrants receiving both accurate information and post-arrival support, in 1849 the group communicated with Earl Grey, the Secretary of State for the Colonies.⁷ Visible and successful Irishmen belonged to the society, disseminating positive messages about enterprising and hardworking Irish-born colonists.⁸ Networks overlapped demonstrating how these interconnections worked in the interests of incoming and established settlers.⁹ The resolution adopted at the Society's July 1849 meeting urged that "emigration from the mother country" should be equalised.¹⁰ In other words, they argued for more Irish, and their Memorial to Earl Grey was clearly aimed at dispelling negative impressions.

Thus the apologetic tone of O'Halloran to the Lieutenant Governor: "the Society

⁴ Unexpected in relation to the extent of his economic embarrassment as revealed in the creditor sale advertisements and the extent of debts in relation to his previous economic largesse.

⁵ Early Society committee members included both Protestants and known Catholics such as Thomas Young Cotter, Edward McEllister, Henry Johnson and Father Michael Ryan.

⁶ *Adelaide Observer* (Supplement), July 14th 1849 quoted Torrens as talking of meeting "in a spirit of nationality... They would twine the orange lily and the evergreen shamrock into one immortal wreath."

⁷ *Ibid.* This committee included Mr Hope, probably John Hope of Stanley.

⁸ Examples of these Irishmen included Captain Bagot, the O'Halloran brothers, CB Newenham, RR Torrens and GS Kingston. See *Register*, May 3rd 1850.

⁹ Fr Michael Ryan, Richard Counsel, Henry Johnson and Edward McEllister were prominent figures in the Catholic Church.

¹⁰ *Mercury and Sporting Journal*, July 14th 1849.

sought to vindicate the character of the labouring Irish who had settled in this Province.”¹¹

Irish networks were important, especially in the colonial atmosphere carrying some negativity. Adverse news items – for example, emphasis on condemned bushrangers as Irish in 1840¹² – and other overtly negative representations of the Irish were frequent. The publication of dismissive, often ‘humorous’ newspaper items reinforcing general prejudices about Irish idiosyncrasies (minus comment) was also common. These were sometimes reprinted from the English press, implying correctness. Two examples suggest the tone. In 1841, “Pat Casey’s Letter” recycled all the characteristics of a simple, poorly educated Irish emigrant: confusion, misspelling, Irish words and stupidity. Such humour was not aimed at social integration.¹³ Another item in 1844 likened conversing with a young Irishman to a forest walk. Incorporating some delight but necessitating the regular extraction of briars, the writer’s conclusion was about “not tak[ing] the same walk on the morrow.”¹⁴ The frequent appearance of such items before the Irish ‘crisis’ in 1848 probably contributed to negative attitudes about Irish immigration.¹⁵

Restricting Irish numbers into South Australia was unofficially sanctioned from the early years.¹⁶ Thus immigration, in particular Irish use of assisted passages after 1844, followed by policies of dispatching single Irish girls in 1848, provided a

¹¹ Major O’Halloran, President of the St Patrick’s Society presented the Memorial to the Lieutenant Governor. In its reply the Colonial Office doubted whether any move to encourage greater Irish emigration to South Australia “would be acceptable to the majority of settlers in that colony.” *South Australian*, October 10th 1850.

¹² *Register*, March 21st 1840.

¹³ *Chronicle*, January 13th 1841.

¹⁴ *Register*, August 17th 1844.

¹⁵ Dale T Knobel, *Paddy and the Republic: Ethnicity and Nationality in Antebellum America*, Wesleyan University Press, Connecticut, 1986, 11-12, utilises content analysis as evidence in his documentation of “the gradual institutionalisation of ethnic prejudice [against the Irish] in antebellum American language.” He argues that Pat or Paddy “was a word portrait, a collection of adjectives applied over and over again to the Irish in American’s ordinary conversation... The words did not merely represent attitudes, they shaped attitudes.”

¹⁶ Nance, “The Irish in South Australia...”, 68.

slow burning fuse. Against a backdrop showing Irish colonists were unwanted in the Wakefield equation, the flawed efforts of London Commissioners to chisel out demographic equilibrium caused problems. In 1848 the *Register* declaimed that “The Commissioners cannot send us out emigrants of the right sort.”¹⁷ Immigration fault lines laid in this decade emerged much more starkly under the weight of greater Irish numbers in the 1850s. But late in the 1840s when Police Commissioner Tolmer was perceived as being both anti-Catholic and Irish and overtly discriminatory, the strength of community intolerance was clearly revealed.¹⁸ Gleeson, however, represented a sought after, well-endowed immigrant in whose profile Anglo rather than Irish predominated; he willingly activated his Irish cultural capital by his participation in The Sons of Erin and later the St Patrick’s Society. That Gleeson possessed individual economic capital became obvious during his first years in the colony.

Gleeson in Adelaide

In 1802 Gleeson was born into an Irish family of lawyers and Church of England clerics, based in County Clare.¹⁹ In India from at least 1826 with the East India Company, by 1834 Gleeson was “Keeper of the House of Correction” in Calcutta.²⁰ A widower, he married Harriet Llewellyn Jones in October 1829.²¹ Success in the Calcutta Sweepstake apparently facilitated early retirement,²² and with older brother

¹⁷ *Register*, September 2nd 1848.

¹⁸ See for example a letter in the *Register*, November 28th 1849 applauding Tolmer’s decision to deny police admission to a “Roman Catholic”: “All praise...for such a truly Protestant act.”

¹⁹ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 29.

²⁰ British Library, India Office Family History Search. nd
<http://www.indiafamily.bl.uk/UI/Home.aspx> (25 September 2009)

²¹ At Calcutta on 6th May 1826 Staff Sergeant Edward Burton Gleeson married a Mrs Conway. At the time of his marriage to Harriet he was Sergeant Town Major’s Department. Their third child, Harriet, was born in August 1836 and died in August 1837. Harriet senior died on June 6th 1896. Her obituary in *Northern Argus* of June 19th referred to her “Welsh extraction,” to the delicacy of the chest [which led to her going] to India with the family of Sir Edward Ryan, where she married the late Mr Gleeson.”

²² *Northern Argus*, June 6th 1924. Insolvency details revealed he arrived with £4,500 in 1838.

John Hampton and their young families,²³ Gleeson reached South Australia on the *Emerald Isle* (sailing from Madras) in July 1838.²⁴

The *Emerald Isle* was the second vessel sent by the Australian Association of Bengal. Formed in mid-1837, this association “of the leading and most wealthy commercial men in Calcutta” aimed to foster regular communication between India and the Australian colonies. John Morphett was the Association’s Adelaide agent. His task was to support those of “superabundant capital” whose experience “would give a maturity to our social institutions which we might otherwise despair of attaining for many years to come.”²⁵ The Association encouraged those who possessed the social capital recognised as instrumental for swifter colonial progress. In addition to cash, Gleeson’s importation of his pure bred Arab ‘entire’ horse, Abdallah, indicated the practical advantages of such immigrants.²⁶

The Gleeson family group was large. In addition to nine Gleesons²⁷ were a young governess, Mary Thomas, and an English employee, William Baker.²⁸ More surprisingly, there were also twenty-four Indian servants who evidently became his labourers.²⁹ In 1841 government returns for Gleeville (Gleeson’s Beaumont property) showed five labourer’s cottages. Employee numbers explained the need. The property

²³ Fanny and John William were born in 1829 and 1834 and Edward Burton was born three weeks after landing. John had 3 children – Hampton Carroll, Harriet and Sarah. Hampton married Susan, daughter of Catholic Kerry immigrant, Edward McEllister. (He emigrated as a trooper in 1838 and later became a publican, then a businessman. In 1858 he was elected to parliament.) Hampton became a Catholic, was a successful pastoralist, and was in Parliament from 1870-1. Harriet died in 1883 and was buried in Clare; Sarah married Doctor Arthur Newnham Bewicke of Melrose in 1865, he later worked in Watervale and Adelaide.

²⁴ On May 14th 1840 the *Register* published letters from the *Calcutta Englishman*, written by prominent colonists (including Thomas O’Halloran) and promoting advantages. Gleeson described his brother’s constitution as “perfectly restored” so previous ill health may have encouraged their move.

²⁵ *Southern Australian*, July 28th 1838. The subsequent history of this association remains unclear.

²⁶ *Ibid.* Abdallah was later advertised as a stud.

²⁷ The party included the Gleeson brothers, their wives and five children between the two families.

²⁸ Mary’s mother was Indian and her father English; she was employed from a Calcutta orphanage. Lincolnshire-born Baker had been shipwrecked and rescued in the Indian Ocean, then taken to India.

²⁹ Identifying the subsequent histories of most of this cohort awaits further research. In 1841 four names were mentioned in a court case which did not reveal Gleeson favourably as an employer, see *Adelaide Independent*, August 26th 1841. Another is possibly listed in an 1851 electoral advertisement in Stanley, see *South Australian*, March 18th 1851. The 1855 census shows “22 Hindoos”.

also included a “substantial dwelling house” plus a well of 120 feet, out-houses, stables, stock yards and sheds.³⁰ While the specific reasons motivating the Gleesons’ move to South Australia may be unclear, the dimensions of the group and the cash accompanying them demonstrated great commitment.

South Australia was in the struggles of infancy in 1838 when this large, well-financed contingent landed. The Gleeson brothers were enthusiastic participants in pioneer society.³¹ By September their home was the allotted Section 296B, east of Adelaide, named ‘Gleeville under the Hills’.³² Rent of £27 was paid before their joint purchase of the land for £600.³³ By April 1840, 160 acres had been fenced at a cost of £5-600 and 14 acres cultivated (wheat, oats, barley, potatoes and less successfully, maize). Gleeson valued existing crops at £1000, suggesting such profit certainty that he intended “to keep at least three ploughs constantly employed breaking up the ground.”³⁴ Neither Gleeson’s Irish background nor his various positions in India fully prepared him for the demands of pioneering colonial life. His wholehearted immersion in a broad range of agricultural and social activities indicated a wealthy individual of great energy, an entrepreneurial bent and socialising interest.³⁵

Gleeson’s early social agenda was extensive.³⁶ Racing, socialising at Government House, and contributing to multiple and varied worthy and practical causes consumed time and income. Gleeson’s investment and participation level in colonial society reinforced his visibility and respectability, as well as his cultural and social capital.

³⁰ *Register*, June 26th 1841.

³¹ See Table Two 228-31 below for details of Gleeson’s activities in Adelaide.

³² *Southern Australian*, November 3rd 1838.

³³ SRSA GRG 66/6/39.

³⁴ *Register*, April 11th 1840.

³⁵ See Table Two, 228-31 below.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

During their early years in the province, the Gleeson brothers interacted with other prominent Irish residents. Names published to promote worthy causes, in donation lists and attendance at significant events, included the Gleesons along with other Irishmen whose county of origin (where known) and year of arrival is indicated: Charles Beaumont Howard (Dublin, 1836), Charles Burton Newenham (Dublin, 1837), George Strickland Kingston (Cork, 1838), Thomas Shuldham O'Halloran (1838) and his brother William (1840), Drs Thomas Young Cotter (Cork, 1837) and Henry Augustus O'Hea (1839).³⁷ That there was a networking relationship within this group was obvious with the formation of "The Sons of Erin" and the non-sectarian St Patrick's Society.³⁸ But such organisations had their roots in the concentrated pioneering days of the colony when challenges and unfamiliarity encouraged the development and strengthening of a bonding network which heightened familiarity.³⁹

Gleeson's colonial status, his social capital, was reflected in the economic deliberations of the early 1840s. When Governor Gawler's overspending became apparent and he was recalled, Gleeson, stockholder, attended an 1841 public meeting to clarify the financial position. He was nominated as a member of the 'Cattle and Horses' division of the Statistical Society whose role was to present accurate details to the public.⁴⁰ Despite this position, he was among those farewelling the recalled governor in June.⁴¹ In mid-January 1842 the Legislative Council called him as one of ten leading agriculturalists to discuss the state of the Province.⁴² He later attended a meeting to consider the "Financial Position of the Province." A certain irony exists in

³⁷ See, for example, *Chronicle* of December 10th 1839 for those supporting the Governor's dinner. The O'Halloran brothers were born into an Irish military family in India.

³⁸ *Register*, April 25th and 28th 1849. Kingston and Cotter were listed as calling on Major O'Halloran. Gleeson was named as a founding committee member in the *Observer* of July 14th 1849.

³⁹ Kingston described himself as celebrating every St Patrick's Day in the colony.

⁴⁰ *Register*, May 1st 1841.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, June 26th 1841.

⁴² *BPP*, 7, Papers Relating to Australian Colonies 1842-44, Enc 2 in No 42. Answering questions, he said he employed 10-12 Europeans and 5 Indians, stating there were advantages in employing Indians.

Gleeson's willingness to focus on official overspending given that his own account-keeping was about to reveal major discrepancies.⁴³ His perceived social and cultural capital placed him at the centre of colonial financial consultation, while his own financial position was in complete disarray.

Gleeson's early expenditure pattern matched his high colonial profile.⁴⁴ His tailor's bill increased by 200 per cent between 1839 and 1841, and he spent £2,400 on his household between July 1838 and March 1842, plus £309 on wages for five house servants. Over the same period he outlaid £1,750 on land. Gleeville attracted a further £5000 on buildings and improvements; £100 went to the construction of a North Adelaide property in 1841, and over £7,000 on livestock. The Bank of South Australia was owed £3,500. John Morphett and brother held another mortgage of £647.15 for the Hutt River property.⁴⁵ March 1842 represented public days of reckoning for Gleeson: his economic tightrope balancing was fully exposed, and his accounting approaches were found wanting.

The colony's financial crisis, in combination with the failure of an Indian bank in which he was a significant shareholder,⁴⁶ forced the humiliating public disposal of his assets. Gleeson's creditors initiated his becoming the colony's 39th insolvent; his debts totalled £9,986 while credits were £3,078.⁴⁷ A Sheriff's Sale held on behalf of the Bank of Australasia netted a mere £19.18.5.⁴⁸ City of Adelaide Municipal details show that he maintained a North Adelaide freehold property in October 1842; this

⁴³ *Register*, January 27th 1842. Gleeson did not attend the Great Meeting of the Colonists in July which presented full economic details.

⁴⁴ See Table Two, 228-31 below – on at least seven occasions in three years Gleeson mixed with the Governor.

⁴⁵ SRSA GRG 66/6/39.

⁴⁶ *Northern Argus*, June 6th 1924.

⁴⁷ The Insolvency Act became law in June 1841.

⁴⁸ *Register*, March 5th 1842. Goods for sale included animals plus cart and harness. Proceeds from the other sale were not published but goods included furniture, books, farming stock and produce.

suggests the strategic management of bankruptcy.⁴⁹ Insolvency proceedings required individuals to explain the cause of their financial situation. In addition to buying and improving land and stock, Gleeson attributed his losses to three factors: the sudden depreciation in his fund values, partnership problems associated with John Wrathall Bull,⁵⁰ and the shortfall experienced on “Merchandise imported from India.”⁵¹

Gleeson retreated to his distant Hutt River site, 500 acres from the Special Survey. He possibly received further overseas finance.⁵² The previous August, as the colony grappled with sheep scab, Gleeson was shown with a flock of 3,500 in the Wakefield area.⁵³ Sources differ in their accounts of Gleeson’s initial journey to ‘Clare’ – it might have been in 1840 or 1841 that he travelled for seven to eight days accompanied by blacksmith John Maynard in a bullock wagon, and camped under the huge gum tree.⁵⁴ Gleeson left flocks, Indian labourers and Maynard, plus an overseer, and returned to Adelaide. But in 1842, after the January public meeting and the signing of insolvency papers on March 26th, he was not in Adelaide.⁵⁵ Despite the embarrassment associated with insolvency, the attendant publicity and inevitable social isolation, Gleeson’s Hutt River property, plus personal resilience, enabled him to overcome some loss of social and cultural capital, negotiate the difficult times, and emerge ready for renewed efforts.

⁴⁹ *Register*, October 1st 1842.

⁵⁰ Partnership details are sketchy; Bull arrived in May 1838 and became a land agent who also bought stock for absent landowners. By September 1838 the Gleesons and Bull were advertising and business prospered, but by September 1839, the partnership was dissolved. *Southern Australian*, September 29th 1838 and September 30th 1839.

⁵¹ SRSA GRG 66/6/39.

⁵² Schmaal, *Inchiquin*, 4.

⁵³ *Ibid*, August 28th 1841. The ‘Wakefield’ was used generally to refer to areas north of Auburn; it derived from the river of the same name which flowed through the region towards the gulf near Port Wakefield. Sheep numbers were similar for Horrocks at Penwortham, Bungaree had 2480.

⁵⁴ Noye, *Clare*, 9, Schmaal, *Inchiquin*, 5.

⁵⁵ SAPP, 1867, 3, No 141. Giving evidence to a parliamentary enquiry on the Wallaroo and Clare Railway, Gleeson said he had resided in the district “[s]ince the beginning of 1842.”

His Hutt River campsite was at The Twins, near a waterhole later known as Gleeson's Washpool. This area subsequently became Clare.⁵⁶ Gleeson had wasted no time in ensuring this property became productive; in September 1841, the well at his Hutt River station was 80 feet deep, and in 1842 he reaped 30 bushels of wheat to the acre.⁵⁷ The 1843 Land Returns, while showing only seventeen names in Stanley, reveal Gleeson's success. As well as 30 acres of wheat, he had smaller areas of maize, barley, millet and potatoes. His garden constituted one and a half acres and he was running 3689 ewes, 1898 wethers and 60 lambs. There were also sixteen cows, four pigs and seven horses. These figures compared favourably to those of other nearby landholders.⁵⁸

Gleeson's Adelaide participation effectively finished early in 1842; distance was only one factor since the Hawker brothers from more distant Bungaree were frequently cited at Government House events.⁵⁹ The Hawkers maintained an Adelaide residence, whereas Gleeson, despite retaining his Pennington Terrace house in 1842, did not.⁶⁰ His name vanished from subscription lists. While the decision to exit from Adelaide was precipitated by insolvency, Gleeson's actions in Stanley demonstrated great commitment to that region. His successes could have facilitated a full return to Adelaide society; however, Gleeson chose to reside in Clare and to devote his energies to that region. Departing from the colony seems never to have been considered, thus Gleeson was registering allegiance to his chosen home.

⁵⁶ GH Manning, *Manning's Place Names of South Australia: From Aaron Creek to Zion Hill*, Gould Books, Adelaide, 2006, 97. Manning challenges the evidence for Clare's actual establishment in 1842.

⁵⁷ EH Tilbrook, "The First 127 Years of Clare and District", unpublished manuscript referred to in Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 53.

⁵⁸ James Allen (comp), *South Australian Land Returns 1843*, Reproduced by A & S Twining, Kogarah, NSW, 1992, 38.

⁵⁹ *Southern Australian*, December 30th 1843 – the colony's seventh anniversary. The brothers were both at Government House on May 28th 1845 when the Queen's birthday was celebrated.

⁶⁰ Clare Regional History Centre, source unknown. Written from Inchiquin on December 17th 1864, Gleeson requests GS Kingston to call on the Official Assignee in relation to the North Adelaide property's exclusion from his insolvency.

Gleeson – The Father of Clare

Even an economically humiliated E.B. Gleeson had much to contribute to an undeveloped pioneer area, and Gleeson's cultural capital accompanied him. Not only was he well-known in the colony due to his wealth and the prestigious circles in which he moved, but by 1842 he was embarking on his fourth colonial farming cycle. He was thus experienced in the vagaries of seasonal patterns. Court records suggest some employees worked at both Gleeville and the Hutt River because wages debts occurred between 1840 and 1842.

At least six Irishmen were linked to Gleeville in the insolvency records – Patrick Butler (an 1839 arrival on the *Prince Regent*), four Neagle brothers from Kerry (*Mary Dugdale* in 1840), and Patrick Dwyer. Owed £36.4.9 by Gleeson, Butler firstly worked as a shepherd at Gleeville near Adelaide, subsequently moving north. Dwyer was also associated with Gleeson but was only owed £4.0.3; he was shown on Section 297 Hutt River in 1843 and his daughters later married locally. The Neagles, shown as Gleeville employees – George, James, Edward and Richard – were grouped in the insolvency papers so the £5.9.6 owed them might have included all four or individuals. At least three – George, James and Richard – were subsequent Clare residents.⁶¹

Early Clare living conditions were basic. Unlike the imported wooden Manning house at Gleeville, Gleeson's first Clare abode was "a simple thatched white-washed cottage."⁶² In 1841 he laid out Clare on Section 40 and part Section 42 – various names were used before 1846 when Clare became standard. But in 1843 the Surveyor General commented on the houses being unfinished, noting that the Hutt River had a

⁶¹ The passenger list shows the Neagle family from Kerry with George and James having 6 children each, two Edmonds and a further George. Richard Neagle and Nancy Davids of Hindmarsh had a daughter in 1856. Archibald McDiarmid, James Clay (probably Cleary), James O'Connor and Patrick McGrath were also listed as employees on the Insolvency Records.

⁶² Schmaal, *Inchiquin*, 6.

“rather slovenly appearance.”⁶³ Gleeson’s homestead, Inchiquin, was probably built closer to 1845.⁶⁴ The nature of his establishment was consistent with O’Farrell’s analysis of Anglo-Irish behaviour.⁶⁵ Writing of an Irishman in Victoria during the 1850s, O’Farrell describes his deliberate recreation of “the best aspects” of the Irish ascendancy:

establishing a landed colonial gentry which would be paternalistic, responsible, cultivated and civilised, attracting, and on good terms with, its Irish Catholic employees: it was to be the Anglo-Irish dream, pure and realised.

Such approaches when applied to Gleeson’s behaviour underlined his self-appointed status of “Squire” with the imposing house set amidst garden and orchard.⁶⁶ The stone was local, and Mintaro slate was incorporated.⁶⁷ By 1846, Gleeson had applied for an Occupation License west of the Hutt Special Survey.⁶⁸ Thus towards the end of the 1840s, Gleeson’s colonial standing, his social capital, was in visible recovery.

Gleeson may have been involved in the naming of other sites adjacent to Clare.⁶⁹ Armagh, to the west, and home to Patrick Butler (1818-1876) and his wife Sarah Naulty (1819-1871), was one such hamlet.⁷⁰ By 1843 Wicklow-born Butler was “a stockholder of Inchiquin [with] 6 acres of wheat, ½ acres (sic) of maize, ¼ acre of garden and 28 cattle.”⁷¹ The small acreage might have been leased from Gleeson. The Butler family had three children in their home of “red gum slabs, thatched with a

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 7. Inchiquin was either named after Lord Inchiquin of the house of O’Brien in Ireland, or according to Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 35 after a site in County Clare.

⁶⁵ O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 98.

⁶⁶ Schmaal, *Inchiquin*, 7, states that Gleeson “was referred to at times as ‘The Lord of the Manor’, ‘Nabob’ and ‘King of Clare’”. The *Northern Argus* of June 6th 1924 uses the term “King of Clare” while the *Chronicle*, August 16th 1974 designated him as “the Squire of Inchiquin.”

⁶⁷ *Chronicle*, August 16th 1974, 185.

⁶⁸ *Register*, June 19th 1846. Available from 1842, these provided temporary tenure to pastoralists and required annual renewal. In 1851 they were replaced by 14 year pastoral leases which could be cancelled with 6 months notice.

⁶⁹ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 35 credits him with Armagh, Luton and Donnybrook.

⁷⁰ Donnybrook, south of Clare, was another according to Schmaal, *Inchiquin*, 6, and *The Chronicle*, October 13th 1932. Manning differs.

⁷¹ Gerald A Lally, *A Naulty Family History: 150 Years in South Australia 1846-1996*, Gerald Lally, Clare Print, 1996, 8.

straw and grass roof.” Patrick then outlaid £160 for 80 acres of Section 130 in 1846, but in early April 1847 he disposed of half for £180, which was a reasonable short term profit. October 1848 saw him extend his property holding by the purchase for £160 of S116 and 119 at Stanley Flat, three miles further north than Armagh.⁷² After less than a decade in the colony, this Stanley-based Irishman was doing very well, even providing a loan of £27 to Bishop Murphy in June 1848.⁷³

Another Irishman probably employed by Gleeson⁷⁴ but definitely a resident in Clare by 1845, James Cleary (1806-1887), acquired an occupation lease in 1848. The following year, aged 43, he married Bridget Naulty (1797-1871), the 54 year old widowed mother of Sarah, wife of Patrick Butler. In early 1846, the Butlers had confidently sent for the remainder of Sarah’s family from Wicklow. Bridget had emigrated from Glendalough with her six youngest children, arriving on the *Britannia* in late October 1846. Her older children “found employment as labourers, or domestic servants, on the surrounding station properties.”⁷⁵ For example, John, born in 1832, 14 at emigration, was employed at various times by large local landholders including Irish-born John Hope and E.B. Gleeson.

Gleeson, himself an educated man, provided the same opportunities for his extended family in Clare where there was no local school until the late 1840s. Mary Thomas⁷⁶ was the children’s governess for at least four years; she was followed by a Miss Woodroffe. Gleeson’s eldest son, John William, used to ride weekly for further instruction from Reverend JC Bagshaw, chaplain at the Burra mine.⁷⁷ His obituary

⁷² Lally, *A Naulty Family History*, 8-9.

⁷³ Brian Condon (ed.) *The Journal of Francis Murphy first Catholic Bishop of Adelaide*, SACAE, Magill Campus, Adelaide, c1980, 14-15. Butler could have been the archetypal Irishman of the St Patrick’s Society 1849 Memorial to Lord Grey – in a “prosperous condition” due to great efforts.

⁷⁴ Gleeson’s Insolvency papers show a James Clary.

⁷⁵ Lally, *A Naulty Family History*, 4.

⁷⁶ See 69 above, fn 28.

⁷⁷ Lally, *A Naulty Family History*, 7.

indicates that he later attended St Peter's College in Adelaide.⁷⁸ E.B.'s interest and role in planning for Clare schools in the late 1840s and early 1860s exhibited his own cultural capital, as well as his sense of social responsibility to his community and the colony to which he demonstrated commitment.

Stanley also attracted Irish-born John Hope (1809-1880) who arrived via the Swan River Colony in 1839.⁷⁹ Shipwrecked en route, he then required family financial help to get established in colonial property.⁸⁰ He joined northern exploration in 1839 and was briefly a joint partner in 66,000 acres at Hill River, so he knew the value of the area.⁸¹ Subsequently he managed part of Bungaree in 1842 and acquired property north of Clare – Koolunga – in 1844. After 1846 he held Occupation Licences for 70 square miles running 7,000 sheep.⁸² Hope's station at Koolunga with those at Bungaree (1842) and Hill River (1844) all required labour. Irish arrivals (such as John Naulty) became part of Hope's workforce and thus contributed to the foundation of this northern county.

The area's population slowly expanded from the estimated 83 pioneers in 1842, the year Stanley was proclaimed.⁸³ This declaration acknowledged that the area was populated and expanding. The running of the first races on the Hutt River Flat in March 1843 reflected Gleeson's interests. It also provides an example of bridging social capital; that is, a diverse community coming together for an organised event. Gleeson and the Hawkers (exhibiting the bonding social capital of class) were the

⁷⁸ *Northern Argus*, November 22nd 1895.

⁷⁹ Williams, *A Way of Life*, 15, describes Hope as a "quiet sensitive man, the son of a small scale landowner in Northern Ireland whose ancestors had acquired honours and status from the time of the Battle of the Boyne onwards. His personal fortune was not great, and it is clear that his family had seen more prosperous days."

⁸⁰ Milburn, *Clare 1840 – 1900*, 32. He received £500.

⁸¹ *Ibid*, 36.

⁸² *Register* of December 12th 1846 and July 3rd 1847 listed Hope's Occupation Licences in the Broughton and Rocky River.

⁸³ Noye, *Clare*, 12.

promoters. Those attending “paid £1 a head for refreshments and the erection of tents, and horses belonging to the local squatters and farmers competed.”⁸⁴

The 1843 Land Returns show that of Stanley’s seventeen landholders, two in addition to Gleeson and Hope were Irishmen: Patrick Butler and Mortimer Nolan, both from Wicklow, were nominated by George Hepenstal, and were colonists on the *Prince Regent*.⁸⁵ Details from the 1844 census demonstrate the undeveloped state of the “Wakefield and Hutt River, etc” region.⁸⁶ There were no shopkeepers, 12 unspecified professional persons and three mechanics; 67 were not included in any category. However, the 97 shepherds, 14 stockmen and gardeners, plus 13 domestics suggest an emerging rural area. Of the area’s 20 houses, 14 were wooden and only four were of stone or brick construction. The gender imbalance – 277 males and 45 females – reflect a settler society; 136 of the males were aged between 21 and 45. ‘Country of origin’ was not sought in any census before 1861, so using the 1844 religious identification of 30 Catholics in the region provides some approximation of the Irish cohort.⁸⁷

Catholics in Clare

By 1844 the presence of Clare’s Catholic population led to the celebration of the first Mass. Father Michael Ryan used Patrick Butler’s Armagh barn; he stayed with this family on visits before Father Dennis McGuin became the Hutt’s first resident clergyman late in 1847. Bishop Murphy sent him to “take charge of the Irish

⁸⁴ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 36, emphasises that diaries demonstrate levels of “social and practical interaction” between Gleeson, the Hawkers and Hope. On page 128, footnote 288, she refers specifically to Hope’s diary and meetings with both EB and his son – in 1860 Hope was godfather to JW’s son.

⁸⁵ Peggy Ashby and Shirley Walsh, *Hepenstal of Port Noarlunga 1840-1878*, 1987, 65.

⁸⁶ Charles Hawker was responsible for information collection as far as Crystal Brook. *Government Gazette*, January 25th 1844.

⁸⁷ *Register*, April 13th 1844.

Catholics of the district.”⁸⁸ Importantly in terms of colonial Irish locations, Clare preceded Kapunda, where comparable dates for initial Mass and permanent priest were 1845 and 1849. Ryan’s assessment of Clare’s potential Catholic population was reflected in the January 1847 laying of a foundation stone for a church to seat 200.⁸⁹ In late 1845, Bishop Murphy received £13.8.0 from Father Ryan, contributions of £1-2 each from 13 Catholics from “The North of South Australia.” Among this group were 10 identifiable Irishmen, including James Cleary and Mortimer Nolan.⁹⁰ Bishop Murphy’s journals identify details about the “Hutt River Church” and its trustees, local land purchases plus loans sought from and provided to residents. In December 1847, the bishop paid £150 for 20 acres of Section 39 in the Hutt River; church building costs were quoted at £240.⁹¹ Also included in the journal were references to monies paid to a Cavan Bishop – this was to assist in bringing Peter Brady’s father-in-law to the colony in 1849.⁹² Bishop Murphy’s involvement in Stanley was evident in his journal: he was in Clare in January, then from April 30th to May 8th 1849 when the church was opened.⁹³ His attention to Clare and its Irish Catholics was indicative of the group and the region’s importance in the Adelaide diocese.

In addition, the journal demonstrates the bishop’s interactions with a broader group of Stanley inhabitants. The 1986 description by Margaret Press of Murphy as “the sculptor of a new diocese” was apt, but probably inadequate to encompass the

⁸⁸ PJ Dalton, “Clare and the Origin of Sevenhill: Franz Weikert’s Plan for Catholic German Settlement – Father Kranewitter’s Great Foundation” in *Southern Cross*, November 6th, 1936. Father Dalton, Jesuit archivist and historian, wrote articles in conjunction with the state’s centenary.

⁸⁹ Although the *Register* of January 30th 1847 cited 60 attending the ceremony, as religious affiliation was not specified, non-Catholic locals probably attended. On April 10th it was reported that the government paid £16 “towards the erection of a Catholic Church in the Village of Clare, on the Hutt River.”

⁹⁰ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 100.

⁹¹ *Ibid*, 123 and 142.

⁹² *Ibid*, 109, 114, 145, 149, 174, 178, 186, 204. Peter Brady later became a prominent Mintaro figure.

⁹³ *Ibid*, 155.

extent of his financial and social manoeuvrings.⁹⁴ The comprehensive network he seemed intent on constructing was ultimately for the support of his flock – a minority group within an environment of incipient hostility – but his purview incorporated significant numbers of Protestants.⁹⁵ He thus actively promoted social capital that was bonding in terms of Ireland and bridging in relation to religion. Gleeson was cited as intermediary in a complicated financial exchange when the bishop subsequently sold land purchased in 1848.⁹⁶ And while many of the connections the bishop pursued and fostered were Irish-weighted, there was no exclusivity. Murphy lent books and money to Dennis Kenny, a former policeman from Kildare, an arrival of 1840 who became a Clare publican; Mortimer Nolan, Patrick Butler and mason Richard Magrath all featured in the journal.⁹⁷ While this record is instructive in its detail, some transactions figure without any initial particulars.⁹⁸ Amounts donated by the Irish “Men of the North” indicated early Church connections and bonding Irish social capital. Equally, the Bishop’s ongoing involvement in their lives reflected his pastoral and personal concern for their wellbeing.

The Church of St Michael and all the Angels, “the first substantial building in the [Clare] village,” was blessed and opened in May 1849.⁹⁹ The £15.9.0 donations raised alongside the ceremony reflected the building’s significance to the local Irish community. The arrival of Austrian Jesuits,¹⁰⁰ accompanying German immigrants on

⁹⁴ Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 68.

⁹⁵ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 115 shows Murphy visiting prominent Irishmen Torrens, Kingston and Fetherstone (sic) on September 23rd 1845.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 123, 126.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*. Richard and Mary Magrath were in Clare by 1848; their daughter Mary (1840-1910) married Anton Kranewitter (brother of the Jesuit, Father Aloysius Kranewitter) in 1869, an early example of an exogamous marriage in terms of nationality.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*. For example, Patrick McNamara’s debt appears on page 372 without reference to borrowing.

⁹⁹ Noye, *Clare*, 24.

¹⁰⁰ The Jesuits were a religious order of priests founded in Spain during the sixteenth century by Ignatius of Loyola. Jesuit “spiritual and intellectual training was rigorous...[and] they were expected to be able to maintain their religious zeal with a minimum of supervision.” Their 1848 expulsion from

the *Alfred* in December 1848, provided additionally significant Catholic input to Stanley. Father Aloysius Kranewitter was dispatched north to assist Father McGuinn as well as to cater for Catholic Germans at Tanunda. Fellow passengers accompanied him to Clare, thus inserting a further sizeable group of non-English speakers following Gleeson's Indian labourers. Father Kranewitter lived initially with the Weikert family southwest of Clare, in what became Donnybrook. Franz Weikert had led the group on the *Alfred* and the priest was no doubt supported by his close association with this family. The arrival of two Jesuit brothers in April 1849 led to the trio leasing a cottage from early Irish resident Mortimer Nolan, one of the church trustees. For two years Dr Anton Sokolowsky, former surgeon from the *Alfred*, was a member of this household. The early intertwining of Irish and Austrian Catholics in Clare established the basis of a lasting, close and unusual relationship.

Growth of Stanley and Clare

Census details from 1846 displayed the gradual expansion of the Wakefield and Hutt Rivers District. Population figures of 762 continued to reflect a gender discrepancy of 631 males to 131 females. The 78 Catholics probably accounted for most of Stanley's Irish, apart from Gleeson and John Hope, both of whom belonged to the Church of England. The area had 25 stockholders; there was one storekeeper and three merchants but 204 shepherds, 24 stockmen, 20 sawyers and 12 domestic servants. Housing showed some development with 46 wooden constructions but only 10 of stone or brick. The 12 carpenters and 11 joiners were clearly needed. The figure of 80 miners reflects the area's proximity to Burra and the newly developing copper mine, the subject of later discussion in this chapter. In June 1846 a Special Survey was claimed "at the Emu Plains, near the station of Mr Gleeson." In the enthusiastic

Austrian territories enabled two individuals to accompany a party of around 130 to South Australia. See Schumann, "...In the Hands of the Lord", 35-6.

aftermath of Burra, this focus on the land's presumed mineral value caused "unmixed satisfaction" to the compiler of the *Register's* 'Local Intelligence' column.¹⁰¹

Stanley's population had thus more than doubled between 1844 and 1846 in response to such news which promoted its attractions to immigrants.

Clare, meanwhile, was progressing from "Village to Township" by the late 1840s. Early in 1848, the agricultural returns for Stanley indicated there were 12 proprietors cultivating just over 158 acres between them; mostly wheat and barley but 20 acres of gardens and three quarters of an acre each of potatoes and vines. In comparison, the adjacent counties of Gawler and Light had 227 and 5283 cultivated acres respectively.¹⁰² By early 1848, Bungaree's police post was transferred to Clare. Properties belonging to both Dennis Kenny¹⁰³ and Mortimer Nolan were considered, with the latter's ultimately chosen for the police station.¹⁰⁴ In 1850 Clare acquired both a Public Pound and a court to serve the whole region.¹⁰⁵ Anglicans too built a church in 1850 – St Barnabas – on land provided by Gleeson.

Gleeson's prominence, and his recovery from the opprobrium of insolvency,¹⁰⁶ was recognised in his May 9th 1849 appointment as Clare's first JP and magistrate. Thus his cultural capital was both endorsed and augmented.¹⁰⁷ Conducting inquests and sharing the court bench with Hawker of Bungaree, plus other local JPs, must have been gratifying to Gleeson following the personal impact of his public exclusion.¹⁰⁸ By May 1848, he was again at Government House for the Queen's

¹⁰¹ *Register*, June 3rd 1846.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, February 26th 1848.

¹⁰³ SRSA GRG 24/4/A /1848/940

¹⁰⁴ SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1849/1067, 24/4/Q/1849/317

¹⁰⁵ *Register*, January 12th 1850.

¹⁰⁶ In January and April 1847 he was granted further Occupation Licenses West of the Hutt River Survey.

¹⁰⁷ Williams, in *A Way of Life*, 118, refers to "deference," "recognition of superior rank," and "leisure" in her discussion of pastoralists being the obvious appointments as justices of the peace.

¹⁰⁸ See for example, *Register*, August 1st, September 21st, November 14th and 28th 1850.

Birthday.¹⁰⁹ His cultural capital was acknowledged in requests such as being asked to chair a “highly respectable” meeting at Gawler in April 1850. The subject involved the appointment of a local magistrate, something viewed by Gleeson as “indispensably necessary.”¹¹⁰ Gleeson was among those writing to the Lieutenant Governor in 1850 requesting a resident magistrate and granting of full jurisdiction to the Clare Local Court. Irishman and publican Dennis Kenny’s letter supporting the request referred to Clare being surrounded by thirteen emerging villages.¹¹¹ Kenny was described by Charles Sturt as “very respectable,” ensuring his role in the petitioning process was taken seriously.¹¹² Kenny’s endorsement acknowledged Gleeson’s social standing – his prominence as the largest landowner.

Kenny was among a conspicuous group of Irishmen in Stanley’s early hotel and business trade. John Ryan,¹¹³ Dennis Kenny,¹¹⁴ Mortimer Nolan, and Patrick Butler¹¹⁵ held publicans’ licenses in 1846, 1847, 1849, and 1850 respectively.¹¹⁶ Nolan’s level of financial success was demonstrated by the previously mentioned 1843 land ownership, having the required £25 to apply for a hotel licence in 1849, plus property to lease to the Jesuits. By the end of the 1840s he had a decade of

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, May 27th 1848.

¹¹⁰ *Ibid*, May 2nd 1850.

¹¹¹ SRO GRG 24/6/A/1850/1508

¹¹² *Ibid*. Kenny’s previous colonial history involved service as a foot policeman and a recommendation for transfer to the Bond Store in 1842; his 1843 admission to the mounted police was strongly supported because he had been “one of the number struck off the strength of the Metropolitan Force at the late reduction.” SRSA GRG 24/A/1843/618.

¹¹³ Ryan, one of the Bishop’s ‘Men of the North’, was Clare’s Post Master by June 1847.

¹¹⁴ Kenny, whose store might have been the first hotel, leased 12 acres of Section 40 in 1848.

¹¹⁵ Butler applied for an Armagh license in March 1849 while Joseph Dodson sought one for a Clare tavern. Hearings initially focussed on Dodson’s previous dispute with a customer leading to criticism and refusal of Butler’s application. Subsequently Gleeson supported another applicant for an Armagh inn before withdrawing endorsement; when Butler and his competitor tried again, both quoted Gleeson’s support. Butler used his nine year district residency successfully but lost the application on appeal late in 1850.

¹¹⁶ JL (Bob) Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia 1836-March 1986*, CR Hoad, McLaren Vale, 1993. In June 1847, John Ryan’s license for ‘The Traveller’s Rest’ at Clare was transferred to Joseph Dodson, *Register*, June 16th 1847. On September 25th 1847, Kenny was shown with a Storekeeper’s licence. He resigned from the Mounted Police on November 2nd 1847. SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1847/1389.

successful local economic activity behind him.¹¹⁷ That level of security enabled him to sponsor five Irish immigrants in 1849.¹¹⁸ Nolan demonstrated the capacity of pioneer Irish in Stanley to diversify their economic activity and achieve success and then facilitate further Irish emigration. Similarly, Kenny's participation in so many high profile areas of local public life demonstrates the impact of one Irish individual on Stanley. Like both Nolan and Kenny, Butler emerges as an entrepreneurial Irishman, rather than the one more commonly portrayed: a figure with sparse intelligence/initiative, remaining in a labouring if not indigent societal role. Early Irishmen in Stanley were represented in what was one of their most visible roles, according to O'Farrell: that of publican.¹¹⁹ But these individuals had had previous wide-ranging county experience. Thus they were respected, visible community members whose interest in and impact on local issues were demonstrated clearly.

In 1849 Irishmen were represented strongly on the committee appointed to plan a Clare school. Patrick Butler was treasurer, with E.B. Gleeson, Nolan and Ryan constituting almost half the group.¹²⁰ The second meeting in January had debated crucial issues and reached agreement over the use of the Irish national system. Candidates for schoolmaster were then interviewed.¹²¹ One, a William Lennon of Ireland, had arrived in the colony in July 1847 with his wife and family, having been schoolmaster on the *Sibella*. He travelled to Clare with recommendations from the Sherriff of Adelaide and Bishop Murphy (with a cash loan from the latter)¹²² and was offered the position. But despite Gleeson donating land and a construction contract

¹¹⁷ Plans for the Armagh land sales of October 1850 were advertised as being available for viewing at "Mr Nowlan's (sic), Clare". See *Adelaide Commercial Advertiser* of September 28th, 1850.

¹¹⁸ BPP 1849, 294. He had spent £80 on land.

¹¹⁹ O'Farrell, *The Irish*, 128, 152-3. Among the reasons he provides for this career were the small capital outlay, the limited skill base alongside the independent and family inclusive lifestyle.

¹²⁰ *SA Gazette and Mining Journal*, January 25th 1849. One guinea donations from Gleeson, Kenny, Butler, Ryan and Nolan were published. Dodson was also on the committee.

¹²¹ Noye, *Clare*, 188.

¹²² Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 155. Lennon later borrowed again; there were repayment issues.

going to Nolan, local conflict then paralysed the process. Nolan withdrew and Clare's local politics were publicly mocked in the *Adelaide Register*. When Lennon's letter about the standoff was published in February 1850, this intensified the scrutiny.¹²³ Gleeson was lampooned as the "Lord of the Manor," "Nabob," and "Clare Notables" were caricatured.¹²⁴ If Milburn's suggestion that sectarian strains were involved has validity,¹²⁵ then Bishop Murphy's action in allowing Lennon to teach in Church space would have reinforced antagonisms. Once the school was functioning, unreliable attendance from the 45 eligible scholars reduced Lennon's government funding levels.¹²⁶ Thus his income was limited to parental contributions.

Despite such an uncertain and difficult entrée into the Stanley community, Lennon did not remove himself and his family. Displaying the firm courage of his qualifications and living out the determination required to journey from Ireland to South Australia, the Lennon family persisted in Clare. Lennon (1823-1895) and Mary Farrell (1824-1891) were married in Ireland in the early 1840s and travelled to Australia with one child. While in Clare they had at least two more; three of their children are buried with them in the Clare Catholic cemetery. Noye characterises Lennon as "known for his punctuality, energy, perseverance, strong personality and genial disposition."¹²⁷ Beyond his early role in education, Lennon was to contribute much more to Stanley's development and become a figure of significant controversy. The extent of his local activities will be covered fully in subsequent chapters. In May 1850, the *Government Gazette* provided details of the local courts set up "For the Recovery of Small Debts and Trial and Punishment of Minor Offences." One was to

¹²³ *Register*, February 7th 1850.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, March 13th 1850.

¹²⁵ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 45.

¹²⁶ *Register*, January 18th 1850.

¹²⁷ Noye, *Clare*, 189.

be established in Clare with Lennon as its first Clerk.¹²⁸ Irish residents were thus visible and active in the pioneering activities associated with hotels, schools and the court in Clare. This infrastructure represented an important level of established order in a newly developing area. This was especially important for a region with multiple connections to adjacent Burra where population growth was rapid in the latter 1840s.

Impact of Burra

The impact of the expanding Burra mine was marked in Clare and in wider Stanley. Copper finds so soon after the 1842 Kapunda discovery brought desperately needed optimism to the colonial community. Late in 1845, the *Register* reflected growing excitement about the prospects of the “Monster Mine”; by November, 40 miners were reputed to be employed at Burra.¹²⁹ Attitudes to local road quality changed. In 1841, the negligible amount of road expenditure was welcomed: “To the North not much has been done in making roads, the country being so favourable, that, except to bridge the creeks, little labour is required in forming them.”¹³⁰ But by December 1845, that road had become “the most important and valuable port of traffic.”¹³¹ Clare’s population was soon exceeded by Burra, and “the increasing population of miners, tradesmen and others living round the mine...had to be fed.”¹³² Gleeson later described how he had “derived his chief support from sending his produce [to Burra].”¹³³ Numbers continued to grow,¹³⁴ and included among them were the Irish,

¹²⁸ *Register*, May 31st 1850.

