South Australia's First Expedition:

three generations of settler-colonial social mobility.

by

Heidi Ing

Thesis
submitted to Flinders University
for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

College of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences

9 October 2020

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Thesis Summary

By early 1831 the anticipated destination for a proposed colony in Australasia had been selected, and an experiment in 'systematic colonisation' was to be placed on the lands of southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples. South Australia's 'first expedition' arrived on the shores of these lands between July and October 1836. This population of early-arriving settler-colonists are the subject of this thesis, which uncovers their careers, as well as the occupational class inheritance experienced by their children and grandchildren. The proposed province was to be a planned, respectable and profitable colonial destination which would provide social and occupational advantage for Great Britain's 'uneasy middling orders' and 'surplus labourers'. This thesis argues that promises of occupational opportunities were realised by those who participated in South Australia's first expedition. Those drawn from Britain's middle classes took advantage of political, managerial and professional roles available in the newly created colonial society, and entrepreneurial endeavours were initiated by passage-assisted labourers, who were well positioned to serve the needs of subsequent immigrants.

Despite the promoted objective to foster access to agricultural land, few labourers of South Australia's first expedition were the progenitors of persistent farming families. The 'sufficient price' which was attached to land to maintain the colony's labour force, effectively restricted access to farming land for sons of labourers. In contrast, the daughters of labourers who arrived with South Australia's first expedition were able to marry farmers in the first decades of the expanding settler-colony. This thesis finds that daughters inherited early-arrival advantage when compared to sons, who tended to be downwardly mobile. Occupations in the upper class were principally out of reach for those of labouring, farming and fishing origin in all three generations, while descendants of the upper class were predominantly persistent above the manual divide. The intergenerational consequences of geographic mobility have troubled historians, as mobile populations are difficult to trace in past eras. This thesis pursues the first, second and third generations from cradle to grave, identifying changes in their locations and occupations. A comparison of 'movers' to 'stayers' in each generation reveals that those of the manual classes who moved did not greatly alter their rate of occupational class persistence, while the middle-class increased their access to upper-class occupations if they relocated to another colony or overseas.

Declaration

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgment 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.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Acknowledgements

In 1979 historian Graeme Davison emphasised that the study of social mobility in Australia would require 'a little energy and friendly collaboration' between historians and genealogists.[1] These words are still true, and I would not have been able to undertake this thesis without the many decades and countless hours of effort undertaken by volunteers who have transcribed, indexed, scanned and digitised primary source documents.

South Australia is well provided with active and energetic historical societies and local historians. The Pioneers Association of South Australia (PASA) enthusiastically supported this research, providing me with access to their helpful and encouraging members and their resources. The PASA placed me in contact with David Wilson, of the Kangaroo Island Pioneers Association, who provided access to his online database of sourced information on the passengers of South Australia's 'first eight ships'.[2] David and I were in constant communication, debating and deliberating the evidence for every passenger and their descendants. I have been particularly grateful for David's comradeship during this research.

Databases of South Australian births, baptisms, marriages, deaths, and burials (and more!) have been diligently compiled and provided online by volunteers at GenealogySA.[3] It was primarily through these resources that this study could be conducted. Unfortunately, the field of occupation was not transcribed from the original records, and to overcome this obstacle, volunteers Nancy Baldock and Robert Blair assisted with the identification of occupations from microfiche. In an act of reciprocity and collaboration, the family trees for the passengers of South Australia's First Expedition will be deposited with GenealogySA.

Many other South Australian historians have disseminated the results of their labourer through online databases and resources. In particular I thank Graham Jaunay, Reg Butler, Barry Leadbeater, Bob Sexton, Brian Stace and Bill Othams for their inspiring efforts.[4] The History Trust of South Australia worked with a team of historians to produce the *Bound for South Australia* educational resource, which commemorated South Australia's 175th

[1] Davison, Graeme. 'The Mobility Theme', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the study of Australian history centred on the year 1888*, Bulletin no. 1, February 1979, pp. 11-12; Davison, Graeme. 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 2, August 1979, p. 14.