¹²⁹ *Ibid*, November 19th 1845.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, December 12th 1841.

¹³¹ *Ibid*, December 17th 1845. By April 1846, there was weekly passenger transportation between Burra and Adelaide.

¹³² Noye, *Talking History*, 1.

¹³³ *Register*, March 1st 1858. He was speaking at the Northern Agricultural Society Dinner.

¹³⁴ *South Australian* of March 24th 1848 under a headline of “Emigration of Miners to Australia” described a “very important meeting” of significant men “to promote some large and comprehensive plan of emigration from Ireland to Australia.”

more on the road than in the mine.¹³⁵ Many bullock teams, sometimes with eight animals and loaded with two to three tons of green ore, travelled to Port Wakefield.¹³⁶

Parallel copper discoveries at Kapunda and Burra heightened mining interest throughout the colony. As previously shown, the excitement affected residents when copper was located in Stanley, at Mintaro and Emu Flat for example. Despite their early promise, early land purchases, and township surveys near Clare, the copper was unviable and only Armagh survived.¹³⁷ Its proximity to the proposed Emu Flat mine was a factor in the previously mentioned hotel license dispute. Elsewhere in Stanley, hamlets developed as a direct consequence of the Burra mine.

Early Towns in Stanley

Irish immigrants gradually moved to new settlements in and adjacent to Stanley; all were advantaged by their location on or close to the new ore-carting bullock road developed between Burra and Port Wakefield late in 1848.¹³⁸ In general, hamlets located in the Upper Wakefield Hundred – Penwortham, Watervale, Leasingham, and Auburn¹³⁹ – attracted fewer Irish than places like Mintaro. Both Mintaro’s location and its early settlement facilitated speedy expansion when Burra’s copper was discovered. Significantly, in terms of the connection between the townships, sale of Mintaro town lots took place in a Burra Hotel. While few Irish settlers were represented among Mintaro’s early residents, this changed dramatically in the next decade.

¹³⁵ Kathleen Neils Conzen in *Immigration to Milwaukee 1836-1860: Accommodation and Community in a Frontier City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1976, 88-9 makes the point that it was Irish and not Germans generally carting, describing teaming as “constitute[ing] a better than average route to property ownership for the unskilled immigrant.”

¹³⁶ *South Australian*, November 28th 1846.

¹³⁷ *South Australian*, June 18th 1850.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*

¹³⁹ Manning, *Place Names*, 32, reports the possibility of Gleeson naming Auburn.

Saddleworth was another village adjacent to the County of Stanley, which also grew in response to Burra, and subsequently attracted Irish residents. By late 1846, its two storey hotel was awaiting its roof before fully catering for traffic heading to or from “the Monster Mine.”¹⁴⁰ Reasons for different rates of early Irish settlement across Stanley remain unclear, but the impact of precedence – that is, individuals following others known to them – became more evident in subsequent decades under study. One Irishman, Patrick McNamara from County Clare (1826-1898), was resident in the Auburn area by 1846 and quickly achieved success as a landowner. But unlike others, that region of Stanley never developed as an Irish enclave.¹⁴¹ McNamara later fulfilled very public roles in Stanley, his impact on the county and his social and cultural capital comparable, but not equal, to that of Gleeson, as will be discussed later.

Gleeson’s Resurgence

Gleeson’s visibility in Stanley was matched by his return to high profile frequenting of Adelaide life after 1848. Attendance at an 1850 funeral saw him described as one of “our most respected colonists”.¹⁴² In May 1850 at the St Patrick’s Society’s dinner, he proposed a toast to “The Province of South Australia” and responded to the toast given to the “Ladies.” Gleeson’s nostalgia-tinged patriotic feelings were demonstrated when he suggested that South Australia followed Ireland as “the finest country in the world.” He optimistically equated the province’s loveliness and its fertility to Ireland. However, he also urged Irish colonists to avoid the “deadly blight of sectarian dissensions” which had “so cruelly marred” their homeland. While he reflected affection for his homeland, there was no hint of grievance or antipathy to the colony.

¹⁴⁰ *Register*, November 28th 1846.

¹⁴¹ Auburn was the centre of the Upper Wakefield Council area where Irish numbers were never more than 10% between 1861 and 1871.

¹⁴² *South Australian*, February 8th 1850.

The event's coverage revealed the level of Gleeson's participation as well as the group's regard for him.¹⁴³ Thus by the end of the decade, Gleeson, despite the economic vicissitudes of the early 1840s, and his enforced absence from Adelaide, was proclaiming his background with immense pride, and taking a visible role in the St Patrick's Society. In addition to the focus on his Irish heritage, this twelve year resident of South Australia was unequivocal in his demonstration of commitment to and affection for his adopted homeland.

The year 1850 can be used as an early point of evaluation for Stanley and its Irish population. The year marks almost a decade of settlement in the area and reflects some early impacts of the Burra mine. However, it precedes the population depletion associated with the Victorian Gold rush. Compared to the 1842 figure of 83, Stanley's population was 1,283 in 1851. That there was some local self-conscious reflection on the area's development may be judged from a passing comment of March 1850. Following Clare's two-day races, a supper was mounted by Joseph Dodson and "everybody [was] highly pleased at the spread, which was superior to anything of the sort got up in the bush on former occasions."¹⁴⁴ At the same time, while Stanley had basic judicial infrastructure centred in Clare, two churches, a school, a mail service since 1847, stores and several hotels, the county was still clearly a pioneer outpost. Three to five days' travel were required to reach Adelaide, medical services had begun only in 1849 (Anton Sokolowsky was registered with the Medical Board in July 1850), and the planning of additional townships was underway following survey completion. Emu Flat's short-lived mining boom of 1850 had created additional interest in Stanley. However, the factor of greatest significance to the county in terms of its development, apart from large landholders, was its proximity to Burra. Mining

¹⁴³ *Register*, May 3rd 1850. Cheers and applause littered his oratory.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid*, March 13th 1850.

attracted many Irish families, mainly in associated areas such as carting or teamster driving. Enterprising Irish settlers, such as William Dunn whose story will be outlined in the next chapter, toiled as carters while they concentrated their efforts on capital accumulation. Meanwhile, they were also identifying land choice for farming in adjacent areas.

Marriage patterns in the cohort during Stanley's first decade reveal that of those eight unions registered, six were endogamous between Irish-born Catholic couples. The two exogamous marriages involved Irish women choosing English partners. For one couple it was a Protestant marriage, but in the case of Catholic Mary Brady¹⁴⁵ her spouse, Nathaniel Wichellow, was Protestant. However, in 1868, a year before his death, he converted to Catholicism.¹⁴⁶ This was a pattern repeated in a significant number of Mintaro families during these decades: the husbands of nine Irish-born women became converts in the 1850s and 1860s.¹⁴⁷

Limitations in early census data obscure certainty about numbers of Irish residents in Stanley before 1861, but details gathered in the 1860s provide some retrospective indication about proportions.¹⁴⁸ Respondents in 1861 and 1866 were asked to locate their year of arrival in the colony within five year intervals from 1836.¹⁴⁹ For Stanley as a whole, measured through the various district council areas, there were 177 Irish-born adults resident by the 1860s. Current research indicates a greater number: at least 294 individuals arrived by 1860. While the specific role of E.B. Gleeson in attracting this cohort cannot be certain, his early contribution to the

¹⁴⁵ Her father was James; in 1870 the Marrabel Catholic Benefit Society picnic was held on land outside Marrabel belonging to James Brady. See *Irish Harp*, November 11th 1870.

¹⁴⁶ Sevenhill Parish Records quoted in Lally, *Landmark*, 41. Eight Wichellow children were also baptised at Mintaro between 1852 and 1862.

¹⁴⁷ See 138 below.

¹⁴⁸ The Colonial Secretary supervised censuses from 1844 to 1855; in 1844 there were 27 districts, 28 in 1846, and 38 in 1851 and 1855, but areas were inconsistent. The Under-Secretary of the Colony was responsible for the 1860 count, but from 1861 to 1901 a Superintendent of the Census was responsible. In 1861, the *Report* stated that four times more information was gathered in that year.

¹⁴⁹ See Table Three, 232 below.

development of the region has been acknowledged, if inadequately celebrated. Similarly, the extent to which individual Irishmen contributed to the emerging shape of the county framework in terms of Catholic Church establishment, the first school, postal services, and early hotels has previously been overlooked. This research demonstrates that the 1840s sees a small cohort of Irish colonists locating themselves in Stanley, a process that was extended in the following decade. Centres other than Clare emerged or developed further; and Clare, having acquired a district council in 1853, established a depot for Irish servant girls in 1855. In response to such stimuli, increasing numbers of Irish residents were attracted to the region, and their impact became more visible and diverse. In the 1840s the Irish were immigrants, their capacity to become South Australians germinating while they learned the landscape, negotiated networks, accessed social capital, and established themselves.

Profile: Daniel Sullivan:

Born 1826 Killarney, Kerry, to Stanley in 1853, died Broken Hill 1906.

In November 1851, Kerry-born Daniel Sullivan landed in South Australia and made his way to Burra where he was employed as a miner. Three months later, 13 members of the Barry family from Glendalough in Wicklow arrived on the *Marshall Bennett*; this party included four sisters, two married with children. The group went immediately to Burra. This journey's timing, and Daniel's marriage to Rosa Barry within three months, indicates they may have known each other in Wicklow. Daniel, an experienced miner, may have worked at Glendalough's silver, lead and zinc mine. Within a year of the marriage, the sisters and families moved about 20 miles westwards to farm at Hill River. As early as 1853, nearby Sevenhill represented "a Catholic outpost of Irish" so the families were joining a familiar community.¹ Such moves indicate Irish willingness to remove themselves from locations like Burra (where their minority status was evident and possibly limiting) to more favourable sites where they could access a greater level of familiar community support.

However, later in 1853, the lure of Victorian gold attracted two Barry sisters east. May 1855 witnessed the arrival of widowed Anna Barry, who at 58 sailed across the world to join her daughters. Daniel and Rosa Sullivan had six children at Hill River and Anna Barry died there in 1864. Dan needed to supplement the farm income and applied for tendering work from the Clare Council from at least 1865.² He thus joined the cohort of Irish and other immigrants juggling farming and contracting. Attracted by mining's higher wages and greater economic certainty, Dan moved his family to Kadina in the late 1860s (from where their eldest son was sent to board at Sevenhill College), then to Broken Hill about 1886. Following the 1867 death of the

¹ Max Slee, *Unpublished Family History*, 2007.

² *Register*, 7th and 30th October, 1865

oldest Barry sister, her husband and children moved north to Belalie in 1872, ending the 20 year connection between this Irish family and Stanley.³ The Barry-Sullivan colonial experience reflects elements evident in the lives of many Irish-born families. In Stanley it reflects patterns evident in other Irish lives: chain migration, linked to family precedence, endogamous marriage patterns, the impact of economic, spiritual, community and educational opportunities on choice of location and transient patterns of settlement.

³ Stephanie James, *Threads of History: Some Chapters in the Lives of the Australian Irish Families of Jeremiah Kelly and Mary Baker of County Clare*, ATF Press, Adelaide, 2006, 117.



Daniel Sullivan, his wife Rosa Barry and their children circa 1868.
Left to right: William, Jack, Tom (baby), Joe, deceased Daughter, Mary.
(Ellen is missing).

CHAPTER THREE: 1851 to 1860 – EMERGENCE OF STANLEY

Preamble

This chapter will establish the shape of the Irish contribution to Stanley in the 1850s. It will pursue and extend some of the threads established in the previous chapter – the impact of the Burra copper mine, the nature and contours of local development in terms of institutions and infrastructure, the roles taken on by prominent Irishmen (some familiar, others newcomers), and the growth of population centres in addition to Clare. Important new factors to be considered include the short-lived Servant Depot at Clare, and the impact of a minority group with links to both the Irish and developments at Sevenhill, namely Polish settlers.

The South Australian census reveals some elements of the colonial profile of the Irish; however, details are limited. Country of birth and religious affiliation both present difficulties, with ‘race’ the basis of initial ‘nationality’ questions, and religion not always reported.¹ Before the 1851 census, editorial comment anticipated “defective” results, due to collector “carelessness” and “vagueness of the...papers,” claiming more specifically, that the “word *race* has really puzzled the people.”² In 1855, material about religious denominations was “voluntarily supplied” to census collectors.³ Even before the 1860 census was designated as flawed, concern about the quality of data collection and certainty of figures suggested conclusions would be

¹ Stevenson, *South Australia in Transition*, 17. The early census schedules no longer exist.

² *Adelaide Times*, January 21st 1851. The *Government Gazette* of April 30th 1846 referred to both families and individuals having been “inadvertently omitted” from the census of that year.

³ *SAPP* 20 1855-6. This showed Catholics as representing 18% and 8% in the Clare and Upper Wakefield District Council areas respectively while constituting 25% of the remainder of Stanley.

unreliable.⁴ From 1861, however, when the county was adopted as the consistent unit of enumeration and reporting, the quality of census information improved.

In 1855, Stanley had 2,259 residents, an increase from 1,283 in the 264 houses of 1851.⁵ Catholics constituted 18.4 per cent of the district population.⁶ In view of contemporary comments about blank forms being left for households to fill out, acceptance of these figures as accurate totals should perhaps remain qualified.⁷ By 1861, 14.7 per cent of Stanley residents were Irish-born.⁸ Such numbers dwarfed both the county's Scottish and German colonists who constituted only 7.4 per cent and 2.9 per cent respectively.⁹ Thus the Irish were Stanley's most visible minority group, half as numerous as the English-born (30 per cent) in the early 1860s.¹⁰ Within Stanley, Mintaro and Clare represented the areas of greatest Irish concentration, with Saddleworth a strong nearby cluster. Despite previously mentioned hesitations about the 1860 census, its findings about Stanley's religious profile provide some limited indicators. Presbyterians emerged as the strongest religious cohort with 482 adherents, while numbers for both Church of England and Catholic followers were equal at 307. Wesleyans followed with 98 and Lutherans trailed with 17 believers. Religious identification was not a compulsory question in 1861 and data was not evaluated.¹¹

These adjacent census counts in Stanley present an apparent disparity between the

⁴ Stevenson, *South Australia in Transition*, 23. It was held on April 1st.

⁵ *Adelaide Times*, February 6th 1851. Kooringa's 1851 census figure of 4403 was disputed in comparison to a Mining Association count of 4800 in 1850. The *Adelaide Times* of February 18th 1852 claimed it was nearer 6000.

⁶ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 74, fn 88.

⁷ *Adelaide Times*, April 4th 1855.

⁸ See Table Thirteen, 247 below for Stanley's Irish-born population 1861-1871; total colonial figures and those of adjacent counties are included.

⁹ See Tables Sixteen and Seventeen, 249 below for Stanley's Scottish and German-born populations 1861-1871; total colonial figures and those of adjacent counties are included for comparative purposes.

¹⁰ See Tables Fourteen and Fifteen, 248 below for Stanley's English/Welsh and Australian-born populations 1861-1871. 41.2 % of Stanley's population was made up of colonial born in 1861. Total colonial figures and those of adjacent counties are included for comparison.

¹¹ The Census Report in SAPP 1862, 2 p xv , noted that the "efforts made to induce members of [some denominations] to withhold the information requested" limited the information. "[I]mperfectly returned" responses determined the decision to bypass the "abstraction" of religion details— "hence their omission from the full tables."

self-nominating Catholics of 1860 and Irish-born numbers the following year.¹² There is no way of identifying which nationalities made up the remainder of the county's Catholic population.

The 1850s represented the greatest concentration of Irish immigrants arriving in both the colony of South Australia and Stanley. In 1850 GS Kingston asserted that the province was home to 10,000 “who called themselves Irish.”¹³ Table Three indicates that in 1866 census derived figures show 855 Irish-born individuals moved into Stanley's local government areas between 1851 and 1861.¹⁴ From the current research the names and details of at least 258 adult individuals moving to Stanley between 1850 and 1860 have been located.¹⁵ The years with the highest arrival numbers were 1858 with 63 individuals, 1859 with 28, 1860 with 29, and 1855 with 31.¹⁶ The figures represent individuals, usually adults, so they do not constitute annual incoming numbers, particularly when some families included up to ten children. Few families left Stanley in the 1850s. A more typical pattern was reflected in the lives of Thomas Myatt (1809-1891) and Ellen McCann (1837-1915) who married in Watervale in 1855. They moved around Stanley – Skillogalee Creek, Penwortham and Clare – before departing for Georgetown in 1874.¹⁷ Cavan-born individuals, Patrick Weathers and Maguire family members, settled in the Mintaro and Farrell Flat area, while the Cork-born Magner brothers John (1833-1882) and Daniel (1840-1915) moved to the Auburn region and Mintaro respectively. James Jabez Jones, born at

¹² See Tables Four, Five, Twenty Two and Twenty Four, 232, 233, 252 and 260 below for census details about Nationalities and Religions in Stanley.

¹³ *Register*, May 5th 1850. St Patrick Society membership was 100.

¹⁴ See Table Three, 232 below.

¹⁵ See Methodology, 15-29 above for discussion of the development of this research cohort.

¹⁶ In the research cohort, as indicated earlier, the year of Stanley arrival remains unknown for 74 or almost 12% of individuals. The 1855 figure does not include all Irish Servant Depot numbers since for many their county presence was transient. Individuals whose local marriages led to residence in the county have been included on the data base.

¹⁷ County and year of arrival are unknown for Thomas but Ellen's death certificate reveals her to have come from Clare, arriving in 1855. Their eldest son was sent to Sevenhill College.

Drumcalpin in Cavan, arrived with his wife and three sons in 1855 and lived at Pine Creek (near Auburn). Having brought Lodge banners from Ireland he built Drumcalpin, a Loyal Orange Lodge, in 1856.¹⁸ Jones attracted other countrymen to that part of the county¹⁹ and members came from Adelaide to attend early meetings.²⁰ This reflected the operation of a strong social network, bonding social capital. It also demonstrated the recreation of an important Irish institution, which in itself suggested the desire of Protestant Irishmen to establish themselves as South Australians while also constructing familiar and significant cultural structures.²¹

This decade also witnessed some of the most extreme and negative responses to Irish immigration. There was a backdrop to these years in which overt statements, editorials, news items,²² unflattering comparisons,²³ and even job advertisements apparently legitimated anti-Irish judgements.²⁴ Editorial comment in April 1850 acknowledged “the prejudice and antipathy with which the Irish are generally regarded.”²⁵ Significant pressures were linked to the ineffective coordination of incoming numbers of Irish girls and the capacity of local facilities for these

¹⁸ Jean V Moyle, *The Wakefield, its Water and its Wealth: the Story of a Winding River*, Tilbrook Bros, Clare 1975, 80. No 1 banner went to Adelaide and Drumcalpin Lodge had No 2.

¹⁹ Two nieces, Jane and Mary Anne West, arrived from Kilmore, Cavan, the former by 1862 when she married an Irish-born Protestant, and the latter with her husband and children in 1866. Details from death certificates show Eleanor Bulman, an 1847 arrival, died in 1915 at Drumcalpin; the death certificate was signed by her nephew, WR Jones, son of Francis and Elizabeth, arrivals in 1847. They lived at Beaufort, an area north of Port Wakefield where a number of other Protestant Irish were located.

²⁰ The *Northern Argus* noted his 60 year involvement with the Orange Lodge, July 15th 1898. On July 16th 1889 reporting on July 12th in Auburn, the paper had stated that “Orangemen are a strong body of men in this town.”

²¹ On April 24th 1891, the *Northern Argus* reported on a social occasion at Auburn prior to a visit by the Jones to Ireland; that it was a ‘visit’ demonstrated their resolve to remain in South Australia. David Fitzpatrick has completed some research on colonial Orange Lodges but his annotations on holdings in the SLSA do not mention nineteenth century Drumcalpin.

²² See, for example, *Register* of January 26th 1850 for the tone of an Irishwoman’s response to a property dispute, and August 8th for an *Edinburgh Review* extract about emigration’s benefits: “The Irishman improves in two or three years by emigrating to Australia.”

²³ See *Register* of January 31st 1859 for an article titled “The Irish and Saxon Husbandman” in which an unflattering comparison finishes with the statement that despite “unparalleled disadvantages and misfortunes...[the Irish have been prevented] from becoming altogether degraded and embruted.”

²⁴ *Adelaide Times* of December 12th 1855 contained an advertisement for a “General Servant” with the rider “No Irish Need Apply”.

²⁵ *Register*, April 9th 1850.

immigrants. In addition, the domestic ineptitude or behaviour of some incoming girls fed existing colonial anti-Irish prejudice. Increasingly, critical comments became shrouded in declarations of “unsuitability.” The protestations that “prejudice is not founded on any national feeling” but that “a national prejudice is being called into existence” clearly linked to Irish oversupply. When the 1855 Immigration Agent’s Report claimed that some girls were “so thoroughly useless that they are literally not worth their wages,” this multiplied community concerns.²⁶ Government dispersal policies resulted in numbers of Irish girls being sent to the Clare Servant Depot in the latter half of 1855. Evidence suggests they were received positively. Many Irish families moved into the region during this decade, encouraged by earlier arrivals (often family), the visible presence of Catholicism, and employment options. Such work opportunities were mainly associated with the pastoral industry or, in the early 1850s, the Burra mine, but as the region developed the economic diversification encouraged more trades and services.

Continuing Burra Impact on Stanley

During the early 1850s, mining activities provided a significant stimulus for population inflows into Stanley, Irish colonists among them. In addition (as indicated),²⁷ the mine generated a transportation corridor, the Gulf Road, through Stanley, along which population centres sprang up. These were often located around the watering holes spaced every ten miles or so, a day’s bullock travel on what was a five day trip between Kooringa and Port Wakefield. Publicans responded to the ‘bullockies’ catering needs; watering stops quickly acquired inns.²⁸ Auhl refers to “a

²⁶ *Ibid*, May 9th 1855.

²⁷ See 49-50,55, 87-9 above.

²⁸ Auhl, *The Story of the ‘Monster Mine’*, 159. Irishman and brewer Daniel Cudmore was licensed for the Miner’s Arms at Black Springs by October 1846. His two older sons are cited as the first pupils at Sevenhill College.

mild rush by speculators” to capitalise on the watering holes.²⁹ The proximity of hamlets to each other and to the intersection of the Gulf Road with access to Clare has already been mentioned. Advertisements for land sales in both Armagh and Leasingham in June 1850 promoted the area’s appeal.³⁰ The various impacts of the Burra mine cannot be ignored in any account of Stanley and its Irish population.

Miner Daniel Sullivan was an exception in terms of Irish involvement in the Burra enterprise. More of his countrymen toiled across the Gulf Road where opportunities to evaluate suitable areas for farming ventures enabled choice about where best to settle. Workforce numbers at Burra declined over the decade; local knowledge about farming land provided significant advantages to those accumulating capital. Irishman William Dunn (1828-1918), who was quickly employed as a carter after his 1845 arrival from Dublin, saved over £3000 in fourteen years. His purchase of 800 acres at Mintaro was an informed decision.³¹ On August 3rd 1852 he married Cavan-born Bridget Maguire (1828-1922) in Mintaro. Bridget, a servant, had arrived with her sister on the *Constance* in July 1850. Later, as a consequence of a successful goldfield trip, William doubled the small cottage constructed two miles north of Mintaro.³² There were seven children born to this couple and unlike the Sullivans, for whom Stanley represented a staging post, the Dunns remained, sustained by Mintaro’s bonds of religion and nationality. William Dunn’s story again demonstrates an active and entrepreneurial business approach in capitalising on Burra’s expansion, rather than the more typical Irish stereotype of limited achievement.

Others attracted to the Mintaro area after earlier mining employment were the Howley, McManus and Dempsey families. County Clare emigrants Timothy Howley

²⁹ Auhl, *The Story of the ‘Monster Mine’*, 185.

³⁰ *Adelaide Times*, June 18th 1850.

³¹ *Northern Argus*, December 3rd 1889.

³² Gerald Lally, *Landmark*, 112-3.

(1790-1860) and Catherine Meehan (1807-1891), with their nine children, arrived on the *Marshall Bennett* in 1852. They travelled to Burra where Timothy was employed, but by 1855 had bought Section 159 of 80 acres in the Hill River/Mintaro area. The land was bought with Timothy's Irish son-in-law, Terence Haren, who had married the eldest Howley daughter, Mary, at Kooringa in October 1853.³³ Timothy's youngest child, Cornelius, attended Sevenhill College from 1862 to 1868. This Irish family provided a further example of the move from Burra to the more self-conscious Irish enclave in Stanley offering spiritual and educational benefits. Two daughters became early members of the locally founded order of Sisters of St Joseph in July 1869, and three sons married endogamously between 1865 and 1879.³⁴ The benefits of residential immersion in the Mintaro region which later became the District Council of Stanley, a largely Irish and very Catholic locality (54.8 per cent in 1871),³⁵ were evident in the paths followed by most Howley family members. Not all Irish-born families experienced such visible 'Catholic' success in terms of religious vocations,³⁶ nor the apparent financial security of the Howley unit.

Cavan-born Terence McManus (1816-1902) and Rose McDonald (1817-1859) reached the colony on the *Fortune* in June 1854, settling at Stockport where Rose died. Terence was left with seven children aged between two and twenty-two. He moved to Burra where he was involved in mining, but by the 1860s was farming near Farrell Flat. In 1870 he was in financial trouble, assigning his debts to avoid the process of insolvency.³⁷ He remarried in 1873, moving north by 1876, initially to

³³ *Ibid*, 140-1.

³⁴ *Ibid*.

³⁵ Census figures continued to demonstrate this 'Catholic' clustering in the Stanley Council area – 55% in 1876, 53.2% in 1881, 52.2% in 1891 and 48.5 in 1901. Other county council regions with high Catholic percentages included Clare Corporation with 31.4% in 1871, Clare Council with 38% in 1866, Hanson Council with 35.7 in 1881, Saddleworth with 30% in 1901, Upper Wakefield with 28.5 in 1891 (18.4% in 1871), and Waterloo with 28.7 in 1871.

³⁶ See 20 above for explanation of Catholic-oriented intrinsic success.

³⁷ *Register*, April 23rd 1870.

Terowie but ultimately to Port Pirie.³⁸ Between 1864 and 1875 five older McManus children contracted endogamous marriages in Stanley; these unions were both Irish (three into Cavan families) and Catholic. Educational commitment in terms of attendance at Sevenhill College was not evident in this family, perhaps indicative of other pressures dominating life. The challenges faced by the McManus family in South Australia, exemplifies patterns reflected in many Irish (and other) families. Within these households, factors such as the untimely death of a parent stranding the group (often necessitating remarriage), exposure to public economic embarrassment, and then children's marriage patterns within the community, were commonly exhibited. Both northern locations selected by McManus were among those favoured by some early Irish Stanley residents who decided more land or a different environment held greater possibilities. Such patterns suggest the existence of a clear pathway, possibly informed by a trusted network and indicating bonding social capital.

Evidence suggests that in 1848, between 175 and 210 bullock drivers and their teams totalling 1,050 to 1,680 bullocks worked to haul the copper each week from Burra to the coast.³⁹ At the Saint Patrick's Society dinner in 1850, George Strickland Kingston (known affectionately as Paddy) responded to "The Mining Interest in South Australia" toast. Kingston roused cheers for Burra, Kapunda and Stanley's Emu Flat mines, then emphasised how Burra had benefited the Irish: "They formed the great majority of the bullock drivers who were fully employed in bringing in the ore from the copper. Many of them had become the proprietors of land." Emphasising that he knew many whose start had been the purchase of 20 or 30 acres "second hand," but who had gone on and bought eighty acre sections, Kingston also spoke of additional

³⁸ Lally, *Landmark*, 246.

³⁹ Mel Davies, "Copper Connections...", 57.

benefits to storekeepers and others.⁴⁰ In 1858 Gleeson acknowledged Burra's earlier market value for him, indicating that while he was no longer involved in this trade, "there were others who were [still] deriving similar advantages."⁴¹

The Dempsey family also profited from Stanley's proximity to Burra. Hailing from Cross Keys in Cavan, between 1849 and 1854 ten of its members voyaged to South Australia as assisted migrants. Andrew (1822-1856), an early arrival, reflected the impulse of the times when he joined Daniel Brady⁴² and others on the Victorian diggings. His profit went towards a team of bullocks and leasing land at Marrabel; he was soon joined by his brother John (1819-1891), an 1852 colonist. By the end of 1857, the remainder of the family having arrived and the Marrabel leases having expired, the whole group moved to 224 acres, S36 (bought at £3 an acre) between Mintaro and Auburn. Enormous efforts were demanded in soil preparation: "A single furrow plough drawn by six or eight bullocks...was employed for cultivation...This required the services of two men, one to drive the bullocks and the other to guide the [wooden] plough."⁴³ A one roomed structure had to be quickly erected so there was some shelter available. Clearly life presented many challenges for this and other Irish families.

The 1930s compilation of the Dempsey family history has provided many benefits; it demonstrates the ways that Burra assisted Irish colonists while also conveying parallel struggles on the farm: "To supplement their limited resources while waiting for the harvest two other teams of bullocks were employed in carting ore from the Burra copper mines to Port Wakefield, a distance of about seventy miles

⁴⁰ *Southern Australian*, May 3rd 1850.

⁴¹ *Register*, March 1st 1858.

⁴² See 177-9 below for further discussion of Daniel Brady.

⁴³ J Dempsey, *The Dempsey Family History*, Adelaide, 1933, 9-10.

by a route passing through Mintaro.”⁴⁴ Such a family enterprise reflects cooperation in the face of challenge; it also demonstrates the extent to which Burra-related activities were critical in the early economic wellbeing of many Stanley Irish families. This saga reveals an entrepreneurial and persevering Irish family negotiating the Stanley landscape.

Richard Neagle, one of four brothers from County Kerry mentioned earlier in relation to E.B. Gleeson, was a Stanley resident during the early 1850s.⁴⁵ Giving his occupation as teamster and Clare as his home in 1851, he put his cross to a statutory declaration at Burra in a property theft case.⁴⁶ Among other Stanley Irish listed as carters were the Pilkington family and Francis Burns. William Pilkington (1804-1896) and Ann Shea (1818-1866) from County Clare came with seven children in 1856. Like many others they settled at Kooringa “where William and his sons engaged in the cartage business.”⁴⁷ William then found work with his two older sons on the Hill River station, and by 1866 bought a farm near the Mintaro Catholic church. A younger son attended Sevenhill College. Following Ann’s death, William moved north to Gumbowie where he continued farming with his sons.

Francis Burns (1829-1919) arrived from Kilkenny with his mother on the *Victoria Regis* in 1855. They went straight to Clare where he worked on grazing properties in the district until his 1860 marriage to Catherine O’Mahoney (1831-1918), recently arrived from Cork. Living at Stanley Flat after 1860, he had bought his house, plus the bullock team and wagon he used to “cart ore from the Burra mines to Wallaroo, and wool, etc, from Burra and Clare to Port Wakefield, then return to the

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* The writer had access to family members who were close to the documented struggles

⁴⁵ See 75 above.

⁴⁶ SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1851/1392

⁴⁷ Lally, *Landmark*, 177.

Burra carrying groceries and station stores.”⁴⁸ His two sons were sent to Sevenhill College in the 1880s but by then the Burns family, like other Irish already mentioned, had moved north, first to Koolunga and then in 1875 to Barunga.⁴⁹ These families reflect transient residence in Stanley, as a base for responding to the colonial landscape, for initial accessing of bonding social capital and some economic security, developing networks and access points for their children’s education or cultural capital.

The 1851 census showed Burra’s population as 4,403; by 1859 the mine employed 1,125 men and boys and the total population was about 3000, excluding groups such as carters, woodcutters, and smelting employees. But from at least 1850 Burra was influenced by the phenomena of ‘labour drift’ as those attracted to mining and associated employment by the promise of wealth found insufficient or too distant rewards. Population numbers fell to 2,663 in 1855. Research into Stanley’s Irish population of the 1850s has provided numbers of individual Irish farmers whose earlier colonial occupations included mining at, carting or teamster-driving to Burra.⁵⁰ These men had apparently made decisions about suitable areas for capital investment into farming ventures, based on their experiences as miners or carters. Thus it could be argued that both Burra’s rise and decline was good for neighbouring Stanley, the former economically (in terms of agricultural momentum) but the latter as a stimulus to some of its Irish population choosing the county as their next location.

Participation of the Irish in Stanley’s Early Administrative and Political Development

Stanley’s administrative structure became more complex after the Hundreds of Clare, Upper Wakefield and Stanley were declared between 1850 and 1851. These later

⁴⁸ Obituary in *Southern Cross*, August 8th 1919.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ 1851 Directories list John Carroll, J Killachey and P McNemey as Clare teamsters or carters.

became three separate district councils. Continuing the trend established in the 1840s, Stanley's Irish were visible in emergent local government and administration as well as wider colonial political manoeuvring. In Elizabeth Milburn's extensive analysis of the power transfer between the pastoral and town-based elites, Irish residents, apart from Gleeson and Hope, receive sparse focus.⁵¹ Yet as this research has documented, Irish interest and participation in local and colonial government was visible. Politics, at both these levels, represented sites of Irish participation, where differences of opinion between individuals were public; there was rarely an identifiable Irish position on anything. Gleeson's predominance, established in the 1840s, was maintained, but as the population grew, other Irishmen demonstrated their interest in and capacity to represent district needs. Throughout the colony after the District Council Act of 1853, the structure of local government emerged with 24 areas establishing councils within the first year. Local justice structures developed from the early 1850s. There were colonial elections prior to the self-governing constitution of 1857 but subsequent polls, technically at least, provided more specific parliamentary representation for Stanley residents.⁵² Thus the decade of the 1850s was one in which the county emerged from the basic establishment, or pioneer phase, to one of greater complexity. Additional infrastructure provided avenues in which there was greater potential for Irish participation and visibility, for their development of greater social capital.

⁵¹ See 30 above.

⁵² Before 1857 there was limited popular representation; the Legislative Council consisted of nominated members from 1842 until 1851 when two thirds were elected on the basis of property qualifications. After the British Constitution Act of 1856 established two elected chambers, property franchise persisted for the Council while voters for the House of Assembly included **all** males over 21 who were British subjects or had been naturalised. Women did not receive the parliamentary vote until 1894, but after the Local Government Act of 1861 they could participate in local government elections.

District Councils

The Act of 1853 enabled districts to send a Memorial to the Governor nominating both the proposed area and five men to form the first council. In Clare the proposal, incorporating the Hundreds of Clare and Upper Wakefield, was publicly endorsed in May 1853. However, in Penwortham at a heated June meeting, a counter memorial was passed. Opposition, although overtly based on taxation grounds, reflected resistance to Clare domination. Supporters of the Clare memorial included Lennon, and this group withdrew from the gathering to pen a clarifying resolution to the Governor.⁵³ Ultimately successful, the Clare activists marked the council's inauguration with a celebratory dinner in Clare. Lennon's remarks in response to a toast about the significance of local government were covered at length. Gleeson's absence from this gathering represents an anomaly given his local prominence and inclusion as a nominated founding member.⁵⁴

The visibility of Clare's Irishmen in Stanley's local government went beyond Gleeson; Patrick Butler was also an original council nominee. Gleeson became first Chairman, a position he held until his 1857 resignation.⁵⁵ Lennon served as district clerk. Butler (chairman from 1859) was joined in 1854 by Mintaro Irishman Peter Brady; John Hope too stood for council in 1857. The election of Irish councillors reflected the nature of the active voting community, especially in areas such as Armagh, Sevenhill, and Mintaro.⁵⁶ However, Irish residential patterns in Stanley were uneven, with fewer Emerald Isle emigrants living in the Upper Wakefield hundred.

⁵³ *Adelaide Times*, June 24th 1853. The lengthy coverage listed council supporters, with Lennon as the most vocal and articulate.

⁵⁴ *Ibid*, August 18th 1853.

⁵⁵ *Government Gazette* of July 21st 1853 also showed Dr Anton Sokolowsky as a founding member.

⁵⁶ In the *Adelaide Times* of January 6th 1854, the account of Clare's first election indicates a very public process. In the Penwortham School House there were 125 electors, the meeting was chaired by the Council Chairman; by 4 pm the state of the poll revealed the number of votes received by the five candidates, the Chairman uttered his congratulatory and harmony-encouraging statements, received a vote of thanks and cheers, and the meeting was over.

The emergence and persistence of such clustering patterns (which will be discussed further in relation to the 1860s) reflected Irish choice of locations, which facilitated access to their own community.

Peter Brady (mentioned earlier⁵⁷) typified such Irishmen. Resident in Mintaro from 1851, Cavan-born couple Peter (1815-1884) and Bridget Smyth (1815-1893), plus son John, arrived on the *Thirteen* by mid June 1840. Later joined by brothers (Daniel in November 1840 and Michael in October 1849), Peter lived first in Adelaide,⁵⁸ moving to Mount Barker and Rapid Bay before identifying Mintaro, purchasing land there, and settling permanently. By the time he stood for council at its first election in 1854, he was an experienced and successful landowner: he had learned the landscape. Attended by 125 voters, the meeting at Penwortham produced 121 votes for Brady, described as “a special favourite with the ratepayers of both hundreds; he lives in Clare, but has property in both places.”⁵⁹ He had purchased S178 in Mintaro where the slate deposit was found.⁶⁰ At the election meeting, Gleeson’s acknowledgement of the “goodwill and kindly feeling” preceded his expressed hope that “the Council would act together with harmony for the good of the District.”⁶¹ Such sentiments, expressed by Gleeson, indicate some insecurity or recognition that such district groups incorporated many different perspectives, with perhaps little community cohesion.

In 1855 Patrick Butler was re-elected, receiving the second highest vote in the contest. Butler and Brady then constituted half the councillors, and Gleeson served as chairman. His stated hope was again that council members “would always act kindly

⁵⁷ See 80 above.

⁵⁸ The 1841 census lists him in Stanley Street, North Adelaide – Irishtown.

⁵⁹ *Adelaide Times*, January 6th 1854.

⁶⁰ Brady bought S178 for £320 and in November 1858 sold it to John Smith for £775; Smith then leased it to Thompson Priest who developed the mine more fully.

⁶¹ *Adelaide Times*, January 6th 1854.

together.”⁶² In subsequent reports that year, Butler and Brady appeared to be cooperating closely in questioning the treasurer and assessor’s report.⁶³ But later, when the issue of a rate deeply split council, Brady supported Gleeson while Butler opposed the idea.⁶⁴ In 1857 council nominations seemed to reflect some Irish cooperation when Gleeson nominated Brady, and Hope and Lennon proposed Butler.⁶⁵ Following Gleeson’s 1857 resignation from the district council, his practices as treasurer were challenged and subject to close scrutiny.⁶⁶ Such public examination of the actions of “the lord of the manor, a landowner, a magistrate and at the pinnacle of the social elite”⁶⁷ must have wounded Gleeson’s pride. The ferocity of the allegations certainly undermined him. Although Milburn portrays such actions within the realm of challenging Clare’s original elite,⁶⁸ they also foreshadowed tactics subsequently applied to Lennon, not part of the same elite.

John Hope’s time in local government was brief; perhaps he decided that the position attracted levels of scrutiny beyond the reasonable, without contributing to sound performance.⁶⁹ Brady retained council membership until 1861 and Butler until 1867. Thus some early Irish residents took very public roles in the evolution of local government in the 1850s, clearly exemplifying bonding social capital. Gleeson imparted his founder status to the position of chairman, Lennon demonstrated his administrative skills as district clerk, and both Butler and Brady offered their enthusiasm and commitment. This previously unidentified pattern of Irish

⁶² *Ibid*, March 9th 1853.

⁶³ *Ibid*, March 16th 1853.

⁶⁴ *Ibid*, May 24th 1856.

⁶⁵ *Register*, March 9th 1857.

⁶⁶ *Adelaide Times*, March 17th & April 3rd 1858, *Register*, May 12th, 19th, 27th and June 3rd 1858.

⁶⁷ Milburn, *Clare 1840 to 1900*, 93-4

⁶⁸ *Ibid*.

⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 135. Milburn suggests he, like Gleeson, withdrew “because they did not like or need the associated harassment, but this affected their status little, if at all.”

involvement was sustained in the next decade, extending by 1868 to the additional councils established within and adjacent to Stanley.

Declaration of the Upper Wakefield council in October 1854 represented success for those residents who had vehemently opposed their Clare association. That fewer Irish lived in this Hundred was reflected in council membership until Patrick McNamara's election in 1858.⁷⁰ McNamara, born in County Clare, arrived with his brother and sister in 1846 and, as mentioned, was an early resident in the River Wakefield area. Marrying Irishwoman Mary Donnelly (1827-1891) at Gawler in 1850, a family of nine followed. Another of Bishop Murphy's financial protégés, McNamara borrowed and repaid £21 in 1856⁷¹; he steadily acquired land around Undalya, demonstrating heightened social and cultural capital in the 1860s, exemplified in his 1864 appointment as a Justice of the Peace.⁷²

Mintaro residents made their first attempt to establish Stanley's third council area in 1858. Peter Brady was included in the five nominated members – their Memorial claimed that distance from Clare limited access. The larger landholders mounted intense opposition; their counter-memorial argued that another council would require higher taxes. Late in 1858, Irishman William Dunn accused this group of gathering memorial signatures fraudulently.⁷³ But the land-owning elite defeated this attempt and another in 1859. Forty six memorialists wanted more roads and bridges, and both Peter and Daniel Brady were nominated as founding councillors.⁷⁴ Opposition came from “owners and occupiers of about 12,000 acres” offering insight

⁷⁰ McNamara was a member until 1861, then a founding member of the Rhynie Council from 1866 to 1869, and in 1888 became a member of the Carrieton Council.

⁷¹ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 372, 379.

⁷² Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 107, lists the seven ‘Clare’ men appointed as JP between 1851 and 1868, citing McNamara only as “a respected farmer” – he clearly differed from his colleagues who included three doctors, John Hope and his former manager, and Gleeson's son, John William.

⁷³ *Register*, November 30th 1858.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, July 22nd 1859.

into the differing interests of small and large landowners.⁷⁵ By 1868, population growth around Mintaro – including greater Irish numbers – resulted in the Stanley Council being established.

Justice

A newly constructed police station and a court room were ready by January 31st 1851.⁷⁶ Irishman O'Brien Dillon was appointed as bailiff in October 1854, joining Lennon.⁷⁷ There was great potential for conflicting interests when prominent individuals were required to take a judicial role following appointment as Justices of the Peace. In April 1853 John Hope joined Gleeson in this category.⁷⁸ The unusual 1859 appointment of twenty-five year old John William Gleeson as a JP was described by Milburn as indicative of E.B. Gleeson's prestige, not his son's ability.⁷⁹ In a thinly populated county, and in a community enthusiastic about pursuing cases to court, opportunities for a degree of personal involvement in cases were high. The hazardous nature of the position was revealed to Gleeson at least when he was chided by the Colonial Secretary in 1853 for "exceeding his power of jurisdiction".⁸⁰ Gleeson's regretful acknowledgement referred to having the limits of his power explained when he visited the Crown Solicitor.⁸¹ Nevertheless, he was appointed as a Special Magistrate in 1856.⁸²

Clare court cases reported in the Adelaide press reveal some of Stanley's population as willing participants in legal tussles. Without knowing what preceded court cases by way of seeking alternative solutions, and without access to comparative

⁷⁵ *Ibid*, August 8th 1859. The landowners were the Bowman Brothers, Barritt and Duffield.

⁷⁶ The cost was £800.

⁷⁷ *Adelaide Times*, October 13th 1854.

⁷⁸ *Adelaide Times*, April 17th 1853.

⁷⁹ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 107.

⁸⁰ *SRSA Research Notes 126* quotes an early Clare resident's description of Gleeson "occasionally administer[ing] justice on his own account."

⁸¹ *SRSA GRG 24/6A/1853/494*.

⁸² *Government Gazette*, July 10th 1856.

studies, Stanley nevertheless appears to have been a very litigious community.⁸³ For example, a number of Bomburnie families, brought by the Jesuits to develop “the first Catholic German village” two years earlier,⁸⁴ seemingly conducted public feuds in court in 1853.⁸⁵ Early Irish residents Denis Kenny and George Neagle were in court cases involving disputes over animals, a reflection of the local economy. In 1851, Kenny was successful in recovering costs of horse hire plus goods from his store. Neagle initiated several proceedings over pigs,⁸⁶ while Daniel O’Leary sought justice from him over the use of bullocks.⁸⁷ In September 1859, a recently married Irish woman from Clare’s Servant Depot and her husband – Bridget and Jacob Haarsma – were charged with assault at Sevenhill. In dismissing the case as a “friendly row between women,” both were blamed.⁸⁸ In this case as in many others, judgement was passed by Gleeson and his magistrate son. Gleeson Senior was a former employer of many who appeared before him, and was often a peer in community activities, thus his position was potentially a complicated one.⁸⁹

Stanley acquired additional administrative systems as both the colonial electoral and registration structure expanded. Irish individuals familiar with the area fulfilled important public roles in both systems. Lennon was District Clerk from 1853

⁸³ Without a detailed study of the representation of different nationalities in court cases, it is not possible to assess whether the Irish resorted to court more or less often than other groups.

⁸⁴ Margaret Press, *From Our Broken Toil: South Australian Catholics 1836-1906*, Archdiocese of Adelaide, 118. The land between Clare and Armagh was bought by GS Kingston.