[2] Wilson, David, *SA Pioneers 1836,* <https://dukeofyork.tribalpages.com/>; Wilson, David, *KI Pioneers: First eight ships* <https://sites.google.com/view/first8ships/>

[3] GenealogySA, *Online Database Search*, < https://www.genealogysa.org.au/resources/online-databases.html>

[4] Graham Jaunay: Ancestral & Local History Research <www.jaunay.com>; Reginal Graham Butler, OAM <localwiki.org/Adelaide-hills/Reg_Butler>; FamilyHistorySA, <https://www.familyhistorysa.org/about.html>; Sexton, R. T. *Shipping Arrivals and Departures South Australia 1627-1850: A Guide to Genealogists and Maritime Historians*. Ridgehaven, S. Aust.: Gould Books, 1990

anniversary by following the journey of South Australia's first nine colonial ships. This website provided transcribed journals and letters which informed this research and provided immense inspiration.[5]

I am grateful to my supervisors, the late Professor Eric Richards, Professor Melanie Oppenheimer, and Professor Don DeBats, who laid the foundation for this project. I first approached Professor Eric Richards regarding doctoral supervision at the end of 1999, and when I finally commenced in 2016, Eric laughed at my 'long run at the wicket'. With the sudden, sad and lamentable loss of Professor Eric Richards in September 2018, Professor Philip Payton took over my supervision and I am immensely grateful for the kind, considerate and generous support provided by Philip and Dee. Robert Fitzsimons, who had worked closely with Eric for decades, kindly read and commented on chapters and provided direction to resources.

A doctoral candidature is all-consuming, and my husband Warwick Ing supported me during this endeavour. Always kind and considerate, Warwick encouraged me to take the time and resources I needed to complete. This included a 'room of my own' upstairs at the Grace Emily, which is where this thesis was written (thank you Sym!). My father also provided me with an office at his house, so that while I visited him amongst the paddocks in the Tatiara I could work comfortably. I have been thoroughly spoiled, and I could not be more grateful.

[5] History Trust of South Australia, *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au>.

Chapter One: Following Immigrants on the Move

The Age of Mass Migration (1850—1914) saw emigrants leave Great Britain and Ireland in vast numbers and re-establish their lives in the British Empire's far-flung colonies. This thesis investigates three generations whose lives spanned this mobile age, from an initial population of early-arriving settler-colonists, to their grandchildren who saw the turn of a new century. Initiated by the proponents of Edward Gibbon Wakefield's proposal for 'systematic colonisation', the Province of South Australia was enacted by an Act of British Parliament in August 1834 and proclaimed in December 1836. The first generation upon which this research is based, arrived in South Australia between July and October 1836 as the colony's initial colonising settlers, referred to in contemporaneous reports as the 'first expedition'.[1]

The motivation for this study stems from the promises made by promoters of the Wakefieldian scheme of systematic colonisation, particularly to the middle and labouring classes. Through publications, newspaper press and public speeches, the promoters of this newly defined settler-colonial destination promised opportunities to early participants.[2] South Australia was conceived as an experimental colonial enterprise, put forward as a means to create a planned, respectable and profitable destination, which would be particularly attractive to Britain's ambitious middle classes.[3] Immigration to South Australia was presented as a propitious act for those who sought opportunities for themselves and their descendants.[4] Access to land was central to the scheme and was appropriated, without treaty, from southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples. This land was to be rendered profitable to settler-colonists and investors through the creation of a concentrated settlement, providing an urban centre from the commencement of the colony.

---

[1] South Australian Company. *Supplement to the First Report of the directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1837, p. 9; South Australian Colonization Commission. *First annual report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1836*. Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London, no. 491, 1836, pp. 12-13; Mann, Charles. *Report of the speeches delivered at a dinner to Capt. John Hindmarsh*, London, 1835, p. 8; Stephens, John. *The Land of Promise: being an authentic and impartial history of the rise and progress of the new British Province of South Australia*, London: Smith & Elder, 1839, reprint Adelaide: Gillingham Printers, 1988, pp. 94, 98.

[2] Arnold, Marilyn. 'Promoting Emigration to South Australia from Britain 1829 – c1850: The importance of newspapers and other literature to the South Australian Colonisation Project', PhD thesis History, Flinders University, 2019, pp. 17-18, 198-208; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 1967, p. 55.

[3] Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. 'Inducements to Emigrate', in *The New British Province of South Australia, or, a Description of the Country, Illustrated by Charts and Views: With an Account of the Principles, Objects, Plan, and Prospects of the Colony*. London: Printed for C. Knight, 1834, pp. 122-126.

[4] Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *England and America: A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations, in Two Volumes*. London: Richard Bentley, 1833, pp. 80-106.

Emphasis was placed on the opportunities for profit and social advancement which would be obtainable in this new settler-colonial society. The planned Province of South Australia was to provide access to land and labourers, while its concentrated settlement would offer a social structure which replicated that of urban England. In this way, political, professional and managerial roles were to be available to those of the ambitious middle class. A sufficiently high cost was attached to rural land to ensure that it was out of the reach of labourers, preventing the depletion of the colony's labour force by labourers becoming landowners 'too soon'.[5] Labourers, in turn, were enticed to emigrate through the promise of free passage to the remote colony, the ability to earn high wages, and the opportunity to become landowners or capitalists 'a few years' after arrival.[6]

These promoted expectations are compared to the lived experiences of participants in South Australia's first expedition after their arrival in the newly proclaimed colony, testing the assertions of the colony's publicists. As expressed by immigration historian Eric Richards:

> *The ultimate test of the Wakefieldian system was the actual shape of the emergent society, best exemplified in the lives of individual immigrants*.[7]

Through the career analysis of the first expedition, this thesis reveals the degree to which promises of opportunity and social mobility came to fruition, answering the question: Did early adopters of the Wakefieldian scheme of systematic colonisation benefit from the initiative? The differing experiences of these settler-colonists are broken down by occupational class: labourers, skilled workers, farmers and fishers, middle and upper class.

The promises of promoters also played on hopes emigrants held for their children. Wakefield asked potential participants in the South Australian experiment to consider the benefits for their sons, daughters and descendants. He stressed that sons would be able to establish careers, and daughters to marry, without the competition which obstructed advancement in England.[8] Future generations could claim the honour of descent from

---

[5] Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire: In Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*. London: John W. Parker, 1849, Letter XLIX, Letter LII, Letter LIV, Letter LV, pp. 100-112.

[6] South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony to be founded on the South Coast of Australia*, 1834, Austaprint edition, Hamstead Gardens, South Australia, 1978, p. 15.

[7] Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia', in Richards, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 118.

[8] Wakefield, *England and America,* 1833, p. 100.

colonial 'pioneers' who had embarked on the 'heroic work' of colonisation.[9] Examinations of multigenerational social mobility presented in this thesis uncover the extent to which families were able to transfer their occupational advantage to future generations. The career outcomes of South Australia's first expedition are compared to the occupations of their sons and daughters, grandsons and granddaughters, uncovering the rate of occupational inheritance for both male and female descendants.

The question of ongoing geographic mobility and subsequent occupational outcomes is also addressed, both from a career and an intergenerational perspective. As the research population includes descendants who were geographically mobile as well as those who were geographically persistent, the occupational class outcomes for 'movers' and 'stayers' is compared. By using family reconstitution, a prosopographical approach, and a compiled longitudinal database of linked microdata, this thesis pursues three generations from cradle to grave, unveiling correlations between continuing migration and occupational class mobility.

The method applied to the study of intergenerational occupational mobility has its roots in the 1960s, with the growth of social history written 'from the bottom up' and its emphasis on quantification.[10] Also referred to as 'history from below', the emerging surge of historical research sought to illuminate the lives of sections of society who were potentially 'lost to history'.[11] A catalyst for this trend in historical research was Stephan Thernstrom's influential 1964 publication *Poverty and Progress,* which linked census schedules to reveal labouring fathers and sons in the industrialising city of Newburyport, Massachusetts.[12] *Poverty and Progress* was followed by a 'study of the common people of Boston' through their appearance in directories, marriage registers and tax records as well as census schedules.[13] Thernstrom's quantitative work using father and son pairs proved to be pivotal in the field of social history and attracted many imitators amongst historians and sociologists.[14] Historian Paul Bourke pointed out that by 1980, North American social mobility studies based on census schedules were extensive, with a 'flood of case studies of

[9] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1838, 2nd ed, p. 129; Wakefield, *A View in the Art of Colonization,* 1849, p. 43.
[10] Johnson, Paul E. 'Reflections: looking back at Social History.' *Reviews In American History,* vol. 39, no. 2, 2011, p. 380.
[11] Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*. Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964, p. 5.
[12] Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress,* 1964, pp. 5-6.
[13] Thernstrom, Stephan. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973, pp. 1-2.
[14] Historian Michael Frisch described Thernstrom's *Poverty and Progress* as 'excitedly radical and reassuringly traditional in almost every methodological, professional, cultural, and political sense'. Frisch, Michael. 'Poverty and Progress: A Paradoxical Legacy.' *Social Science History*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1986, p. 18.