⁸⁵ *Adelaide Times*, October 12th and December 8th 1853 presented cases between Hoffman and Schmidt (threats to life), Kirchner and Schmidt (assault), and Hoffman and Bickhoff (crop damage) all on October 6th, and Schmidt and Kirchner (threatening language), Kirchner and Haurert (fencing dispute), and Hoffman and Schmidt (land use at Bomburnie) on December 1st. See also *Adelaide Times*, November 13th 1856. *Register* of September 8th 1859 showed Kingston and Kirchner in court over unpaid rent.

⁸⁶ *Register*, October 13th and December 8th 1853.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, August 9th 1854.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, September 8th 1859

⁸⁹ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 42, 106, says that Gleeson was the most active magistrate until 1870. An example of the conflict was reported in *South Australian Free Press* of March 11th 1854 when Adam Mammoth “summoned EB Gleeson Esq for £9 in wages”: Gleeson left the bench having charged the man with “deserting from his service.” Gleeson was found to owe him, and the second case was dismissed.

to 1860, later Town Clerk from 1868 until 1894.⁹⁰ Gleeson was the original returning officer in 1851, while Lennon was appointed as electoral clerk in 1852.⁹¹ In May 1855 the latter also became Deputy Registrar of births, deaths and marriages for the Clare Registration District.⁹² The significance of such positions (and their contribution to cultural capital) in the county of Stanley, 80 miles distant from Adelaide, in an era of increasing state responsibility for citizens' lives, cannot be understated. The numerical representation of Irishmen in the areas of registration, the local justice system, and the district council ensured visibility plus skill acquisition. Such experience informed them about wider colonial political issues and provided many individuals with greater confidence and acuity about ways of responding.

Milburn argued there were three significant colonial routes towards the exercising of power: the magistracy, local government, and colonial parliament.⁹³ In Stanley, Gleeson (and his son) and Hope travelled the first path in the 1850s, with Gleeson also prominent in the second. While Hope was only temporarily on council, Patrick Butler and Peter Brady were longstanding local government participants. And Lennon wielded alternative power in that realm. In the 1850s parliament remained the preserve of the prominent and well endowed, and although Gleeson's cultural capital clearly equipped him for such political engagement, he did not choose this path.⁹⁴ This more long distance power arena attracted great interest from Stanley's Irish, but their unity about colonial issues was limited.

⁹⁰ *Register*, May 31st 1850.

⁹¹ *Adelaide Times*, March 11th 1851 and February 23rd 1852.

⁹² *Ibid*, May 11th 1855.

⁹³ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 24.

⁹⁴ Gleeson was mentioned as a possible candidate; see *Adelaide Times*, December 24th 1856.

Colonial Politics

Throughout the 1850s the colonial parliament was slowly evolving but property qualifications excluded most citizens, including the majority of Stanley's Irish. In 1851 only 333 (25.9 per cent) of the county population of 1,283 could vote, compared to 431 (9.7 percent of 4,403) in neighbouring Burra.⁹⁵ But on election day in the vote for two Legislative Councillors, only 268 county voters actually participated.⁹⁶ Prominent Irish individuals, many mentioned previously, often promoted rival candidates. For example, Dennis Kenny chaired a February 1851 Clare election meeting and with Lennon, Nolan, Butler, and Hope formed a committee (demonstrating bonding and bridging social capital in terms of nationality and class: all were Irish, but only Hope belonged to the pastoral elite) for the election of local squatter, George C. Hawker.⁹⁷ Irishmen Patrick McMahon and Richard Quinlan supported the opposing candidate.⁹⁸ Following Hawker's defeat, the Court of Disputed Returns protested against Kenny's actions in enlisting voter support.⁹⁹ Kenny's direct intervention was encouraged by strong political convictions, combined with his respectable background, recognition as a publican, and cultural capital.

By 1853, Stanley was included with Gawler electorally.¹⁰⁰ The electoral roll reveals how few Stanley Irishmen were qualified to vote.¹⁰¹ Of the 372 names listed

⁹⁵ *SAPP*, 1853, 47. Registered Electors. Stanley elector numbers were 354 in 1852 and 327 in 1853. The franchise included only those owning property worth £100 or paying £10 rent for occupied dwellings.

⁹⁶ Of the Legislative Council of 24, the Governor appointed 8 councillors while 16 were elected.

⁹⁷ *Adelaide Times*, February 26th and March 12th 1851.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, March 18th 1851. McMahon (1836-1886) and Quinlan from Wicklow (1814-1880) both arrived in 1853.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, May 13th 1851.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, October 3rd 1853. The electorate was known as the District of Gawler and Stanley and the Northern Runs. A Memorial from 18 "residents and occupiers" of land beyond counties (including John Hope) unsuccessfully petitioned parliament to establish a separate electoral district of Stanley. *SAPP*, 1853, 37.

¹⁰¹ Elections were public affairs with voters' choice of candidates recorded by the polling clerk. The secret ballot was not introduced until April 1856.

(from a population of 1689), only 15 Irish names appeared.¹⁰² Five of these were pre-1840 arrivals and four were leaseholders only. Given that the Irish represented a mere four per cent of Stanley voters, evidence of individuals' interest in colonial political participation does suggest identification with South Australia. The pattern persisted throughout the decade. In 1855, political fractures were visible. Peter Brady withdrew from one candidate's committee, later chairing a rival's meeting.¹⁰³ Within one extended Irish family, James Cleary and Patrick Butler supported opposite candidates. Cleary (stepfather of Sarah Butler) was one of local Irish promoting the defeated candidate; meanwhile, Patrick (Sarah's husband) spoke at the victory dinner.¹⁰⁴ Electorates never coincided with county boundaries in colonial South Australia and, before 1857, incorporated city and country voters. One consequence was to reduce the possibility of any strong local Irish (or other) lobby from impacting on the outcome.

By 1857, 'The Burra and Clare' had become a three member electorate by including Stanley and Light.¹⁰⁵ This election followed the constitution of 1856 which established responsible government, two houses of parliament, and universal male franchise. In Clare, Lennon was "unanimously called to the chair" at a meeting discussing candidate possibilities. Embedded in his remarks were crucial indicators about rejecting past differences and acknowledging the emergence of a common nationality. Urging the electors to choose "honest, intelligent men... without reference to creed or country" and to "[e]schew all local prejudice," Lennon proclaimed that

¹⁰² SRSA GRG24/6/1853/1682. This represents the only surviving nineteenth century electoral roll for the area. See Table Six, 234 below. Although these names represented a minority, it is interesting to note that they did not reflect subsequent county of origin patterns.

¹⁰³ *Adelaide Times*, September 19th 1855. Meetings were held at Watervale, Mintaro and Clare. Brady supported William Younghusband before transferring his allegiance to Peter Cummings.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid*, September 8th, 24th & 29th 1855. Other local Irishmen who advertised their support of Cummings were O'Brien Dillon, Lennon, John Carroll, Patrick Conlon, Daniel Sullivan, James Hickey, and John Scales.

¹⁰⁵ Registered electors numbered 1,435 for the House of Assembly and 728 for the Legislative Council.

“We are all one great family of South Australia.”¹⁰⁶ Such a clear, public formulation of colonial allegiance represents compelling early evidence that Lennon, at least, was identifying himself as a South Australian (publicly acknowledging he was more than an Irish immigrant) and was cognisant of the need for others to also recognise themselves in this way as South Australians.

The 1857 campaign included vigorous Stanley election gatherings where Irishmen including Gleeson, Lennon, Brady, Butler, and Patrick McNamara debated candidate adequacy¹⁰⁷ to represent the district in a “fit and proper” manner.¹⁰⁸ At the nomination meeting, Irishmen were prominent but not cohesive, proposing and seconding different candidates.¹⁰⁹ The defeat of Hawker, the only local candidate, ensured a volatile contest in 1860. By then there was an additional element: the South Australian Political Association (SAPA) was formed in the latter half of 1859. There was no evidence of political solidarity amongst Stanley’s Irish; while similarity between Gleeson and Hope was evident, there was little unanimity demonstrated in the positions held by other Irishmen in Stanley.

The 1858 by-election following the resignation of one candidate was noteworthy for the unchallenged election of Irish Catholic Edward McEllister.¹¹⁰ Urged to stand because he had “no class interest to serve,” McEllister held early meetings at Clare (Lennon was chairman) and Mintaro.¹¹¹ The campaign featured lists of McEllister supporters; these included many Stanley Irish, the names indicating

¹⁰⁶ *Adelaide Times*, December 24th, 1856. Gleeson was one of eight proposed and seconded for the House of Assembly at this meeting, but was not among the three receiving the greatest number of votes.

¹⁰⁷ The candidates were GC Hawker (local pastoralist), GS Kingston (Irishman and surveyor), M Marks (importer and merchant in Adelaide and Burra), and EJ Peake (railway manager).

¹⁰⁸ See *Adelaide Times* of January 21st, 27th, February 2nd, 6th, 9th, 11th, 12th, and 13th 1857.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, February 24th 1857.

¹¹⁰ See above 69, fn 23 for details about McEllister.

¹¹¹ *Adelaide Times*, September 6th and 7th 1858.

Clare rather than Burra residents.¹¹² When these voter names are linked with additional research details, a limited profile of Stanley's active Irish voters in 1858 is evident. Table Seven provides details of known Irish-born, their wives, counties of origin, year of arrival, and occupation.¹¹³ In this group, the most significant county of origin was Cavan, possibly presenting a glimpse of a network in operation and differentiating Stanley from the South Australian pattern.¹¹⁴ Only two individuals were identified as marrying exogamously; one was the colonial-born child of Irish immigrants. The list demonstrated the direct role of Burra in shaping the lives of some families closely connected to the mining economy. Unsurprisingly, farming was the most common area of employment. Conversely, this group's participation in non-farming or mining activities was small, with few professional or skilled trades represented.

During the 1850s, as the colony and county expanded, growth at both levels had administrative and electoral consequences. Population growth led to demand for more police and justice services, local government developed, and electoral participation changed in response to parliamentary extension, particularly after the 1856 Constitution. In Stanley, Irishmen were involved in all these dimensions of more formal community life. While some active individuals did not persist in this arena, others such as Gleeson, Lennon, Hope, Butler, Brady, and McNamara maintained their prominent positions. They were joined by other Irish-born intent on making their contribution to colonial life.

¹¹² *Register*, August 31st 1858.

¹¹³ See Table Seven, 235-7 below. Current research has identified additional details; the list could be equally significant in terms of excluded Irishmen, for example, Gleeson, Hope, Butler and Brady (Peter). Published names here begin to indicate the county of origin pattern in which Clare and Cavan predominated.

¹¹⁴ In the colony Clare was persistently "the single greatest source" of assisted Irish immigrants. Eric Richards, "Irish Life and Progress...", 221.

Clare Irish Servant Depot 1855-6

The question of prejudice towards both Catholics and Irish colonists has exercised many historians. Pike's summation was that a "degree of anti-Catholicism was...to be expected" and argues that it was exaggerated by contemporaries and partisan writers.¹¹⁵ On the other hand, Margaret Press maintained that "inherited prejudice...prevailed" more frequently than religious tolerance.¹¹⁶ Pike himself acknowledges that the "first strong anti-Catholic outburst...was directed against the single female immigrants [of 1848]."¹¹⁷ Outlining the intensity of sectarian disputes portrayed in the newspapers as a backdrop, Margaret Press suggests that large numbers of Irish arrivals in the 1850s were interpreted as threats to local employment: "Although many of these Irish immigrants were not Catholic, opposition to the Irish became for many people synonymous with opposition to Catholicism, and there was expressed a fear that the basically British colony would become swamped by a different cultural tradition."¹¹⁸ Clarity about anti-Catholic and anti-Irish colonial sentiment was demonstrated in 1849 by the Land and Emigration Commissioners' defensiveness in relation to their selection of immigrant girls.¹¹⁹ Given their recognition "of the well known [colonial] hostility" to Catholic immigrants, their report claimed that the most deficient had been prevented from sailing.

Acknowledgement in communications between the Lieutenant Governor and the Colonial Land and Emigration Office in 1852 of the "growing disinclination in South

¹¹⁵ Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*, Melbourne University Press, London, 1957, 275-6.

¹¹⁶ Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 148.

¹¹⁷ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 377-8. 1848 represented the colony's initial experience with an over-supply of young women when more than 1600 arrived, but more were English than Irish and less than half of the latter group were from Catholic Ireland. Few were charged with misconduct, but "the Irish girls, representing 37% of the female arrivals, were the scapegoats" most often.

¹¹⁸ Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 148.

¹¹⁹ Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 378.

Australia to employ Irish, if English or Scottish servants are to be had,” underlines the extent of local sentiment.¹²⁰

The greatest short-term influx of Irish emigrants to Stanley in the mid 1850s was largely the consequence of factors external to the county, and to the colony itself. The 1855 disjuncture between colonial employment demands and Colonial Office responses in terms of despatching immigrant Irishwomen represented a local crisis. The influx of Irishwomen – at least 1,258 in the first six months of 1855 – stretched coping capacities, both physical and psychological, beyond manageable limits. In a savage editorial of early May about numbers of “thoroughly useless” Irish girls, readers were alerted to the fact of 122 such girls in the Adelaide Immigration Depot, alongside one Englishwoman.¹²¹ Press focus was constant, closer coverage even more detailed following the December 1855 decision allowing journalists to attend the twice weekly Female Immigration Board meetings.¹²² This contributed to the heightened atmosphere verging on panic.¹²³

On May 19th the *Register* published a letter from an unnamed district councillor which suggested that establishing country depots under the auspices of local councils could provide both dispersal and employment. Subsequently on June 27th councils, stipendiary magistrates, and ministers of religion were canvassed for opinions about country depots and their viability; questions focussed on local demand for labour, the potential for establishing a depot, availability of local facilities, cost projections, and access to depot maintenance.¹²⁴ This mechanism provided important feedback at the time, and subsequently on attitudes towards immigrant women in general and Irish immigrants in particular. In Stanley, Lennon replied quickly,

¹²⁰ *SAPP*, 1852, 45. (*Despatches on Emigration*).

¹²¹ *Register*, May 9th 1855.

¹²² *Ibid*, December 28th 1855.

¹²³ See *Ibid*, May 9th, 25th, June 19th, 28th & July 4th 1855 for some examples of crisis-centred language.

¹²⁴ SRSAGRG 35/46/16

outlining employment possibilities for 20 farm servants and 10 domestics, arguing that such a depot would be “a boon for settlers” enabling them to avoid Adelaide-based hiring costs. Fifteen shillings weekly for individual keep was suggested, plus a pound’s rent on a property which could accommodate 30. He also suggested that the committee should include Council representation plus local clergy.¹²⁵ Gleeson, doubtless sympathetic to his young countrywomen, also wrote quickly about being “most happy to cooperate” with the Governor’s request. But he wanted local circumstances recognised and requested the dispatch of some items from Adelaide.¹²⁶ In Adelaide, he met the Colonial Secretary; following their conversation, the latter noted the possibility of Clare housing a “permanent depot.”¹²⁷ Thus backing in Clare was strong. The impact of the 1855 ‘Irish servant’ issue on Stanley was significant; it contributed substantially to Stanley’s female Irish population.

Irishmen and public figures other than Gleeson fully supported the proposal. For example, Bishop Murphy’s interest in the Clare depot was revealed in a letter written on his behalf to the Colonial Secretary. He quoted Clare’s priest (Jesuit Father Kranewitter) as “hold[ing] out great hopes that if a depot were established at Clare for emigrants, many persons from the interior would come & hire them,” and promises of “every assistance” were made.¹²⁸ This letter implied that the bishop had approached Clare about the depot, because it refers to his also waiting for a reply from Mount Gambier. Irish JP John Hope, when contacted about depot potential, also suggested an important role for local clergymen. He suggested that those “of the different [religious] persuasions” would be able to monitor the girls’ treatment and the running of the depot. Anticipating positions for 30 “farm girls” plus five domestic servants,

¹²⁵ SRO GRG CSO 24/6/1855/2095

¹²⁶ *Ibid.* He referred to flour shortages and wanted beds, bedding, and utensils to be sent.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ SRSA GRG CSO 24/6/1855/2259

Hope argued that a functioning depot would increase employment opportunities.¹²⁹

Stanley's most prominent Irishmen, Gleeson and Hope, provided support and constructive suggestions, and Bishop Murphy's endorsement assured additional advocacy.

Events moved speedily. Premises were rented from Mr Walter Davies Kingsmill¹³⁰ in Clare, with a party of 20 girls, under Matron Ann Mary Keenan's supervision, arriving on July 24th.¹³¹ When the group (all of whom had been on board the *Nashwauk* when it sank in May)¹³² embarked on their wet, unpleasant six day journey north, the girls had already endured a great deal. The matron complained about their ordeal, establishing the groundwork for her difficult relationship with officialdom.¹³³ Lennon wrote to the Colonial Secretary, stating that the girls seemed "a fine healthy looking lot," but none were engaged due to Mrs Keenan's objection to the 2/6 weekly rate. Lennon's annoyance was evident; he emphasised that girls could not remain at the Depot "to suit their own fancy" if they "refused service on fair terms." He requested that the matron be informed of the need for restraint in wage matters.¹³⁴ Reminded of the rules, Mrs Keenan was threatened with dismissal.¹³⁵ Six girls were hired at the originally mentioned rate on July 27th, but within days wages rose to 3/6. Comments about those first hired reported that "The settlers speak very

¹²⁹ SRSA GRG CSO 24/6/1855/2155

¹³⁰ Kingsmill (1823-1884), an Anglican Pastoralist and Storekeeper, was appointed as first bailiff to the Clare Court, and on the 1853 Stanley electoral roll was recorded as a Householder on S55 Stanley Flat.

¹³¹ Gleeson later wrote to the Colonial Secretary to secure payment for Kingsmill – the premises were rented from July 23rd at £1 a week until further notice. SRSA GRG 24/6/A/1855/3345.

¹³² The *Nashwauk*, with over 300 single Irish girls and labourers on board, was wrecked on May 13th 1855 close to the mouth of the Onkaparinga River, south of Adelaide. Although one girl and the captain died subsequently, no lives were lost in the shipwreck; the cause of the accident has never been fully established. See Janet Callen, *What Really Happened to the Nashwauk? Moana, South Australia 1855*, Butterfly Press, Adelaide, 2004.

¹³³ SRSA GRG CSO 24/6/1855/2431

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*

¹³⁵ *Ibid.*

highly of them as good industrious girls.”¹³⁶ Such comments directly contradicted the concurrent disparaging remarks about Irish girls.¹³⁷ Less than a month later, 30 more were requested. Pay rates fluctuated through August and September: some earned 5/-. In early September, Gleeson wrote to the City Superintendent, his letter also published in the press, describing 50 Stanley girls “in comfortable situations” who were “all well spoken of.”¹³⁸

Matron Keenan’s correspondence to the Colonial Secretary documents the situations of 45 girls: their employers (including some occupations), locations, the girls’ start dates, and their wage.¹³⁹ The unique integration of phonetic spelling and partial literacy in her letters does not always enable easy identification of either employer or location. Stanley’s Irish and/or Catholic residents responded, with Gleeson, Butler, and the Weikerts employing girls by early August. In Armagh, the McDiarmids, unusually an Irish-born Catholic wife and a Presbyterian husband, hired early. John Hope sought domestic help in September, and another found work with Richard Quinlan by mid-September. Later employees earned more than 2/6, and the Goldsmiths at Watervale employed a girl at £1 a week. At least 16 girls found positions with farming families.¹⁴⁰ Significantly, of the 18 families shown in Table Nine whose background and religious identification was clear, more were English or Scottish (nine) than Irish (six).¹⁴¹ Church of England adherents (seven) employed more than either Catholics (five) or Methodists (four), while two were atypical, either Jewish or a ‘mixed’ Protestant-Catholic marriage.¹⁴² Employment patterns thus

¹³⁶ *Observer*, August 11th 1855.

¹³⁷ See for example *Register* of August 16th 1855.

¹³⁸ *Ibid*, September 12th 1855. SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1855/3045.

¹³⁹ See Table Eight, 238-40 below.

¹⁴⁰ *Ibid*.

¹⁴¹ See Table Nine, 241-442 below.

¹⁴² McDiarmid’s background is unclear; when his wife, Isabella McIntosh died in August 1871, her obituary in the *Northern Argus* of September 8th spoke of Father Strele SJ caring for her. Their daughter Mary’s 1862 marriage was at the Kooringa Wesleyan Chapel.

differentiated Stanley from Adelaide where, as indicated, anti-Irish prejudice was strong. Clearly the more affluent strata of Clare and district society responded to the Irish girls on a utilitarian rather than either a national or a sectarian basis.

Gleeson wrote to Mathew Moorhouse as superintendent in January 1856, emphasising great employer satisfaction, but questioning further need for the depot.¹⁴³ Unsurprisingly in view of cost structures, the Board moved quickly towards closure. It was at this point that Matron Keenan again emerged as the thorn in the administration's side. Her complaints were various, and included late notification of closure, wage issues, and medical reimbursement.¹⁴⁴ When challenged about medical claims, the Board tersely reminded the matron that her position attracted an annual salary of £52 plus rooms and rations.¹⁴⁵ The official communication about closure on 4th February asked the matron to forward "all the beds etc to the Kapunda depot." Actual closure came on February 13th with Mrs Keenan receiving an extra week's salary.¹⁴⁶ In the recently published *Servants Depots in colonial South Australia*, Steiner documents difficulties with the administration of a number of depots¹⁴⁷; given the numbers involved (451 young women) and the evolution of the administrative framework in reaction to circumstances, this is not surprising. Coverage of other depots revealed effusive praise for some matrons, so Mrs Keenan may have had a difficult personality.¹⁴⁸

The matron represents an intriguing Irish figure in this episode – alternative sources for independent judgement of her actions have not been located, and she vanishes from the record. Bishop Murphy reported holding £37 in trust for her within

¹⁴³ *Register*, January 17th 1856.

¹⁴⁴ *Adelaide Times*, February 11th 1856.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid*, January 31st 1856.

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid*, March 21st 1856.

¹⁴⁷ Steiner, *Servants Depots*, 35-44 and 66-68.

¹⁴⁸ For example Matron Frankpitt at the Mt Barker Depot was praised in the *Register* of November 8th 1855 for the "judicious arrangements" made for the 83 girls sent there; 67 had been engaged.

days of her arrival in Clare, suggesting she belonged to his fold.¹⁴⁹ She may have acted as an advocate for the girls in terms of wage justice. And all those with whom she dealt were males, so power relationships were unequal. Her early opposition to wage levels roused antagonism, possibly marking her as insubordinate in their (Irish and official) view of acceptable behaviour. While the operation of Clare's depot demonstrated evidence of a clear network of cooperation between Irish and others at administrative and community levels, sources of support for the matron are unclear as she was positioned beyond these circles.¹⁵⁰

Fate of Clare's Irish Servants

Archival records in conjunction with other public and private documentation enable some tracking of 17 out of the 45 Irish women sent to Clare, establishing the shape of some lives and paths within Stanley.¹⁵¹ One of the first employed was Catherine Coffey (1841-1918). Local saddler William Hitchcox engaged her on July 27th at 2/6 a week. December 1856 court records indicate the arrangement ended unhappily. Catherine accused him of refusing her £6.7.0 after 20 weeks, despite notice and having been employed at 5/- a week. Mrs Hitchcox disputed both the notice and the hiring conditions, claiming it was £10 per annum. Catherine, however, was awarded £4 and costs.¹⁵² In 1858 she married Robert Henry, a sawyer, at Butler's Armagh house; the couple had two daughters, Margaret in 1860 and Mary (on June 11th 1864) before Robert died on September 21st 1864. Two months later, Catherine married German-born Joseph Mueller (1808-1895), a recent widower with five children; they later had a son. The marriage lasted until Joseph's death. This young woman displayed courage in challenging her employer. Being widowed with two children

¹⁴⁹ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 355. The exchange was on August 16th 1855.

¹⁵⁰ No record of Mrs Keenan has been located after early 1856.

¹⁵¹ See Table Ten, 243-45 below.

¹⁵² *Adelaide Times*, December 11th 1856.



Catherine Mueller (nee Coffey, formerly Henry), previously a resident of the Clare Servant Depot (*far right*); with her daughter Margaret Simons, her grand-daughter Eileen May Grant Carter and her great-grand-daughter Elly Mary Carter in Adelaide, circa 1912.

represented further challenges: for Catherine, re-marrying quickly was a risk, but she was without family support. Clearly a resilient individual, she remained in Stanley until her death.

At least three Irish girls died in Stanley soon after the depot's closure: Joanna Ryan (in childbirth) in October 1856, just short of a year after marrying John Stow; Kate Downey in April 1857, at the Williams' family home (her original Skillogalee Creek employer); and Mary Ann Copping, who died in May 1858 at Watervale.¹⁵³ Kate's death followed the pregnancy which caused her dismissal and desperate temporary return to Williams.¹⁵⁴ Then there were negotiations between the Upper Wakefield District Council and the Destitute Asylum about her future. Death occurred prior to her planned removal to Adelaide, but her unregistered child was dispatched there.¹⁵⁵ There was silence about the father's identity in this tragic story.

CW Parkin claims that local marriage registers show that at least a quarter of these young women married in the region within three years. However, more thorough searching of marriage records raises doubts.¹⁵⁶ Given the very Irish nature of names and the relative commonality of some, Parkin's certainty in this process has not been supported by the current research. The approach used here was based on the examination of records for potential marriages, using names and the bride's age at the time of marriage, and the location and date of marriage as the factors determining the likelihood of the female being a depot inmate. For example, when the marriage of one girl, Bridget Ryan, was researched, 29 women of that name actually married between

¹⁵³ Presumed to be Mary Coppinger shown on Matron Keenan's list.

¹⁵⁴ *Register*, April 17th 1857. Williams endorsed Kate's "good character for industry and attention to her duties" before "her disgrace," emphasising she had been admitted to his house "without his leave" on the "night of her confinement."

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, May 19th 1857. Kate's funeral account was £3.15.0, and the cost of transporting her infant to Adelaide was £3.11.6. But the £6.3.6 for her medical attention was to be borne by the Upper Wakefield Council.

¹⁵⁶ CW Parkin, *Irish Female Immigration to South Australia during the Great Famine*, unpublished BA Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1964, 113.

1842 and 1906. There were seven possibilities in terms of the name, age and date criteria, but four of these weddings were between 1857 and 1865 at St Patrick's in Adelaide. Of the other three, one was at Kapunda in 1856, while the others were at Mosquito Plains in 1860 and Mintaro in 1859. Previous research on Stanley identified the Mintaro event as the correct marriage, but without such augmented information, in many other cases, certainty in terms of surname identification has proved impossible.

Bridget Ryan (1837-1886) was employed by the Weikert family and married John Magner at Mintaro on July 2nd 1859. John (1833-1882) was from County Cork and sponsored by a Michael Ryan for £2 deposit. Travelling on the *Burlington*, Magner reached Adelaide in February 1857 and went first to Kapunda. He moved to Mintaro where he met Bridget.¹⁵⁷ Four of their eight children were born in Stanley between 1860 and 1871; by 1873, they had moved north to Narridy, where two more children arrived. Their final move was to Booleroo, where the couple died. They were buried at Appila. Five children survived Bridget.¹⁵⁸ Bridget Reardon's 1857 marriage to Dutch-born Jacob Haarsma represented the only exogamous partnership located within the Depot cohort.¹⁵⁹ Bridget's 1876 marriage to James Williams (following Haarsma's death in 1875), however, possibly reflects the endogamous pattern¹⁶⁰; for Catherine Coffey mentioned above, the order was reversed: her first marriage may have been endogamous,¹⁶¹ while her second was exogamous in terms of nationality.

¹⁵⁷ Lally, *Landmark*, 173.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁹ According to Steiner, *Servants Depots*, 53, Haarsma was originally von Haarsma, a Dutch name.

¹⁶⁰ While Bridget's marriage in 1876 is documented, background details of her second husband, James Williams, have proved difficult to identify. Her death certificate shows he predeceased her but his background is unclear.

¹⁶¹ Neither the nationality nor the religion of Robert Henry has yet been identified.

Because nineteenth century rural Irish typically did not move far from home before emigration, there is a preponderance of name similarity.¹⁶² This becomes a problem for research into the Irish diaspora. For example, if colonial marriage records are used to locate two more girls from the Clare Depot, Mary Ryan and Ann Jones, the former has 80 listings and the latter has 47. Such numbers limit certainty about marriages and thus about what happened to the majority of Clare's 1855 arrivals. Parkin claimed that Ellen Moore married her inn-keeping employer; however, her marriage was to David McKenzie, not William McKenzie, licensee of the Stanley Hotel, 1854 to 1858.¹⁶³ It is likely that a sizeable proportion of girls left Stanley after the completion of contracts, especially given the potentially greater attractions of eastern colonies, particularly during the gold rush years. There was evidence that some female immigrants had relatives living elsewhere; in a parliamentary list covering departures from the Adelaide depot between April 1855 and February 1856, 55 of those leaving for Melbourne and Sydney were subsidised by relatives.¹⁶⁴ Another 19 went to friends or paid their own passages. Some Clare girls may just have preferred to live in the city, rather than in what was, in 1856, still a very isolated area.

What happened to all the Irish girls sent to Stanley remains conjecture,¹⁶⁵ but, as discussed, there is evidence for some on Matron Keenan's lists. Parkin comments on the speed with which this short-lived influx or "invasion" merged into the Stanley community, suggesting that local perceptions differed from the intense and largely

¹⁶² Dymphna Lonergan, *Sounds Irish. The Irish Language in Australia*, Lythrum Press, Adelaide, 2004, 5. "The average Irish rural person did not travel far from home [in the nineteenth century]. Even today the same surnames can be found in the same areas of the country as they have been for centuries."

¹⁶³ Hoad, *Hotels and Publicans in South Australia*, 579, Parkin, *Irish Female Immigration*, 113.

¹⁶⁴ *SAPP*, 1855-6, 2, 137. 'List of Female Immigrants who have left Adelaide Depot for Melbourne and Sydney, for the last Ten Months, ending 16th February, 1856.'

¹⁶⁵ See Table Eight, 238-240 below for known details about the initial group. Steiner's book presents additional details, see Steiner, *Servants Depots*, 130-150

negative colonial publicity. Responses in 1855 indicated an accommodating community.¹⁶⁶ Given the county's pre-existing Catholic population and estimations of Irish numbers, this was unsurprising. But as indicated, interest in the employment of this immigrant overflow was not limited to this cohort. Accurate figures of those sent northwards remain elusive.¹⁶⁷ However, between 120 and 130 young Irish girls interacted with Stanley families; in the absence of surviving local evidence, it seems the local community overlooked contemporary stereotypes about Irish girls. Perhaps factors specific to Stanley such as the numbers of Irishmen visible in local administration – Gleeson (Chairman), Lennon (district clerk), Butler and Brady (councillors) and John Hope (JP) – contributed. In addition, the critical mass of local Irish residents contributed to the depot appearing without opposition, functioning efficiently, and vanishing swiftly once its purpose became unnecessary. Local utilitarianism doubtless assisted its success. Finally, evident local respect for the Catholic establishment at Sevenhill probably also played a part in the short but largely happy life of the Clare Servant depot.

Development of the Catholic Church

In many ways, much of the early history of the Catholic Church in Stanley and further north represents an anomaly. While the diocese of Adelaide was led by Irish-born bishops and Irish-born clergy predominated for decades, the face of the Church in the mid-North and beyond was Austrian.¹⁶⁸ But congregations were more Irish than any other nationality. The earliest colonial availability of advanced education for boys within a Catholic framework was at Sevenhill, where most teachers were European. This site too provided the only priestly training in Australia until 1889. From this

¹⁶⁶ Parkin, *Irish Female Immigration*, 113.

¹⁶⁷ Steiner, *Servants Depots*, 151.

¹⁶⁸ David Hilliard & Arnold D Hunt, "Religion" in Eric Richards (ed.), *The Flinders Social History of South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, 213.

there emerged an unforeseen but enormously beneficial long-term link between the Austrian and Irish arms of the colonial church. Two individuals subsequently of great significance in the Adelaide diocese completed their seminary training with the Jesuits. In 1857, two young men (born in Dublin in 1834) were sent to Sevenhill for this reason.¹⁶⁹ Frederick Byrne was a priest of the Adelaide diocese until his death in 1915,¹⁷⁰ and in 1873 Christopher Augustine Reynolds was consecrated as Bishop, later becoming Adelaide's first Archbishop.

A vast divide existed between the European and Irish varieties of Catholicism in the mid- nineteenth century. Thus there was scope for difficult relationships between the Sevenhill priests and their Adelaide ecclesiastical superiors, and between the Austrian pastors and their often scattered, largely Irish flock. On neither count were there problems. In fact, support from Sevenhill was highly valued in difficult times for the Church,¹⁷¹ and as previously indicated, the relationships between Jesuits and Irish parishioners were deep, supportive and very respectful. There were many Irish families like the Sullivans whose story was summarised at the beginning of this chapter. Deliberately relocating from Burra to farming land near Sevenhill, in order to utilise its spiritual benefits and community support, their son was later educated there. These families were willing to adventure to a new colony, and also intrepid enough to move far beyond the nascent capital, and to relocate when familiar religious structures were available.

Jesuit historian PJ Dalton judged mid-1849 as the point when “the foundations had been laid of a Clare parish.”¹⁷² By 1851, Father Kranewitter and his two Jesuit

¹⁶⁹ Father JT Woods (co-founder of the Sisters of St Joseph) was Sevenhill's first theological student; at least 10 came from other colonies before Sydney's Manly College opened in 1889.

¹⁷⁰ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 411 showed the annual cost of keeping Byrne as £20.

¹⁷¹ Schumann, “...In the Hands of the Lord'...”, 40.

¹⁷² PJ Dalton, “Clare and the Origin of Sevenhill: Franz Weikert's Plan for Catholic German Settlement – Father Kranewitter's Great Foundation” in *Southern Cross*, November 6th 1936.

colleagues were resident at Sevenhill, situated on S91 in the Hundred of Clare. This hamlet became one of those in Stanley attracting numbers of Irish settlers. From July 1850, Bishop Murphy's Journal features references to Kranewitter (and after 1852 to Father Tappeiner), including book purchases, substantial loans, and visits.¹⁷³ Kranewitter was given pastoral responsibility, not only for the Clare district but also for Tanunda's German Catholics.¹⁷⁴ The first vine cuttings (from Bungaree) were planted by 1850. Father Kranewitter's participation in the local exodus to the Bendigo diggings netted sufficient gold dust to ensure a sound financial base for the Jesuits. Another Austrian priest, Joseph Tappeiner, arrived in late 1852, and from 1855 planning was focused on education. The arrival of a further priest in January 1856 saw the beginnings of St Aloysius College when a handful of students gathered.¹⁷⁵ This site was to be of immense significance for local Irish families, both spiritually and educationally.

In Stanley at the operational rather than administrative edge, the nature of the Church was predominantly Irish in terms of adherents. There were also German,¹⁷⁶ and increasingly after 1856, Polish pockets. Irish households provided venues for Masses between 1852 and 1856 – in Mintaro, seven miles east of Sevenhill, Peter Brady's house was utilised from 1853¹⁷⁷. At Undalya, 16 miles southeast, it was Patrick McNamara's home, while in Saddleworth, sixteen miles east, the Manning house was used as a 'Mass station' after 1858. Patrick (1833-1869), and Margaret

¹⁷³ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 301, 305, 308, 309, 322 and 325.

¹⁷⁴ PJ Dalton, "Clare and the Origin of Settlement: The German Catholic Settlement in South Australia" in *The Southern Cross*, November 13th 1936. See also Map, 53 above.

¹⁷⁵ Schumann, "'...In the Hands of the Lord'...", 38 states that by 1856 the Jesuits had 700 acres of fertile land near Clare, making them "a substantial landowner in the colony."

¹⁷⁶ A wooden church, St Francis Xavier, was constructed for German Catholics at Bomburnie.

¹⁷⁷ This house (like that of Patrick Butler at Armagh), was also utilised as a site for Catholic weddings – Mary Downey married George Faulkner and William Dunn married Bridget Maguire in January and August 1852, then in February 1856 Judith O'Brien married Thomas Faulkner.

Manning (1836-1912) born in County Clare, arrived in the early 1850s.¹⁷⁸ Peter Brady's April 1855 donation of land outside Mintaro facilitated construction of Stanley's first permanent Catholic church.¹⁷⁹ Again Bishop Murphy's *Journal* indicates the degree of communication and cooperation between Brady, himself, and the Jesuits in the building process.¹⁸⁰

The foundation stone at Mintaro was laid on June 7th 1855; in August 1856 a local correspondent reported that only the roof and flooring remained unfinished "and it is by far the best building in the place." Irish-born parishioners such as William Dunn were involved in "the quarrying, sorting and carting of stones."¹⁸¹ On November 23rd 1856, Bishop Murphy presided at the ceremony; his presence in the locality caused great excitement with *The Adelaide Times* describing the church in glowing terms. Then the event was outlined: "an immense number of every denomination" attended the ceremony, followed by the administering of confirmation to a large number, then High Mass, and the congregation "proceeded...to an entertainment given by Mr Peter Brady, in a building temporarily erected for the purpose."¹⁸² Brady's generosity towards his community, incorporating land and building contributions, was thus extended.¹⁸³ Mintaro's church was constructed on a prominent hill overlooking the township. The site and its "handsome structure...fifty-two feet long by twenty-five feet wide, and of a height calculated to give it a graceful and elegant appearance,"¹⁸⁴ made a clear statement about the strength and permanence of the Catholic community. And Irishman Brady was intent on this not

¹⁷⁸ See Map of 'The Jesuit Mission in South Australia 1848-1901', 53 above for locations of Mass Stations.

¹⁷⁹ Lally, *Landmark*, 8, 93. Two acres of Section 318 were donated.

¹⁸⁰ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 375.

¹⁸¹ Lally, *Landmark*, 8.

¹⁸² *Adelaide Times*, November 29th 1856.

¹⁸³ *Register*, October 15th 1858.

¹⁸⁴ *Adelaide Times*, November 29th 1856.

only being visible but of extending hospitality to those coming long distances to the church. “[T]he members of the congregation [are received by him in a] hearty manner...on the days appointed for divine service.”¹⁸⁵ His generosity was not confined to his religious principles: in May he had offered half an acre for a schoolhouse¹⁸⁶ and in 1859 Mintaro’s races were held on a racecourse, part of his property.¹⁸⁷ Peter Brady can be seen as typifying many of the qualities identified earlier in relation to both becoming South Australian and retaining Irishness. His demonstration of bridging social capital, his negotiation of Catholicism, his personal qualities, his clear ‘success’, and the level of his local political participation represent this colonial transition. At the same time, his display of and access to bonding social capital, overt support of the Church, considered decision to settle in Mintaro (enabling easy access to countrymen) and support of other Irish colonists clearly show his Irish identification.

While in the North, Bishop Murphy also visited Sevenhill College – he “expressed his entire satisfaction at the arrangements made for the pupils.”¹⁸⁸ Weeks later, the *Adelaide Times*’ correspondent announced the school’s existence, describing the “very extensive and commodious building” as one of “the most attractive spots in the neighbourhood.” Acknowledging its incompleteness, the correspondent stated the extensive accommodation was already attracting applications from “both the Catholics, and those of other denominations [who] seem determined to avail themselves of it.”¹⁸⁹ Curriculum details alerted readers to the school’s provision of “the ordinary requirements of English education [as well as] the highest branches of

¹⁸⁵ *Register*, October 15th 1858.

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid*, May 24th 1856.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid*, December 29th 1859. At a public meeting Brady referred to paying the Government £3,000 for land. *Register*, May 7th 1859.

¹⁸⁸ *Adelaide Times*, November 29th 1856.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid*, December 17th 1856.

classic literature.”¹⁹⁰ Margaret Press refers to 1855 as the formal opening; there were twelve students at the College.¹⁹¹ By March 1857 Sevenhill’s local impact was indicated in the Penwortham schoolmaster’s report that its opening had “occasioned the removal of several children from his school.”¹⁹²

Unlike the South West of New South Wales, examined by Malcolm Campbell in *The Kingdom of the Ryans*, where the Church was referred to as “left far in the wake of the rapidly expanding frontier,” in Stanley, the Jesuits were among the pioneers.¹⁹³ Indeed when many Irish families moved to the region, they found a Church structure manned by priests who had been part of the area since 1848 when the total population was less than a thousand. The Jesuits had been responding to changes in Stanley almost since its proclamation. As early as 1854, baptismal records show Father Kranewitter regularly rode north to visit Catholic families.¹⁹⁴ Thus in Stanley the situation differed from that described by Campbell. His emphasis on the “lack of common purpose between clergy and laity” was a product of the later arrival of the organised Church and the perception that its ministers were intruding on an established way of life.¹⁹⁵ Similarly his reference to “widespread public indifference to religion”¹⁹⁶ in frontier Australia and its general recognition by historians¹⁹⁷ was not applicable to most Irish immigrants in this county. Such differences between two regions are significant in the process of understanding the limitations of some generalisations about Irish immigration.

¹⁹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁹¹ Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 122.

¹⁹² *Register*, March 18th 1857.

¹⁹³ Campbell, *The Kingdom of the Ryans*, 150-1.

¹⁹⁴ SA Catholic Archives, Jesuit Papers.

¹⁹⁵ Campbell, *Kingdom of the Ryans*, 157.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p153.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, p151.

The early construction of two churches in Stanley – Clare in 1847 and Mintaro in 1856 – was a response to numbers as well as to the strong religious commitment of a largely Irish Catholic community.¹⁹⁸ Furthermore, the existence of St Aloysius College at Sevenhill had a number of colonial and local consequences. Firstly it suggested the Catholic community in South Australia could be educationally compared with the Church of England whose St Peter’s College had begun in 1849.¹⁹⁹ Secondly, and of more significance in this research, the College increasingly provided a sophisticated educational choice for local Catholics and others. As outlined previously, early record keeping was spasmodic, but a contemporary indication of numbers from 1858 provides insight. Of the twenty boarders in October 1858, seven were from Melbourne, while most of the eight day scholars were Protestant.²⁰⁰ Such details remain unverifiable; what was certain from the incomplete records of the 1860s, in conjunction with family histories, was that numbers of local boys increased. It could be argued that the Irish made Sevenhill. In conjunction with the visibly emerging Church structure, educational opportunities attracted more Irish, and, from the mid-1850s, Polish immigrants, to the area.

Polish Immigrants

The early presence of a relatively large number of Polish immigrants added a further dimension to Stanley’s unusual character. Gleeson’s Indian labourers²⁰¹ plus proportionately large numbers of Irish-born residents and pockets of German settlers, had already established a multicultural county unlike any other in the colony.

¹⁹⁸ Fund raising to meet debts incurred in church building received more attention in the Catholic papers of the 1860s.

¹⁹⁹ Jesuit Archives, Melbourne. Subsequently in 1870-1 when Bishop Sheil wanted to bring English Jesuits to teach in the colony, according to Jesuit historian, Fr Dalton, he made “uncomplimentary remarks” about “the boys taught not by foreigners but men of our race at St Peter’s in Adelaide.”

²⁰⁰ *Advertiser*, October 9th 1858

²⁰¹ Occasional glimpses of Indian individuals are found in Stanley; for example in 1851, James Gungo was listed as supporting an electoral candidate, see *South Australian* of March 18th 1851.

Immigration patterns of the following decade reinforced this. Whereas the Indian group was distinguished by skin, accent and lifestyle, and the Irish by accent, religion and perhaps lifestyle, both Catholic Germans and Poles were singled out by language, religion and culture. Perhaps it was the background established by the earlier groups which smoothed the way for Polish immigrants. Their Catholicity may have ensured the support of both Austrian Jesuits and Irish faithful. Or it may have been that as all these groups constituted ‘outsiders’ their ability to adjust and survive depended on bolstering each other, rather than relying on the wider community. The Irish necessarily interacted with the Poles as part of Sevenhill-based religious activities,²⁰² their interaction could be portrayed as reflecting both bonding (Catholicity) and bridging (ethnicity) social capital. In documenting aspects of the cultural identity of Polish Hill River, Katrina Stankowski suggests that “the people in the surrounding districts, mostly of German, English and Irish descent, did not have any quarrels or difficulties, racial or otherwise, relating to the Polish at Hill River.”²⁰³ Surviving evidence does not indicate that antipathy towards groups of difference in Stanley.

Marriage Patterns within the Cohort

As mentioned previously,²⁰⁴ the focus on marriage patterns within this research is limited to Irish individuals coming as single adults and does not include progeny of emigrating couples unless these were of maturity. The 1850s witnessed many more marriages than the previous decade – between 1850 and 1860 there were 77 weddings in the Staley Irish cohort of 626;²⁰⁵ numbers of these were contracted prior to Stanley

²⁰² Limited surviving evidence suggests Irish and Polish families, especially in the Mintaro and Hill River areas, were connected as a community through their relationship with the Jesuits.

²⁰³ Katrina Stankowski, *Polish Hill River: Cultural Identity from Material Remains*, MA thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, (2003), 61.

²⁰⁴ See 21-2 above.

²⁰⁵ See 15-20 above for explanation of the amalgamation of the research cohort.

residence.²⁰⁶ The majority of marriages were endogamous in terms of nationality and religion – 48 are known to have been between Irish-born Catholics.²⁰⁷ There were, however, exogamous choices. Significantly, in this cohort, at least nine Catholic Irish women married Protestant Englishmen who subsequently converted; five of these were members of the Mintaro community, a reflection of its Catholic and Irish clustering. Another exogamous marriage was Protestant – between an Irish woman and an Englishman who then lived in what was the Catholic cluster of Armagh. Few cohort members established relationships with non-British spouses in this decade: as indicated, two women from Clare’s Servant Depot made this choice; another Irish widower married a German-born widow almost 25 years after his young wife died in childbirth. There was one marriage between a colonial-born woman and an Irishman, prefiguring a subsequent pattern.