such areas as Buffalo, Philadelphia, Poughkeepsie, Paterson, Chicago, Hamilton, Omaha, [and] Atlanta.'[15]

On the Australasian stage, the long-running and prolific 'Caversham Project' made a close study of the industrial city of Dunedin on New Zealand's South Island.[16] The findings for suburban Dunedin were compared to North American studies, in particular Thernstrom's investigation of Boston.[17] The Caversham Project concluded that Dunedin could be described as an egalitarian society, with high levels of cross-class residential, marital and intergenerational mixing, although unskilled labourers experience higher persistence in Dunedin than those residing in Boston.[18] For Australia, class was examined in Melbourne's working-class suburb of Richmond, a de-identified rural town in New South Wales, and even the author's hometown of Millicent in the south east of South Australia.[19]

A shared limitation of these community-based case studies was their exclusion of out-migrants. Thernstrom acknowledged that he had been unable to follow a substantial proportion of his population as they moved away from the region under investigation.[20] Bourke pointed out that replications of Thernstrom's community-based studies repeatedly found that 'between forty and sixty per cent of rural and urban populations' could not be located in the local area on the following decennial census.[21] This loss of population from a local area may not have represented long-term migration out of the region, as other factors account for a portion of this loss: death, cyclical migration, or missed links between individuals.[22] Nevertheless, lost individuals bias the selection of populations towards those who were geographically stable.[23]

---

[15] Bourke, Paul F. 'A note on the study of mobility.' *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 4, May 1980, p. 55.
[16] Olssen, Erik *Building the New World: Work, Politics and Society in Caversham, 1880s-1920s*. Auckland: Auckland University Press, 1995; Olssen, Erik and Maureen Hickey. *Class and occupation: The New Zealand reality*. Otago University Press, Dunedin, N.Z, 2005; Olssen, Erik, Clyde Griffen and Frank Jones. *An Accidental Utopia?: social mobility and the social foundations of an egalitarian society, 1880-1940*. Dunedin, New Zealand: Otago University Press, 2011.
[17] Olssen, Griffen and Jones. *An Accidental Utopia?,* 2011, p. 16.
[18] Olssen, Griffen and Jones. *An Accidental Utopia?,* 2011, pp. 186-187, 210-212, 215-216, 241.
[19] McCalman, Janet. *Struggletown, Public and Private Life in Richmond, 1900-1965*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1984; Wild, R. A. *Bradstow: A Study of Status, Class, and Power in a Small Australian Town*. London: Angus & Robertson, 1978; Dowdy, J. C. *Millicent: A Community Study*, Thesis, BA (Hons) Sociology, Flinders University, 1982.
[20] Thernstrom acknowledged that over half of the sample could not be located or linked for each decade of census returns 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880, Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress*, 1964, p. 97.
[21] Bourke, Paul F. 'A note on the study of mobility.' *Australia 1888,* p. 57.
[22] Hall, Patricia Kelly, and Steven Ruggles. '"Restless in the Midst of Their Prosperity": New Evidence on the Internal Migration of Americans, 1850-2000.' *The Journal of American History,* vol. 91, no. 3, 2004, pp. 832-833.
[23] Ruggles, Steven. 'Migration, Marriage, and Mortality: Correcting Sources of Bias in English Family Reconstitutions.' *Population Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3, 1992, p. 507; Kok, Jan, and Henk Delger. 'Success of Selection? The Effect of Migration on Occupational Mobility in a Dutch Province, 1840-1950.' *Histoire & Mesure*, vol. 13, no.

Studies of historical class structure and social mobility deliberate over the occupational outcomes experienced by mobile populations in past eras. Thernstrom lamented the lack of evidence for the 'old belief' that migration and upward social mobility were positively related and declared that his labouring out-migrants were more likely to be an unsuccessful 'floating proletariat'.[24] Likewise Michael Katz categorised migrants as 'failures, poorer people and less successful at their work, even if that work was professional, drifting from place to place in search of success'.[25] Despite an earnest desire to investigate the geographically mobile, Thernstrom declared:

> *It is quite impossible, let it be said immediately, to trace these individuals… without a magical electronic device capable of sifting through tens of millions of names and locating a few hundred….*[26]

Indexed census records and computerised search techniques soon rose to Thernstrom's challenge, and by the 1980s researchers were tracing mobile individuals followed through linked records within decennial census schedules.[27]

The work of Joseph Ferrie in the 1990s investigated the movements of immigrants and native born within the United States and, instead of a 'floating proletariat', found that labourers were more upwardly mobile the further they moved.[28] Ferrie contributed to the longitudinal data on non-persisters necessary to gain an understanding of the outcomes experienced by nineteenth century migrants and residents in the United States.[29] In the 2000s, Jason Long uncovered the 'surprising social mobility' available to populations within Britain in the Victorian era.[30] Ferrie and Long then joined forces to compare the longitudinal

---

3-4, 1998, p. 290; Favre, Giacomin. B*ias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data: Evidence from Swiss Microdata.* Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 329, University of Zurich, 2019, pp. 1-2.