Stanley’s Economy and the Role of Irish

Increasing numbers of Irish moved to Stanley in the 1850s. This research has gathered information about 197 incoming individuals without including their progeny. Sources indicate that three were stockholders, five involved as teamsters and sixty were farmers, although probably on a leasehold basis. The known occupational data for others (and the gaps persist) places many in the employee category: twenty nine labourers, six shepherds, five female servants and two miners. There were few professionals – two teachers, a bailiff and small numbers of artisans – two boot makers and two carpenters. But for some Irishmen, family history detail, validated by other sources, demonstrates that economically the 1850s represented the

²⁰⁶ Of the 35 non-Stanley weddings, 19 were performed at St Patrick’s in Adelaide, six at Kapunda, three at Koorunga, two at both Mt Barker and Morphett Vale, and one each at Brighton, Navan and Gawler. Two could not be located.

²⁰⁷ See Table Eleven, 246 below – ‘Marriage Cohort Patterns in Stanley Irish Research Cohort 1840-1871’; country of origin was unclear for five cohort males and one female who chose Irish spouses in the 1850s.

establishment phase for more independent colonial life. Difficulties were endured and savings accumulated in order that the land ownership goal would eventuate. Instances of Irish families working towards this objective include Kilkenny-born Edward (Ned) Travers (1836-1921). He worked as a labourer and stock caretaker on Martindale Estate, near Mintaro, soon after arriving. Marrying Irish-born Ellen Doran (1835-1901) in Clare eight months after reaching the colony in April 1858, the couple had eleven children. By 1873 they had moved from Stanley to Pekina and some degree of economic independence.²⁰⁸ Others such as the already mentioned Pilkington family followed a similar path in their move from Burra to the employment in Stanley – which preceded land purchase there – and, later, further north.

As more Irish families came, the county expanded: industries developed, townships grew and new ones were developed. Advertising the sale of allotments at Irish-named Donnybrook, the surveyed township “[f]ronting the main road from Adelaide to Clare” in July 1854, potential buyers were provided with a coach from Burra, lunch in Clare and the promise of “land adapted for agricultural and garden purposes.”²⁰⁹ Mention of a steam mill in mid-1853 exemplified the “rapidly advancing district of Clare.”²¹⁰ Increasingly from the mid 1850s, local (Stanley) correspondents to Adelaide papers, or persons visiting the region, contributed descriptive profiles of the various townships.²¹¹ In 1855 for example, the *Adelaide Times* stated that Clare “had not borne a good name among the rising townships of the province [but was now] rapidly rising into the position of a bustling, busy and

²⁰⁸ He became a founding member of the Carrieton Council in 1888.

²⁰⁹ *Adelaide Times*, July 19th 1854.

²¹⁰ *Ibid*, June 8th and 26th 1853.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, February 28th 1855 provides further promotional journalism in its positive discussion about the “North Country.” Phrases such as this “favoured agricultural district,” “cannot do sufficient justice to the quality of the land in the neighbourhood of Penwortham and Clare,” “thriving business opportunities”, “good local schools plus various denominations of Christians” provided the area with many advantages.

respectable little town.”²¹² As evidence for this, business during the previous nine months – during which many “tradesmen and artisans” had become permanent residents, most with excessive work demands – was detailed. Churches and the barracks were presented as giving “quite a character to the town.”²¹³ The construction of the needed flour mill was promoted as the salient feature to overcome many of Clare’s previous drawbacks.²¹⁴

The foundation stone for this long-awaited steam mill was laid by E.B. Gleeson on October 4th 1854. Built by Irishman Daniel O’Leary on Bishop Murphy’s donation of an acre in the centre of Clare,²¹⁵ the mill was anticipated by Gleeson as likely to “do a great deal of good for [the] district.”²¹⁶ Reminding the crowd at the ceremony that they were paying 20-25 per cent more for flour than those at Angaston or Gawler, he then urged the shift from pastoral interests to agriculture. Acknowledging the existence of Clare’s churches, chapels, stores, tradesmen and hotels, Gleeson stated a mill was the necessary final acquisition for an agricultural area to “give employment to hundreds of our fellow colonists of every class.” Gleeson then referred to the Union Jack, the current Crimean War, and Irish loyalty. He continued by reflecting on his Irish birth – “the home of my heart” – the green flag and loyal Irish subjects, before getting to his main point. Describing Australia as “this favoured land,” Gleeson urged that “we should meet and speak as South Australians.”²¹⁷ Four years later, when the foundation stone for Mintaro’s steam mill

²¹² *Ibid*, January 31st 1855.

²¹³ *Adelaide Times*, January 31st 1855.

²¹⁴ *Ibid*, January 31st 1855. Juxtapositioning views three days later, the paper’s Clare Correspondent wrote that Clare needed a good school but stated “there is room for at least three or four good masons, two or three carpenters, a good tinman, cooper, tailor etc.”

²¹⁵ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 324.

²¹⁶ *Adelaide Times*, October 11th, 1854. Penwortham’s mill opened in December 1855.

²¹⁷ *Ibid*.

was laid, Gleeson again performed the honours. This time his dinner remarks returned to the theme of “[t]he pastoral interest giving way to agriculture.”²¹⁸

Gleeson also made this agricultural plea at an 1858 meeting about the proposed railway’s location in the Gilbert Valley.²¹⁹ The late 1850s represented something of a transition point from a previous era of squatter control. Pastoralists, recognising that the privileges embedded in unlimited land availability were gone, felt themselves under threat.²²⁰ Gleeson seemed publicly to be nailing his interests to a more acceptable public platform than many of his squatter colleagues, whose activities continued to oppose smaller landholders.²²¹ Whether his position was motivated more by diplomacy than principle is difficult to assess. The times certainly represented challenges for some of the region’s struggling agriculturalists. Record-keeping demands, debt management strategies and explanatory transparency seemed beyond the capacity of some farmers, Irish and otherwise.

Michael McMahan (1810-1891) married Margaret McQuillan (1834-1913) in 1855 at Kapunda, later acquiring a Saddleworth farm from his father-in-law. When he encountered economic difficulties – insolvency – in early 1859, his financial situation received forensic examination. Siblings were implicated in his messy dealings: records were non-existent, relationships with in-laws portrayed negatively and claim to illiteracy was disbelieved. McMahan’s version was disproved; he was jailed for three months and issued with a third class certificate which left him at the continuing mercy of his creditors.²²² Bankruptcy numbers expanded greatly in the next decade, and cases such as McMahan’s provided a foretaste.²²³ His struggle to achieve

²¹⁸ *Advertiser*, September 13th 1858.

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, September 14th 1858.

²²⁰ Williams, *A Way of Life*, 36.

²²¹ *Ibid*, 39.

²²² *Register*, March 12th, April 9th, 15th and 22nd, 1859.

²²³ See Table Twelve, 247 below- ‘South Australian Insolvency Figures 1841 to 1870’.

economic success bears no point of comparison with Gleeson's experience of insolvency and subsequent recovery. Gleeson's demonstrable social and cultural capital differentiated him from almost all Irishmen in Stanley.

Gleeson

By the end of the 1850s the extent of Gleeson's economic somersaults, from wealth to bankruptcy and back to abundance, were largely forgotten. His Irish-born network colleague from 1838, GS Kingston, made an oblique reference to this in 1859.

Toasting Gleeson at an Auburn dinner, Kingston said "to one who had seen with many of them, the ups and downs of colonial life, but he was glad to congratulate him upon having got rid of the downs." Kingston then described the two of them as "thorough South Australian[s]," emphasising that Gleeson was "always delight[ed]...to forward the interests of their colony of adoption."²²⁴ Gleeson was involved in every imaginable aspect of life in Stanley. Whether it was the Clare Races, dinners such as the one just mentioned, election meetings, railway meetings or Land and Building Society meetings, he was typically in the chair.²²⁵ He was described at the 1858 Agricultural Society dinner as "a worthy specimen of a good Old Irish Gentleman," whose positive qualities were first expounded on before "his anxieties...for the district generally" were acknowledged as his prime motivation.²²⁶ His amiability, eloquence and wit were often commented on, his desire for social harmony was reported, but his Irish background was a consistent feature.²²⁷

Gleeson maintained his dual loyalty, speaking of Ireland wherever he could, but emphasising his love for his "adopted home" as well. The St Patrick's Society was

²²⁴ *Register*, October 24th 1859.

²²⁵ See Table Twenty Three, 253-59 below.

²²⁶ *Advertiser*, September 18th 1858.

²²⁷ See for example *Adelaide Times* of May 14th 1856.

one venue where his plurality of sentiments could be aired. At the 1851 dinner, called on by Kingston to give a toast, Gleeson said he:

could give one that he knew everyone in the room would cordially join in, “the land we live in” (loud cheers). Their fields might not be so green as in ould Ireland, but they had their copper mines, their pasturages, and their dwellings, where every honest and industrious man might live rent free (cheers). Next to ould Ireland, the land they lived in, was one of the finest countries on the earth (cheers).

“Here there is bread and work for all,
And the sun shines bright and clear;
But we’ll not forget ould Ireland,
Were it fifty times as fair”
(Loud cheers)²²⁸

Gleeson’s capacity to negotiate what was a fine line between his deep, unchanging affection for his homeland and his judicious appreciation for South Australia was remarkable in the 1850s. Given the regularity with which he presided over county dinners and meetings, his unselfconscious promotion of the best of Ireland was widely heard. As the events of the 1850s revived latent colonial prejudices against his countrymen, and city papers revelled in publicising events which reinforced old stereotypes, that negative trend had little impact on Stanley. The best gauge for such an interpretation in the absence of a local paper was probably the county’s generous, untroubled response to the servant depot in 1855. How much of this was due to Gleeson’s longstanding modelling of Irish-Australian behaviour, or to the consistent participation of Irishmen in all layers of county life, cannot be determined. But as the visibility of Irish-born residents in Stanley was great, and as their number continued to increase, the 1860s were set to demonstrate even greater Irish participation.

As a speaker for the “Agricultural Interest” at the Old Colonist Festival of 1851, Gleeson had boasted of the rewards obtained from ploughing land with his own hands: “His constant advice to new colonists was, that they should not loiter away

²²⁸ *Ibid*, March 18th 1851.

their time in Adelaide, but go boldly into the country at once.”²²⁹ This was the path taken by Daniel Sullivan in November 1851, not in response to Gleeson, but because his mining skills were valued in Burra. When it suited his family, he diversified into agriculture and contracting work in Stanley, returning later to mining. He thus represented the individual typified by Gleeson, one ready to respond to the challenges of the new colony.²³⁰ In the same spirit, others who came to the county in the 1850s included Clare-born Andrew Browne, John Eiffe from Meath in 1854, members of the Cavan-born Dempsey families, and Patrick Dowd and Daniel Brady in 1858 (both from Cavan, but Daniel a pioneer of 1840). Patterns of residence and ultimate economic and social success varied within this group, with the 1860s displaying the various directions followed by such individuals and their families.

By the end of the 1850s Stanley was no longer a pioneering outpost: population size had doubled, the economy was diversifying and more social amenities had developed. Irish numbers had increased and these residents were participating in all levels of community and economic life. There was greater visibility of church structures to support the Catholic section of the Irish population, including more churches and a school dedicated to superior education for boys. The Polish contribution to this community was emerging. Irishmen were visible in the county’s developing infrastructure, and in 1855 at least, the presence of young Irishwomen was unmistakable. The contribution of the Irish to Stanley was evident. Overt pride in being Irish was demonstrated in December 1857 when Irish-born Governor Richard MacDonnell visited the North – triumphal arches abounded but in Clare one “extended the whole width of the road and contained upon a banner of deep

²²⁹ *Adelaide Times*, March 28th 1851.

²³⁰ Some early Stanley Irishmen, Dennis Kenny and Mortimer Nolan, disappear from view; see Appendix Two, 224 below.

green...the Celtic sentence ‘Cead mille failta.’”²³¹ Pride about Ireland was certainly voiced repeatedly by Edward Burton Gleeson, but from him and some others came the explicit articulation about also being South Australians. Political developments of this decade gave some Irishmen opportunities for public participation, enabling processes of deliberate colonial identification. The capacity to straddle two worlds continued to be exhibited during the next decade in Stanley, in which Irish South Australians did not jettison their roots.

²³¹ *Register*, December 5th 1857. Translated this means “One hundred thousand welcomes.”

Profile: Michael Buckley:

Born County Clare 1830, to Stanley by 1864, died Manoora 1931.

The long life of Michael Buckley encapsulates threads from the previous chapter.

Having initially toiled like many other countrymen carting Burra copper, he became a farmer near Stanley. Buckley sailed to South Australia on the *Coromandel*, apparently changing his name to McMahon because of employer opposition to his departure.¹

Reaching Adelaide in January 1855, his first years were spent driving “bullock teams in the early days of the Burra mines, carting copper to the port.”² Buckley thus typifies the hardworking Irishmen discussed earlier: those who established themselves financially by Burra-related work then took up land, identified as they laboured with bullocks along the Gulf Road. Several years after settling north of Manoora, Michael Buckley married Catherine Kelly at St Aloysius, Sevenhill in July 1866.

Catherine’s parents, Martin Kelly (1811-1891) and Bridget McMahon (1815-1891) from County Clare, arrived with four children on the *Catherine* in May 1851. Baptismal records show the family in Adelaide until at least 1855, and Catherine’s wedding suggests Stanley residency before 1866. By March 1878, the Kelly parents had left Farrell Flat for Belalie, north of Jamestown. Two other children married endogamously in the 1870s. Michael Buckley’s marriage, like those of many Stanley contemporaries, reinforced his nationality as well as extending his colonial connections.

He extended his land gradually, buying adjacent sections until he accumulated 1350 acres. The Buckleys had ten children, six while they lived in a stone hut. Michael then had a larger house – ‘Claremont’ – built; like some other countrymen,

¹ Alison Palmer, *Head of the Rivers: A District History – Black Springs, Manoora, Waterloo*, District Council of Saddleworth and Auburn, 1992, 192. No further details were included.

² *Ibid.*

his choice of name identified his background.³ His stone barn was first utilised as a Mass centre on November 7th 1868, and used thus until the Manoora church was built in 1870. Michael's close relationship with the Jesuits was renowned: "Poor old Mr Buckley did nothing big without consulting the Jesuits."⁴ Catherine died aged 36 in November 1882, soon after the birth of her tenth child; the eldest was then 15. Almost 50 years after Catherine, Michael died in Manoora on November 3rd 1931.

³ It was constructed by 1877, with Father Reschauer SJ as architect and Donellan (masons), builders.

⁴ *Southern Cross*, December 24th 1948. In 1933 Michael, son of Patrick Kelly, Michael Buckley's Irish-born contemporary and fellow parishioner, wrote about Buckley and was quoted in this article.



Michael Buckley on his 100th birthday in 1930.

CHAPTER FOUR. 1861 to 1871: TRANSITION OF STANLEY

Preamble

This chapter examines Irish residency of Stanley during the decade which demonstrated both early population growth and the later challenge of northern expansion. Large numbers of Irish – 262 from this research cohort – moved into the county,¹ but from 1869 there were opportunities for these colonists to experience life on their own land further north. Stanley residents focussed on issues of land availability for their sons; in addition, the economic uncertainty following the Burra mine closure in 1867 encouraged many to seek out other possibilities. This research has identified 117 Irish adults leaving between 1869 and 1874 and a further 90 by 1880.² It has also located Irish families operating between Stanley and northern land holdings during the 1870s.

Stanley's population expanded in this decade, and the 1861 census registered an Irish percentage peak of 14.7 per cent. The county's high proportion of Irish residents reduced as its population size doubled from 4,838 in 1861 to 9,785 ten years later; in 1866 and 1871, Irish-born constituted 14.2 and 11.2 per cent respectively.³ In terms of religious affiliation at the 1860 census, Catholics and Anglicans each contributed 25 per cent of the county profile; six years later Catholics had increased to 28 per cent. This high percentage was much greater than the Catholic colonial proportion of 15 per cent. Wesleyan numbers also rose from their 18 per cent figure of 1866. Table Eighteen provides census-derived information which indicates the size of Stanley's townships in terms of population and numbers of residences. The figures

¹ Forty three individuals arrived in both 1863 and 1864, another 39 in 1868, and a further 23 and 27 in 1868 and 1869.

² See Tables Twenty Five and Twenty Six, 261-3 and 264 below.

³ See Table Thirteen, 247, below for comparative population figures of Irish in Stanley and four other counties.

suggest high density per household.⁴ The decade later witnessed the decline of Irish residents in Stanley resulting from two unrelated factors. Firstly, the 1869 Strangways Act encouraged the acquisition of land on more favourable terms, an inducement attracting many Irish and sending them further north. The other factor related to the reduction in government-sponsored immigrants; apart from a short interlude between 1864 and 1866 “[t]here was no further assisted immigration from Ireland...until the mid-seventies.”⁵ Kenneth Bray describes “the dismal closing years” of this decade as temporarily halting “all government-sponsored immigration.”⁶

The decade was notable in other ways: churches replaced some Mass Stations, and Sevenhill Jesuits fostered Catholic teachers in smaller schools while consolidating their work at St Aloysius College. The Sisters of St Joseph established schools by the end of the decade. The extension of local government to new council areas in 1868 provided further openings for Irish participation. The region acquired its first newspaper in 1869 when the *Northern Argus* began publication in Clare. On the colonial level too, the appearance of Catholic papers in 1867 and 1869 was of great significance.⁷ Parliamentary issues, including William Lennon’s election in 1860, affected the county; Irishmen continued to articulate their interest in influencing events. There were challenges for all Irish in the wake of the attempt (in Sydney) by an Irishman (with supposed links to Fenians) to assassinate Prince Alfred, son of Queen Victoria, in 1868. Economically the decade represented major challenges: the end of mining at Burra combined with years of poor farming returns followed by

⁴ See Table Eighteen, 250 below for 1871 Census details of Stanley townships, their Council locations, populations and number of houses.

⁵ Woodburn, *The Irish in New South Wales*, 196. Immigration spending rose from £25,620 in 1863 to £67,280 in 1866 before falling to £3,893 in 1868 and a mere £110.10 in 1871. *SAPP*, 1872, 2, 23. Immigration generally was a casualty of economic circumstances.

⁶ Kenneth WA Bray, *Government-sponsored Immigration into South Australia 1872-1886*, MA thesis, University of Adelaide, 1961, 1.

⁷ *Southern Cross and South Australian Catholic Herald* began monthly publication in September 1867 and *Irish Harp and Farmer’s Herald* in May 1869. Both had local agents in Stanley centres.

insolvency for some Stanley residents. Individual Irishmen continued to play prominent roles in Stanley; court cases confronted some, while others like the pioneering Gleeson faced increasing ill health. His death in February 1870 truly concluded this foundational era.

Expansion of the Catholic Church

The opening of six Catholic churches in and near Stanley between 1860 and 1871 suggests the Jesuits were responding to population growth. Churches were constructed at Undalya, Marrabel, Saddleworth,⁸ Lower Wakefield, Hill River and Manoora.⁹ In some cases church land was donated or provided by Irish-born Catholics. These instances reflect Irish Catholics actively demonstrating their religious commitment in their new environment.¹⁰ It was on land donated by the already mentioned Patrick McNamara that the Undalya church was built between 1860 and 1863.¹¹ Sons of early arrivals from Cork in 1837, Garrett Hannan (1810-1883) and his wife Mary Boland (1813-1883) donated or sold land for a church in Marrabel in 1866. They lived in the area from 1855 to 1876 before moving on, ultimately to Port Pirie.¹² The Kelly family, parents Timothy (1800-1885) and Mary (1802-1884), emigrants from County Clare in 1857, and Manoora residents by 1863, provided land for St Anthony's Church in 1870.¹³ Places without Catholic churches such as Auburn, Watervale, Blyth and Penwortham indicated fewer Catholics and fewer Irish. Irish and Catholic percentages across Stanley's local government areas in

⁸ *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald* of August 27th 1868 listed Nicholas Hanagan as donating land worth £22.10 as his contribution for the church at Saddleworth.

⁹ On August 15th 1864 the foundation stone was laid for St Aloysius at Sevenhill; estimated cost was £1,800, £390 donated on the day. St Agnes at Marrabel was opened on July 5th 1868: it cost £1000, and the stone was provided and carted by parishioners.

¹⁰ See Map of 'The Jesuit Mission in South Australia 1848-1901', 53 above for locations of churches.

¹¹ See 89 and 111 above, then 176-7, 188 and 200-1 below for discussion of Patrick McNamara. The *Southern Cross* of April 24th 1925 stated the church cost £1000.

¹² Kaczan, *The Garrett Hannan Story*, 5.

¹³ PJ Dalton, "The Work of the Austrian Jesuits of Sevenhill" in *Southern Cross*, October 30th, 1936. According to the *Irish Harp* of December 3rd 1870 £20 was collected at blessing of the chancel and enough promises of further contributions to clear the entire debt.

1871 clearly demonstrate the impact of clustering.¹⁴ The Irish-born cohort in the Mintaro-centred Stanley Council area represented almost 20 per cent of the 1,217 inhabitants while Catholics made up 58 per cent. Comparable figures in the Auburn-centred Upper Wakefield Council were 18.4 per cent with 9.6 per cent of Irish birth. In 1872 Mass was celebrated every Sunday at Marrabel, Sevenhill (two Masses plus Benediction), Clare (Benediction), and Mintaro (Evening Devotions), but fortnightly at Undalya and a “Monthly Station” only at Lower Wakefield.¹⁵ Greater frequency reflected larger numbers.

Reasons for the decision of more than 200 Irish immigrants to move to the northern county of Stanley in the 1860s can only be suggested. In the 1840s the role of Gleeson in attracting some countrymen seems clear; in addition, Bishop Murphy’s land and financial dealings point to his networking activities as a further factor. Then the fortuitous arrival of the Austrian Jesuits in 1848 contributed a complex, externally funded¹⁶ and very different church structure based on Sevenhill, differing from other more Adelaide-centred parishes. Schumann suggests that “the demographic distribution of Catholics” was at least partially determined “by the early establishment of resident pastors.”¹⁷ So for both longer-term Irish-born colonial residents like the previously mentioned Peter Brady in 1851, and more recent arrivals like Patrick Kelly, an 1852 immigrant from County Clare who moved to Mintaro in 1862, the area had the attractions of priests, churches and schools. After Kelly’s 1864 marriage to Ellen Brady, (niece of Peter and Daniel so an endogamous pairing), their older sons attended Sevenhill. Similarly, when Thomas Gillen (1823-1873) and Bridget McCann (1829-1920) emigrated from Cavan in 1855, they lived northeast of Adelaide and had

¹⁴ See Table Four, 232 below. In 1872 there were seven Reilly families at Farrell Flat.

¹⁵ *Sands and McDougall State Directory*, 1872.

¹⁶ Schumann, “...In the Hands of the Lord?...” 36 refers to the Bavarian Mission Society of St Ludwig-Verein sending money to Sevenhill between 1850 and 1863; the final payment was £100.

¹⁷ *Ibid*, 39.

three children before following his brother, Philip, to Clare in 1864. This pattern confirms Elliott's Irish Canadian finding of family "precedent" operating as a powerful factor in the choice of location. Two further Gillen children were born in Clare, their sons attended Sevenhill College, the family was deeply involved locally, and their children made significant impacts on wider colonial society.¹⁸

Other nationalities too found that the presence of Sevenhill added to the region's "natural advantages of soil, wood and water," with German farmers in 1865 described as moving from other areas because of the college "and the opportunity to worship after the Roman Catholic form."¹⁹ Increasing Polish numbers were reflected in Sevenhill's 1865 report which expressed concern about that community not having a Polish-speaking priest.²⁰ In the short term, support from Jesuit Brothers and, after 1866, Father Hinterocker, who spoke some Polish, was helpful. But it was not until the Jesuit superiors sent Father Leo Rogalski in April 1870 that Stanley's 30 or so Polish families around Hill River and Penwortham finally had their own priest: "For the Poles of Hill River he brought something that the Austrian Jesuits, for all their kindness, could never do. At last they were in touch with the homeland they had left behind on the other side of the world."²¹ In 1869 the planning of a church at Hill River began, and the church of St Stanislaus Kostka was blessed and opened in November 1871. Later a school was established at Hill River where an Irishman, James Crowe, formerly schoolmaster at Undalya, taught basic Polish amongst other standard offerings.²²

¹⁸ PP Gillen was elected to colonial parliament in 1889 and was prominent until his death at 38 in 1896. As a Sub Protector of the Aborigines near Alice Springs, Francis Gillen worked with Baldwin Spencer as an amateur anthropologist.

¹⁹ *Register*, September 11th 1865.

²⁰ Press, *From Our Broken Toil*, 151.

²¹ Brian J Polomka, "Polish Hill River" in *Mlodystach: A Family History of Polish Pioneers*, Mlodystach Book Committee, Adelaide, 1985, 284.

²² Jesuit Archives, Melbourne.

During this decade the formation of Church-based organisations provided additional sources of bonding social capital. Irish membership of and involvement in these was high. The 1861 formation of the South Australian Benefit Society resulted in a Clare group of 26 by 1868.²³ Distance from Adelaide plus economic difficulties led to this branch requiring support in 1870. By that year branches were also operating in Mintaro and Marrabel.²⁴ In mid-1866 notice was given of the Catholic Young Men's Society forming a Clare branch. Membership of about 30 was predicted.²⁵ Records from the 1880s document large numbers of local Irish adherents in Jesuit spirituality-focussed organisations, but earlier details have not survived.²⁶ From 1864 the Jesuit-sponsored Corpus Christi procession was held at Sevenhill each June; in 1867 it was reported that "between 300 and 400" attended.²⁷ Many of these were Irish from Mintaro and Clare.²⁸

Marriage Patterns within the Cohort

There was greater evidence of exogamous marriages in terms of religion and nationality within the Stanley Irish cohort in the 1860s.²⁹ Within this group there were 101 marriages: 98 of these were endogamous unions, with 93 Irish Catholic weddings and five between Irish Protestants. Two Irish women married English Protestant men. Again there was only one marriage between an Australian-born woman and an Irish male. Eight Irish Catholic women formed exogamous unions with European males, although five shared religion. Two males arriving in 1855 and 1859 were from the Tyrol, and two more were from Silesia: one arrived in 1856, the other in 1866. The

²³ *Register*, July 29th 1868. Mintaro, Clare and Marrabel had delegates.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Register*, June 2nd 1866.

²⁶ SA Catholic Archives. Astonishing numbers were indicated in the surviving Sevenhill records – for example, in 1882, 37 were named as members of a Confraternity attached to St Michael's in Clare, while in 1888 the Holy League of the Sacred Heart listed 206 in the Clare/Sevenhill area, with 81 more by 1892.

²⁷ *Register*, July 1st 1867.

²⁸ Schumann, "'..In the Hands of the Lord'...", 47.

²⁹ See Table Eleven, 246 below: 'Marriage Patterns in Stanley Irish Research Cohort, 1840 – 1871'.

fifth was German, a second time widower; his third wife in 1864 was a very recently widowed ‘Servant Depot’ girl. Such small numbers within the group suggest these unions were atypical. Within the generation of this cohort’s Australian-born children, preliminary examination of the limited data collected points to larger numbers of exogamous marriages. Thus in the 1860s, the marriage data from this cohort does not suggest a strong assimilatory momentum.

Education

In the 1860s the colonial scene was characterised by questions about the provision and nature of education as well as dogmatic assertions linked to schooling’s importance.³⁰ In an expansive survey of Irish behaviour both in Ireland and Adelaide, written in response to St Patrick’s Day in 1862, backhanded compliments about local Irish “improvement” were made. But in concluding comments were embedded both prejudice and the explicit endorsement of education for Irish immigrants:

When Pat in [South Australia], who has manfully bettered his condition by the only way in which a poor man can do it effectually, by steady and industrious conduct, turns his attention to a matter which ought to be dear to every Irishman’s heart – the education of his children – he will be a still more happy subject and a far more useful citizen. Uneducated as he is, the colony has no cause to be ashamed of him; educated, his children will become a people of whom any country may be proud.³¹

Such generalised assumptions about early uneducated immigrants simply do not apply to all Stanley’s Irish.³² Many had some education,³³ and many more were focussed on their children’s schooling well before the 1860s.³⁴

³⁰ See for example the views of parliamentarians about State responsibilities as well as non-denominational education funding in *SAPD*, 1861, 147.

³¹ *Register*, March 18th 1862.

³² 1861 census details show 49.5% of Stanley residents could read and write. Another 16.1% could read, while 32.8% were illiterate.

³³ Quantifying this, beyond listing those appointed to official positions or teachers or known from family histories to have been educated, presents challenges. However, the 1863 presentation of a petition regarding Catholic education to Parliament (the Bernard Smyth Index) provides a measure of basic literacy among the 3000 signatories. Of the 86 identifiable signatories from the Stanley region, 15 (or 17.4%) were illiterate or had signatures made on their behalf.

In 1860 Francis Murphy's more combative successor, Bishop Geoghagen, signalled education as a battleground.³⁵ Aiming to secure government funding for denominational schools, he insisted that all Catholic students must be provided with schools in their parishes, bypassing government schools.³⁶ Without financial support, schools and their teachers depended fully on Catholic families; thus was the groundwork laid for the subsequent development of a specific system of Catholic education. In response to the bishop's call for public meetings of Catholics, the Jesuits organised a "large and influential" Clare gathering in October 1860. The meeting focussed on the importance of Catholic education, the injustice of unfunded Catholic schools, and appreciation of the bishop's actions in publicising the issue. The six named as contributors were Irish; three made specific links to Irish struggles about religion, either about the suffering of being a Catholic or about proselytising. Talk of "defend[ing] their rights as South Australians" and of disappointment that they had not "found in South Australia what they looked for" demonstrated clarity about expectations and experience but also colonial allegiance.³⁷ The meeting embodied much of significance about Stanley's Irish: they were articulate, committed to their religious principles, ready to persevere in their quest for justice in their chosen country, and they worked closely with the Jesuits. Their level of engagement on this issue indicated that Irishmen were becoming South Australians; they perceived

³⁴ See Tables Nineteen, Twenty and Twenty One, 250 and 251 below for details about 1871 literacy levels in Stanley local government areas, comparisons with other counties and numbers of students attending schools in the county. Variations between counties in terms of overall literacy were relatively small. While literacy statistics and school attendance cannot be connected to Irish individuals, they nevertheless provide indications of educational levels and school attendance in Irish clusters.

³⁵ Bishop Murphy died in April 1858. Dublin-born Patrick Geoghagen was bishop from September 1859 until May 1864. Lawrence Sheil from Wexford was the third bishop from September 1866 until March 1872.

³⁶ Foale, *The Josephite Story*, 134-141.

³⁷ *Advertiser*, October 9th 1860. See 75-7, 79, 84-5 fn 115, 108-11 and 116 above, 174 and 183 below for details of Butler; 115 fn 98 for Quinlan, 174 fn 139 and 183 fn 182 for Eiffe. W. Darmody (1829-1906) had emigrated by 1855 and was living at Bomburnie by 1858. Edward Molloy (1835-1906) and T O'Neil were the other two.

themselves as such and were assertive about their rights. Furthermore, the tenor of this meeting indicates that in Stanley, almost a decade before the arrival of the Sisters of St Joseph in 1869, Irish residents were demonstrating their identification with Ireland and its issues, as well as their strong commitment to education.³⁸

Certainly the Jesuits recognised as early as 1863 that their location – both the priestly residence with six priests and five brothers, as well as the College – “contributed no little to the closer settlement of the surrounding countryside, mainly by Catholic farmers.”³⁹ Conclusions about the ratio of local to more distant student enrolments at St Aloysius emerge with difficulty. This is partly due to the previously discussed record-keeping practices and their subsequent use,⁴⁰ but also to the ubiquitous nature of some Irish surnames.⁴¹ Certainty about numbers remains elusive.⁴² This research has identified at least 55 ‘local’ families whose sons attended the College. More specifically, at least 41 of these were families in the Stanley Irish cohort, the basis of the present research. Such figures challenge the comment from Jesuit historian Father Dalton in 1948 that “the number of Catholic boys who required a Catholic education...was very small in a small and poor Catholic community.”⁴³

Jesuit interest in and responsibility for education stretched beyond Sevenhill’s very classical curriculum thrust. In the early 1850s “they had also opened a school at Undalya”⁴⁴; in 1873, a teacher referred to teaching there for five years “under the

³⁸ See 25 above for reference to Herraman’s research about the pivotal role of these Sisters in the Mt Barker region.

³⁹ “Annual Letters and other official communications from the South Australian Mission between 1863 and 1898” 1863, Jesuit Archives, Melbourne, quoted in Schumann, “...In the Hands of the Lord...”, 39-40.

⁴⁰ See 16 above for earlier clarification of this point.

⁴¹ The Sevenhill Student List shows six students with the surname O’Leary, five with Brady and Smith, and four with O’Brien.

⁴² For example, the current list has ten students with the name Ryan: three Michaels, two Thomases and two Johns.

⁴³ Dalton, “The Work of the Austrian Jesuits”

⁴⁴ RA Morrison, *Historic Churches and Parishes of South Australia*, No 3, “Clare, Sevenhill and the North” in *The Southern Cross*, October 29th 1948. Father Morrison was Diocesan Archivist.

supervision of the Jesuit College Sevenhill” in applying to teach at Laura.⁴⁵ Sevenhill-based priests worked to improve the educational level and chances for poorer families “by employing licensed teachers and placing their schools under the Central Board of Education.”⁴⁶ According to Vincent Thomas, “The Jesuits took a keen interest in the schools in their area and visited them regularly.”⁴⁷ At Rice’s Creek (near Auburn) the residents constructed a school in 1869, which although “a non-religious private institution [was] placed under the administration of the Jesuit College at Sevenhill.”⁴⁸

Another school, operated by Denis Horan in Mintaro between 1864 and 1872, provided a further example of Jesuit involvement.⁴⁹ Horan replaced a female teacher using the Mintaro church since 1861; his school was sited between Mintaro and Farrell Flat. Horan (1835-1907), born in County Meath, had emigrated with his wife Margaret McKeever (1839-1896), arriving on the *Octavia* in July 1855.⁵⁰ The *Register*’s Correspondent noted Mintaro’s “commodious building” and the “well qualified schoolmaster,” suggesting all surrounding residents would benefit. Adding condescendingly that “above all it denotes their appreciation of learning for their children,” the comment seemed to indicate this was unexpected.⁵¹ By October 1864 Horan taught 38 students; with a provisional license only, he received nominal

⁴⁵ *Register*, October 17th 1873. The teacher was John Mathe.

⁴⁶ Foale, *The Josephite Story*, 9.

⁴⁷ Vincent Thomas, *The Role of the Laity in Catholic Education in South Australia from 1836 to 1986*, PhD thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 1989, 145.

⁴⁸ J Dempsey, *The Dempsey Family History*, Adelaide, 1933, 14. The school closed in 1875 but in 1876 was reopened, again under Jesuit supervision.

⁴⁹ Thomas, *The Role of the Laity*, 106.

⁵⁰ At least four of Margaret’s family emigrated: her mother, Elizabeth, died at 70 in 1888, while a sister, Martha, died at 45 in 1890 (both were buried at Sevenhill). Mary, another sister, married Patrick Howley (an 1852 immigrant from County Clare) in 1865 at Sevenhill, while her policeman brother, Michael, was stationed at Redruth (marrying Martha Woolacott in 1865), Willunga, Gawler and Clare from 1884-1900.

⁵¹ *Register*, January 27th 1864.

payment and relied on parental support.⁵² He did, however, occupy a purpose-built cottage for his family.⁵³

As the Catholic education system emerged after 1866, based on the inspired practice of Mary McKillop and the steely resolve of Fr Tennyson Woods, Horan's by then officially licensed school became a focus of controversy. Father Woods objected to teachers in licensed schools bypassing regulations and publicly identified three Stanley teachers as presenting Catholic teachings without reading the bible as required. The teachers were Horan, Felix McLaren and Walter Crosby at Undalya and Armagh.⁵⁴ Unlicensed schools were "built by Catholics on their own land"⁵⁵ and, in providing doctrinal teaching, were totally funded by Catholic communities. Father Woods objected to this inequity alongside the fully funded schools he identified. Letters from all three teachers were published⁵⁶; their criticisms of the priest's tactics were less significant than his determination to construct a system based on a universal set of rules. By 1869 Horan's school had become part of the Catholic system and he acquired an assistant to help cater for the 54 students. In 1871 there were 71 pupils at his school. However, the arrival of the Sisters of St Joseph the following year precipitated his resignation and departure for Mannahill.

Communities in Stanley generally supported schools, as demonstrated by attendance figures. In 1869 the Government Gazette listed schools at Clare, Armagh, Mintaro, Penwortham, Stanley Flat, White Hut, Auburn, Skillogalee Creek and Watervale. There were 413 students enrolled.⁵⁷ According to the Catholic Education

⁵² Lally, *Landmark*, 58.

⁵³ *Register*, December 30th 1864.

⁵⁴ McLaren, in SA by 1849, taught at Gawler, Undalya from June 1866 to July 1867. By 1859 he was back in Gawler in the SAPA, and in Euralia by 1884. Crosby (1835-1907) was in Armagh with Bishop Murphy's support by late 1859, teaching until leaving to farm at Belalie in May 1872.

⁵⁵ Foale, *The Josephite Story*, 25.

⁵⁶ *Register*, May 23rd 1867, *Advertiser*, May 30th and June 8th 1867.

⁵⁷ *Northern Argus* of June 11th 1869. Of this figure 59 were destitute, with Clare, Auburn, Watervale and Skillogalee Creek having the least.

Council, there were 37 and 35 students at the Marrabel and Gilbert Catholic schools in March 1869; expenditure (unspecified) was £10 and £20 respectively. The Gilbert school had closed so the Sisters were needed there urgently, and also at Mintaro.⁵⁸ Sevenhill had 25 students while Mintaro had 30 in June 1869.⁵⁹ Josephite schools opened in Clare during 1869 (40 students in June) and Marrabel in 1870. Ten more were set up in Stanley or adjacent during the 1870s. Irish-born women contributed over 60 per cent of Josephite community members before 1871. The Howley sisters, discussed previously, typified this pattern, when both entered the Sisters of St Joseph from Sevenhill Parish on July 16th 1869.⁶⁰

In May 1871 the Catholic press reported on schools in the county. At Marrabel, Clare and Sevenhill College, teachers belonged to religious communities while “lay” persons taught at Undalya, Lower Wakefield, Saddleworth, Mintaro and Sevenhill.⁶¹ A mixed school at Sevenhill catered for girls; in Clare, Robert Graham (1837-1907) taught boys, and girls went to the Josephite convent. Graham, born in Wicklow, sailed to South Australia on the *Grand Trianon* in April 1860, and in 1864 married Irish-born Anna Maria McNally (1835-1913) in Moonta.⁶² Six children were born in Clare, where the family maintained a high church and community profile.⁶³ Subsequently two daughters became Dominican Sisters in Adelaide, joining the teaching community arriving from Dublin in December 1868.⁶⁴ One of them, Ella, had previously operated her own school in Clare during the 1890s. Graham taught locally until 1875, moving into the hotel trade after a short time in Irishman Philip

⁵⁸ *Register*, March 12th 1869.

⁵⁹ *Ibid*, June 14th 1869.

⁶⁰ See 102 above.

⁶¹ *Chaplet and Southern Cross*, May 27th 1871.

⁶² Her death certificate indicates she arrived from Balnagher (possibly Roscommon) in 1857. Graham nominated Bridget (23) and Patrick (16) McNally as immigrants in 1879. SRSA GRG 7/40.

⁶³ *Southern Cross*, May 24th 1907.

⁶⁴ Brought by Bishop Sheil, the Dominican Sisters established day and boarding schools in Franklin Street, Adelaide, moving boarders to Cabra, south of the city, in 1886. Many Irish Catholic Stanley families sent their daughters there.

Gillen's store. District Council involvement followed, plus vineyard development, and then 1894 appointment as a JP. Robert Graham and family thus represented an enterprising Irish family, participating and contributing their energies and abilities across many areas of the pioneering colony. Arriving as part of one profession, Graham possessed sufficient cultural capital enabling him to move into other avenues of community involvement and employment. He had significant impact within Stanley.⁶⁵

Education in the 1860s was increasingly necessary for all children. Stanley was well-provided for in terms of schools, and evidence suggests that Irish families made good use of this facility. School records do not exist, but from obituaries and family and local histories providing details of members in Stanley's Irish cohort of 626 individuals, it appears at least 78 families sent their children to school at Sevenhill, Clare, Mintaro or Farrell Flat. Education was, however, a contested area in this decade, as the Catholic Church endeavoured to establish its own system and worked unsuccessfully to gain government support. Irish teachers in Stanley were briefly embroiled in controversy; the subsequent expansion of the Josephite system ensured that Catholic schools became available to all. In the background Jesuit education prospered at Sevenhill, attracting large numbers of students⁶⁶.

Inter-Church Relationships

Late in the 1880s, and thus beyond the focus of this research, Robert Graham's eldest daughter married the son of Andrew Young (1829-1885). Glasgow-born Young was a notable Clare businessman, a community leader and an active Presbyterian and Mason. This high-profile exogamous marriage reflected an atmosphere of open interaction between different religious groups. Stanley's religious profile, as

⁶⁵ In 1903 he was pallbearer at the Protestant funeral of a long-serving local doctor.

⁶⁶ See pages 16, 52 and 134-6 above for reference to student numbers at Sevenhill.

previously mentioned, involved some parity between Catholic and Church of England adherents, with little evidence of antagonism between them; greater hostility towards Catholics seemed to emanate from the Wesleyans.⁶⁷ Perhaps some of the initial impetus toward inter-church cooperation came from the foundational role of and tone set by E.B. Gleeson. Although not a Catholic Irishman, Gleeson employed many who were: the Neagle brothers and Patrick Butler in the late 1830s and 1840s, and then John Scales (an 1854 arrival from County Clare) in the late 1850s.⁶⁸ Gleeson replicated the support previously shown in Adelaide for various denominations⁶⁹ by providing his Stanley land for local church events: in April 1869 the Catholic community picnic was held there.⁷⁰ This generosity towards church groups was maintained by the Gleeson family beyond his 1870 death.

On the occasion of the first visit of Governor Daly – Catholic and Irish – to the county in 1862, the usual round of triumphal arches, welcoming addresses, visits to important sites and dinners were held. Sevenhill College was visited; at the dinner, chaired by Gleeson, Father Tappeiner responded to the toast for all Ministers of Religion. He elaborated on the theme of colonial kindness to all in his position and the widespread religious liberality.⁷¹ Such events displayed a community able to interact across religious and social divide.

Educationally there was sectarian acrimony and collaboration in Stanley. Two early examples from the *Northern Argus* demonstrate the negative tone. At the 14th anniversary of the Clare Wesleyan Sunday School in 1869, one speaker claimed it was “unreasonable and ruinous” that “Protestant parents [were] sending their children

⁶⁷ See below.

⁶⁸ In Notes (48), 4, held at SRSA, James Scales told a Gleeson descendant in 1946 that his parents “had come out from Ireland to Mr EB Gleeson, soon after Inchiquin was built.”

⁶⁹ See Table Two, 228-31 below.

⁷⁰ *Northern Argus*, April 2nd 1869.

⁷¹ *Register*, September 9th 1862.

to a Roman Catholic day school.” Children could not attend “the school without being contaminated,” and it was thus necessary for loving parents to avoid schools “where the very air was polluted with Romanism.”⁷² The target here was either the recently opened Josephite school in Clare, or St Aloysius College. Support for a grammar school proposal in 1870 referred to students travelling eight or nine miles (presumably to Sevenhill) “simply because a suitable school is not to be found in the township.”⁷³ The articulation of such sentiments and their local publication provided evidence of the strength of prejudice. Equally however, at the Stanley Grammar School examination in 1869, Jesuit Joseph Tappeiner’s educational expertise was used, suggesting a more open-minded attitude.⁷⁴

Testimonial dinners to both Tappeiner and Father Kranewitter (the area’s first Jesuit) in 1869 and 1870 also reflected positive views, supporting Campbell’s claim that the rawness of pioneer life ameliorated “sectarian predilections.”⁷⁵ Of Kranewitter, it was said “that no man had more friends and less enemies. As a priest he had been beloved by his flock, and as a gentleman he was respected by the public.”⁷⁶ Patrick McNamara headed the sixty “leading residents,” Lennon among them, at the May event. In response to his health being toasted at Father Kranewitter’s dinner, Tappeiner spoke of “the happy feeling that had always existed between the differing denominations around the place and he thought that the best way of showing that their creed was not a bad one was by teaching friendship to other creeds and nations.”⁷⁷ The June gathering for Tappeiner in Mintaro attracted 100, including Irishmen Peter Brady, Patrick Dowd (and son David) from Cavan, and Michael

⁷² *Northern Argus*, November 5th 1869.

⁷³ *Ibid*, October 7th 1870.

⁷⁴ *Ibid*, December 17th, 1869. Austrian-born Fr Joseph Tappeiner arrived in 1852, left Stanley in 1870, and died in Melbourne in 1882.

⁷⁵ Campbell, *Ireland’s New Worlds*, 57.

⁷⁶ *Northern Argus*, May 13th 1870.

⁷⁷ *Ibid*.

Tobin.⁷⁸ The chairman's commendation stated that "all who had known [Father Tappeiner] were aware that he was a perfect gentleman...and [he] had gained the love of all who knew him."⁷⁹ In reply the cleric focussed on the neighbourhood, emphasising "that he had never experienced anything but kindness from the people of every denomination"⁸⁰ Stanley's religious and population profiles were different from both the colonial picture and from surrounding counties.⁸¹ The Austrian Jesuits played a pivotal role in the interface between the Church hierarchy and its Stanley flock. Given the relative strength of colonial pro-German sentiment, this may have provided an additional factor in the reduction of any imported anti-Catholic or Irish prejudice.

The Economy – developments and difficulties

As in the previous decade, external mining discoveries contributed to Stanley's economic health. Copper discoveries at Wallaroo in 1860 and Moonta the following year helped create a new market for county produce.⁸² Burra's peak was probably 1860; its decline coincided with the emergence of these new mines. Limitations inherent in the county's reliance on the mine were recognised at an Adelaide meeting opposing renewed immigration. In 1861 John Clarke (SAPA), recently returned from Clare, recounted opinions that "if it were not for the markets created by the Burra, and one or two localities in the vicinity ... the whole of them in Clare would be bankrupt." He cited prohibitive transport produce costs to Adelaide.⁸³ Local responses to new

⁷⁸ See 187-8, 199, 202-6 and 221-2 below for discussion of the Dowd family. Michael Tobin (1817-1883) from Co Clare, arrived with his family of 6 in 1849, living first at Gawler. In 1865 he moved to Mintaro and opened a store; poet CJ Dennis was his grandson.

⁷⁹ *Northern Argus*, June 24th 1870.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*

⁸¹ See Table Twenty Two, 252 below for census data about patterns of religious identification; as indicated 30 and 149 above, Stanley's Catholic proportion exceeded Church of England figures, whereas in the colony Anglicans predominated.

⁸² The growth of this new market is reflected in 1866 census figures of 8,000 in Moonta, Kadina and Wallaroo townships.

⁸³ *Advertiser*, June 27th 1861.

mines in 1862 focussed on developing a cross country road to Kadina,⁸⁴ and Gleeson's son John William, a major supporter, participated in a "pioneering expedition from Clare to Kadina" in July.⁸⁵ By early 1863, Patrick McNamara's Auburn property was providing goods for "the mines at Wallaroo" –the *Register* article commented that transport costs were cheaper than from Port Adelaide.⁸⁶ The changing economic circumstances of this decade – the years of significant crop failure and general difficulty from 1865 – required a flexible response, one not always available to struggling farmers.

In early 1861 frustration with reaping machines due to weather provided insight about Gleeson's farming operation. His "patent mower and reaper [is] the only one in the district to which sunshine and clouds appear alike indifferent.(sic) It does its work excellently, keeps from 14 to 20 men in binding, etc., and goes over from 12 to 15 acres per diem."⁸⁷ May 1862 saw comment about the evident consequences of weather and prices, particularly for tenant farmers. The *Register's* Clare Correspondent indicated recent discussions with some who were jettisoning their holding "and seeking employment as shepherds etc."⁸⁸ Yet in early 1863 Clare's appearance was "improving" and buildings planned or underway hailed as enabling the town's competition "with any township in the north for both business and beauty."⁸⁹ Station owners reported in late August 1863 that they sometimes had a dozen callers a day wanting work.⁹⁰

The 1861 census report showed Stanley's occupational distribution. Of the employed, 66 per cent were involved in agricultural or horticultural pursuits, while

⁸⁴ *Register*, May 30th 1862. JW Gleeson spoke and became a committee member.

⁸⁵ *Ibid*, July 5th 1862.

⁸⁶ *Ibid*, April 23rd 1863.

⁸⁷ *Ibid*, January 4th 1861.

⁸⁸ *Ibid*, May 19th 1862.

⁸⁹ *Ibid*, March 12th 1863.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, August 22nd 1863.

another 15 per cent were in trades, commerce or manufacturing. Labourers (undefined) made up 5.7 per cent of the workforce with domestic servants constituting just over 9 per cent. Learned professions contributed less than 2 per cent of the workforce, suggesting a county barely in transition from rural outpost.⁹¹ Although the following census provided more detail in relation to counties and council areas, occupational breakdown data was not tabulated again until 1876. The Stanley research cohort generally reinforces 1861 census findings about Irish employment diversification. While there were 74 farmers, there were only 17 labourers. Four storekeepers and four teachers demonstrated the county's expanding demand for services. Farmer/contractor numbers were low at five, with another four being described as contractors. But skilled occupations – blacksmiths, for example – were fewer than unskilled occupations such as shepherds, hawkers and ostlers.

Comments in Adelaide's papers about Stanley townships typically emphasised growth **or** economic "dullness" and focussed on church events **or** highlighted local tragedies. Thus Marrabel's "rapid progress" was a feature of segments in 1866⁹² and 1867, with the latter article fully describing the "small but progressive" town's facilities.⁹³ Two months later it was stated that "Things in general up here are very dull, owing to the present low price of wheat."⁹⁴ Then came news of "Mintaroites" heading interstate in 1865 when unable to find local employment; this was coupled with farmers selling properties "with a view of going to the South East and purchasing land there."⁹⁵ Mintaro residents petitioned for a police station and "resident trooper," arguing that their village of 18 years was feeling "the necessity for such protection."⁹⁶

⁹¹ 1861 *Census*.

⁹² *Register*, March 20th 1866.

⁹³ *Ibid*, March 7th 1867.

⁹⁴ *Ibid*, May 17th 1867.

⁹⁵ *Ibid*, April 26th 1865.

⁹⁶ *Ibid*, December 21st 1865.

Rejection of the request evoked irritated comment about special constables “who must take office” when appointed by the District Council, but were then required to “apprehend rough characters” and convey prisoners miles to Clare.⁹⁷ In Watervale the descriptors in April 1866 were of “gradual advancement,” and buildings which “speak of progress.”⁹⁸

The announcement of Burra Mine closure in March 1867, according to the Clare Correspondent, “casts a gloom over us all as it has been a source of profit to many in this district.”⁹⁹ In Mintaro closure was described as “a serious affair for our farmers” and linked, as discussed above, to transport costs and thus both railway extension and road issues.¹⁰⁰ Michael Manning (1816-1917), an 1853 emigrant from County Clare, and a Saddleworth dairy farmer since 1855, spoke of Burra having “always been a good market for his produce”¹⁰¹ At the railway extension meeting in late June, the significance of Burra was a recurring theme. The Mintaro district was described as “suffering more severely than any other” and mine reopening was confidently predicted once the railway was completed. The railway seemed to be held out as a panacea for the mine, the farmers, and the unemployed labouring class.¹⁰²

Manufacturing enterprises employing 20 to 25 workers in Auburn during 1866,¹⁰³ and 50 in the Patterson Foundry in Clare in 1869, provide some evidence of the region’s gradual economic diversification.¹⁰⁴ Land sales also indicated county growth. Penwortham blocks were sold at £30-40 each in 1866.¹⁰⁵ In Mintaro, Peter Brady broke the private property barrier strangling township expansion in May 1867

⁹⁷ *Ibid*, January 30th 1866. In 1868 Mintaro was granted a police station.

⁹⁸ *Ibid*, April 14th 1866.

⁹⁹ *Ibid*, March 2nd 1867.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid*, May 16th 1867.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*, May 30th 1867.

¹⁰² *Ibid*, June 18th 1867.

¹⁰³ *Ibid*, March 13th 1866.

¹⁰⁴ *Advertiser*, June 10th 1869.

¹⁰⁵ *Register*, April 6th 1866.

by selling 20 half acre lots at £50 an acre.¹⁰⁶ That same year, Auburn’s buildings and trade were equated with “rapid progress.”¹⁰⁷ In an extended discussion of the region emanating from a series entitled “Round the North,” the *Register* commented on townships between Auburn and Clare. Watervale was treated rather dismissively, Leasingham described in terms of “substantiality and progress,” and Clare residents as arguing “stoutly that their township is growing fast.” Land sales at Hill River were cited as proof of development.¹⁰⁸ But at a Saddleworth Farmers’ Club meeting in late 1867, Irish-born farmer Nicholas Hanagan read a prescient paper in which he predicted that “half the homesteads will be abandoned.” Arguing that farms were too small for livings to be made, that land legislation needed urgent alteration, this Irishman anticipated the Strangways Act of 1869.¹⁰⁹ Numbers of his countrymen left Stanley (probably 200 in the cohort which is the focus of this research) within the next decade, many moving north, while a very small proportion demonstrated their reduced commitment to South Australia in choosing to live in other colonies.¹¹⁰

Insolvencies

Area progress fluctuated over time, but in the 1860s there were many stories of economic disaster. Irishmen attracted by Stanley’s opportunities established businesses or farms or became tenant farmers. Some like those already mentioned – Butler, McNamara, the Brady brothers (Peter and Daniel), Buckley and countless others – prospered. However, others – men such as Bernard Gillick, Daniel Quinlivan, Edward Molloy and Timothy Kelly, perhaps less well-equipped personally or arriving

¹⁰⁶ *Ibid*, May 16th 1867.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid*, March 13th 1866.

¹⁰⁸ *Ibid*, May 30th 1866.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid*, November 7th 1867. Hanagan was born in Kilkenny about 1837, and was in Saddleworth by 1859. He was widowed with at least 5 children in 1868, remarried in 1871 (nominated 8 members of his second wife’s family in 1876), and was in Georgetown by 1877.

¹¹⁰ Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 22-4, summarises the economic challenges of the 1860s, commenting that the seriousness of the situation was reflected in “the realization that settlers were actually leaving the province...in search of new farms on more liberal terms.” See Table Twenty Six, 264 below for size of this group.

at inopportune economic moments – struggled. The insolvency court documented their inadequacies, and their downfall became the stuff of daily papers.

“The insolvent is a labourer and as he can neither read nor write, he has not been able to furnish me with sufficient information to enable me to prepare a balance sheet.”¹¹¹ Comments such as this described some of Stanley’s Irish (and other) insolvents from this cohort. Table Twelve demonstrates the variation in bankrupt numbers from 1841, indicating years of greater economic stress.¹¹² In addition, private arrangements were made whereby individuals were assigned their debts rather than having to endure the more public process.¹¹³ A more detailed analysis of the insolvency profile of this decade is needed before reaching conclusions about whether the level of county and Irish representation in the figures is of statistical significance. A breakdown of figures for the first quarter of 1867, an extraordinarily difficult year, provides preliminary data. Of the 94 insolvencies, 14 were from the Stanley region; one was a storekeeper but the others were all farmers, with one individual also a contractor. Seven of these were Irish. All insolvents claimed factors such as pressure from creditors, bad crops, loss of stock and a general trade depression.¹¹⁴ The following brief examination of the framework within which insolvents struggled, emphasising Stanley Irishmen, suggests important dimensions of this issue.

In Stanley, most insolvents in the 1860s were farmers or tenants, although cases of a publican¹¹⁵ and a butcher¹¹⁶ reflected the traps of small business. Many of the identified insolvents had neglected to keep records, with Bernard Gillick claiming

¹¹¹ *Register*, April 13th 1861.

¹¹² See Table Twelve, 247 below.

¹¹³ Terence McManus (1816-1902) of Cavan was one example. See 102-3 above. The *Register* of April 23rd 1870 showed he officially assigned his debts.

¹¹⁴ *SAPP*, 1867, 3, No 102c.

¹¹⁵ *Register*, April 4th 1863. Daniel Meehan (Mintaro), in the colony by 1860, received a second class certificate suspended for 12 months.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid*, June 9th 1869. Michael Gillick of Steelton, near Marrabel, an emigrant from Cavan in 1845.

“that matters prior to last harvest are beyond his memory in all particulars that require explanation.”¹¹⁷ Others were penalised for their dishonesty. Insolvents were awarded second or third class certificates at the end of the often extended months of hearings. Frequently these certificates were suspended preventing any future business dealings. Third class certificates left debtors liable to have all future earnings or profit seized by creditors. This category was therefore an onerous judgement for families. Similarly, imprisonment terms represented additional personal and family burdens.

Six months suspension was imposed in the case of Cavan-born Gillick (1826-1919) of Marrabel. His case suggests that the Irish network did not always work in favour of beneficiaries. He claimed the debt of £248.10.1, leaving him with assets of £1, was due to “Pressure from Mr Brady on a debt I settled long since.” However, he was judged to have “delayed longer than was excusable his declaration of insolvency.”¹¹⁸ For Edward Molloy, an 1851 immigrant from County Clare (1835-1906) and a farmer near Clare, the penalty was a third class certificate plus a year’s imprisonment. The court was doubtful about some of his claims; he was given the chance to “bring down witnesses to clear up the matter” but did not because he could not afford to pay their costs. The judge was not disposed to change “the opinions he entertained regarding the insolvent’s conduct.”¹¹⁹ Daniel Quinlivan (1828-1918) of Marrabel was jailed for 18 months, and his second class certificate suspended for three years due to his perceived dishonesty.¹²⁰ Given the publicity these cases attracted and their detailed reporting in Adelaide papers, it was unsurprising that some families left Stanley: the Molloy’s, for instance, went to Moonta. Evidence of how

¹¹⁷ *Ibid*, May 7th 1867.

¹¹⁸ *SAPP*, 1867, 3, No 102c. It is unclear which of the area’s Bradys was being referred to. In 1870 Gillick became a member of the Waterloo DC, so his economic embarrassment was limited.

¹¹⁹ *Register*, April 14th & 21st 1869. Molloy’s illiteracy was revealed in his using a cross to ‘sign’ the 1863 Smyth Petition.

¹²⁰ *Ibid*, May 26th 1869.

family units negotiated their fathers' imprisonment has not survived; with only the Destitute Board providing any formal welfare support (and this had to be sought via the local council, which then referred the most needy to the Board), many cases were refused help. In these circumstances, assistance from wider family (if available) and local community, especially where Irish families were clustered, would have provided the only support mechanisms for insolvent families. Perhaps this indicates the operation of social capital within the Irish community. It seems all recollection of such events has been deleted from family memories because during this research no reference to insolvency or imprisonment has emerged from any private record.

This would seem to be the case for Jeremiah Kelly of the 'Head of the Wakefield' area, whose insolvency hearings began in March 1867.¹²¹ Creditor liabilities totalled £463.18.6 while assets (farm effects and lease) were £34.10.¹²² There were seven court sessions prior to final sentencing in September 1868. He languished in jail throughout before being incarcerated for an additional six months with a third class certificate.¹²³ Jeremiah (1820-1893) and Catherine Gorman (1822-1888) had arrived from County Clare in 1857 with ten children. Settling first in Thebarton, by 1864 they were in Dirty Light or Waterloo. In the hearing precipitating his initial imprisonment, Jeremiah stated that he "[c]ould only write his name and could not keep accounts."¹²⁴ His evidence described receiving money as a contractor from the Central Road Board (£1311) and being pressured to pay his workman their dues.¹²⁵ Additionally, he claimed he had been robbed of £180, designated for debt repayment. However, according to Thomas Smith (Mintaro's Correspondent for the

¹²¹ *Ibid*, March 19th 1867.

¹²² *Ibid*, April 17th 1867.

¹²³ *Ibid*, September 3rd 1868. JT Bagot was his lawyer, raising the question of whether Kelly had accessed him as an Irishman, thus utilising the network.

¹²⁴ *Ibid*, May 8th 1867.

¹²⁵ *Ibid*, April 17th 1867.

Register and *Observer*), Kelly admitted this story was fraudulent. Smith insisted Kelly had said “I am going to turn insolvent, and it’s no use giving the creditors the money.”¹²⁶ Despite 17 months to reflect, Jeremiah maintained his robbery claim; it was disbelieved and he suffered the consequences. Details of how his family survived are unknown; a daughter married at Sevenhill early in his imprisonment, and after his release the couple persisted in Stanley until their deaths.¹²⁷ That judges were impassive in the face of hardship was revealed during an 1869 hearing. This followed a Gilbert insolvent’s plea for leniency on grounds of a large family and a delicate wife. He was to be jailed for a year. The riposte from the Bench was that “he should have thought of this before he acted dishonestly.”¹²⁸

The impact of economic disorder evident in Irish families – Jeremiah Kelly’s was the most extreme example in the decade but others were imprisoned, and insolvency cases were covered in detail by the press – may have reinforced existing detrimental stereotypes.¹²⁹ Lack of education plus inadequate financial management was enough to activate negative judgement. When combined with implausible explanation or insubstantial defence, this could sanction dismissive anti-Irish assessments. But of more importance than the impact on attitudes were the consequences of insolvency on both families and the community. Families of those imprisoned, or limited financially in terms of working by virtue of their certificate, were reliant on support from relatives or friends. A wider study of insolvency is needed in order to evaluate whether or not the 1860s witnessed greater Irish numbers.

¹²⁶ *Ibid*, May 8th 1867.

¹²⁷ Details about this family have proven elusive, because Kelly was a common surname.

¹²⁸ *Register*, May 19th 1869.

¹²⁹ See 100 above and 188-9 below for comment about Irish stereotypes.

Increasing Irish Participation in Stanley's Administrative and Political Development

District Councils

The shape of the county's local government enlarged in response to demographic changes. Clare became incorporated in 1868, acquiring a mayor in parallel to the district council chairman. The mayoral position symbolised status, area longevity, widespread respect and maximum cultural capital, and went to E.B. Gleeson. 1868 saw the establishment of district councils at Saddleworth, Black Springs, Waterloo and Mintaro where the Stanley Council was based.

After a decade-long struggle to overcome intense opposition, the district council of Stanley was proclaimed in May 1868.¹³⁰ Petitions in 1862 and 1863 again emphasised road quality and distance from Clare; Mintaro's existing infrastructure was highlighted and Peter Brady was re-nominated as a founding councillor.¹³¹ The 1863 petition was described as not "meet[ing] the views of a few of our mutton kings,"¹³² indicating that issues continued to be perceived along class lines. Williams describes the Bowman brothers as going "to great lengths to persuade residents" to support their bid to prevent a council.¹³³ The perspective of Mintaro's smaller farmers, many of them Irish, differed from these larger land owners. Mid-November 1867 saw the final, successful petition.¹³⁴ Territory for the new council was taken from both Clare and Upper Wakefield. This area of Stanley was the most Irish, with 16.4 per cent Irish-born in 1861 and 20 per cent in 1871.¹³⁵ The nomination of Cavan-

¹³⁰ *Government Gazette*, September 9th 1858, August 4th 1859, September 5th 1861, October 14th & December 11th 1862 all contained applications which were rejected. On June 15th 1859 a petition to the House of Assembly also failed.

¹³¹ *Register*, October 17th 1862.

¹³² *Ibid*, April 29th 1863.

¹³³ Williams, *A Way of Life*, 71.

¹³⁴ *Register*, November 14th 1867. On August 13th 1867, the paper reported Manoora residents rejecting a council.

¹³⁵ See Table Twenty Four, 260 below.

born Daniel Brady (Peter's brother) and Patrick Dowd as two of five founding councillors reflected these community proportions.¹³⁶

Saddleworth, another location with a high Irish residency figure (26 per cent) in 1861, included two Irishmen in its first council (of five), Michael Manning (already mentioned) and Thomas McEwen.¹³⁷ In 1870 they were joined by John Caskey, whose family arrived from Northern Ireland in 1858.¹³⁸ Two Irishmen were on Waterloo's first council (8 per cent in the area were Irish-born in 1871), and in Clare, Gleeson's son John was elected in 1862, becoming Chairman in 1868; Patrick Butler remained a member until 1867. Arthur Brady, Patrick Howley and John Eiffe were all elected during these years.¹³⁹ Clare's Irish-born constituted 17 per cent of the town's population in 1861 and 10 per cent a decade later.¹⁴⁰ In 1869, seven of Stanley DC's nine councillor nominations were from Irishmen.¹⁴¹ Across the region in 1869, Irishmen were elected to District Councils which all consisted of five councillors: Clare (two councillors), Black Springs (one), Saddleworth (two), Stanley (two), Waterloo (one) and Rhynie (one).¹⁴² Thus Irish colonists were demonstrating their local commitment, contributing to their communities, and clearly making an impact.

The Clare-produced *Northern Argus* provided a more immediate means by which the impact of both local councils and their members was observable after February 1869; proceedings were published regularly. The paper's first editorial promoted its commercial potential for Stanley and adjacent areas. Emphasising the

¹³⁶ Dowd was a founding member of Hanson's Council in 1872, remaining until 1892.

¹³⁷ McEwen (1828-1899) from Clare arrived in 1854. His marriage in 1858 was exogamous as his wife was Scottish born, and the place of marriage did not indicate that it was Catholic. He died in Wallaroo.

¹³⁸ The Caskey family was prominent in Saddleworth; their early land was leased from Patrick McNamara. John became a JP.

¹³⁹ Brady (1864-5), Howley (1865-6) and Eiffe (1870-3).

¹⁴⁰ See Table Twenty Four, 260 below for Irish-born residents in all Stanley council areas; the 1868 change to a corporation affected Clare's numbers plus the parallel population loss to the new Stanley Council.

¹⁴¹ *Register*, July 7th 1869.

¹⁴² *Ibid*, April 2nd 1869. Details were from the Association of District Chairmen.

intention of both “independence of spirit and outspoken candour,” Henry Hammond Tilbrook also pointed to the specific benefits to Clare itself. “We come forward,” he wrote, “with no flourish of trumpets, we put forth no high sounding policy; our aim will be to ‘be just and fear not.’”¹⁴³ Reports of county legal proceedings became more consistent once there was local weekly coverage. Previously it seemed inclusion of Clare or Auburn court matters depended on the nature of their cases, in competition with those of other jurisdictions. When the matter involved prominent Stanley colonists or issues of wider appeal, Adelaide’s press relayed the story, but for local disputes and insignificant individuals, there was newspaper silence. Then as now, it seemed that witnessing the lopping of ‘tall poppies’ proved irresistible.

Justice

The private life of John Hope (the Londonderry born early arrival whose standing placed him more on a par with Gleeson than other countrymen) was subjected to intense scrutiny in 1861 when his former servant, Irishwoman Mary Ann Geary, claimed unpaid wages. Born in Carlow in 1828, Geary arrived on the *Joseph Somes* in November 1850 and was first employed by GC Hawker. In June 1859 Hope described her as working “honestly, soberly and faithfully to [his] entire satisfaction” during her 7-year service.¹⁴⁴ However, in court, their relationship was portrayed as intimate, possibly involving a pregnancy and complicated by Hope’s earlier determination to keep everything secret. His position was somewhat weakened by his admission of advancing £90 to Geary for the purchase of land after she resumed working for him in December 1855. Hope claimed in court that because it would be five years before she

¹⁴³ *Northern Argus*, February 19th 1869. Tilbrook began working on the *Register* at 13, moving to work on a New Zealand goldfield paper before, at age 20, identifying Clare rather than Burra as a more favourable publication site.

¹⁴⁴ *Register*, September 19th 1861.

got possession of S304 at Sevenhill,¹⁴⁵ his aim had been to retain her services as she “had been a very good servant.”¹⁴⁶ Letters written by Geary to Hope in Ireland during 1859 (he married while there) reinforced closeness. Read in court, these letters made comic reference to Gleeson, to other Clare figures, and to gossip and local happenings. Observers from Clare were in court, Gleeson included.¹⁴⁷ The whole episode represented embarrassing street theatre for the Clare community and particularly the recently married Hope. Milburn suggests that arguments about Hope’s character and standing held little sway,¹⁴⁸ for he had to pay the demanded £50 with interest. Geary’s local unpopularity rendered her more vulnerable, while the apparent acceptance of such sexual liaisons, according to Milburn,¹⁴⁹ served ultimately to protect Hope’s reputation. The proceedings were peppered with reference to Geary’s ill health; subsequent events confirmed her problems. By 1863 she was being treated for breast cancer at the Adelaide Hospital and she died in January 1865.¹⁵⁰ Ultimately Hope’s reputation suffered little, with both his prestige and community support serving to cushion him¹⁵¹, and he moved to greater district prominence after Gleeson’s death. Despite the level of local public intrusion, Irishman Hope (who frequently returned to Europe) chose to remain in South Australia.¹⁵²

A family-related and acutely disagreeable court case displayed aspects of Patrick McNamara’s Undalya household in ways which brought only embarrassment.

¹⁴⁵ Land records show Geary received Section 304 at Sevenhill, Jesuit Archives, Melbourne.

¹⁴⁶ *Register*, September 19th 1861.

¹⁴⁷ *Register*, September 20th 1861.

¹⁴⁸ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 130-133.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁰ SRSA GRG 78/49/3

¹⁵¹ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 132 states that “his social position was little affected by the case.” She suggests he “was of a high social status” with arguments in his defence based on his “position in society” and “the character of a gentleman.” According to family tradition, he resigned as a JP in 1862 (his name was not on the list) but was reappointed in 1874.

¹⁵² Williams, *A Way of Life*, 75-87 discusses the issues faced by pastoralists in terms of colonial versus overseas loyalties. Hope’s diaries figure prominently as he describes missing his children (when his family was overseas) and recalls both the attractions of life in Dublin in 1866 and the “intolerance of Romanism” in 1869 which led him to write “I care nothing if I never see the place again.”

A resident in the county for two decades, a successful landowner, district councillor, JP from 1864, father of eight and prominent Catholic, McNamara's private affairs were thrust into the spotlight when his daughter Elizabeth eloped with John Dougherty in May 1867.¹⁵³ At the time she was only fifteen. Born in Ballyvaughan County Clare, Dougherty (1842-1908) was employed by McNamara for three years; he was dismissed temporarily over alcohol but was re employed. He was charged with abduction. Despite McNamara's claim in the Auburn Court that he was unaware of any relationship, Elizabeth asserted that their friendship was public, and had been the subject of parental questioning. Explaining she had procured the ring, rejecting accusations of abduction, she claimed responsibility for planning the escape and refuge at an Irish neighbour's house.¹⁵⁴ Astonishingly, Dougherty was committed for Supreme Court trial; however, when the case was heard and the couple's May 31 marriage clarified, the charge was abandoned.¹⁵⁵

McNamara's determination to pursue this matter legally was matched by his resolve in later cases.¹⁵⁶ But as noted in the previous decade, Stanley's Irish population apparently undertook legal actions with a degree of commitment, denoting confidence about their social capital. Similarly their recourse to such public resolution demonstrated financial security. Daniel Brady (1797-1889), mentioned previously, was another high-profile Irishman often figuring in court cases. Following early successes in land acquisition north of Adelaide (and naming Cavan), he moved to Stanley by 1858, probably in response to a complex domestic situation. In 1869 Irishman Michael Mannion (1828-1904), an 1861 immigrant from Galway and Farrell

¹⁵³ *Register*, June 11th 1867.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid*, June 18th 1867.

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid*, August 16th 1867. This couple had nine children between 1874 and 1899; John died in 1905 and Elizabeth in 1933. His name was on the April 1868 Police List of Fenian Sympathisers.

¹⁵⁶ See for example *Northern Argus* of January 28th 1876, August 29th 1879 and November 28th 1882 for cases under the Master and Servants Act, and April 6th 1877 for an assault where he demanded a public apology from a fellow Irishman.

Flat farmer employed by Brady from March 1865 to June 1869 as a shepherd, successfully used the court (Gleeson was the presiding magistrate) to recover £6 in unpaid wages from Brady. The dispute involved sheep number discrepancies plus charges over a mare in Brady's paddock, and Brady's son Peter was called as a witness.¹⁵⁷ Further wage disputes between employees and Brady developed in the 1870s. And littering the matrimonial courts of the 1860s, often detailed in the daily press, were repeat volleys from Daniel's wife, Irishwoman Rose Rudden (1807-1872).¹⁵⁸

Not a literate woman but clearly one whose tenacity expanded in the face of adversity, Rose insisted on her legal rights to alimony following her initiation of the colony's first judicial separation in 1859. Daniel responded by time-honoured legal manoeuvrings about mortgages, poor harvests and inability to pay. Rose, however, ensured every legal stone was turned, incurring wrath along the way; by 1863 matters seemed resolved. This couple had seven children on their 1840 arrival (two more were born here) but by 1854 unhappiness was reflected in Daniel's public disavowal of debts in Rose's name.¹⁵⁹ In that year Alice Smith and her husband from County Monaghan arrived¹⁶⁰; after separating from Rose, Daniel proceeded to have a further eight children with Alice. All were baptised at Sevenhill and two sons attended St Aloysius College. By 1879 Daniel and Alice had moved to Bumbunga near Snowtown; her ultimate resting place remains a mystery, but when Daniel died his sons erected an ostentatious memorial in the Sevenhill cemetery. Daniel apparently negotiated the difficult path between Catholic Church opprobrium in relation to his

¹⁵⁷ *Northern Argus*, September 10th 1869. The Mannion family were transient settlers in Stanley, moving in 1876 to farm at Morchard.

¹⁵⁸ See for example *Register* of April 17th, May 27th and October 9th 1862; by July 27th 1863, "the court was almost getting tired of her case."

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid*, October 12th 1854.

¹⁶⁰ This couple had children but tracing either them or the husband has not proved possible. Neither is it known when or where Daniel and Alice met.

domestic situation (intrinsic failure) and some deserved community respect for his land and farming acumen and his extrinsic success.

Less notable Irish colonists also figured in court appearances where both family and employment disputes were aired publicly. For example, in early September 1862 Mary (1813-1899) and Michael Curran (1804-1868), Auburn's pound keeper, were in court. Mary was charged with the assault of their invalid son Patrick, and her spouse with drunkenness and riotous behaviour following her arrest. Michael required restraining.¹⁶¹ He was fined £1 but Mary's charge was withdrawn. Patrick, clearly unwell over an extended period, owed almost £3 and was given six months to pay.¹⁶² Another Irish Auburn resident, Michael Kilmartin, an 1852 arrival from County Clare (1802-1893), was warned sternly about consequences when fined in 1862 over deserting his wife Margaret (1804-1884).¹⁶³ The Master and Servants Act seemed more often reflected in court disagreements during the 1860s; this was probably a consequence of the *Northern Argus* viewing such items as local news. In 1869 Thomas Fitzsimmons, an 1854 emigrant from Meath (1830-1905), was taken to court over an unpaid £17.¹⁶⁴ John Vandeleur (1835-1896), an immigrant from County Clare in the 1850s and resident of Pine Creek, was charged in 1870 over wages.¹⁶⁵ It can thus be argued that Irish willingness to air disputes publicly displayed a minority group confident about its standing and its social capital and disregarding any potentially difficult consequences.

A range of cases linked to alcohol, however, probably served to reinforce the drinking reputation of Irish colonists. An Irish hawker, John Foy, was one of those fined in 1862 for selling spirits without a license, and to Aboriginals north of Clare.

¹⁶¹ *Register*, September 5th 1862.

¹⁶² *Ibid*, September 18th 1862.

¹⁶³ *Ibid*, October 6th 1862.

¹⁶⁴ *Northern Argus*, June 4th 1869.

¹⁶⁵ *Ibid*, December 23rd 1870.

Fines of £20 and £25 were imposed. Gleeson and his fellow magistrate made “forcible remarks [about] the inhumanity and unmanliness of parties supplying the natives (sic) with liquors.”¹⁶⁶ At Armagh in 1869, James Cleary was also found guilty of selling alcohol to Aboriginals and fined £5.¹⁶⁷ More typical assault charges against a fellow Irishman after races at Rhyne laid by Cavan immigrant Peter Conley (1835-1911) in 1864 suggested alcohol’s involvement.¹⁶⁸ In 1867 when Hugh Smith (1813-1891) – another Cavan man and an 1850 arrival – assaulted Patrick Dowd in, a ‘drink’-fuelled clash, it earned a £1 fine.¹⁶⁹

Alcohol was involved in what developed as a more serious case in 1865. This involved the Manning brothers from Saddleworth. Immigrants of the early 1850s from Six Mile Bridge in County Clare, the family was in Saddleworth by 1858. In early October, perhaps foolishly, the brothers drank heartily in Auburn. Along with Clare, which had two troopers, this was the only township in Stanley with a police presence.¹⁷⁰ Riotous behaviour led to Michael’s arrest, leading to protests from brothers Luke, John and James. The latter managed to hit the local policeman with a stone, and so he was committed for trial at the Supreme Court on an assault charge. Fines of £10 and £5 were imposed on the drunken trio.¹⁷¹ James was contrite, requesting mercy because “he was under the influence of liquor at the time.” Despite this plea he received a two year sentence with hard labour.¹⁷² The importance of protecting the police was stressed; the wider consequences of the event and sentencing on the Manning family can only be imagined.

¹⁶⁶ *Register*, October 25th and 27th 1862.

¹⁶⁷ *Northern Argus*, December 12th 1869.

¹⁶⁸ *Register*, May 10th 1864.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, August 13th 1867.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, May 16th 1861 and July 8th 1862. Auburn had one trooper; Adelaide had 12 and 37 foot constables while Port Adelaide had 11.

¹⁷¹ *Ibid*, October 5th 1865.

¹⁷² *Ibid*, December 7th 1865.

Irishwomen were seemingly involved in fewer court cases.¹⁷³ There were some joint disputes with spouses or rare matrimonial proceedings as mentioned. In August 1870 two cases involved Bridget Haarsma (a repeat offender from the 1850s) and neighbouring Mrs Corfert (sic but possibly Crawford). The disputes portrayed Bridget as a lively individual. Initially she was charged with assaulting the neighbour's daughter at Sevenhill, but the triviality of the case saw it dismissed with costs. The plaintiff then accused Bridget of calling her "bad names," of "living with the blacks (sic) fourteen years" and of stone throwing. Bridget (a Nashwauk and Clare Servant Depot survivor) had disagreed with the direction in which her neighbour's cows were being driven. When challenged, Mrs Corfert shouted "Come here, and I'll show you a bit of true Irish blood." Bridget, only admitting to hitting her once, was fined five shillings.¹⁷⁴

The realm of legal disputes worked in two ways for Irish colonists. The nature of many court cases left them indistinguishable from other Stanley litigants: issues over wages, between neighbours, and over "furious driving" offences for example.

However, other court actions or their coverage served to reinforce the negative national stereotypes referred to earlier.¹⁷⁵ In Stanley the impact seemed to be more by innuendo – many Irish surnames were readily identifiable – but consistent, explicit references to nationality or origin ensured readers were aware that this was an Irish peculiarity, or a habit recognisably associated with the Emerald Isle.

¹⁷³ Locating information about women as individuals in comparison to men represents a gap in this research; discovering the maiden name of many married women was often possible only via colonial marriage registration or birth registration.

¹⁷⁴ *Northern Argus*, August 19th 1870. In 1881 Bridget converted to Catholicism after the death of her husband in 1875 and her 1876 remarriage.

¹⁷⁵ See above 66-68.

Colonial Politics

During the 1860s colonial politics continued to provoke Irish interest and participation. The 1860 election for Burra and Clare revealed a major clash between colonial Irishmen, with local candidate William Lennon (representing the SAPA) taking on sitting members Edward McEllister and GS Kingston.¹⁷⁶ As Stanley's first non-squatter representative, Lennon's colonial political ambitions, after years of local government experience, exposure, and acquired enemies may have destined him for a turbulent role. From 1857 visible tensions between Lennon and Gleeson replaced the apparent amicability of earlier years.¹⁷⁷ After the formation of the SAPA in July 1859, the colonial political environment changed.¹⁷⁸ Clare electors formed a branch by November,¹⁷⁹ and Lennon was subsequently nominated for parliament and elected. Press coverage of SAPA meetings was comprehensive. The intense participation of Stanley's Irish (and other) colonists in North Terrace politics, elections and issues such as transport and land legislation belies Hirst's claim that there were "scarcely any complaints from the country about centralised administration."¹⁸⁰

Colonial politics was not an arena demonstrating consensus between Irishmen. Their networks operated differently. After a series of meetings in Stanley and Burra in late 1859 and early 1860, Lennon received local SAPA nomination as "a man who would go fearlessly to the attack upon every injustice, either in the Legislature or out of it." There was "apparent unanimity" about his candidature at a February meeting of

¹⁷⁶ See 69 above fn 23 for details about McEllister. Kingston (1807-1880), a Cork man and an architect/surveyor, was an 1836 colonist fulfilling many roles before parliamentary election in 1851.

¹⁷⁷ The formation of the Northern Public Agricultural and Horticultural Society in 1857 to rival the Northern Agricultural Society (where Gleeson was prominent) led to Lennon's claim in the *Register* of October 29th that the alternative "was too much in the hands of the squatters."

¹⁷⁸ See Appendix Three, 225-6 below for further details about this Association.

¹⁷⁹ *Register*, November 2nd 1859.

¹⁸⁰ JB Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country 1870-1917: Their Social and Political Relationship*, Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1973, 150.

150,¹⁸¹ in which few hands supported either Kingston or McEllister as “fit and proper” representatives when the meeting heard their responses to SAPA principles. Gleeson attended the next meeting, where Patrick Butler (a former employee) referred to the likelihood of SAPA victory in the electorate when the combination of some 800 Clare, Burra and Mintaro electors would see the “end [of] class legislation and misrule.” The meeting’s enthusiasm provoked Gleeson into speech. Claiming that one candidate had “looked at him unutterable things,” he stated that he did not oppose SAPA principles, arguing that issues about payment for all in unpaid positions, not just MPs, should be decided by the next parliament.¹⁸²

Some days later the *Register*’s Clare Correspondent suggested mixed local feelings about both Lennon and SAPA; the Association’s importance was recognised, but some locals were waiting before joining. And while “the community generally sp[oke] favourably of Lennon,” there were groups where “he is not so well thought of.”¹⁸³ An editorial later reflected community interest and confusion about Political Associations. Principles and organisation were summed up dismissively while Clare was seen as a likely electoral “stronghold.” The writer regretted the evidence of “class jealousy” in SAPA’s existence, but affirmed its right to organise: “The evil is not that the Political Association is doing too much – but that the rest of the community is doing too little.”¹⁸⁴

Gleeson chaired a pro-Kingston meeting at Burra, where his convictions were demonstrated in deriding Lennon while endorsing Adelaide Irish lawyer Luke

¹⁸¹ *Advertiser*, February 3rd 1860. Clare, Auburn and Watervale delegates attended; Peter Brady (Mintaro) proposed William Dale as Lennon’s running mate.

¹⁸² *Register*, February 8th 1860. John Eiffe (1820-1878), an 1853 arrival from Meath, in Stanley by 1854, was also prominent at this meeting.

¹⁸³ *Ibid*, February 13th 1860.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid*, February 21st 1860.

Cullen.¹⁸⁵ Lennon's popularity was clearly linked to his being able to resist what was perceived as squatter dominance in parliament. All those, like Kingston, opposing SAPA candidates were challenged.¹⁸⁶ Kingston's claims to have advantaged Stanley in parliament were contested, precipitating an invitation from Gleeson for SAPA candidates to attend the next election meeting at Clare. The meeting then endorsed Lennon and his colleagues,¹⁸⁷ and Kingston received "three groans" from his audience.¹⁸⁸

The intense level of antagonism between Gleeson and Lennon was demonstrated at March meetings at Clare (with 200 present)¹⁸⁹ and Auburn.¹⁹⁰ Gleeson's support for Kingston¹⁹¹ and efforts to discredit Lennon made small impression on the SAPA sympathies of his listeners. Unsurprisingly, Lennon, Dale and Cole were elected; their votes were close and more than double Kingston's.¹⁹² Editorial comment highlighted electoral dissatisfaction with choice in this seat, noting discrepancies between elector numbers and actual votes. Suggesting apathy on one side, other groups were urged to be "equally united, equally resolute and equally energetic." The SAPA trio were described as the "three Radicals." However, readers were reassured there was little need to be "appalled if two or three persons of a class not normally admitted have now forced their way" into Parliament.¹⁹³ Thus the implicit fears and prejudices were little varnished.

¹⁸⁵ Cullen (1825-1880), in the colony since 1851, was prominent in Adelaide Catholic Church activities and, with Gleeson, was a member of the St Patrick's Society in 1856.

¹⁸⁶ *Advertiser*, March 15th, 1860.

¹⁸⁷ William Dale (1830-1904) was a Welsh-born carpenter; George William Cole (1823-1893) was an English Land Valuer.

¹⁸⁸ *Advertiser*, March 15th, 1860.

¹⁸⁹ No doubt an endorsement of Kingston's standing; his parliamentary record was impressive: an elected Legislative Council member from 1851 to 1857, from March 1857 to March 1860 he was Member of the House of Assembly for 'The Burra and Clare' so he probably assumed re election.

¹⁹⁰ *Register*, March 20th 1860.

¹⁹¹ *Advertiser*, March 17th 1860.

¹⁹² Appendix Three, 225-6 below includes voting figures.

¹⁹³ *Advertiser*, March 28th 1860.

Lennon's brief parliamentary sojourn¹⁹⁴ was dogged by local accusations, controversy and legal action.¹⁹⁵ Clare ratepayers also discussed whether "further proceedings" into his council role were needed.¹⁹⁶ This paralleled earlier actions against Gleeson.¹⁹⁷ A willing participant, Gleeson made accusations against Lennon¹⁹⁸ who subsequently repudiated all charges.¹⁹⁹ Ultimately, however, bankruptcy on March 28th 1861 – "Lennon ... Auctioneer, now a prisoner in Her Majesty's gaol in Adelaide" – forced his parliamentary resignation.²⁰⁰ His speedy, spectacular tumble from grace resulted in an unchallenged second class certificate of insolvency being issued on May 6th. Official investigation judged that the 1860 election was followed by Lennon's abandonment of the "management of his [economic] affairs" and the sale of property at great loss.²⁰¹ The record of his parliamentary attendance revealed him to be more of a part-time MP, given the numbers of missing days.²⁰²

Lennon did not choose obscurity in the face of acute public humiliation. Within 3 months of insolvency he spoke at length in Clare opposing immigration,²⁰³ later questioning Catholic representation on the Board of Education at an 1862 election meeting where he revealed a compromising exchange of letters between the candidate and Patrick McNamara.²⁰⁴ He was a scrutineer at the 1863 Council

¹⁹⁴ In October he argued for a Catholic to be on the Education Board, suggesting that since they constituted a seventh of the country's population they "had a right to expect that their religious scruples would be respected." *Register*, October 13th 1860.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid*, April 6th & 14th 1860, Lennon was charged over unpaid surveying costs.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibid*, January 16th 1861.

¹⁹⁷ See 110 above.

¹⁹⁸ *Register*, January 16th 1861. Gleeson claimed Lennon could not respond to any business discussed by John Hope, who headed the investigative committee.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid*, January 19th 1861. The councillors were totally satisfied after a 4 hour meeting with Lennon.

²⁰⁰ *Advertiser*, March 29th 1861.

²⁰¹ *Ibid*, May 7th 1861.

²⁰² *Register*, October 13th 1860. Lennon attended 60 days, missing 33 of which 17 were 'on leave'.

²⁰³ *Register*, July 18th 1861.

²⁰⁴ *Ibid*, November 20th 1862.

elections subsequently publicising concerns.²⁰⁵ In 1864 he stood unsuccessfully for local government, winning more votes than Hope.²⁰⁶ In 1866 and 1867 he argued in favour of the Clare and Wallaroo tramway.²⁰⁷ When Clare was incorporated in 1868, Lennon became District Clerk, holding the position until 1894.

The May by-election following Lennon's resignation highlighted community "fault lines" in Stanley, in particular within the Mintaro community. Defeated outright by a fellow Irishman in 1860, Kingston's ego was bruised; Peter Brady's endorsement asserted he "had ever found him an upright and consistent man."²⁰⁸ But electoral opponents highlighted major inconsistencies between Kingston's printed material and speeches,²⁰⁹ and at Burra it was said that his 1860 opponents had been "starved out of the Burra Mine" by the "tyrannical oppression of the authorities."²¹⁰ Gleeson challenged Kingston's depiction as "the common enemy."²¹¹ Even before polling day there were questions about the legality of his nomination.²¹²

Kingston's victory was quickly disputed; a petition from 288 voters led to the establishment of a Court of Disputed Returns on May 21st. In dismissing the challenge, the court awarded costs and expenses to Kingston;²¹³ he then initiated a Select Committee to examine the signature gathering process and issues of parliamentary privilege.²¹⁴ The Committee, which included Kingston, met six times between June 12th and July 16th. His consistent attendance as well as his initiation of questions led to witness comments about his being both accuser and judge. The

²⁰⁵ *Ibid*, August 27th and September 9th 1863.

²⁰⁶ *Ibid*, July 18th 1864.

²⁰⁷ *Ibid*, October 2nd 1866 and May 14th 1867.

²⁰⁸ *Ibid*, May 2nd 1861.

²⁰⁹ *Ibid*, May 6th 1861.

²¹⁰ *Advertiser*, April 18th 1861.

²¹¹ *Ibid*, April 30th 1861.

²¹² *Ibid*, May 4th 1861.

²¹³ *SAPD*, 30 May 1861, 33. *Advertiser* of May 31st reported Kingston "had been put to considerable costs in meeting the petition."

²¹⁴ *Advertiser*, June 5th 1861.

committee's main interest related to methods of gaining signatures,²¹⁵ but when Kingston threatened forgery charges for those providing retrospective authorisation, witnesses became worried about self-incrimination.²¹⁶ Kingston's accusations of payment for signatures were strongly denied. Ultimately the committee was frustrated and the investigation was cut short, recommending changes to the Electoral Act.²¹⁷ Thus colonial political issues from 1860 to 1861 were divisive for Stanley's Irish. Lennon's brief parliamentary career was heralded by evidence of unity among many local Irish, but in its wake was public division and acrimony within the same group.

Irishmen, however, continued to be visible in other political matters: railway construction, potential routes, and sites for stations caused county friction in the 1860s. At a meeting in June 1867, 100 Mintaro and Burra residents met to discuss railway extension from Roseworthy. Having emphasised the ways that Mintaro farming and quarrying interests would benefit from railway extension, the chairman focussed on the local impact of the Burra mine closure, and argued that cartage costs had contributed to the decision. Patrick Dowd was the first to speak in support of the proposal; Peter Brady and Limerick-born Dennis Madigan (1832-1894), in Mintaro since 1858, proposed and seconded a proposal. This was for railway construction to be undertaken simultaneously at various points for a speedy finish.²¹⁸ Articulate individuals such as Dowd later represented local opinion in deputations to the Commissioner of Public Works. Accompanying Kingston and the other local MPs in 1869, he supported the views of "60 owners and cultivators of land" about locating a railway station adjacent to Farrell Flat. In his reported contribution, Dowd explained

²¹⁵ Some who were illiterate gave permission for signatures on their behalf while others consented to sign without seeing the petition.

²¹⁶ Englishman George Faulkner (married to Irishwoman Mary Downey) of Mintaro was prominent in terms of the time spent questioning him, and implied suspicion about his level of involvement.

²¹⁷ *SAPP*, 1861, 2, No 111. Report of The Select Committee of the House of Assembly appointed to report on petition against Return of GS Kingston Esq.

²¹⁸ *Register*, June 26th 1867.

that Gleeson would have accompanied them but was in court.²¹⁹ This political interaction suggests a network, bonding social capital, and some equality in relationships between Stanley's Irishmen.²²⁰

Returning to Milburn's analysis of paths towards the exercise of power – presiding as a magistrate, a role in local government, membership of parliament²²¹ – the 1860s witnessed increased numbers of Stanley's Irish participating in these areas. While Lennon's time in Parliament House was short lived, at least 18 Irishmen were on councils in or close to Stanley, and in 1864 Patrick McNamara joined Gleeson in the magistrate's role.²²² Participation levels such as these can be interpreted in a number of ways: they demonstrate confidence, networking, and a strong sense of local and/or colonial identification.

'Irishness'

As Stanley's largest minority group, Irish residents were visible, differentiated by customs and by stereotypes. Whether or not there existed deliberate exclusionary prejudice towards the emigration of Irish to the colony is contestable.²²³ What was clear was that Irish colonists were subjected to both explicit and more subtle prejudice.²²⁴ The 1862 *Register* article discussed earlier, typified community

²¹⁹ *Ibid*, June 28th 1869.

²²⁰ Eleanore Williams, 'Pastoralists in the Central Hill Country' in Derek Whitelock (ed), *The Mid North of South Australia*, 6-15 discusses 36 landowners with freehold estates in the Central Hill Country comprising over 5,000 acres. Patrick Dowd had two properties totalling 6,472 acres.

²²¹ Milburn, Clare 1840-1900, 24, see also above 114.

²²² See 176, fn 151 re John Hope's resignation or exclusion from the role between 1862 and 1874. Williams, *A Way of Life*, 118 in discussing generally the status associated with appointment as JP implies clear criteria for this position which includes Patrick McNamara (and later Patrick Dowd).

²²³ At the SA Benefit Society dinner in 1863 when Irish Catholic Governor Daly was toasted by Chairman Dr Gunson, the *Register* of February 12th quoted him saying: "His Excellency arrived under the most unfavourable circumstances, as the idea of a Catholic Governor bringing all manner of evils among them was entertained by many."

²²⁴ *Advertiser* of February 9th 1860 included a letter from Sligo published in the *Liverpool Mercury* titled "An Irishman's Order for Goods." Introduced with a comment about the writer being "a rare specimen of an enthusiastic mercantile Hibernian," the content reinforced preconceptions about Irish naïveté, stupidity and consequent business incompetence.

attitudes.²²⁵ Speaking about celebrating St Patrick's Day, Adelaide was said "to have had its characteristic celebrations heretofore, the sons of the sod having dined and fought after dinner as if their poteen was brewed in bogs or fastnesses where law and order were unknown... [But] Pat in Adelaide seldom breaks the law or a friend's head; he has lost half his fun, but he has doubled his industry."²²⁶ The *Register's* subtext seems clear: Irish colonists are acceptable but on terms demonstrating the discarding of identifiable traits – poverty, violence, drinking and non-education – and their replacement with acceptable habits. Habits such as industriousness and education were proffered as the pathways towards "manfully better[ing] his condition effectually." (Memories of 1850s immigration surpluses were easily retrievable.) According to figures published in 1862, between 1836 and 1861 there had been 12,430 free or assisted passages provided for Irish immigrants, more than 7,500 of these for women.²²⁷ For those colonists who viewed Irish immigrants as less preferable than others, recognition that over 60 per cent of those financed by colonial funds were Irish, presented a challenge.

Immigration, despite the reduction of acute pressures after the 'Irish crisis' of the 1850s, persisted as an issue. Little was needed for it to become more overt. That there was longer term 'damage' from the 'orphan girl' influx was evident in an editorial of 1860 discussing the Immigration Agent's Report about 1859 arrivals. The *Register* argued that, given the excess of nominated over selected immigrants, had the former group "been squatters, farmers, bona fide settlers permanently located on the soil, and paying rates and taxes, they would only have nominated a useful class of immigrants." However "the **fatal arrivals** of 1854 and 1855" enabled nominating to become the right of many "who had no stake in the colony." These, the "thousands of

²²⁵ See 155 above.

²²⁶ *Register*, March 18th 1862.

²²⁷ *Ibid*, March 21st 1862.

homeless girls,” – that is, Irish orphans – “considered nothing beyond the simple desire of bringing out their connections to Australia.” This resulted in those nominated “being more ignorant and less suited to the conditions of the labour market” than those selected. The Immigration Agent cited literacy levels as evidence: 46 per cent of the nominated (most of whom were Irish) as compared to 52 per cent of the selected. He asserted that in 1859 the system resulted in the arrival of “classes of labour with which the labour market has been all along excessively over-stocked.” The Immigration Agent’s Report was overwhelmingly negative, claiming nominators had “no means of supporting or of providing employment for [their relatives] on arrival.”²²⁸ These comments were overwhelmingly directed at Irish nominators.

In 1865 pressure for female immigrant city accommodation in response to numbers raised the advantages of country allocation and the value of previous District Council provision.²²⁹ Catholic press interpreted immigration somewhat differently in 1868. In an editorial of July 20th, it was asserted that “the whole tendency of legislation in the last few years...has been to exclude Catholics from the colony.” This had succeeded, according to the writer; following changes in 1855, where the land purchase system enabled the nomination of two friends for every 80 acre section, it was admitted that there had been “a disproportionate influx of Catholics.” But recognising that the passivity of other denominations was finally checked, the writer then claimed that “every impediment” was being imposed and Catholics were “not even [having] our fair share.” Catholics were urged to focus on “[a]n effective organisation” involving “sensible and self-reliant effort.”²³⁰

²²⁸ *Advertiser*, March 12th 1860. Given that the majority of those with assisted passages were Irish – 57% in comparison to 9% English and 33% from Scotland – whereas in the selected immigrant group over 98% were from England and Scotland with only 1.2% being Irish, it is difficult to avoid applying his disparaging comments to the nominated Irish immigrants.

²²⁹ *Register*, September 9th 1865.

²³⁰ *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, July 20th 1868.

In Stanley, no doubt as elsewhere, not all Irish behaviour could be accommodated within the preferred mould. March 17th events were often linked to negative Irish behaviour. So in 1862 when races were first held at Marrabel “in commemoration of St Patrick’s Day,” comments were somewhat condescending, noting “little publicity, . . . management without experience” and “attendance was considering the neighbourhood very good, there being over 300 on the ground.”²³¹ The practice of holding a wake invariably provoked comment, reinforcing Irish difference. Fire in “the absence of both father and mother in the early part of the morning” in Clare following a child’s death was explicitly linked to “the Irish custom [of holding a wake] on the same night.”²³² Three years later, a more itemised connection following a fatal accident to a Clare Irish male made specific links between a wake, drinking and fighting. It pointed out that many of John Carroll’s friends and neighbours who, after the burial, went drinking “as if they wished to keep up the customs of the Green Isle.” Then, when about 30 to 35 “stayed [drinking] till by some rash words a regular fight began . . . and continued until the police authorities put a stop to it,” the wake’s unsavoury elements were emphasised.²³³ The Carroll family were early Stanley residents so when John died at 41, diverse networks gathered; and their mourning interaction probably had some unfortunate drunken consequences.

There was, however, contradictory evidence demonstrating public approval of Stanley’s Irish. When in July 1864 the outgoing Chairman of the Upper Wakefield DC responded to a signed ratepayer address of thanks, unusually, he singled out the Irish. WC Spicer stated he could not finish “without sincerely thanking [his] Irish

²³¹ *Register*, March 21st 1862; Rhynie also held St Patrick’s Day Races in 1866 and 1867.

²³² *Ibid*, February 29th 1860.

²³³ *Ibid*, February 18th 1863.

friends... for the support and kindness I have always received from them.”²³⁴ Given that Auburn was not one of Stanley’s Irish strongholds, this commendation and its wider reporting were important. But the sequence of events culminating in March 1868 with the attack on Queen Victoria’s heir challenged **all** Irish colonists, their loyalties, and their distinguishable traits more than anything in previous decades.

Royal Visit 1867-8, Fenian Outrage, Responses in Stanley

The importance of the visit of the Prince of Wales to South Australia was signified by calling a large public planning meeting in July 1867. Gleeson was included on the list for a “proper reception.”²³⁵ Catholic Church leaders were clearly sensitive about clerical participation levels; the Catholic press refuted suggestions of Catholic disloyalty or rejection of the governor’s hospitality when the absence of a senior churchman from an event was criticised.²³⁶ Previous to the March assassination attempt, focus on Fenian activities internationally in editorials and articles emphasised the nature of their revolutionary threat.²³⁷ Although reports of the Fenian Manchester rescue and unintended death of a guard were published during Prince Alfred’s South Australian visit,²³⁸ competitive local displays of loyalty received maximum coverage. Auburn²³⁹ and Watervale²⁴⁰ lit celebratory rockets to demonstrate their allegiance. Mintaro, meanwhile, boasted “an immense pile of wood on the summit of Mt Rufus – a position as finely suited as any in the colony, as in almost every direction it is

²³⁴ *Ibid*, July 23rd 1864.

²³⁵ *Ibid*, July 22nd 1867. 700 attended with 50 to 60 on the platform.

²³⁶ *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, November 20th 1867.

²³⁷ See for example *Register* of August 5th and November 20th 1865, April 12th, 17th, July 9th 1866, December 12th 1867 and January 13th 1868.

²³⁸ *Ibid*, November 13th 1867. In September 1867 during an attempt to rescue two Fenian prisoners from a police van in Manchester, a gun was fired at the lock to open the door. The prison guard in front of the door was killed; 29 were arrested and 5 were convicted of murder. One was pardoned, another had his sentence commuted, but 3 were hung.

²³⁹ *Ibid*, October 22nd 1867.

²⁴⁰ *Ibid*, October 25th 1867.

visible for at least 40 miles.”²⁴¹ Unhappily for residents, this was set alight by “evil disposed” individual/s prior to the Duke’s arrival. Nevertheless, the township was festooned with flags – on homes and businesses – and those (unlike the town-going “principal residents”) remaining in Mintaro revelled all night. Guns and pistols were fired and bonfires ensured two nights of “perfect illumination.” Comparable scenes were enacted throughout Stanley.

Against this freshly renewed backdrop of patriotic exhibitionism, news of the attack by Irishman Henry J O’Farrell on March 12th 1868 caused a sensation. O’Farrell fired several shots at the Prince (at a picnic in Sydney), wounding him, but was quickly apprehended. Additional details of the assailant’s nationality and purported links to Fenianism sanctioned the expression of more latent prejudices.²⁴² In its very urgings about **not** making judgements until the facts were clear, the *Register* could have been fanning anti-Irish flames or seriously promoting a fair approach.²⁴³ The official Town Hall sympathy meeting on Monday 16th of March was timed to allow country residents the chance of attending to “express their feelings on the recent cowardly outrage.” Editorial comment pointed approvingly to the unanimity of sentiment and to Protestant clarity that Irish Catholics would “be judged by their own conduct...they will be viewed as South Australians rather than as Irishmen or Catholics.” Furthermore, Irishmen at the meeting uttered “stronger denunciation[s] of O’Farrell’s outrage than any which Anglo-Saxon tongues could compass.”²⁴⁴ Clear sensitivity about nationality and a vulnerable colonial position was evident among vocal Irishmen such as Kingston, but more particularly JT Bagot.²⁴⁵

²⁴¹ *Ibid*, November 14th 1867.

²⁴² Woodburn, *The Irish in New South Wales*, 381-2.

²⁴³ *Register*, March 14th 1868.

²⁴⁴ *Ibid*, March 17th, 1868.

²⁴⁵ John Tuthill Bagot (1819-1870) from Kings County, nephew of Charles Harvey (pastoralist and associated with Kapunda mining), a lawyer had arrived in 1850 and was elected to parliament in 1853.

Reactions such as these, although articulated during a time of shock, indicate some lasting insecurity even among prominent and Protestant Irishmen.²⁴⁶ The March editorial in the colony's Catholic paper reflected relief; "deep dismay" at the news, waiting "with baited breath to see the result of the public meeting" for fear of precipitating "religious animosity and national prejudices." And finally there was reassurance when nothing untoward was evident: "It was a beautiful proof that in South Australia we are one united nation, untroubled by the thought of the country that gave us birth or our religion."²⁴⁷ At Mintaro the *Register's* Correspondent was confident that every inhabitant would sign "any address of loyalty or condolence," describing the incident as an "all engrossing subject."²⁴⁸

Any gathering of Irishmen was suspect. Inter-colonial cable news on March 16th reported Melbourne police receiving details of "an organised band of Fenians" in South Australia.²⁴⁹ Stanley's Irish resident numbers were doubtless the basis for one Adelaide rumour about "6,000 [Fenian] members...who meet for midnight drill in the recesses of the Clare Hills."²⁵⁰ County locations were highlighted in a series of police reports identifying potential sources of Fenian unrest. On a number of occasions before 1868, worried colonists perceived danger when Irish road-building parties were in the Rhynie area just south of Stanley; the mayor had requested police protection.²⁵¹ In April 1868 Farrell Flat, a hamlet of 20 houses, was the target of under-cover observation following third hand claims of 200 Irishmen being "seen under arms." Again, Irish road workers were probably responsible for locals being "quite in a state

His roles included Solicitor General, Commissioner of Crown Lands and Immigration, Attorney General and Chief Secretary. He was also Grand Master of the Freemasons.

²⁴⁶ Campbell, *Ireland's New Worlds*, 115.

²⁴⁷ *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, March 20th 1868.

²⁴⁸ *Register*, March 20th 1868.

²⁴⁹ *Ibid*, March 16th 1868.

²⁵⁰ *Border Watch*, March 21st 1868.

²⁵¹ SRSA GRG 5/2/1867/1591, 5/2/1867/1621, 5/2/1867/1642, 5/2/1867/1656 and 5/2/1867/1676.

of alarm.”²⁵² To investigate, English settlers were quizzed about alleged meetings, and patrols (several in disguise) were made regularly while records of arms and ammunition ordering were checked.²⁵³ The police commissioner, having scrutinised evidence from a number of officers, sent his report in late April to the Officer Administering the Government. While acknowledging Irish loyalty generally, he asserted that “in the vicinity of Clare and Kapunda, and also in Adelaide, Fenian principles are discussed openly in low public houses.” Reassuringly, he added that these participants, mostly from the “labouring class,” were without influence.²⁵⁴ His report indicated the interplay of community alarm and over-zealous police pursuing unfounded denunciations.²⁵⁵ Greet commented that the characterisation reflected in the police focus was of “a colony preoccupied with Fenianism.”²⁵⁶ Had the local population been aware then of O’Farrell’s earlier communication with Adelaide’s Bishop Sheil, their Fenian preoccupation might have had more substance.

O’Farrell had undertaken some ecclesiastical training but discontinued the process before ordination, retaining ill feelings towards the hierarchy. However in April 1867 he had written to Bishop Sheil, seeking his support in continuing priestly studies in Adelaide. In July the bishop wrote O’Farrell a very encouraging response from Ireland. Sheil virtually insisted that O’Farrell contact the Jesuits at Sevenhill immediately, assuring him of being treated “with every kindness and attention.” The letter reached Melbourne in October.²⁵⁷ Had this welcoming letter arrived earlier,

²⁵² SRSA GRG 5/2/1868/395.

²⁵³ SRSA GRG 5/2/1868/502.

²⁵⁴ Three cohort members were included on this police list: Patrick Kirby, who was then living in Kapunda; William Dixon (Tipperary), a successful bootmaker who lived in Mintaro and later Adelaide; and John Doherty, mentioned previously as being charged with kidnapping in 1867.

²⁵⁵ SRSA GRG 5/2/1868/556.

²⁵⁶ Martin Greet, *The Irish and Fenianism in South Australia during 1868*, BA (Hons) thesis, Flinders University, Adelaide, 1987, 68.

²⁵⁷ *Register*, April 25th 1868.

O'Farrell might have been a Stanley resident at Sevenhill, safely removed from the provocation seemingly presented by the Duke's visit.

Without local newspaper input, insight about the impact of these events on Stanley's Irish came only from Adelaide papers. Community uncertainty about Irish loyalty was clear throughout the crisis weeks. Indeed the Irish determination to prove their devotion to Empire accompanied the entire Royal visit. From the self-conscious rebuttal of November 1867 about the prominence of Catholic clerics in "public demonstrations" for the Duke,²⁵⁸ as well as the post-shooting public meetings, it can be inferred that the Catholic and/or Irish proportion of the population felt under surveillance. Patrick O'Farrell's analysis does not focus on South Australia, but maintains "the air [in NSW] was electric with venom and fear."²⁵⁹ More focussed research is needed to discern whether the assassination events affected Irish acceptance in Stanley and the wider colony.²⁶⁰

Death of Gleeson

Auburn Oddfellows proposed Gleeson's health in November 1860 when "they had hoped to see [him] amongst them" at their fourth anniversary celebrations.²⁶¹ Such references and inclusion of Gleeson were typical of this decade. He was a commanding county figure at a diverse expanse of events: sporting, religious, political and social.²⁶² Milburn describes Gleeson as withdrawing from a local political role after his 1857 resignation from local government,²⁶³ but evidence of his continued

²⁵⁸ *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, November 20th 1867.

²⁵⁹ O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 211.

²⁶⁰ Campbell's description in *Ireland's New Worlds*, 114, of "nationally" escalating "anti-Irish bigotry and sectarian animosity", cannot automatically be applied to Stanley, or the wider colony, without further research.

²⁶¹ *Advertiser*, November 29th 1860. He was "unavoidably (but agreeably) absent".

²⁶² See Table Twenty Three, 253-59 below which reveals a much greater role in the 1860s than the 1850s.

²⁶³ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 98.

participation suggests few Stanley initiatives happened without him.²⁶⁴ As noted earlier, he was dedicated to blocking Lennon's parliamentary ambition, actively promoting Kingston in both 1860 and 1861.²⁶⁵ Gleeson maintained judicial responsibilities in Clare and Auburn. In 1867 he presented evidence to a parliamentary enquiry about the Wallaroo to Clare railway. His argument about a future railway was based on an economic summary of Stanley, related to the Burra closure, the limitations of Port Wakefield shipping and costs generally.²⁶⁶

The last years of the 1860s were witness to a visible diminution of Gleeson's activities. His absence from meetings and gatherings on health grounds was noticeable; 1869 developed as a very challenging year. In April came the announcement of his withdrawal from farming.²⁶⁷ Attempts to dispose of his farming implements were not entirely successful.²⁶⁸ The death of his newborn grandson in July (son of his only surviving son, John William) must have hurt.²⁶⁹ November was clearly problematic; severe indisposition followed by resignation from the mayoral office.²⁷⁰ For the remainder of the year he was indisposed.²⁷¹ Not long after his wife suffered an accident to in the New Year²⁷², Edward Burton Gleeson died, on February 2nd 1870. The cause of death was 'dropsy'. For an individual so involved in shaping Clare and so prominent locally, coverage of his death and funeral was muted. The *Register's* detail about both events was far more comprehensive than that presented in

²⁶⁴ His generosity was reflected in gestures such as gifting land for a slaughterhouse rather than selling it, *Register*, December 11th 1863.

²⁶⁵ See 183-4 above.

²⁶⁶ *SAPP*, 1867, 3, No 141, 28-31. Minutes of Evidence on Clare and Wallaroo Railway.

²⁶⁷ *Northern Argus*, April 2nd 1869 – this announced both his retirement and outlined sale items.

²⁶⁸ *Ibid*, September 17th and October 15th 1869 – the first detailed the sale, the next described its failure.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid*, July 23rd 1869, a newborn daughter had died on June 30th 1864, his eight year old son in July 1869 and his 23 year old son was to die in May 1883. Gleeson Senior's own son, Edward Burton, born soon after landing in the colony, had died aged 14 in December 1853.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid*, November 19th and December 3rd 1869. The first spoke of "severe indisposition", the second noted his November 27th resignation.

²⁷¹ *Ibid*, December 17th 1869. Gleeson did not attend the Christmas concert in Clare.

²⁷² *Ibid*, January 7th 1870. Mrs Gleeson broke both arms.

the *Northern Argus*. Described as “our much esteemed and respected townsman,” the local obituary merely referred to Gleeson becoming “a resident of Clare” without any mention of his pivotal role in its establishment. His commitment to the district in parallel with his “venerable figure and jovial face” leading gatherings were commented on, and, it was noted, would be missed.²⁷³ But neither Gleeson’s Irish background nor his abiding affection for his homeland was included. The *Register*’s coverage similarly bypassed these features. (This may have been a consequence of responses to the assassination attempt.) His early life at Gleeville, his partnership with JW Bull, and his role as a special magistrate were mentioned, as was the funeral’s timing for the Adelaide train.²⁷⁴ Interestingly, this local correspondent’s funeral summary acknowledged his role as “the father of Clare.” Its comment on the degree of loss felt by locals (everything in Clare was closed for the funeral) incorporated Gleeson’s “peculiar knack of peacemaking...his [participation] at public meetings for the promotion of religion, science or charity” and his commitment to duty.²⁷⁵

The End of an Era?

The 1860s, a decade of transition, witnessed both a diversification of Irish contributions to Stanley and demographic changes as witnessed in the 1871 census. Legislative changes affecting land purchase after 1869 allowed many colonists to move beyond this county: Tables Twenty Five and Twenty Six demonstrate the exodus in terms of sites and counties.²⁷⁶ For those in the research cohort, counties to the immediate north of Stanley proved most popular: Victoria, Dalhousie and, slightly further, Frome. In the County of Victoria, locations like Georgetown, Laura and Whyte Yarcowie (enabling continued access to Stanley) proved attractive, while in

²⁷³ *Northern Argus*, February 4th 1870.

²⁷⁴ *Register*, February 3rd 1870.

²⁷⁵ *Ibid*, February 7th 1870.

²⁷⁶ See 261-3 and 264 below.

Dalhousie centres such as Pekina, Black Rock and Yatina lured Irish-born farmers from Stanley. The numbers involved challenge the thesis proposed by Richards that the “new settlers...infiltrated outwards as second-generation migrants...[t]he settlers were second stagers.”²⁷⁷ They had certainly “served a colonial apprenticeship” and land shortages were a factor in many family decisions to develop land further north.

But the moving process took years for some families, and some retained close links to Stanley locations despite officially residing elsewhere. Patrick Dowd, for example, described in his obituary as moving to Whyte Yarcowie in 1869,²⁷⁸ continued to figure prominently in Stanley meetings, belonged to the Hanson Council for two decades after 1872 and chaired the Farrell Flat St Patrick’s Day concert in 1887. Patrick and Nicholas Eiffe, sons of John, farmed at both Armagh and Laura in 1874. Daniel Magner (an immigrant from Cork in 1857) also moved between Watervale and Pekina from 1873 to 1890. Cavan-born Hugh Reilly represented another common pattern; having settled in Farrell Flat by 1855 and taken land at Whyte Yarcowie by 1873, he retired to Farrell Flat by 1894 but then moved to Broken Hill where he died in 1911. For many families, the move shown in these Tables was merely the first from Stanley; it appears that the first move heralded the beginning of a more itinerant pattern.²⁷⁹

For other Irish colonists the rewards of hard work enabled property expansion within Stanley. As infrastructure developed there were more opportunities for Irish participation in public life: in local government, in electioneering processes and

²⁷⁷ Richards, “Paths of Settlement...”, 28.

²⁷⁸ *Southern Cross*, January 17th 1896.

²⁷⁹ For example WT Crosby (1835-1907), Armagh teacher (See 159 fn 54 above) and Ann Cameron (1840-1915) moved to Belalie 1872-4, Georgetown by 1878, Gladstone in 1879, Caltowie in 1882 and finally to Port Pirie. Patrick Keville (1845-1901), a Mintaro wheat agent from 1870, moved to Georgetown in 1874 and to Crystal Brook where his wife died in 1880; he died in Adelaide. Patrick Smyth and Margaret Dowd (daughter of Patrick) provide a further example; after their 1869 marriage they lived in Farrell Flat, moved to Burra in 1873, Terowie in 1875, Yarcowie from 1878 to 1880, Euralia in 1885 and ultimately moved to Western Australia from where contact with their families was lost.

parliamentary deputations, in schools and on court benches. While much of this supports the claim by Eric Richards, of Irish comparability to other immigrant groups,²⁸⁰ any previous focus on this area (for example, the work of Milburn or Noye)²⁸¹ has bypassed mention of Irish contribution beyond Gleeson and Hope. The focus on Lennon differed; his Irish Catholic background was commented on in relation to his parliamentary foray.²⁸² Butler, Brady and McNamara received limited acknowledgement for local government participation or in McNamara's case, as a JP from 1864 without reference to their Irish birth. Additionally their landowning success or wider community roles have been ignored by Milburn.²⁸³ The present research has shown that Stanley's Irish residents had a significant, diverse and valued impact. The end of the 1860s provides an opportunity to evaluate Irish impact more specifically by focussing on the arrival, in 1846 and 1857 respectively, of two individuals: Patrick McNamara and Patrick Dowd.

In 1863 McNamara's property, Clarevale near Auburn, was the focus of one in a series of substantial *Register* articles about successful colonial property owners. Discussing his 1500 acres and his views about crops, livestock and labour shortages, the McNamara house, with its use of Mintaro slate, was also described. Household wine was "obtained from the Catholic College at Sevenhill."²⁸⁴ McNamara was fully involved in racing (with Undalya races in 1869 and 1870 on his property), as a judge at agricultural shows in the 1860s, and in Church affairs. When Bishop Sheil visited Stanley, lunch was at Clarevale.²⁸⁵ As a consequence of his JP appointment in March

²⁸⁰ Eric Richards, "The Importance of being Irish in Colonial South Australia", in John O'Brien and Pauric Travers (eds), *The Irish Immigrant Experience*, 95 and passim.

²⁸¹ See 11 and 30, fn47 above.

²⁸² Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 74.

²⁸³ *Ibid*, 91,108. Butler was mentioned in footnote 156 as "a small farmer from Clare", while McNamara was described as "a wealthy farmer".

²⁸⁴ *Register*, April 23rd 1863.

²⁸⁵ *Ibid*, November 20th 1866.

1864, McNamara sat on the magisterial bench, and was later a member of the Northern Road Board and Licensing Bench. Comments made at the 1870 race dinner revealed some condescension on his part. Perhaps given Gleeson's recent death McNamara was hopeful of extending his own social capital; responding to a toast, he reassured the gathering of his "interest in their little gatherings, and [that he] would always endeavour to attend them, even at an inconvenience to himself."²⁸⁶ But when he decided to move further north he was honoured at another Undalya dinner later in 1870. As a "man who treated the poor with the same respect as he did the rich," McNamara's "dignity [in] his honourable position" featured in toasts.²⁸⁷ A frequent chairman and speaker at public meetings, the minimisation of McNamara and his diverse contribution to Stanley life – both spiritual and secular – raises questions. Had McNamara's subsequent insolvency, his resignation from all public positions and his retreat to property at Euralia been used to diminish his impact, the marginal coverage of his contributions might have been more valid.²⁸⁸ But the gaze on those in Stanley's public life, which excludes individuals such as McNamara and Patrick Dowd,²⁸⁹ suggests that important dimensions of county history have been bypassed.

And returning to the analysis of colonial success and power developed by Eleanore Williams,²⁹⁰ using Macklin's research, it would seem these two Irishmen, but particularly Dowd, met many of her criteria. Her focus on 36 estates in the Central

²⁸⁶ *Northern Argus*, June 3rd 1870.

²⁸⁷ *Ibid*, October 28th 1870.

²⁸⁸ *Northern Argus* of August 30th 1887 reported his financial situation. While any record of McNamara's continuing acknowledgement of matters Irish is limited, that there were clear consequences of his financial decline were reflected in the absence of an obituary and details about his death. Thus family silence may have shrouded any such aspects of his life.

²⁸⁹ According to Maurice Keain, the Dowd contingent was one of 76 families sponsored by Bernard Lynch of Cavan. Born in 1832 Lynch arrived in 1854, was an early member of the Black Springs Council before moving gradually between 1879 and 1883 to Hawker where he died in 1891. Keain, a Lynch descendant, describes an old family notebook in which Lynch referred to Dowd being "desirous" of emigrating.

²⁹⁰ See 29-30 above, fn46.

Hill Country,²⁹¹ although listing Dowd as twenty seventh, (with two properties of 6,472 acres in comparison to John Hope's widow also with two, but only of 5,297 acres) makes only one other reference to him.²⁹² But by implication, all her concluding comments about this group's "Achievements and Contributions" should apply to this Cavan immigrant of 1857.²⁹³ He had constructed a large (and overtly Irish named: Cavandale) homestead by 1865;²⁹⁴ both his contribution to local (at least) material success in terms of employment,²⁹⁵ and his political participation both locally and colonially are discussed below.²⁹⁶ Where Williams utilises Macklin's findings that "the degree of [pastoralist] success was in rough proportion to the earliness of their arrival in South Australia, and to the advantages that they brought with them in the form of money and status," referring to this group as "rightly [being] called the 'gentry' of the Central Hill Country," Dowd's invisibility from the analysis is interesting. John Hope is mentioned in terms of smaller estate size but as being "on a social par with the gentry" holding more land.²⁹⁷ Dowd of course was a nominated immigrant of 1857 who initially worked for the railways. So his trajectory of success challenges criteria of both early arrival, plus financial or status advantages.

Dowd's colonial life does, however, indicate the nature of the impact an individual Irishman could make. Contemporaries recognised his accomplishments. He was proposed as a parliamentary candidate in 1875 and 1885; on the first occasion this was linked to his being "a squatter as well as a farmer" and having "the ways and

²⁹¹ Williams, *A Way of Life*, 4.

²⁹² *Ibid*, 145. He was quoted at an 1875 Mintaro political meeting arguing for local men as parliamentary representatives rather than "townsfolk". Intriguingly Williams makes no comment about Dowd himself being proposed as just such a candidate at that meeting.

²⁹³ *Ibid*, 135-141.

²⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 135.

²⁹⁵ *Ibid*, 136.

²⁹⁶ *Ibid*, 137.

²⁹⁷ *Ibid*, p138.

means to do so.”²⁹⁸ In an era of unpaid parliamentary service, this was an important attribute. Dowd was a founding member of the Stanley Council in 1868, then an elected member until 1870 before becoming a Hanson Councillor for almost two decades. He was also a consistent participant at public meetings,²⁹⁹ in parliamentary deputations³⁰⁰ and in the Stranger’s Gallery.³⁰¹ In November 1876 he was appointed as a JP.³⁰² His local generosity to numbers of churches – including donation of land for a tiny Anglican Church at Yarcowie in 1885³⁰³ – confirmed him as a Catholic of very catholic predilections.³⁰⁴

Dowd also sponsored a number of immigrants, thus demonstrating his commitment to the colony.³⁰⁵ An 1874 letter he wrote to a Cavan Emigration Agent provides evidence. Dowd wrote of his experiences in a deliberate promotion of the colony. Having arrived in 1857 with seven children, he explained the process by which he had acquired “4070 acres of land, 25 head of working horses, 95 head of horn cattle [and] over 7000 sheep.” The point of his letter was the encouragement of Irish “who would be in doubt about coming” but a key motivation was the lack of

²⁹⁸ *Northern Argus*, January 19th 1875.

²⁹⁹ See for example, *Register*, September 14th 1864 for a Mintaro meeting discussing Post Office services and the need for a doctor.

³⁰⁰ See 187-8 above. The *Register* of January 20th 1880 describes Dowd as appointed to a deputation to meet the attorney general about the proposed removal of the local court from Yarcowie to Terowie.

³⁰¹ *Northern Argus*, May 17th 1872. This was evident at a Mintaro meeting when the “Port Augusta and Port Darwin Railway Scheme” was discussed and totally supported; “Mr Dowd was in the House when the scheme was introduced, and was surprised at the opposition it met with.” Presciently adding, if not then, it would be in 100 years time – “it would make this the leading colony in the Australian group.”

³⁰² *Ibid*, January 19th, 1875 and April 28th, May 1st 1885.

³⁰³ Named St Patrick’s in his honour, it measured 15 by 11 feet and seated 21; in 1960 was described as the smallest stone church in the world. It was demolished some time after this.

³⁰⁴ Frederick W Morrison, *The Aldine History of South Australia, Illustrated: Embracing Sketches and Portraits of her Noted People: The Rise of her Varied Enterprises: and Illustrations of her Boundless Wealth: Together with Maps of Latest Survey*, The Aldine Publishing Company, Sydney, Adelaide, 1890, 613, refers to his “liberal support to all other denominations”, stating only that “he is frequently presenting young trees to churches and chapels without distinction.”

³⁰⁵ In 1875 he sponsored four males and two females, another female in 1882 and probably many more.



Patrick Dowd and his wife Ann Smith circa 1885.



Dowd Family Members in front of their Cavandale Homestead circa 1880.

Left to right: unknown employees, unknown, Mary McManus and daughter Rosie, Ann and Patrick Dowd.

friends left in Cavan for Dowd to nominate. Offering to do anything to support those interested in the challenge, religious difference was discounted as a factor in his open-ended promise.³⁰⁶ In May 1875 a Cavandale employee wrote to Ireland. Documenting Dowd's actions, the writer described farming activities and the "very good" wages. "There are ten of us working on the farm, all Irishmen and all young fellows and we are as united as brothers."³⁰⁷ Dowd's impact, like that of Gleeson, was focussed and wide ranging, but less public. His activities denote a successful man, one who chose to stay in the colony, one who proclaimed his Irish commitment, but whose behaviour indicates him to have been thoroughly South Australian.

In 1870 Father Tappeiner, at the Mintaro dinner mentioned previously,³⁰⁸ compared the district in 1852 and 1870. Explaining that when the Jesuits began building "their little church[at Sevenhill] they were laughed at, and folks wanted to know where all the people were to come from to fill it; but it soon became too small to accommodate all those who attended. He felt positive that the church had helped to bring a large portion of the present inhabitants of the district."³⁰⁹ Those 'present inhabitants' had pursued lives in Stanley, which incorporated a focus on their children's future as well as their immediate economic well being. So that late in 1864 when a picnic of several Catholic schools was held near Clare, spirits were high among the 200 to 300 present. Many of these were Irish-born or were the locally born offspring of Irish couples. The *Register's* Correspondent wrote that despite the

³⁰⁶ *Cavan Weekly News*, Letter of July 16th 1874 from Patrick Dowd to John Fegan, Printer, Cavan. This letter was located by an Irish researcher locating information about another Dowd individual for a South Australian family. (Copy in my possession.)

³⁰⁷ Quoted in Geoffrey Manning, *Place names of South Australia: from Aaron's Creek to Zion Hill*, Gould Books, South Australia, 2006, 148.

³⁰⁸ See 163-4 above.

³⁰⁹ *Northern Argus*, June 24th 1870.

“unfavourable day,” the brass band ensured that “South Australians could not help dancing.”³¹⁰

A further very calculated use of the descriptor, Australian, was made in 1860 by Irishman Eugene Francis Cronin (1834-1866). His parents, Jeremiah (1797-1859) and Ellen (1803-1871), hailed from Cork. Bishop Murphy was involved in their emigration decision, acting as banker in 1850 and 1851.³¹¹ The couple and their five children reached the colony in the early 1850s, and by 1855 were at Watervale where Jeremiah became the first pound keeper.³¹² The family moved to Burra in 1858. Eugene, a publican initially at Burra and, from 1864, at Clare, endorsed Irishman Edward McEllister at Burra in 1858. He was an early SAPA member.³¹³ As a self proclaimed “young Australian, an independent [who] would vote for the best man,” he demonstrated his willingness to question apparently predetermined decisions. For example, at a partisan Burra political meeting in March 1860 where SAPA candidates Lennon and friends were being endorsed, Cronin incurred wrath by insisting on his questions being answered, and then proposing Kingston. He declared when being shouted down, that he was “a young Australian. People might sneer at him but he was not an Irishman. He was an Australian”.³¹⁴

³¹⁰ *Register*, December 13th 1864.

³¹¹ Condon, *The Journal of Francis Murphy*, 208, 211 and 341. He was fully repaid in 1855.

³¹² *Register*, October 5th and November 6th 1855. The Council required surety for this position.

³¹³ *Advertiser*, September 13th 1858 and February 3rd 1860

³¹⁴ *Register*, March 13th 1860. At an 1865 Clare meeting nominating a DC member, his radicalism was displayed firstly by nominating his mother, subsequently a washerwoman. *Register*, March 1st.

CONCLUSION

Questions at the heart of this thesis focus on the way Stanley's Irish became South Australians and the impact of these immigrants on the county between 1841 and 1871. Becoming South Australians implies a shift from the insecure position of new immigrants, not necessarily welcomed or accepted and identified largely by loyalty to their country of origin, to individuals demonstrating commitment to South Australia, being acknowledged as having some colonial standing, whilst possibly also maintaining ties to their original country. An editorial primarily discussing voting in the *Register* of March 28th 1861 clarified aspects of this transition process: "A man's nationality is not complete if he stands aloof from national concerns, and patriotism demands that he should take his part in the common duties of the society in which he lives." To have impact, according to the *Macquarie Dictionary*, involves exerting influence or having a noticeable effect.

The issue embedded in the thesis title's question can be interpreted in several ways. One implication is that Stanley's Irish immigrants jettisoned their Irish allegiances in the process of accommodating to colonial life; that is, they fully assimilated. Another interpretation challenges whether it was possible for this cohort to actually become South Australians, while a third possibility suggests that the Irish balanced their inherited loyalties with their colonial commitment. This research has found the last interpretation best described the direction taken by this cohort. Some historians have viewed the abandonment of any Irish loyalties as inevitable in an environment demonstrably hostile to incoming Irish. Others have suggested that the Catholic Church became the Irish focus for most; this view assumes differentiation between Irishmen on the basis of religious commitment. The present research suggests there was little distinction between Stanley's colonial Irishmen in terms of

their Irish loyalty¹, and that the importance of the Catholic Church as a repository for Irish loyalty was locally determined. In Stanley, Catholicism's profile included many Irish adherents but a ministry typically Austrian. Impact in the purview of this research includes demographic, individual, status, administration, political, economic, social, educational, religious and cultural. Demographic characteristics contributed to the colony's regional variations.

The County of Stanley developed unusually in South Australia; the colony's statistic of 10 per cent describing themselves as Irish-born in 1861 was below numbers in eastern colonies. But in Stanley where almost 15 per cent of the population was Irish-born in that year, in nuance and demographic profile the county differed from some accepted generalisations about Irish in this colony. For example, there was definite clustering in the region, with townships like Clare, Mintaro and Saddleworth demonstrating between 17 and 26 per cent of Irish-born inhabitants in 1861, and Mintaro's almost 23 per cent persisting to 1871.² Additionally amid the evidence of chain migration, Irish county representation in Stanley differed markedly from the colonial pattern. More than half of South Australia's assisted immigrants between 1850 and 1867 came from Clare, Tipperary, Limerick and Cork. But in Stanley there were twenty six counties represented among the 441 Irish whose county is known. Although County Clare maintained the dominant position with 140 or 31.7 per cent of residents, Cavan followed at 119 or 26.9 per cent. The other six counties which contributed significantly were Wicklow (25), Cork, Limerick and Kerry which each provided 24 individuals to Stanley; Tipperary and Meath were at a lower level of

¹ William Dixon (1837-1893), a Tipperary Protestant who reached SA in 1859, living in both Mintaro and Adelaide, according to his obituary in *The Southern Cross* of November 11th, 1893, was involved in SA's Irish national movement from its beginning, founding the Land League in 1880, serving as a colonial representative at the Melbourne 1883 Irish-Australian Convention and SA President of the Irish National League. He converted prior to marrying a Catholic in 1892 after the death of his first wife.

² See Table Twenty Four, 260 below.

17 and 12 respectively.³ Thus Stanley's specific Irish profile was a clear factor in differentiating it from other areas. Explanation for the high proportion of Cavan-born residents compared to the colonial profile can be linked to Elliott's finding about the dominant role played by "family precedent" in determining location.⁴ Irishman E.B. Gleeson, as the 'Father of Clare', its most prominent early public figure and self-proclaimed supporter of Ireland and Irish immigrants, certainly attracted early emigrants and reinforced the county's difference. Without Gleeson, Stanley's Irish profile would have been more muted, and its Irish residents probably fewer. However, the momentum established by Gleeson was extended and shaped by subsequent groups of Irish whose networking activities both within and beyond the colony attracted other countrymen and women to Stanley.

Residential patterns generally in Stanley's most Irish areas support the notion of family precedence as a determining factor, and preliminary work on first generation marriage patterns suggests that these were endogamous partnerships. The research indicates that mobility within and adjacent to Stanley was significant for many in the cohort. Questions about whether Stanley's Irish were 'sojourners or settlers' emerged from the late 1860s when land purchase became more accessible. Within the cohort of 626 Irish located in Stanley before 1871, almost 350 can be identified as moving from the county. Records of death show that about 260 remained in Stanley. However those whose moves to the Northern Areas are documented here do not fit Richards' "second stagers" or colonial-born thesis;⁵ Stanley's Irish residents (from the research cohort) who responded to this opportunity were those for whom the move represented another

³ See Table Twenty Seven, 265 below for Counties of Origin for the Stanley Cohort 1838-1871.

⁴ See 40 and 153 above for discussion of Elliott and precedence,

⁵ See 31 and 199 above for discussion of Eric Richards' suggestions about those who used changes associated with the Strangways Act to move north.

colonial destination. And, as Table Twenty Six indicates, colonial outflow was limited in this cohort.⁶

After 1871 Stanley's designation as the colony's most Irish area no longer applied. The dispersal pattern of Stanley residents, reflected vividly in Table Twenty Five,⁷ provides reasons for the subsequent loss of a visible Irish footprint in the region. Although it is argued below that a clear sense of Irish distinctiveness was maintained until at least the turn of the century, there was little lasting impression of the area's strong early Irish profile in local memory. Applying Campbell's dictum about the insights provided by intensive regional studies is pertinent here since the apparent 'burial' of a regional identity can be witnessed in this county, thus overlooking what can be learnt from the "complex negotiations between the Irish" and others in Stanley.⁸ The parts played by significant Irishmen (and women) in the pioneering construction of the community have been hidden rather than totally lost; rediscovering their stories facilitates closer attention to their contribution.⁹

Many Irish individuals were prominent in early Stanley. Some like Patrick Butler were clearly associated with Gleeson, and, like Mortimer Nolan and Dennis Kenny, played pivotal roles in hotels, education planning and the local establishment of Catholicism. Wealthier John Hope, like Gleeson, acquired land and then employed Irish labourers. Stanley's Irish colonists of the 1840s occupied a pioneering county with few facilities and structures; copper discoveries at Burra in 1845 helped shape the population influx of the 1850s. Men like the Brady brothers from Cavan, Peter and Daniel, Dublin-born William Dunn, a carter on the Burra route, plus experienced colonists like the Dempsey families (also from Cavan) deliberately chose Stanley

⁶ See Table Twenty Six, 264 below.

⁷ See Table Twenty Five, 261-3 below.

⁸ See 24, 32-3 above and 221 below for discussion of Malcolm Campbell's arguments for "intensive regional studies."

⁹ See 42 above for comment on Irish stories being hidden in Stanley.

residence over other locations. Their decisions encouraged others. Individuals arriving from the 1850s contributed to a developing county with local government structures, agricultural societies, church and school communities. Such community structures invited Irish time, energy and skills, facilitating their impact in the 1870s.¹⁰

Individual and moneyed Irishmen, like Gleeson and Hope, exuded status; their cultural and social capital was recognised.¹¹ Evidence of wealth was reflected in their early construction of large houses plus extensive land acquisition. Status also accompanied their appointment as Justices of the Peace, particularly because of the magistrate role. Gleeson's surviving son, John William, Patrick McNamara and Patrick Dowd,¹² were all early subsequent appointments based either on association (the former), or acknowledged land owning and agricultural success (the latter two). This group acquired their cultural capital. Reported court and/or coronial appearances, plus their position's public designation and precedence, all reinforced their status. In a small county, their Irish backgrounds were known and acknowledged, so when their contribution (or that of other Irishmen) to political meetings was reported in Adelaide papers, or locally after 1869, their impact as Irishmen was reinforced.

Stanley's distance from Adelaide in conjunction with the evolving administrative structure created niche positions for interested and enterprising Irishmen. In 1853 Gleeson was voted as chairman of the county's first District Council, and in 1868 when Clare was designated as a municipality, he became mayor. The early appointment of Irishmen such as William Lennon and Dillon O'Brien into

¹⁰ Founding Irish-born members of Mintaro's 1871 Farmer's Club included Patrick Browne (Clare birth in 1836-1900 death in Lancelot; an 1851 arrival and in Mintaro by 1852), Felix Dempsey (Cavan 1825-1912 Port Pirie, an immigrant and in Marrabel by 1854 but to Port Pirie in 1892), Patrick Howley (Clare 1830-1909 Mintaro, an 1852 arrival, in Hill River by 1855 but to Spalding by 1891 after insolvency issues in Mintaro), Martin Millane (Clare 1830-1933 Mintaro, an 1858 arrival and in Farrell Flat by 1868), and James Smith (Cavan 1834-1916 Yongala, in Mintaro by 1860, but to Yongala in 1882.)

¹¹ Williams, *A Way of Life*, 15, reinforces Hope's association with "The Men of Property" in Stanley.

¹² Appointed in 1859, 1864 and 1876 respectively.

administrative positions as district clerk and bailiff ensured prominence. They were often quoted in reports of local meetings about issues beyond strictly municipal affairs such as transport extension or colonial political matters.

Irish political impact in Stanley could be measured in at least three areas: informally at meetings of interested residents, in the processes of local government, and at the colonial political level. Contemporary reporting of meetings typically named contributors to discussion; the inclusion of Irishmen in such coverage demonstrated their informal and more formal political impact when they were involved in nominating potential members of parliament. Thus, when reports of meetings (either issue-based or more specifically related to elections) at Clare or Mintaro were featured in Adelaide papers, the interest level of Irishmen was often evident in contributions from such articulate and reappearing men as John Eiffe, John Ryan, Patrick McNamara, Peter Brady, Thomas Madigan, William Dunn or Patrick Dowd. Some of these, with many other compatriots, also sought to be represented on the region's multiplying district councils.¹³ The very parochial arena of local government provided an accessible platform for energetic Irishmen to influence decisions significant to their immediate community. Council business was increasingly reported in Adelaide papers and in the *Northern Argus* after 1869; it clearly demonstrated Irish participation in Stanley's local government.

Some of those deputed to meet with colonial ministers were among Stanley's Irish, showing they had the confidence of other electors to represent them on specific issues and ensuring some impact. Patrick Dowd was a member of several delegations in the 1860s. Experience gained locally propelled William Lennon as Stanley's first elected colonial parliamentary representative in 1860; he had brief and spectacular

¹³ See Table Twenty Eight, 266-9 below.

impact before resigning on grounds of insolvency. While the Irish background of individuals involved in all these areas was rarely named in reports, in small town communities, even in the county, it was recognised.

Irish residents made an economic impact as employers, as employees, as contractors, as insolvents. The nature of the Irish economic impact on Stanley varied according to the decade, and between different groups. For example, the economic success of Gleeson and Hope was overt, displayed in land, houses, numbers employed, social circles, overseas trips (for Hope at least) and a certain largesse, or alternatively a peevisish self righteousness. Irishmen on another rung such as Patrick Butler, Patrick McNamara, Peter and Daniel Brady, William Dunn and Patrick Dowd, arrived with little, but relatively quickly acquired land and prospered during these decades. Evidence of the support individuals like Peter Brady and Dowd provided their fellow countrymen – both as migration instigators and then employers – contributes to a deeper understanding of Irish economic impact. Entrepreneurial individuals such as Michael Manning utilised a visible rural Irish network in advertising his “Young Ireland” draught horse stud service in 1871. Of the 17 travelling stops in Stanley, at least 12 were on Irish farms.¹⁴

Less spectacular Irishmen such as Patrick Kelly and Thomas Madigan bought land, raised families and subsequently established their eldest sons on local farms. Many other Irishmen found employment on Stanley’s large properties, later utilising their savings and farming experience to finance their own land acquisition further north in the 1870s. Numbers of Irish farmers, both leasing and owning land in Stanley, supplemented their farming incomes by tendering for local government contracts. In some cases limited financial management skills, in conjunction with

¹⁴ *Irish Harp*, August 14th 1871. Two of these were Protestant Irish.

literacy issues, reduced farmers, contractors and others to bankruptcy. The consequences of such negative economic impact on Irish families must remain a task for future research. Here it can only be conjectured that the bonds of social capital somehow stretched to support such family units when breadwinners were incarcerated for long periods.

That Stanley's Irish had social impact was evident in all dimensions of their representation. This was visible across all groups. From the more elite level represented in the lives of Gleeson and Hope, whose social and cultural capital facilitated their influence, through the small intermediate group acquiring status, those associated with community sporting events, but also including those whose greatest importance was reflected in their nuisance value, (the habitual offenders), in Stanley being Irish was acknowledged. Visibly successful landowning Irishmen like Patrick McNamara and Patrick Dowd (appointed as JPs), and the Brady brothers Peter and Daniel, all played prominent roles at public meetings, as did many others listed in Table Twenty Eight.¹⁵ Their various social contributions (organising and/or judging events, chairing and/or attending public meetings) ensured that there was articulate and active participation in the many establishment processes of a developing region. Denis Madigan (1832-1894), an 1852 immigrant from Limerick, was in Mintaro by 1858 soon after his marriage to Bridget Browne (1835-1894), an 1851 arrival from County Clare. He belonged to committees in Mintaro: in 1864 to secure a doctor for the town and in 1865 to organise a Ploughing Match.¹⁶ These occasions, amalgamating practical skills and socialising, involved many Irishmen. Racing attracted Irish participants, as stewards, judges and entering horses. Others played prominent roles in fundraising events, for either Australian or overseas causes. As

¹⁵ See Table Twenty Eight 266-9 below.

¹⁶ *Register*, September 14th 1864 and August 7th 1865.

Table Twenty Eight indicates Cavan and Clare-born Irishmen dominated community involvement for the 42 cohort members where some identifiable record has been located.¹⁷

At a different level in the 1860s, there was evidence of social networking within the local Catholic community, in membership of such organisations as the Catholic Young Men's Society and the SA Benefit Society. Numbers of Stanley's Irish were also listed as agents for the various Catholic papers of the 1860s, thus demonstrating some deeper commitment to establishing links between their Church and their community. Baptismal records listed godparents, thus displaying social relationships between families which from this distance could not be presumed.¹⁸ Fundraising events served a dual purpose: providing opportunities for socialising (not limited denominationally) as well as debt servicing.¹⁹ It is argued here that with such a breadth of events and activities, in which participation of Stanley's Irish is documented, the contribution of this group to the county's pioneering 'social glue,' was of greater significance than has been recognised.

Commitment to education was shown early in Stanley where Irishmen were visible and vocal in the 1849 negotiations over Clare's first school; the Irish National School system was adopted.²⁰ Founding teacher, William Lennon, was Irish, as were other teachers, men and women, in small early schools.²¹ Following the establishment of Sevenhill College by the Jesuits in 1856, local and more distant Irish families

¹⁷ See Table Twenty Eight 266-9 below.

¹⁸ For example, Sevenhill Baptismal records show Susan Scarfe, wife of Mortimer Nolan, was godmother to John Daly and Mary Duffy's child in 1854.

¹⁹ *Southern Cross and Catholic Herald*, March 20th 1868 reported on the Sevenhill Bazaar netting £500, while the Mintaro Choir's Clare Town Hall Performance aimed to clear some of Mintaro's schoolroom debt according to the *Northern Argus* of September 16th 1870.

²⁰ Noye, *Clare*, 188.

²¹ For example, in Sevenhill Rebecca Messenger 1845-1913 (nee Richardson, an 1859 Irish arrival) ran her school from 1869 to 1899. In Mintaro before Denis Horan's 1864 arrival, Mary Anne Moore taught in the church, Wicklow-born Robert Graham (1837-1907) arrived in 1860 and taught in Clare from 1866-75.

accessed their brand of classical secondary education. Other local schools also received ongoing support from Sevenhill. Thus Irish interest in their children's education was evident in Stanley. However, Irish commitment was demonstrated most powerfully in October 1860 when, despite distance and "threatening weather", large numbers attended a Clare meeting to discuss Catholic education. Irish-born speakers linked Irish struggles over religious teaching to their emigration decisions, signalling their determination to fight for the right to contribute **only** to their own schools.²² By the time the Sisters of St Joseph arrived to establish their schools after 1869, they accessed a network of Irish families whose commitment to education had been established. It can be suggested that education's importance was recognised by many of Stanley's Irish as essential cultural capital for their children.

In Stanley the Irish had the greatest religious impact through the Catholic Church; Bishop Murphy's network of Irishmen 'from the North', the early dispatch of a priest and church building, the support of schools and the strength of connections with Sevenhill Jesuits, all demonstrated Irish religious commitment. Statistically, most Irish were Catholic, but this research has identified at least 25 Protestant Irish in Stanley, typically Anglican or Primitive Methodist. Gleeson's provision of land for the Anglican Church in 1850 demonstrated support; subsequently he served as warden and participated in negotiations about appointing a new priest but also supported other denominations. John Hope donated stone for a Wesleyan Chapel in 1860 and land for a Presbyterian Manse in 1865, while fulfilling roles as warden and sidesman at St Barnabas.

²² *Advertiser*, October 9th 1860: all speakers were Irish apart from two Jesuits. Irishmen Daniel Meehan and John Mallon were similarly outspoken at Kooringa, *Advertiser*, September 29th 1860.

Later in the 1850s, the construction of a Catholic church at Mintaro (involving community labour),²³ in conjunction with the emergence of Mass centres in other Irish homes, underlined the importance of religious opportunities for the Catholic community. Not all Catholics were Irish, nor were any local priests Irish after the early 1850s, but visits by Irish bishops emphasised the Irish dimensions of the Church in Stanley. And concentrations of Catholics, among them Irish majorities, led to the building of further churches in the 1860s. Publication of Catholic papers from 1867 provided a focus for the scattered flock and local Irish agents and subscribers, facilitated distribution of papers as well as networking opportunities.²⁴ By the late 1860s some of Stanley's Irish-born young women joined the newly formed Sisters of St Joseph: two each from the Howley and Quinlan families, with members of the Dowd and O'Brien families following by 1875.²⁵ While it has recently been claimed that numbers taking up the challenge of religious life were unusually high in the Mintaro region, the correlation between its Catholicity (as revealed in the Census) and these figures explains the pattern.²⁶

The cultural impact of Irish colonists was evident, although not commented on during these decades. Examples included naming patterns, customs, linguistic peculiarities, celebration of specifically Irish occasions, and the public display of language and/or symbols. For example, the naming of Clare itself and names in its immediate vicinity – Donnybrook, Armagh and Ennis²⁷ – signified the formal linking

²³ Lally, *Landmark*, 8.

²⁴ Robert Canavan, Denis Horan, James Dennis and Patrick Keville were Agents for the *Irish Harp* or *Southern Cross* and *Catholic Herald* 1869-70 while known subscribers were Walter Crosby, Thomas Dempsey, Edmond Howley, Patrick Kelly, Simon Dollard, Patrick Dowd, Garrett Hannan, Thomas Madigan, Michael Naughton, Thomas O'Brien, Hugh Reilly, Patrick Joseph Smith and Michael Tobin.

²⁵ Josephite Archives, Adelaide

²⁶ Lally, *Landmark*, 80 included a 1956 list of 57 names of nuns "who once lived at Mintaro or were descended from Mintaro people." It was then commented that "It is rather unique that such a large number of religious women could trace their roots back to such a small area of the State."

²⁷ Ennis was named by Michael and Thomas John Cuneen who, in 1871, subdivided part of S336 in the Hundred of Stanley.

of the new environment to the old. Then the names of properties demonstrated families deliberately recreating connections to ‘home’. As well as Gleeson’s ‘Inchiquin’, McNamara’s ‘Clarevale’ and Buckley’s ‘Claremont’, other recorded local examples included James Jabez Jones’ ‘Drumcalpin’, Daniel Brady’s ‘Kilmore’ and Dowd’s ‘Cavandale.’

Incorporation of Irish linguistic oddities such as that of Gleeson at the 1860 political meeting when he declared that an opponent had “looked at him unutterable things,”²⁸ and examples noted in later court appearances, clearly identified Irish expressions with more amusement than negativity.²⁹ In 1860s races were held in conjunction with St Patrick’s Day at Marrabel and Rhynie, adjacent to Stanley.³⁰ Public use of Ireland’s welcoming phrase – ‘Cead Mille Failthe’ – was reported on banners or arches in Stanley from 1857, when Irish Governor MacDonnell visited.³¹ Such visibility reflected Irish confidence about their place in Stanley. There were further examples during Governor Daly’s years³² and persistence beyond the focus of this thesis.³³ Its continued usage linked to significant events at Clare, Manoora and Sevenhill demonstrates Jesuit incorporation of Irish traditions.³⁴ In Stanley, Irish cultural traits were preserved in these decades.³⁵

When a constellation of factors could have precipitated greater negativity to the Irish, in both major instances of these decades, this was not the outcome in Stanley despite Irish immigrants not always being welcomed in the wider colony.

²⁸ *Register*, February 8th 1860.

²⁹ See for example *Northern Argus* of July 15th 1881 and February 19th 1889.

³⁰ *Register*, March 21st 1862.

³¹ *Ibid*, December 5th 1857.

³² *Ibid*, September 9th 1862.

³³ *Northern Argus*, November 13th 1877 – an Irish arch in Clare for the governor’s visit.

³⁴ Two examples in the 1880s include the opening of Clare’s new church and the visit of Cardinal Moran to Sevenhill, see *Northern Argus* of January 30th 1883, September 16th 1887 and *Catholic Monthly*, December 1883.

³⁵ The *Northern Argus* continued to publicise local celebrations of St Patrick’s Day until at least 1900, see for example March 19th 1897, March 24th 1899 and March 23rd 1900.

Firstly the life of Clare's Servant Depot in 1855-6 seemed positive at every level. The impact of the Irish girls was welcomed - from Council backing to support both from prominent locals and the Catholic Church, and including employment levels. Then, the 1868 Fenian 'crisis' represented a different example where scope was not merely local; the event reflected (badly) on all inhabitants of Australia with global connotations of shame, as well as more specific issues of Irish loyalty. But in Stanley during 1868, Woodburn's argument about the levels of latent hostility to Irish immigrants only emerging in a crisis does not seem to hold up.³⁶ There was evidence of loyalty, of widespread county distress, but not of Irish residents being targeted or identified as disloyal.

For Stanley's Irishmen other than Gleeson, few public records of their feelings for Ireland remain. An 1884 dinner in honour of Farrell Flat Irishman, Peter Smith,³⁷ evoked reference to his parents and Ireland, neither to be forgotten. This came from Thomas Madigan (brother of Denis), a self-proclaimed "thorough colonial Irishman."³⁸ Additionally, evidence from obituaries demonstrates the persistence of such identification. For example, when Patrick Dowd died in 1896, his patriotism, his "willing contribut[ion] to any fund started for the amelioration of the Irish people" and his pride in belonging to Daniel O'Connell's Repeal Association, were all highlighted. His letters "to the press, generally on Irish matters" were described as "sensible" and his role in encouraging further emigration was acknowledged.³⁹ John Naulty (1832-1910) emigrating with his mother and siblings from Wicklow in 1846,

³⁶ Woodburn, *The Irish in New South Wales*, 381.

³⁷ Cavan-born Peter G Smith (1842-1889) farmed at Farrell Flat with his brother Bartholomew. In 1884 he bought 2000 acres of land locally to be let on halves. This attracted many to the area, hence the dinner in his honour.

³⁸ *Northern Argus*, June 13th 1884.

³⁹ *Southern Cross*, January 17th 1896; William Dixon, a Tipperary-born bootmaker and early Mintaro resident, received a more overt acknowledgement of his Irish commitment in the *Southern Cross* of November 24th 1893, headed "A Good Irishman Gone."

provides a further example, his obituary designating him as a “patriotic Irishman” and a “strong supporter of Home Rule.”⁴⁰ The 1875 Mintaro celebrations marking Daniel O’Connell’s centenary of birth, and held on Dennis Madigan’s property, demonstrated sustained Irish loyalty and the active operation of a network. Work from the committee attracted not only “inhabitants from this township and the surrounding district...but [also] those who had come long distances.”⁴¹ Thus in Stanley national loyalties were carefully preserved by individuals, celebrated publicly until at least the mid 1870s, and a sense of ‘Irishness’ was transmitted to subsequent generations.⁴² This was reinforced (beyond the scope of the present research) by local fundraising responses to Irish famine in 1880,⁴³ visits from Australian Irish Land League organisers in 1882,⁴⁴ and an Irish MP in 1890.⁴⁵ Thus in Stanley the processes of Irish identity formation were evident, supporting Campbell’s exhortation about the capacity of regional studies to identify the existence of such distinctive patterns otherwise lost in the larger colonial (or national) focus.⁴⁶

Given the dominance of endogamous marriages in these decades,⁴⁷ it can be suggested that such couples were able to reinforce Irish identity patterns. In Patrick Dowd’s family, for example, his six marrying children chose spouses who were Irish and Catholic: two from Cavan, one each from Clare, Tipperary and Kilkenny and one unknown county. His other daughter joined the Sisters of St Joseph. Thus in terms of

⁴⁰ *Northern Argus*, July 29th 1910.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, August 10th 1875.

⁴² A surviving granddaughter of Patrick Kelly (see 152 and 214 above), spoke in 2009 of the effect of his living with her family from 1908, the year of her birth, until 1923. He transmitted the importance of Ireland to his grandchildren: “It was there in the life of the household.”

⁴³ *Ibid*, March 6th 1880, Londonderry-born John Caskey from Saddleworth headed the Irish Relief Fund in Stanley; Patrick Dowd spoke publicly about the horror of experiencing the previous famine.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, August 4th 1882, 160 attended, the fund raising committee included Patrick McNamara, Robert Graham, Patrick Eiffe, Patrick Culleney, PP Gillen, Edward Dougherty and Patrick O’Neil.

⁴⁵ *Ibid*, March 18th 1890, John Deasey spoke at a public meeting.

⁴⁶ See above 22-4, 32-33 and 211.

⁴⁷ See above 21-2, 91, 94, 103, 128, 137-8,146,152,154-5 and 210 for reference to endogamous marriages in this research cohort.

intrinsic success, the Dowd family measured well. Extrinsic success also defined Patrick and his sons; all three followed him into farming, with two also participating in colonial public life.⁴⁸

Many Irish individuals in Stanley willingly identified their allegiance to the colony. Documented examples are relatively few, however, as Stanley was without a local newspaper until 1869; thus Adelaide reporting such instances was in itself significant. In the mid-1850s both Gleeson and Lennon urged a South Australian focus to their audiences: the former when laying a foundation stone and the latter at a political meeting.⁴⁹ By the 1860s, when the colony had existed for barely three decades, the expression of such sentiments was more common. Their articulation indicated widespread adjustment to colonial life and the absence of either Irish disappointment or bitterness. In fact, the endeavours of many successful Stanley Irish to support further emigration of family, friends or others from their home counties, provides additional evidence of their strong colonial bonds.⁵⁰ Numbers in this cohort could have financed their family's return to Ireland,⁵¹ instead, having become South Australians over time, they chose to remain in their South Australian home.

⁴⁸ Andrew also became involved in business in Peterborough prior to moving to Broken Hill in 1900 where he was in local government while David was appointed as a JP in 1887. His third son, John, was killed in a building accident at Whyte Yarcowie in 1905 aged 49.

⁴⁹ *Adelaide Times*, October 11th 1854 and December 24th 1856.

⁵⁰ Although beyond the immediate scope of this research, records from 1876 of those nominating Irish immigrants include many identifiable names of Stanley (or former Stanley) residents.

⁵¹ Williams, *A Way of Life*, 82-3, also provides details of John Hope's 1866 enquiries about, and exploration of the arguments for and against, moving to Banda Oriental or Uruguay.

Appendix One: Stanley's Nomenclature.¹

Stanley was named after Lord Stanley (1802-1869), Secretary of State for the Colonies; to the south, Stanley was bordered by Gawler and Light, while to the east Burra was proclaimed in 1851. Further proclamations followed in 1857 and 1862: Victoria to the north (bordered by the River Broughton) and Daly to the west.

Hundreds in the County of Stanley were proclaimed at different times, partly to facilitate birth and death registration as the population increased. The majority of the names paid tribute to Members of Parliament. The Hundred of Clare, situated centrally, was declared on February 15th 1850. It included Clare, with Stanley Flat to its north, Bomburnie west of Stanley Flat, Whitehut northeast of Clare, Armagh to the northwest and Donnybrook, Sevenhill and Penwortham all south. The Upper Wakefield Hundred, like that of Clare, straddled the road north from Adelaide but south of Clare. It was declared on November 11th 1850. It included southern hamlets, Watervale, Leasingham, Auburn, and Undalya and Hoyleton, slightly further to the west. Declared on August 7th 1851, the Hundred of Stanley included the townships of Mintaro and Black Springs.² The Hundreds of Hall, Milne and Hanson were declared on February 23rd 1860. Hall was named after George Hall MLC from 1851 to 1867, while Milne, recognizing William Milne, in parliament from 1857, was north of Clare and included Hilltown. Hanson covered an area of 121 square miles and was named after Richard Davies Hanson MP from 1861 to 1876. East of Clare and south west of Burra the hundred included Saddleworth, Gum Creek and Farrell Flat (formerly Hanson). Stow and Goyder were both declared on June 26th 1862; the former honoured parliamentarian from 1861, Randolph Isham Stow, and the latter, George Woodroffe Goyder, Surveyor General after 1861. On November 17th 1863 Ayers, named after Sir Henry Ayers, Managing Director of the Burra Mine, was declared. Hart and Andrews honouring parliamentarians Sir John Hart and Richard Bullock Andrews were proclaimed on November 24th 1864. The former was elected to the MLC between 1851 and 1857 and a MHA from 1857 to 1871, while the latter was a MHA from 1857 to 1870. Anama, Rochester and Brinkworth were located in Hart, which was northwest of Bungaree. Everard and Boucat were declared on July 25th 1867 – they acknowledged two additional members of parliament, William Everard from 1865 and three times premier, Sir James Boucat. Stanley's final hundreds which utilised Aboriginal words- Yackamoorundi, meaning by a water course and Koolunga sister of the big river- were declared on February 18th and July 15th 1869.

¹ This material was derived from Geoffrey Manning, *Place Names of South Australia: From Aaron's Creek to Zion Hill*, Gould Books, South Australia, 2006, and Howard Coxon, John Playford and Robert Reid, *Biographical Register of the South Australian Parliament 1857-1957*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1985.

² Black Springs, south of Burra and east of Clare attracted £10,500 from SAMA in the early 1850s – open bidding for an 80 acre section.

Appendix Two: Post-Stanley Life of Dennis Kenny and Mortimer Nolan.

Dennis Kenny was an adaptable and intriguing early colonist. His various careers, within the police force and beyond, established his worth. He was an early Clare property owner, then an hotelier and a census collector. He was proactive politically, to the point of taking risks, as was evident from his behaviour in the 1851 election. Having applied unsuccessfully to be “Inspector of brands and slaughter houses at Clare”,³ he left Stanley in September 1851, worked briefly at the Adelaide Gaol before resigning to go to Melbourne.⁴ When Adelaide’s Sherriff strongly supported him for the guard position at the Adelaide gaol, his police service was cited. But other virtues were summarised: “...he is unmarried, and [his] character stands very high for steadiness and good conduct to succeed.”⁵ Perhaps he hoped to find enough gold to be able to forestall insolvency, but in May 1852 he became bankrupt. What happened subsequently to this energetic single man? After 1852 sightings of Dennis are rare; he was a patient at the Adelaide Hospital in 1872, suffering from alcoholism and nervous debility. His occupation was listed then as shepherd from 1865. Following the hospital stay, he was at the Destitute Asylum, but there is no record of his death or burial.

Mortimer Nolan trod some of the same pathways as Dennis Kenny – both arrived in 1839, had early successes, uncertain and reduced times and finally left no trace. An early and successful Clare property owner by 1843; he rented to the Jesuits and the police. Probably married in Ireland, but with Susan Scarfe (1819-1886) had six children. He had a hotel licence until June 1852; he may have had some building experience given his tendering for the 1850 Clare school building. In 1847 he was a trustee for the Clare Catholic church and in 1849 he sponsored five Irish immigrants from Meath (including Arthur Brady, an employee and protégé of Bishop Murphy), having outlaid £80.1.0 for land.⁶ However insolvency records of September 1851 revealed his debts outweighed his recoverable assets; he was jailed for 12 months. Improvement of premises was the reason given for the debt. A court case reported in *The Adelaide Times* of June 12th 1852 (two days after the transfer of his hotel license was published) when Walter D Kingsmill was attempting to settle a debt, Nolen’s (sic) wife proved he had gone to the diggings four weeks previously. She did not expect him back for six weeks. The Nolans may have been living at Hill River in 1854 when Susan was godparent. Mortimer probably parted from Susan after 1858 when he finalised property dealings in Clare. There seems no further record of him until 1875 when he was hospitalised for three weeks in Adelaide with a knee injury. His address was then given as the Seven Stars Hotel and his occupation as a labourer. Susan died and was buried at Wirrabara in 1886; her daughter Annie and her husband, Andrew Clarke, had moved there by 1877. However no record of Mortimer’s death or burial has been located.

³ SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1851/1373 and 24/4/S/1851/329

⁴ SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1852/59 and 24/4/T/1852/7

⁵ SRSA GRG 24/4/A/1851/3370 and 24/4/S/1851/706

⁶ BPP, 9/1848

Appendix Three: The South Australian Political Association and the 1860 Election.

A South Australian Political Association (SAPA) made at least three appearances in the nineteenth century. The first was in 1850 when the Complete Suffrage League and the Elective Franchise Association (organisations of working men with strong Chartist links) amalgamated. This organisation worked to “win a South Australian Charter.”⁷ Its goal was the election of Charter supportive Legislative Council members in 1851. By 1859 the increasing plight of wage earners in conjunction with universal male suffrage, encouraged the development of a second Political Association. In 1878 yet another Association emerged to guide and inform voters prior to the election.⁸

After a frustrating 1859 July meeting where Governor Richard MacDonell met with working men to discuss their issues of inadequate work and support⁹, an association formed quickly. A committee of 12 was elected by August. A former City Councillor, John Clark (a Scot born in Peterhead 1818, a tailor who emigrated in 1850) became president. Patrick Boyce Coglin (1815-1892) an 1836 Irish immigrant from Ballymore in County Sligo, was treasurer. (Originally, Coglin had a timber yard but he then moved into the hotel trade and became a pastoralist. In 1860 he was elected to parliament.) The Association promoted seven principles: the temporary discontinuation of immigration, the welfare of the majority to direct all legislation, equal political rights, payment for parliamentary members, a tax on unoccupied land, law reform and freedom of the press.

Branches were soon established at North Adelaide and Unley, 50 attended a public meeting in October.¹⁰ A November gathering included communications from many country areas.¹¹ Editorials sounded alarm by the end of 1859, criticising SAPA as unnecessary¹², and its labour versus capital principles.¹³ By December 12th 1860, numbers of Clare’s Irish were involved. Patrick Butler became President, Peter Brady, Richard Quinlan and William Lennon were all also on the committee.¹⁴ Meetings were held weekly. John Clark spoke at Burra on January 7th, clarifying SAPA objectives. Lennon insisted that the “present system [of land sales] must be entirely altered.”¹⁵ In January 1860 it was resolved that delegates from Clare, Mintaro and Burra would nominate three members for the District of Clare and Burra.¹⁶

At a Burra meeting on March 2nd 1861, William Lennon and William Dale (a Welsh-born carpenter and joiner) were proposed, seconded and carried as candidates¹⁷. By mid March they were joined by George William Cole from the Barossa¹⁸. An English-

⁷ John Cashen, “The Social Foundations of South Australia: ‘Owners of Labour’” in Eric Richards (ed.) *The Flinders Social History of South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 1986, 110.

⁸ *Register*, March 11th 1878.

⁹ *Ibid*, July 27th 1859.

¹⁰ *Ibid*, September 1st and October 15th 1859.

¹¹ *Ibid*, November 2nd 1859 – Burra, Clare, Goolwa, Gawler, Angaston, Kapunda, Stockport and Light.

¹² *Ibid*, November 30th 1859.

¹³ *Ibid*, December 2nd 1859.

¹⁴ *Ibid*, December 13th 1859.

¹⁵ *Ibid*, January 12th 1860.

¹⁶ *Ibid*, January 24th 1860.

¹⁷ *Advertiser*, March 6th 1860.

¹⁸ *Ibid*, March 15th 1860.

born plasterer he had also worked as a valuator for the City of Adelaide. These three were successful against GS Kingston, Dr Browne and Luke Cullen in the 1860 election. Of the 2517 electors Dale received 645 votes, Cole 641 and Lennon 630. Kingston's tally was 312, Browne 226 and Cullen 157. 444 voters (17.6%) did not cast a vote.¹⁹

Lennon's insolvency led to his resignation in April 1861. John Clarke stood at the following by election but Kingston was victorious. As Milburn indicates, because SAPA "was formed mainly to promote candidates for the 1860 election...[after this] it disappeared".²⁰

A third incarnation of SAPA developed in the late 1870s. The Secretary in 1878 was EH Palmer and the electoral ticket included nine "Articles". These covered immigration – an end to all free schemes, prohibition of Chinese, payment of members, upper house reform, education to become free, compulsory and secular, property and income tax, and reforms to the Master and Servants' Act.²¹

¹⁹ *Ibid*, March 28th, 1860.

²⁰ Milburn, *Clare 1840-1900*, 71.

²¹ *Register*, March 11th 1878.

Table One: South Australian Population – Total & Counties of Adelaide,

Light, Stanley, Burra & Gawler 1844-1871.*

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Colonial Population</i>	<i>County of Adelaide</i>	<i>County of Light</i>	<i>County of Stanley</i>	<i>County of Burra</i>	<i>County of Gawler</i>
1844	17,366	NA	NA	226*	NA	NA
1846	22,390	NA	NA	322	NA	NA
1851	63,700	NA	NA	1283**	4403	NA
1855	85,821	52,476	6,900	2,259**	2,663	2,852**
1861	126,830	66,238	14,980	4,835	5,483	3,784
1866	163,452	78,072	19,643	6,936	4,221	6,493
1871	185,626	85,593	20,019	9,785	3,401	8,660

* From South Australian Census 1844-1871.

** These figures represent estimates because counties were not used for Census counts until 1861.

Table Two: Edward Burton Gleeson in Adelaide Participation/Leadership Roles 1838-1869.*

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Nature of Participation</i>	<i>Other</i>
8.9.1838	Donation	South Australian Church.	£1.0.0.
8.9.1838	Advertisement Weekly	Thorough-bred Arab horse Abdallah – “a stock getter.”	Five guineas & 5/- for groom.
29.9.1838	Partnership	With JW Bull advertising sale of Mr Eyre’s fine bred herd of cattle.	
13.10.1838	Donation	New Wesleyan Chapel.	One guinea.
20.10.1838	Deputation to Governor	Gleeson proposed as member.	
10.11.1838	Donation	Catholics of South Australia.	One guinea.
1.12.1838	Trustee	South Australian Bush Club.	
16.1.1839	Letter to <i>South Australian</i>	Written by citizens to support Colonial Chaplain slandered in <i>South Australian</i> .	
18.2.1839	Committee Member	Church Building Society.	
4.3.1839	Foreman	Grand Jury.	
3.4.1839	Donation	Church Building Society.	Three guineas & £2 annually.
10.5.1839	Seconded proposal	Public Meeting re Aboriginal Issues.	
17.7.1839	Donation	Site for Congregational Church.	One guinea.
24.7.1839	Donation	Establishment of Proprietary College “for first rate education.	100 guineas Promised.
9.10.1839	Dissolution of Partnership	Stockkeepers, Dealers and Agents Partnership finished with JW Bull.	
16.10.1839	Founding Member	Agricultural Society.	
23.10.1839	Donation	Monument for Colonel Light.	Five guineas.
25.10.1839	Donation	Adelaide Infirmary.	£5.0.0.
6.11.1839	Founding Member	Association for the Prevention of Felonies.	
17.12.1839	Dinner for Governor	Gleeson a steward at tribute dinner.	Mrs Gleeson also attended.
19.12.1839	Listed as Attending	Public Meeting re the Survey System.	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Nature of Participation</i>	<i>Other</i>
2.1.1840	Steward & Chair at Dinner	First Adelaide Race Meeting and Turf Club Dinner.	
7.1.1840	Race Meeting	Gleeson had horses racing.	
6.2.1840	Donation	Building of Presbyterian Church.	£1.0.0.
31.3.1840	Proposer at Meeting	Colony's "principal stockholders" re overland route to Swan River.	10 guineas.
11.4.1840	Letter to the <i>Register</i>	Summarising outlay on and farming achievements at Gleeville.	
14.5.1840	Letter to the <i>Calcutta Englishman</i>	One of a series of 'Letters regarding South Australia' sent to India to promote the colony.	
20.5.1840	Government House	Levee for Queen's Birthday.	
17.6.1840	Donation	Northward Expedition.	£5.0.0.
16.10.1840	Government House	Dinner celebrating Gawler's second year as Governor.	
24.10.1840	Opening of New Port	Gleeson among those invited.	
31.10.1840	Electoral Candidate	Proposed as possibility for municipal elections.	Received 83 votes.
14.11.1840	Founding Member	Association for the Introduction of Vine Cuttings.	Donated £5.0.0.
15.12.1840	Harvest Home Event	First held at Gleeville, Governor Gawler attended.	250 attended.
18.12.1840	Governor's Dinner	South Australian Club.	
19.12.1840	AGM	Agricultural Society – Gleeson had samples of wheat, barley & oats.	
1.1.1841	Dinner	Farewelling David McLaren.	
23.3.1841	Deputation Member	Part of group presenting address to Governor Gawler.	
23.3.1841	Grand Cattle Show	Noarlunga Township.	
14.5.1841	Committee Member	Statistical Society of South Australia, on sub-committee for cattle and horses.	Reporting on true state of colony.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Nature of Participation</i>	<i>Other</i>
25.6.1841	Accompanied Governor	Group on horseback riding with Governor Gawler to New Port.	
17.7.1841	Continuing Membership	South Australian Agricultural Society.	
1.2.1842	Listed as Attending	Chamber of Commerce called a meeting re colonial finances.	
4.2.1842	Listed as Attending	Adjourned meeting about colonial economic affairs.	
8.2.1842	Sherriff's Sale	Furniture, books, farming stock agricultural implements & crops.	
16.2.1842	Declaration	Insolvency initiated by creditors.	
25.2.1842	Sherriff's Sale	Abdallah's foal listed for sale.	
4.3.1842	Sherriff's Sale	Horse, cart, harness, 16 head of cattle, other sundries.	
15.3.1842	Sherriff's Sale	3,000 lbs of wool – excellent clip.	
21.6.1842	Public Notice	Collector of Customs – Sale of Gleeson's 2 year bonded goods.	13 cases of cigars.
2.7.1842	Government Gazette	Colonial Treasury owed Gleeson £11.5.5.	
21.6.1843	Listed as Attending	Opening of repaired city bridge.	
27.5.1848	Government House	Levee for Queen's Birthday.	
25.4.1849	Founding Member	St Patrick's Society.	
14.7.1849	Meeting	St Patrick's Society – Gleeson on founding committee.	
3.5.1850	Attending Dinner	St Patrick's Society – Gleeson toasted Ireland & South Australia.	
18.3.1851	Attending Dinner	St Patrick's Society – Gleeson toasted President Paddy Kingston.	
28.3.1851	Old Colonist Festival	Gleeson toasted the Colony's Agricultural Interest.	
22.6.1855	Government House	Levee for Governor MacDonell	
11.3.1856	Attending Dinner	Sons of Erin – Gleeson a steward.	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Activity</i>	<i>Nature of Participation</i>	<i>Other</i>
24.4.1856	Meeting	Association of District Chairmen.	
21.6.1861	Government House	Levee for Queen's Birthday.	Gleesons & daughters attended.
26.5.1862	Government House	Levee for Queen's Birthday.	Gleeson, son & nephew attended.
27.5.1863	Government House	Levee for Queen Birthday.	Gleeson & son attended.
8.10.1867	Parliament House	Parliamentary Enquiry into Wallaroo and Clare Railway.	Gleeson called as a witness.
28.11.1867	Public Ball	Honouring HRH Duke of Edinburgh.	Gleesons & daughter attended.
18.2.1869	Government House	Presentation to new Governor.	Gleeson, son & nephew attended.
25.5.1869	Government House	Levee for Queen's Birthday.	Gleeson & son attended.
7.8.1869	Government House	Vice Regal Dinner – followed by Lady Ferguson's Reception.	Gleeson & wife Attended.

*NB: Dates refer to reports in *Adelaide Times* (until May 1858), *Register*, *Observer*, *Chronicle*, or *South Australian Advertiser* (after July 1858).

Table Three: 1861 & 1866 Census Identification of Colonial Arrival Year of Irish residents of District Councils in & Adjacent to Stanley 1836-66.*

<i>District Council</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>1836-40</i>	<i>1841-5</i>	<i>1846-50</i>	<i>1851-5</i>	<i>1856-60</i>	<i>1861-5</i>	<i>1866</i>	<i>Total Irish</i>	<i>Total in area</i>
Clare	1861	15	11	39	174	118	1	NA	364	2053
	1866	10	6	45	164	117	61	2	417	2593
Upper Wakefield	1861	21	1	20	76	0	0	NA	170	1689
	1866	10	5	24	95	70	42	0	248	2299
Waterloo	1866	21	4	49	96	30		NA	201	1084
Saddleworth	1866	24	4	26	104	42	0	NA	201	768
Stanley Council	1866	3	6	33	57	80	0	NA	180	1093

* From Census of 1861 and 1866.

Table Four: Nationalities in Stanley & Adjacent District Councils 1871.*

<i>Council Area</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Scots</i>	<i>Germans</i>	<i>Poles</i>	<i>Aust Born</i>
Clare Corp	1004	126 12.5%	197 19.6%	50 4.9%	29 2.8%	6 0.5%	580 57.7
Black Springs	360	2 0.5%	87 24.2%	30 8.3%	27 7.5%	2 0.5%	288 80.0
Clare Council	1978	211 10.6%	392 19.8%	97 4.9%	78 3.9%	33 1.6%	1139 57.5
Saddleworth	1188	158 13.2%	206 17.3%	17 1.4%	84 7.0%	3 0.2%	699 58.8
Stanley Council	1217	253 20.0%	185 15.2%	15 1.2%	29 2.3%	38 3.1%	689 56.6
Upper Wakefield	2487	240 9.6%	292 9.2%	77 3.0%	28 1.1%	3 0.1%	1493 60.0
Waterloo	1097	149 13.5	143 13.0	18 1.6	130 11.8	1 0.09	644 58.7

* From Census of 1871, 'other British Possessions', France, 'other Foreign States', 'Born at Sea' and 'Unspecified' make up small remaining percentages.

Table Five: Religions in Stanley & Adjacent District Councils 1871.*

<i>Council Area</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Catholic</i>	<i>Anglican</i>	<i>Wesleyan</i>	<i>Lutheran</i>	<i>Presbyterian</i>
Clare Corporation	1004	316 31.4%	377 37.5%	139 13.8%	10 0.9%	74 7.3%
Black Springs	360	53 14.7%	38 3.7%	63 6.2%	25 2.4%	2 0.5%
Clare Council	1978	992 38.0%	529 26.7%	478 24.1%	9 0.4%	167 8.4%
Saddleworth	1188	345 29.0%	219 18.4%	49 4.1%	122 10.2%	49 4.1%
Stanley Council	1217	667 54.8%	156 12.8%	237 19.4%	16 1.3%	7 0.5%
Upper Wakefield	2487	458 18.4%	611 24.5%	302 12.1%	38 1.5%	92 3.6%
Waterloo	1097	315 28.7%	235 21.4%	9 0.8%	246 22.4%	52 4.7%

* SAPP, 1872, 2, SA Census of 1871.

Table Six: Irish Individuals listed on 1853 Stanley Electoral Roll.*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Nature of Qualifications</i>	<i>Place where property affording the qualification is listed</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Year of Arrival</i>
Patrick Butler	Freehold	Armagh, Sections 116, 130 and 131	Wicklow	1839
James Cleary	Freehold	Section 131 Armagh	Unknown	By 1845
E.B. Gleeson	Freehold	Clare	Clare	1838
John Hope	Depasturing Lease	Rocky Creek	London-Derry	1839
Dennis Kenny	Leasehold	Section 40 Clare	Kildare	1839
William Lennon	Leasehold	Section 40 Clare	Unknown	1848
Patrick McInerney	House & Leasehold	Section 40 Clare	Clare	By 1851
Patrick McMahon	Household & Leasehold	Section 40 Clare	Unknown	By 1851
George Neagle	Freehold	Clare Section 72	Kerry	1840
Mortimer Nolan	Freehold	Clare Section 39	Wicklow	1839
Richard Quinlan	Freehold	Section 119 Hutt River	Unknown	1853
Michael Ryan (Fr)	Freehold	Section 39 Clare	Galway	1844
Mathew Smith	Freehold	Sections 196 & 305 Wakefield	Cavan	1853

* SRSA GRG 24/6/1853/1682

Table Seven: Identifiable Irish Inhabitants of Stanley in August 1858.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Wife's Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
John Brady	Elizabeth Naulty	Cavan	1840	Farmer
		Wicklow	1846	
Edward Byrne	Single	Cavan	1857	Labourer
John Carroll	Bridget Brennan	Limerick	1852	Teamster, Station Master Farmer
		Limerick	1852	
James Cleary	Bridget Naulty	Ireland	1841*	Farmer
		Wicklow	1846	
Timothy Creeden	Mary Mahoney	Cork	1858	Labourer
		Cork	1858	
John Daly	Mary Duffy	Clare	1851	Farmer
		Ireland	1851	
William Darmody	Frances Haunert	Ireland	1858*	Farmer
		Germany	1848	
John Dempsey	Ann Clark	Cavan	1854	Farmer
		Cavan	1855	
Thomas Dempsey Jr	Mary Erwin	Cavan Mintaro-born	1854	Farmer
Thomas Dempsey Sr	Mary Tully	Cavan	1854	Farmer
		Cavan	1854	
O'Brien Dillon	Margaret McMenamin	Ireland	1854*	Bailiff
		Ireland		
Simon Dollard	Ellen O'Connell	Kilkenny	1855	Farmer
		Kilkenny	1855	
Mathew Donnelly	Bridget Douady	Ireland	1851	Farmer
		Ireland		
James Donoghue	Mary Lynch	Cork	1858*	Farmer
		Ireland		
James Duffy	Rose Ann McCaffrey	Cavan	1851	Farmer
		Cavan	1851	
William Dunn	Bridget Maguire	Dublin	1845	Carter
		Cavan	1850	Farmer
John Eiffe	Bridget Murden	Meath	1853	Sawyer
		Meath	1853	Farmer
James Erwin	Margaret Barry	Wicklow	1852	Farmer
		Wicklow	1852	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Wife's Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Thomas Evans	Elizabeth Fitzgerald	Kerry Kerry	1840 1840	Farmer
George Fitzgerald Jnr	Margaret Mahood	Cavan Cavan	1846 1858	Farmer
George Fitzgerald Snr	Sarah Fitzgerald	Cavan Cavan	1846 1846	Farmer
Thomas Fitzsimmons	Sarah Hughes	Meath Meath	1854 1854	Labourer Publican
Terence Haren	Mary Howley	Ireland Clare	1853* 1852	Farmer
James Hickey	Bridget O'Neil	Wicklow Wicklow	1850 1850	Shepherd
John Hogan	Johanna Horgan	Kerry Ireland		Farmer
Patrick Hogan	Margaret Hogan	Clare Clare	1851 1851	Farmer
Patrick Howley	Mary McKeevor	Clare Meath	1852 1841	Farmer
Michael Kilmartin	Margaret Kilmartin	Clare Clare	1852 1852	Farmer Contractor
Patrick Kilmartin	Mrs Kilmartin	Clare Clare	1858* 1858	Farmer
Patrick Larkey	Margaret Dwyer	Cavan Kilkenny	1851 1854	Farmer Labourer
William M Lennon	Mary Farrell	Ireland Ireland	1848 1848	Teacher, DC Clerk, MP
John McNamara		Clare	1846	Farmer
Patrick McNamara	Mary Donnelly	Clare Ireland	1846 1851*	Farmer, JP, DC Member
Patrick McAnany	Fanny Gullidge	Dublin	1852	Labourer
Daniel Magner	Bridget Ryan	Cork Ireland	1856 1855	Labourer Farmer
Richard Mahon	Eliza Harman	Ireland Ireland	1854 1854	Farmer
James Marron	Single	Monaghan	1855	Labourer Farmer
Patrick Marron	Single	Monaghan	1849	Labourer Farmer

<i>Name</i>	<i>Wife's Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Year of Arrival</i>	<i>Occupation</i>
Edward Molloy	Margaret Dorsey	Clare Clare	1852 1852	Farmer
Edward Murphy	Ellen O'Neil	Ireland Ireland	1851* 1851	Farmer
James O'Brien		Clare	1857	Farmer
Thomas O'Brien	Martha Coveney	Ireland Ireland	1852 1852	Cabinetmaker Post Master
Patrick O'Donohue	Honora O'Donoghue	Clare Clare	1854 1854	Labourer Farmer
Michael O'Meally	Bridget Naulty	Limerick Wicklow	1858* 1846	Farmer
Michael O'Neil	Bridget Manning	Clare Clare	1851 1851	Farmer
Patrick O'Neil	Annie Dougherty	Ireland Kings County	1858* 1856	Gardener
Daniel O'Sullivan	Rosa Barry	Kerry Wicklow	1851 1852	Miner Farmer
Mathew Quinlan	Johanna Callaghan	Ireland Ireland	1858*	Farmer
Richard Quinlan	Lucy Naulty	Ireland Wicklow	1853 1839	Farmer
Patrick Walsh	Isabella Grant	Ireland	1850	Farmer
Thomas Walsh	Mary	Ireland	1855	Farmer
Patrick Weathers	Catherine Brady	Cavan Cavan	1840 1840	Farmer

NB. Names taken from Election Advertisement for Edward McEllister in *Advertiser* of August 31st 1858, additional details from Data Base.

* Indicates the year is the earliest known date of colonial residence.

Table Eight: Irish Female Immigrants at Clare Servant Depot 1855-56.*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Location</i>
August 5 th List					
Ellen McDonald**	July 27	2/6	John Spratt (hired as dairy maid)	Blacksmith	Clare
Ellen Moore**	July 27	2/6	William McKenzie	Innkeeper	Clare
Catherine Coffey	July 27	2/6	William & Ann Hitchcox	Saddler	Clare
Mary Coppinger	July 27	2/6	George Younger	Shepherd	Clare
Mary Fogarty	July 27	2/6	E.B. Gleeson	Gentleman	Clare
Ann Fogarty	July 29	2/6	William Robinson	Gentleman	Clare
Lucy Hourigan (Donovan)	July 30	2/6	? Harrison	Post Office	Clare
Ellen Dalton	July 30	2/6	Franz & Francisca Weikert	Farmer	Clare
Ellen Ward or Wood**	August 1	3/6	William Lilford	Farmer	Clare
Margaret Fitzgerald**	August 1	2/6	Archibald & Mary McDiarmid	Sheep Farmer	Armagh
Johannah or Judith Fitzgerald	August 1	2/6	? Thorday		Clare
Hannah Whelan	August 1	2/6	Archibald & Mary McDiarmid	Sheep Farmer	Armagh
Bessy Donovan	August 1	2/6	? Rowe		Clare
Mary Casey or Canese	August 1	2/6	Patrick & Sarah Butler	Farmer	Clare
Mary Lakeman	August 1	2/6	S Hester		Nr Clare
Hannah Neall	August 1	£1	Amnon Goldsmith	Innkeeper	Watervale
Ellen Connelly or Crowley	August 3	2/6	William Blight	Baker/ Grocer	Nr Clare

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Location</i>
Bridget Callaghan or Kelleher	August 4	5/-	Mary & Isaac Roach	Draper/Agent	Penwortham
Bridget White**	August 6	4/-	? Freeling		Nr Broughton
Bridget Ryan**	August 6	2/6	Franz & Francisca Weikert	Farmer	Clare
September 2 nd					
Bridget O'Brien	August 21	2.6	John Buzacott	Farmer	Armagh
Bridget Flaherty	August 21	2/6	Thomas Daly	Farmer.	Stanley Flat
Johanna Ryan or Brien	August 21	2/6	N Boyden		Whitwarta, Port Wakefield
Margaret Henarcy or Hennesy	August 22	2/6	Thomas Johnson	Farmer	Whitwarta, Port Wakefield
Bridget Redling or Riordon**	August 25	2/6	Josiah Rogers	Schoolmaster	Clare
Mary Cathole or Cahill**	August 25	3/-	Julius Victorsen	Storekeeper	Clare
Ann Jones	August 27	3/6	? Wood		Penwortham
Hanna/Honor McCarthy	August 27	4/-	James McWaters	Farmer	Mintaro
Margaret Green	August 29	2/6	Archibald Craig	Farmer	Clare
Catherine Carthy or Carty**	August 30	3/6	Francis Trezise	Farmer	White Hut, Clare
Catherine Rical or Ryal	August 30	3/-	? Honcka		Penwortham
Honorah Tracey	August 30	3/-	? Taylor		Watervale
Ellen Lally or Luby**	August 31	4/-	Elijah Beard		Penwortham
Mary O'Brian or Brien	August 31	3/-	Amnon Goldsmith	Innkeeper at Stanley Arms	Watervale
Mary Ryan**	September 1	3/6	John Hope	Gentleman	Nr Clare
Ann or Nancy Slattery**	September 1	3/-	Thomas Freeman	Baker	Clare

<i>Name</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>Wage</i>	<i>Employer</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Location</i>
September 9 th					
Mary Sexton	September 3	3/-	? Brady		Nr ? Tenner
Ellen Collings ***	September 4	3/-	Josiah Rogers	School Teacher	Nr Clare
Susan Callaghan or Kelleher	September 5	5/-	William Bryden	Farmer	Skillogolee Creek
Bridget White***	September 7	3/-	Thomas Evans	Farmer	Auburn
Ellen Barrey ***	September 7	3/-	Thomas Evans	Farmer	Auburn
Bridget Monihan or Minihan	September 7	3/-	CA Thomas	Farmer	Auburn
Kate Downey	September 8	3/-	Thomas & Rachel Williams	Farmer	Skillogolee Creek
Bridget Haren or Horan or Noonan	September 12	3/-	Richard & Lucy Quinlan	Farmer	Nr Clare
Lydia O'Leary or O'Shea	September 12	3/-	Paul Teiverk (?)		Nr Wakefield

* SRO Records plus supplementary details from the Biographical Index of South Australia (BISA), Sands & McDougall South Australian Directories and Marie Steiner, *Servants Depots in Colonial South Australia*, pp130-150.

** These were listed in *SAPP*, No 183, 1856 as not having intended to emigrate to this colony.

*** These were mentioned in a September 5th letter from Gleeson as arriving without blankets.

Table Nine: Details of Stanley Families Employing Irish Female Immigrants from Clare Servant Depot 1855-6.*

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth Place – Husband</i>	<i>Birth Place – Wife</i>	<i>SA Arrival</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Other</i>
Beard	England		By 1848	Anglican	
Blight			By 1851	Methodist	
Bryden			By 1841	Anglican	
Butler	Ireland	Ireland	1839	Catholic	
Buzacott	England		1847	Methodist	
Craig	Scotland		1853	Methodist	
Daly	Ireland	Ireland		Catholic	
Evans	Ireland	Ireland	1840	Catholic	
Gleeson	Ireland	England	1838	Anglican	
Goldsmith	England		1839		Court Case 1856
Hitchcox	England	England	1854		Court Case 1856, Clare Council 1858-9, 1869-70
Hope	Ireland	Ireland	1839	Anglican	Clare Council 1858
Lilford	England	England	By 1845	Anglican	
McDiarmid		Ireland	By 1849	Wife Catholic, husband Presbyterian	Early employee of Gleeson, Clare Council 1856-7
McWaters	Scotland		1840	Anglican	
Quinlan	Ireland	Ireland	By 1847	Catholic	
Roach	England		1848	Methodist	Clare Corporation 1871-2
Robinson	England		1841		Freehold & household Hill River 1853
Rogers					Resigned from Clare – going to Peachey Belt 7.4.1857
Spratt	England		1853	Anglican	

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birth Place – Husband</i>	<i>Birth Place – Wife</i>	<i>SA Arrival</i>	<i>Religion</i>	<i>Other</i>
Tresize					Clare Council 1870-3, Chairman 1872-3
Victorsen	Russia	Russia	1849	Jewish	Clare Corporation 1874-6
Weikert	Prussia	Prussia	1848	Catholic	Jesuit involvement

* Details derived from BISA, Mudge Index (SLSA), Steiner, Noye and Research Data Base.

Table Ten: Known Details of Irish Female Immigrants sent in 1855 to Clare Servant Depot & Remaining in Stanley.*

<i>Name</i>	<i>DOB, County & Religion</i>	<i>Marriage Details</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date, Place of Death & Burial</i>
Mary Anne Copping	1831, Galway, Catholic	Single		31.5.1858 Watervale
Catherine Coffey	1837 West Meath, Catholic	27.6.1858 Patrick Butler's Residence, Armagh, Robert Henry (1830 -1864)	Remarried Joseph Mueller, 1808-1895) Germany	19.9.1918 Adelaide, Armagh resident, buried at Sevenhill
Ellen Collins	1832, Cork, Catholic	Single		21.12.1891 Adelaide
Kate Downer or Downey*	1831	Single but had child in March 1857; father's identity unknown	Dismissed but taken back for 6 weeks, died after birth	27.4.1857 Skillagolee Creek, buried in Auburn
Johanna Fitzgerald	1829, Kerry, Catholic	4.10.1857 St Joseph's Kooringa, Joseph Tilgner (1822-1895)		3.11.1885 Sevenhill, buried at Sevenhill
Mary Fogarty	1840, Tipperary, Catholic	14.6.1862 Not Recorded Upper Light, Thomas Maloney, (1840-1888)		18.6.1911 Clare
Susan Kelleher or Callaghan	1836, Clare, Catholic	13.1.1856 Not Recorded Clare, Edward Nichols (1834-1860)	Received rations from 1861, remarried Timothy Rowen 1864	1922 Broken Hill
Johannah or Lydia Leary or O'Leary	1835, Cork, Catholic	10.6.1856 Robert Giles of Kooringa		

<i>Name</i>	<i>DOB, County & Religion</i>	<i>Marriage Details</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date, Place of Death & Burial</i>
Honora McCarthy	1838, Cork, Catholic	11.6.1858 St Marks Penwortham, William Dann (1834-1928)		16.1.1912 Adelaide
Ellen McDonald	1836, Cork, Catholic	13.12.1857 St Joseph's Kooringa, Thomas Edmunds	Complaint from Matron about relationship with Spratt, sent away in Jan 1856	
Hannah or Honorah Neal	1827, Tipperary, Catholic	18.2.1857 Sevenhill, John Stow (1816-1900)		19.3.1900 Kingston, (but living at Two Wells)
Bridget O'Brien	1839, Clare, Catholic	18.3.1859 St Marks Penwortham, Benjamin Horne (1838- 1919)		15.10.1921 Brinkworth
Mary O'Brien	1833, Tipperary, Catholic	1.10.1858 St Mary's Mintaro, William Thos Morris (1828- 98)		22.8.1912 Adelaide
Bridget Riordan or Reardon	1841, Cork, Catholic but shown on 1881 Sevenhill convert list	30.3.1857 Wesleyan Chapel, Spring Farm Clare, Jacob Haarsma (1834-1875)	1870 court case over cows; 1876 remarriage to James Williams	2.10.1914 Georgetown, buried at Georgetown
Bridget Ryan	1831, Tipperary, Catholic	2.7.1859 St Mary's Mintaro, John Magner (1833- 1882)		6.6.1888 Booloroo, buried at Appila
Joanna Ryan	1832, Limerick, Catholic	31.10.1855 St Marks Penwortham, John Stow	Stow then married Hannah Neal (see above)	24.10.1856 Wakefield Scrub

<i>Name</i>	<i>DOB, County & Religion</i>	<i>Marriage Details</i>	<i>Other</i>	<i>Date, Place of Death & Burial</i>
Ann Slattery	1836 Tipperary, Catholic	11.1.1857 Not Recorded Clare, James Rose		Records not located
Bridget White	1835, Galway, Catholic	7.5.1856 Catholic Church Clare, John Cousins (1829 -1871)		10.6.1908 Clare, buried at Clare

* Not included in Steiner details

Table Eleven: Marriage Patterns in Stanley Irish Research Cohort, 1840-1871.*

<i>Year</i>	<i>Irish Cath</i> **	<i>Irish Prot</i> **	<i>Irish & Eng/Prot</i> ***	<i>Irish & Other</i> ****	<i>Irish & SA</i> ***	<i>Irish & Unknown Partner</i>
1840			1			
1847	1					
1849	4			1		
1850	1					
1852	8		1			
1853	5		1			
1854	2					1
1855	6		1			
1856	7					1
1857	6		2			
1858	7		1	1		2
1859	12	1	2	2		1
1860	6			1	1	
1861	9		1			
1862	3	1		1		
1863	12				1	1
1864	10			1		
1865	8	1		2		2
1866	8		1			
1867	9	1		1		
1868	10			1		
1869	14	1		1		
1870	6			1		
1871	4	1				
Total	160	6	11	13	2	8

* This data was derived from South Australian Marriage Records. There were no marriages within the research cohort during other years of the 1840s or 1851.

** These represent endogamous marriages.

*** These exogamous marriages include both Catholic and Protestant Irish, and English or Australian spouses.

**** These exogamous marriages include all Irish marrying other nationalities.

Table Twelve: South Australian Insolvency Figures 1841-1870.*

<i>Year</i>	1841	1842	1843	1844	1845	1846	1847	1848	1849	1850
<i>No</i>	36	38	23	10	26	16	21	17	27	48
<i>Year</i>	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860
<i>Private</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	NA	28	16	3
<i>No</i>	106	53	7	18	32	88	44	105	102	124
<i>Year</i>	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869	1870
<i>Private</i>	7	17	25	12	20	65	120	108	284	337
<i>No</i>	108	165	151	118	109	187	212	149	144	171

In 1871 there were 138 insolvencies including 109 private arrangements.

* Taken from *Register* of February 12th 1856 showing 469 insolvencies between 1841 and 1855, *Advertiser* of September 9th 1860 and SAPP.

Table Thirteen: Irish-born population – Colonial Total & Counties of Adelaide, Light, Stanley, Burra & Gawler showing county percentages of total 1861-1871.*

<i>Year</i>	<i>SA Irish – % of Colony</i>	<i>Irish in Adelaide – % of SA Irish</i>	<i>Irish in Light – % of County</i>	<i>% of SA Irish</i>	<i>Irish in Stanley – % of County</i>	<i>% of SA Irish</i>	<i>Irish in Burra – % of County</i>	<i>% of SA Irish</i>	<i>Irish in Gawler – % of County</i>	<i>% of SA Irish</i>
1861	12,694 10.1%	6,587 52%	1,917 10.6%	12.6 %	714 14.7%	5.6 %	252 4.5%	1.9%	380 3.4%	2.9%
1866	14,485 8.9%	6,580 45%	2,238 11.3%	15.4 %	979 14.2%	6.7 %	155 3.6%	1.0%	877 13.5%	6.0%
1871	14,255 7.7%	6,351 44%	1,921 9.5%	13.4 %	1,102 11.2%	7.7 %	221 6.4%	1.5%	891 10.2%	6.2%

* From South Australian Census 1861-71.

Table Fourteen: English/Welsh-born in Counties of Adelaide, Light, Gawler, Stanley & Burra showing percentages of county & colony 1861-71.*

<i>Counties</i>	<i>1861</i>	<i>1866</i>	<i>1871</i>
Adelaide	25,273 38%	26,073 33%	23,498 27%
Light	3134 21%	3837 20%	2943 15%
Stanley	1449 30%	1797 26%	1995 19%
Burra	2862 52%	1752 42%	936 28%
Gawler	838 22%	1940 30%	1996 23%
Colonial Total	44,843 35.3%	51,660** 26.6%***	46,752 25.1%

* From South Australian Census 1861-71.

** This total included 8167 from Scotland; in 1871 these were listed separately.

*** This percentage excludes 8167 Scots.

Table Fifteen: Australian-born in Counties of Adelaide, Light, Gawler, Stanley & Burra showing percentages of counties and colony 1861-1871.*

<i>Counties</i>	<i>1861</i>	<i>1866</i>	<i>1871</i>
Adelaide	26,236 39.6%	35,737 45.7%	46,880 54.7%
Light	5844 39%	9085 49.9%	9417 47%
Stanley	1995 41.2%	3336 48%	5677 58%
Burra	1856 33.8%	1908 45.2%	1943 57.1%
Gawler	1057 27.9%	2962 45.6%	4992 57.6%
Colonial Total	48,613 38.3%	73,888 45.2%	102,676 55.3%

* From South Australian Census 1861-71.

Table Sixteen: Scottish-born in Counties of Adelaide, Light, Gawler, Stanley & Burra showing percentages of county populations 1861-1871.*

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>Scottish Population, % of Colony</i>	<i>Adelaide % of County</i>	<i>Light % of County</i>	<i>Stanley % of County</i>	<i>Burra % of County</i>	<i>Gawler % of County</i>
1861	7,649 (6.1%)	3,247 (4.9%)	488 (3.2%)	362 (7.4%)	107 (1.9%)	184 (4.8%)
1866	8,687 (5.3%)	3,714 (4.7%)	545 (2.7%)	394 (5.6%)	123 (2.9%)	266 4.0%
1871	8,167 (4.4%)	3,464 (4.0%)	496 (2.4%)	475 (4.8%)	101 (2.9%)	365 4.2%

* From South Australian Census 1861-71.

Table Seventeen: German-born in Counties of Adelaide, Light, Stanley, Burra & Gawler 1861-1871.*

<i>Census Year</i>	<i>German Population, % of Colony</i>	<i>Adelaide % of County</i>	<i>Light % of County</i>	<i>Stanley % of County</i>	<i>Burra % of County</i>	<i>Gawler % of County</i>
1861	8,863 (6.9%)	3,922 (5.9%)	3,322 (22.1%)	145 (2.9%)	224 (4.0%)	62 (1.6%)
1866	8,119 (4.9%)	3226 (4.1%)	3001 (15.2%)	131 (1.8%)	176 (4.1%)	184 (2.8%)
1871	8,309 (4.4%)	2,891 (3.3%)	2,936 (14.6%)	283 (2.8%)	102 (2.9%)	217 (2.5%)

* From Census 1861-71; figures for German-born colonists include Germany as shown and do not include persons from Austria-Hungary.

Table Eighteen: 1871 Census Details of Stanley Townships, their Council Locations, Populations & Number of Houses.

<i>Town</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>Houses</i>
Armagh	Clare	189	91	98	65
Auburn	Upper Wakefield	569	281	288	124
Black Springs	Black Springs	45	30	15	10
Clare	Clare Corporation	1004	540	464	207
Donnybrook	Clare	114	61	53	23
Hanson*	Hanson	126	79	47	23
Leasingham	Upper Wakefield	182	102	80	28
Luton	Clare	104	47	57	21
Marrabel	Gilbert	138	77	61	24
Mintaro	Stanley	319	156	163	70
Penwortham	Clare	180	88	92	33
Saddleworth	Saddleworth	321	173	148	64
Sevenhill	Clare	152	74	78	34
Steelton	Waterloo	33	14	19	6
Waterloo	Waterloo	108	60	48	20
Watervale	Upper Wakefield	209	112	97	39

* Hanson was the original name for Farrell Flat

Table Nineteen: Literacy Levels in Stanley Council Areas 1871.*

<i>Council</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Read & Write</i>	<i>Read Only</i>	<i>Unable to Read</i>	<i>Unspecified</i>
Black Springs	360	204	39	102	15
Clare Corp	1004	626	115	264	0
Clare	1978	1159	321	507	18
Gilbert	2364	1501	239	661	33
Stanley	1217	647	175	393	2
Saddleworth	1218	696	128	302	62
Upper Wakefield	2487	1482	271	719	15

* From 1871 Census, previous census counts did not include these details.

Table Twenty: 1871 Literacy Levels in counties of Adelaide, Light, Stanley, Gawler & Burra.*

<i>County</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Read & Write</i>	<i>Read Only</i>	<i>Unable to Read</i>	<i>Unspecified</i>	<i>% with Literacy</i>
Adelaide	78,001	49,162	8697	18,440	1702	74%
Light	19,643	11,511	2076	5371	685	69%
Stanley	6936	3667	929	2094	226	66%
Burra	4221	2201	799	1152	69	71%
Gawler	6539	3836	759	1754	230	70%

* From 1871 Census.

Table Twenty One: Total Student Numbers in County of Stanley 1871.*

<i>Council</i>	<i>Licensed Schools</i>	<i>Private Schools</i>	<i>Total Number of Students</i>
Black Springs	32	0	32
Clare Corporation	59	62	121
Clare District Council	157	33	190
Gilbert	58	119	177
Saddleworth	94	19	113
Stanley	81	20	101
Upper Wakefield	250	64	314
Waterloo	155	7	162
Total	886	324	1210

* From Census of 1871.

Table Twenty Two: Church of England, Catholic, Wesleyan & Lutheran adherents – colonial totals, percentages & counties of Adelaide, Light, Stanley, Burra & Gawler 1844-1871.*

	1844	1846	1855	1860*	1866	1871
<i>Church of England</i>	9418 54.2%	11961 53.4%	33812 39.7%	43587 36.9%	49295 30.2%	50849 27.4%
Adelaide				NA	25,432	26,362
Light				2377	3097	2706
Stanley				307	1768	2264
Burra				1490	1061	925
Gawler				242	1734	1939
<i>Roman Catholic</i>	1055 6.1%	1846 7.4%	8335 9.8%	15594 13.2%	23684 14.5%	28668 15.4%
Adelaide				NA	10219	11923
Light				2163	3757	4066
Stanley				307	1768	2794
Burra				284	319	494
Gawler				232	1444	1826
<i>Wesleyan</i>	1666	2246	11178	14322	22034 13.5%	27075 14.6%
Adelaide				NA	10723	12590
Light				1010	1826	1863
Stanley				98	924	1743
Burra				1193	1037	716
Gawler				161	940	1188
Lutheran		1524 6.8%	6151 7.2%	11235 9.5%	13,654 8.4%	15412 8.3%
Adelaide				NA	5274	5085
Light				2513	5501	5893
Stanley				17	100	303
Burra				255	249	174
Gawler				2	287	416
<i>Presbyterian</i>				1572 1.3%	11,986 7.3%	13,371 7.2%
Adelaide				NA	4,654	4934
Light				799	895	774
Stanley				482	140	675
Burra				125	210	140
Gawler				79	508	670

* From South Australian Census 1844-1871.

Table Twenty Three: Edward Burton Gleeson in Stanley Chairman/Leadership Roles 1843-1869.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
21.6.1843	Clare	First Race Meeting	
13.3.1850	Clare	Race Meeting Supper	“[T]he evening was spent with the greatest harmony”
2.5.1850	Gawler	Meeting re appointment of local magistrate	
21.2.1851	Clare	Judge at Northern Races	
17.3.1852	Clare	Judge at Northern Races	
17.3.1853	Clare	Judge at Northern Races	
6.1.1854	Clare	Election of District Councillors	Gleeson “thanked the meeting for their kindness to himself” (sic)
28.2.1854	Clare	Judge at Northern Races	
11.4.1855	Clare	Meeting about Races – E.B. to be Judge	“That good man had acted for several years and was always willing”
21.5.1855	Clare	Judge at Northern Races	[Attended by] most respectable settlers in and around [area].
1.4.1856	Clare	Meeting about Races	
9.4.1856	Clare	Meeting to establish a Clare Land & Building Society	Shares of £50 with 2/ per week per share subscription; E.B. to be one of three trustees
14.5.1856	Clare	Race Meeting Dinner	“Eloquent speeches, sparkling wit and social harmony”
21.5.1856	Clare	Meeting about District Council setting a rate	“I trust the discussion will be conducted with moderation and good humour”
3.10.1856	Auburn	Upper Wakefield District Council Meeting	To confirm rate assessment, a meeting rearranged to suit Gleeson.
21.1.1857	Clare	Election Meeting	Gleeson “begged a quiet hearing for everyone”.
17.4.1857	Watervale	Memorial to Government re upgrade of Port Wakefield	“Large and influential meeting”.
20.5.1857	Clare	Judge at Races	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
3.7.1857	Clare	Meeting to discuss Council Rate	
12.9.1857	Auburn	Ploughing Match Dinner	
17.10.1857	Watervale	Northern Agricultural Society Meeting	
8.12.1857	Clare	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner with Governor MacDonnell	“The Governor’s visit would be long cherished and remain a green spot in their memories”.
1.3.1858	Auburn	Northern Agricultural Society Show Dinner	Gleeson was “complimented as a fine old Irish gentleman, and one of the right sort.”
14.3.1858	Clare	Race Planning Meeting	
21.3.1858	Clare	Race Dinner	
3.5.1858	Watervale	AGM of Northern Agricultural Society	
27.5.1858	Clare	Race Dinner where Lennon proposed Gleeson’s health	Lennon “sometimes differed with [Gleeson] on political matters but [these] were foreign to the object of a social meeting.”
15.8.1858	Watervale	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner	
13.9.1858	Mintaro	Railway Meeting	“The meeting should look to the interests of South Australia generally.”
14.9.1858	Mintaro	Dinner to mark laying the foundation stone of the Mintaro steam flour mill	Gleeson proposed toast to ladies “with all the gallantry of an Irishman”
16.9.1858	Clare	Railway Meeting	
18.9.1858	Watervale	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner	“[Gleeson] a worthy specimen of a good old Irish Gentleman.”
27.1.1859	Watervale	Committee of Northern Agricultural Society	Planning for annual show at Mintaro in February.
4.2.1859	Clare	Public Meeting to plan for Annual Race Meeting	“The next races will be the best that have ever taken place in Clare.”
28.2.1859	Mintaro	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner with Governor MacDonnell	Governor visited Sevenhill College; stayed with Gleesons at Inchiquin

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
23.4.1859	Clare	Northern Agricultural Society Annual Meeting	“Gleeson was always ready to do whatever lay in his power for the benefit of the settlers north of Gawler town.”
14.5.1859	Clare	Race Dinner.	Gleeson the judge, Lennon a Steward.
16.7.1859	Clare	Ploughing Match Dinner	40 at dinner and 150 at ploughing on Archibald McDiarmid’s land.
26.8.1859	Watervale	First Great Northern Steeplechase.	Gleeson a judge.
15.10.1859	Inchiquin	Governor MacDonnell at lunch with Gleesons.	
22.10.1859	Auburn	Northern Agricultural Society Show Dinner.	Kingston proposed a toast to Gleeson “in which all would unite.”
19.11.1859	Clare	Contractors of Julius Victorsen’s new store held dinner for local tradesmen and main inhabitants.	Gleeson in chair with Lennon as Vice Chairman.
1.12.1859	Auburn	Third anniversary dinner of Loyal Auburn Lodge MU.	Gleeson in chair, 80 there including members from Lodges at Mintaro, Clare, Burra and Riverton.
?12.1859	Mintaro	Races on Peter Brady’s Racecourse.	Gleeson a judge.
26.1.1860	Clare	Lunch to mark building completion of Telegraph line from Clare.	Lennon named as first in those supporting Gleeson in chairing role.
31.1.1860	Clare	Clare’s first telegraph sent to Governor.	“[A] means of instantaneous communication with various parts of neighbouring colonies”
7.2.1860	Clare	Dinner to plan races.	“[Clare] Races are the second best in the colony”.
13.2.1860	Clare	Foundation stone of Telegraph Office.	Stone provided from Sevenhill.
22.2.1860	Clare	Meeting to establish a Volunteer Movement.	“Unanimity, patriotism and enthusiasm in the defence of their adopted land”.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
25.2.1860	Clare	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner with Governor Daly.	Governor commented on timing of dinner in Lent linked to non-attendance of Catholics.
13.3.1860	Clare	Oddfellow Lodge First Anniversary Dinner.	"[Gleeson] respected and beloved by all who knew him" and "lately elected as honorary brother".
15.3.1860	Burra	Election Meeting.	Gleeson's public endorsement of Kingston, Lennon's opponent.
19.7.1860	Clare	Ratepayers Meeting.	Focus on Council funding issues.
6.11.1860	Mintaro	4 th Northern Agricultural Society Exhibition.	Gleeson also judge of livestock.
13.11.1860	Clare	Meeting re Institute.	
30.4.1861	Clare	Meeting of Ratepayers to appoint new auditors.	Gleeson appointed to chair in absence of any Council member.
10.6.1861	Burra	Election dinner for GS Kingston.	Gleeson, vice chairman; Kingston "had never had a row with him except on jovial occasions." 200 attended.
10.9.1861	Clare	Ploughing Match Dinner; the match took place on Gleeson's land.	Gleeson "was not forgotten for the exertions he had made at all times for the welfare of Clare and the Northern districts."
29.10.1861	Clare	Formation of British and Foreign Bible Society.	Gleeson a founding Committee Member.
16.11.1861	Auburn	Fifth Anniversary Dinner for Oddfellows.	60 people attended.
19.11.1861	Clare	Public Lecture from MP about London.	100 present.
22.11.1861	Watervale	Northern Agricultural Society Meeting.	
18.2.1862	Auburn	Northern Agricultural Society Show Dinner.	400 at the Show and 30 at the Dinner.
29.4.1862	Auburn	Judge at Races.	Four years since last races.
5.7.1862	Clare	Meeting about the road from Burra to Kadina through Clare	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
12.8.1862	Watervale	Ploughing Match Dinner	
6.9.1862	Auburn	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner with Governor Daly.	Gleeson claimed Daly as a countryman from neighbouring county; Governor stayed at Inchiquin.
9.9.1862	Clare	Dinner for Governor Daly.	Daly visited Sevenhill College with Gleeson, he was gratified with educational arrangements.
6.11.1862	Clare	Meeting re subscriptions for Clare to Kadina road.	
23.12.1862	Auburn	Election dinner for Young & Kingston.	“[I]f Gleeson had a fault it was in the head not in the heart.”
3.3.1863	Mintaro	Northern Agricultural Society Exhibition Dinner	
28.3.1863	Clare	Opening of Inchiquin Bridge on road north to Wallaroo.	“the opening was the most important...event in Clare” – Miss Gleeson opened bridge.
15.4.1863	Auburn	Judge at Races.	
28.9.1863	Auburn	7 th Northern Agricultural Exhibition Dinner.	
2.12.1863	Auburn	Oddfellow’s Lodge – a telegram read.	Gleeson promised to attend but had a temporary indisposition.
19.3.1864	Clare	Northern Agricultural Society Dinner but – Governor Daly unable to attend.	Daly’s qualities as governor, gentleman and father extolled by Gleeson.
14.5.1864	Clare	Race Dinner.	Gleeson’s role commented on.
1.8.1864	Clare	Proposal to form a rifle Volunteer corps.	Gleeson had always endeavoured to assist in Clare’s advancement.
23.9.1864	Auburn	8 th Annual Cattle and Flower Show Dinner	Patrick McNamara proposing toast to Judges.
14.11.1864	Clare	St Barnabas Vestry Nominee to Bishop.	Gleeson discussing incumbent for Clare and Penwortham.
9.12.1864	Mintaro	Judge at Races.	
2.2.1865	Mintaro	Election Meeting.	

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
3.2.1865	Watervale	Election meeting.	20 minute meeting only.
4.2.1865	Rhynie	Election Meeting.	Mr Canavan gave vote of thanks.
16.5.1865	Clare	Northern Turf Club Meeting.	Eugene Cronin had a booth on the course.
4.1.1866	Auburn	Foundation stone of Town Hall.	Gleeson presented silver trowel to Chairman of Auburn Council.
10.3.1866	Auburn	Northern Agricultural Society Show Dinner.	Patrick McNamara proposed toast to Gleeson.
20.3.1866	Clare	Oddfellows Lodge Dinner.	
5.5.1866	Clare	Races Dinner	Gleeson a steward and JW the starter.
22.8.1866	Clare	Inauguration banquet for Clare Town Hall.	GS Kingston proposed toast to Chairman Gleeson as “a worthy son of old Ireland.”
1.9.1866	Clare	Wallaroo Clare Tramway Meeting.	
22.9.1866*	Auburn	Gleeson indisposed and unable to chair dinner.	JW Gleeson responded to toast from Patrick McNamara.
2.10.1866	Clare	Wallaroo Clare Tramway Meeting.	William Lennon, Robert Graham & John Eiffe spoke.
1866-1870	Clare	President of Institute.	
30.1.1867	Clare Road	Welcomed home from Melbourne by large group of horsemen.	“Gleeson thanked them for the honour so unexpectedly shown him.”
16.3.1867	Mintaro	Northern Agricultural Society Show Dinner	Gleeson judged wines & manufactured articles.
14.5.1867	Clare	Voted to chair Wallaroo Clare Tramway Meeting	William Lennon spoke.
21.8.1867	Clare	Meeting re bridge over Hutt River, south of town.	William Lennon spoke on behalf of successful motion.
27.8.1867	Clare	Clare tramway meeting.	70 at meeting, Lennon cited as “spokesman for Clare.”
24.9.1867	Clare	Soiree for Clare Institute.	Mrs Gleeson provided coffee & cake.
18.1.1868	Clare	Dinner for Dr Davies JP.	JW the croupier.
10.3.1868	Clare	Election Meeting.	Patrick Eiffe spoke about land issues.

<i>Date</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Nature of Event</i>	<i>Other</i>
20.3.1868	Clare	JW's maiden Chairing of Agricultural Society Dinner	Gleeson's absence due to events in Adelaide.
4.4.1868	Clare	Election Meeting.	"A very orderly meeting."
31.7.1868*	Clare	Dinner for retiring Council Member.	Gleeson absent – in "severe shock from fall."
29.8.1868	Clare	Ploughing and Digging Match Dinner – 75 there	Gleeson "nearly recovered from serious accident in July".
30.11.1868	Clare	Northern Turf Club Annual Meeting	
6.3.1869*	Auburn	12 th Auburn Show Dinner, apology from Gleeson	Patrick McNamara in the Chair
12.3.1869	Clare	Northern Agricultural Society Show Dinner.	Bro Schreiner SJ judging wine, fruit, vegetables, flowers & poultry.
2.4.1869	Clare	Oddfellows Dinner.	60 present.
7.5.1869	Clare	First meeting of Inchiquin Gun Club.	2/6 entrance fee.
20.8.1869*	Clare	Ploughing Match Dinner	Gleeson indisposed, his son, JW standing in for him.
7.1.1870*	Clare	Gleeson's "Continuing indisposition" – no local local court.	

* Dates indicate absences from significant events due to health issues.

NB: Dates refer to reports in *Adelaide Times* (until May 1858), *Register*, *Observer*, *Chronicle*, *South Australian Advertiser* (after July 1858), or *Northern Argus* (after February 1869).

Table Twenty Four: Nationalities (showing Irish percentages) in County of Stanley & Adjacent District Councils 1861-1871.*

<i>District Council</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Irish</i>	<i>% of Total</i>	<i>SA Born</i>	<i>English</i>	<i>Scots</i>	<i>German</i>	<i>Polish</i>
Clare Corporation**	1871	1004	126	12.5	580	197	50	29	6
Black Springs**	1871	360	30	8.3	288	87	2	27	2
Clare	1861	2053	364	17.7	788	559	149	90	48
	1866	2593	417	16.0	1200	568	120	49	79
	1871	1978	211	10.6	1139	392	97	78	33
Saddleworth**	1861	768	201	26.1	330	155	25	46	3
	1871	1188	158	13.2	699	206	17	84	3
Stanley**	1861	1093	180	16.4	453	266	181	14	7
	1871	1217	253	20.0	689	185	15	29	38
Upper Wakefield	1861	1689	170	10.0	754	624	64	41	2
	1866	2299	240	10.4	1190	666	90	50	3
	1871	2487	240	9.6	1493	609	77	28	3
Waterloo**	1861	1084	201	18.5	444	268	34	101	1
	1871	1097	149	13.5	644	143	18	130	1

* From Census of 1871.

** Councils constituted in 1868.

Table Twenty Five: Known Colonial Locations of Pre-1871 Irish Cohort Leaving Stanley 1869-1899.*

<i>Location</i>	<i>Hundred</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>1869- 1874</i>	<i>1875- 1879</i>	<i>1880- 1889</i>	<i>1890- 1899</i>	<i>1900- 1920</i>	<i>Date Unknown</i>
Adelaide	Adelaide	Adelaide	2	0	3	6	7	20
Appila/ Yarrowie	Appila	Frome	2	2	0	0	0	
Arkaba	Arkaba	Hanson	0	0	2	0	0	
Belalie	Belalie	Victoria	10	4	0	0	0	
Benleby	Benleby	Granville	0	0	2	0	0	
Black Rock	Black Rock Plain	Dalhousie	7	4	4	0	0	
Blinman	Carr	Taunton	1	0	2	0	0	
Booleroo Centre	Booleroo	Frome	0	0	0	1	0	
Bordertown	Tatiara	Buckingham	0	2	0	0	0	
Bundaleer	Bundaleer	Victoria	2	0	0	2	0	
Burra/ Kooringa	Burra	Burra	4	2	0	0	0	
Caltowie	Caltowie	Victoria	0	2	0	0	0	
Canowie	Anne, Whyte & Reynolds	Victoria	6	0	0	2	0	2
Carrieton	Euralia	Dalhousie	2					2
Cavenagh	Cavenagh	Herbert			4			
Coonatto	Coonatto	Frome			2			
Cradock	Wireanda	Granville			2			
Crystal Brook	Crystal Brook	Victoria		2				
Dawson	Coglin	Herbert			2			
Erskine West	Erskine	Dalhousie			2	2		
Euralia	Euralia	Dalhousie		3	6			
Fredericksw alde					2			
Gawler	Mudla Wirra	Gawler						1
Georgetown	Yangya	Victoria	16	5	1	1		
Gladstone	Booyoolie	Victoria	3	2				
Gulnare	Bundaleer	Victoria	2					
Gumbowie	Gumbowie	Kimberly		2	8	3		
Hawker	Wonoka	Blachford		2	5			

<i>Location</i>	<i>Hundred</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>1869- 1874</i>	<i>1875- 1879</i>	<i>1880- 1889</i>	<i>1890- 1899</i>	<i>1900- 1920</i>	<i>Date Unknown</i>
Horrock's Pass		Blachford	2					
Hummocks	Barunga/ Cameron	Daly						
Jamestown	Belalie	Victoria		3				
Kadina	Kadina	Daly	2					
Kapunda	Kapunda	Light	2					1
Lancelot	Gumbowie	Kimberley		2	2			
Langhorne Creek	Bremer	Hindmarsh						2
Laura	Booyoolie	Victoria	2	8	2			
Manna Hill			2					
Mannanarie	Mannanarie	Dalhousie		3	3			
Moonta	Wallaroo	Daly		2				2
Morchard	Coomooroo	Dalhousie		3				
Morgan	Eba	Eyre			2			
Nackera	Nackera	Herbert			2			
Napperby	Napperby	Victoria		2				
Narridy	Narridy	Victoria	2		2			1
Orroroo	Walloway	Dalhousie						
Pekina	Pekina	Dalhousie	10		8	2	2	
Perlubie	Perlubie	Dufferin		2				
Petersburg	Yongala	Herbert			3			
Pinda	Gregory	Frome			1			
Pinnaroo	Pinnaroo	Chandos						1
Port Pirie	Pirie	Victoria		3			2	
Spalding	Andrews	Stanley				2		
St John's	Belvidere	Light		2				
Tarcowie	Appila	Frome	2					
Tarlee	Gilbert	Light	3					4
Terowie	Terowie	Kimberley		2	2			
Warooka	Para Wurlie	Fergusson		2				
Wallaroo	Wallaroo	Daly						2
Weaner's Flat	Melville	Fergusson						2
Whyte Yarcowie	Whyte	Victoria	12	6	3	2		
Willochra	Boolcunda	Frome		2				
Wilmington		Blachford						2
Wirrabarra	Appila	Frome		3				

<i>Location</i>	<i>Hundred</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>1869- 1874</i>	<i>1875- 1879</i>	<i>1880- 1889</i>	<i>1890- 1899</i>	<i>1900- 1920</i>	<i>Date Unknown</i>
Wonna	Wonna	Kimberley			2			
Yanyarrie	Yanyarrie	Granville			2			
Yatina	Black Rock Plain	Dalhousie	2					
Yongala	Yongala	Dalhousie		7	5			1
Totals			97	89	86	22	11	43

* Details derived from Birth, Death, Marriage, Baptismal and cemetery records, obituaries and district/family histories.

Table Twenty Six: Known Inter-colonial Locations of Pre-1871 Stanley Irish.*

<i>Place</i>	<i>Colony</i>	<i>1870s</i>	<i>1880s</i>	<i>1890s</i>	<i>1900s</i>
Broken Hill**	NSW			4	
Nhill	Victoria			2	
Shepparton	Victoria		1		
Wangaratta	Victoria		1		
Total			2	6	

* Details derived from death and burial records and family histories.

** This proved a popular end point for many Stanley Irish, often after several earlier moves.

Table Twenty Seven: Irish Counties of Origin for the Stanley Irish Research Cohort.*

<i>County</i>	<i>Numbers</i>
Clare	140
Cavan	119
Wicklow	25
Cork	24
Limerick	24
Kerry	24
Tipperary	17
Meath	12
Dublin	7
Galway	7
Monaghan	5
Kings	3
Carlow	2
Donegal	2
Tyrone	2
County Unknown	185
Antrim	1
Armagh	1
Kildare	1
Leitrim	1
Leinx	1
Londonderry	1
Mayo	1
Offaly	1
Queens	1
Waterford	1
Total	598

* Details derived from family histories, death certificates (after 1908) and obituaries.

Table Twenty Eight: Known Public Roles of Irishmen in Stanley Region to 1871.*

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>Other</i>
Oliver Aiken	Northern Ireland	Nominated in 1869 for Saddleworth Council.	Gave toast at 1869 Ploughing Dinner at Saddleworth	
Arthur Brady	Cavan	Nominated in 1863, elected 1864 to Clare Council.		
Daniel Brady	Cavan	Member of 1868 Stanley Council, nominated 1869.		1871 Mintaro Friendly Societies Picnic on his land.
Peter Brady	Cavan	Nominated in 1858 to 1863 memorials attempting to get a Stanley Council.	Mintaro 1865 Ploughing Match Committee.	1864 Mintaro Committee to get a doctor.
Patrick Butler	Wicklow	Clare Council 1853-1867.	Judge at 1865 & 1866 Clare Ploughing Match.	Chair of SAPA Committee 1860, Clare
Andrew Caskey	London-derry		Horses in 1861 Saddleworth Races.	
John Caskey	London-derry	Member of 1870 Saddleworth Council.	Judge at 1869 Clare Ploughing Match.	
Jeremiah Cronin	Cork	Poundkeeper at Watervale 1855-7		
Timothy Crowe	Clare	Nominated for 1864 & 1870 Upper Wakefield Council, elected 1871.	Steward at 1870 Undalya Races.	

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>Other</i>
Patrick Culleney	Clare			Judge of 1870 Agricultural Produce at Clare show.
Michael Cunneen	Clare	Nominated for 1869 Stanley Council.		
Michael P Darmody	Unknown			Spoke at 1859 Admella meeting.
John Dempsey	Cavan			Collector for French Relief Fund, Hill River 1871,
Patrick Dowd	Cavan	Stanley Council 1868, Hanson Council 1872-92.		
William Dunn	Dublin			1856 Mintaro Church building
John Eiffe	Meath	Clare Council 1871-3.		On Clare SAPA Committee 1860.
Thomas Evans	Kerry	Nominated for 1864 Upper Wakefield Council.	Horses in 1857 Auburn Races.	
Michael Geoghagen	Unknown	Nominated for 1871 Upper Wakefield Council.		
Bernard Gillick	Cavan	Waterloo Council 1870.		
Garrett Hannan	Cork		Horses in 1862 Marrabel Races.	
Denis Horan	Meath	Auditor 1868-72 Stanley Council.		
Edmund Howley	Clare	Nominated for 1870 Stanley Council.		

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>Other</i>
Patrick Howley	Clare	Clare Council 1865, nominated 1869 for Stanley Council	Horses in 1864 Mintaro Races.	1871 Collector French Relief Fund, Mintaro.
James J Jones	Cavan	Nominated for Upper Wakefield Council 1870; later Chairman.		Founded Auburn Orange Lodge.
Michael Kelly	Clare	Saddleworth Council 1871.		
William Lennon	Unknown		Steward at 1859 Clare Races.	On Clare SAPA Committee 1860.
Bernard Lynch	Cavan	Black Springs Council 1868-9.		
Michael Lynch	Cavan	Poundkeeper 1863 Mintaro.		
Denis Madigan	Limerick		Mintaro 1865 Ploughing Match Committee.	1864 Mintaro Committee to get doctor.
Richard Mahon	Unknown	Sevenhill Constable 1863 for Clare Council.		
Luke Manning	Clare		Judge at 1869 Saddleworth Ploughing Match.	
Michael Manning	Clare	Saddleworth Council 1868 - 1871	Steward at 1861 Saddleworth & Riverton Races.	
Patrick Manning	Clare		Clerk of 1861 Saddleworth Races.	
Thomas McEwen	Clare	Upper Wakefield Council 1868.		

<i>Name</i>	<i>County</i>	<i>Council</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>Other</i>
Thomas McGahan	Cavan		Horses in 1862 Marrabel Races.	
Patrick McNamara	Clare	Upper Wakefield Council 1858-61, Rhynie Council 1866-9.	Horses in 1862 Marrabel Races, Undalya Races in 1869 on property, judge, steward 1870 & 1871 races at Undalya.	
Michael O'Mealley	Cavan	Constable 1864 for Clare Council.		
William O'Mealley	Cavan	Nominated 1870 for Saddleworth Council.		
Richard Quinlan	Unknown	Scrutineer for Clare 1863 Council Election.	Steward at Clare 1865 & 1866 Ploughing Match.	On Clare SAPA Committee 1860.
Peter G Smith	Cavan	Nominated for 1869 Stanley Council, 1869 constable, clerk 1870-3.		
Joseph Tilgner	Unknown	1863 Constable for Clare Council.		
Patrick Weathers	Cavan	Nominated for 1869 Stanley Council, elected in 1870.		

* Details from the *Register*, *Northern Argus*, the Mudge Index of Local Government (SLSA) and local histories.

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