[24] Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress,* 1964, pp. 87, 97; Thernstrom, Stephan, and Peter R. Knights. 'Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations About Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1970, p. 31; For more on issues with out-migration see Thernstrom, Stephan. *The Other Bostonians,* 1973, pp. 38-44, note 7 on pp. 309-310.

[25] Stephenson, Charles and Asher, Robert. *Life and Labor: Dimensions of American Working-Class History*. State University of New York Press, 1986, p. 75; Katz, Michael. *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1975, p. 21.

[26] Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress*, 1964*,* p. 86.

[27] For a summary of this research see Ferrie, Joseph P. 'Up and out or Down and Out? Immigrant Mobility in the Antebellum United States.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 26, no. 1, 1995, p. 37, note 5.

[28] Ferrie, Joseph P. 'Up and out or Down and Out? Immigrant Mobility in the Antebellum United States.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 26, no. 1, 1995, pp. 49-54.

[29] Ferrie, Joseph P. 'A New Sample of Males Linked from the Public Use Microdata Sample of the 1850 U.S. Federal Census of Population to the 1860 U.S. Federal Census Manuscript Schedules.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 29, no. 4, 1996, pp. 141-156; Ferrie, Joseph P. 'The Entry into the U.S. Labor Market of Antebellum European Immigrants, 1840–1860.' *Explorations in Economic History*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1997, pp. 295-330.

[30] Long, Jason. 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain.' *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 65, no. 1, 2005, pp. 1-35; Long, Jason. 'The Surprising Social Mobility of Victorian Britain.' *European Review of Economic History*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2013, pp. 1-23.

rates of occupational class mobility experienced in the United States and Great Britain since 1850.[31]

Long and Ferrie made use of transcribed and indexed census schedules, and their analysis required the compilation of manually-linked father-son pairs, identified over twenty or thirty-year intervals.[32] Expanding from regional, to national and to international comparisons, census records have enabled the compilation of longitudinal datasets which reveal the social mobility of geographically mobile people.[33] While the time-consuming nature of manually-created links has previously placed a restriction on population size, this issue is addressed by progressively more sophisticated and accurate methods of automated record linking.[34] Peter Baskerville and Kris Inwood have highlighted the necessity of data mining techniques and automated linking of historical records to create longitudinal data on past populations.[35] The digitisation, transcription and proliferation of national census records and population registers have enabled research of increasingly large populations.[36] Catherine Massey has documented the advance of automated linking techniques and their improving accuracy, while Giocomin Favre estimated that automated linking of father-and-son pairs in his research resulted in less than three per mille of matches which were

---

[31] Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'A Tale of Two Labor Markets: Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Britain and the U.S. Since 1850.' *NBER Working Paper Series*, Working Paper 11253, 2005, pp. 1-47; Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'The Path to Convergence: Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Britain and the Us in Three Eras.' *Economic Journal*, vol. 117, no. 519, 2007, pp. C61-C71; Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States since 1850.' *American Economic Review*, vol. 103, no. 4, 2013, pp. 1109-37.

[32] Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'The Path to Convergence, 2007, p. C62.

[33] Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, and Katherine Eriksson. 'A Nation of Immigrants: Assimilation and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration.' *Journal of Political Economy* vol. 122, no. 3, 2014, pp. 467-506; For a recent review of the occupational mobility of migrant populations see Perez, Santiago. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2019, pp. 383-416.

[34] Baskerville, Peter, Lisa Dillon, Kris Inwood, Evan Roberts, Steven Ruggles, Kevin Schurer, and John Robert Warren. 'Mining Microdata: Economic Opportunity and Spatial Mobility in Britain and the United States, 1850-1881.' *IEEE International Conference on Big Data*, 2014, pp. 5-13; Antonie, Luiza, Kris Inwood, Daniel Lizotte, and J. Andrew Ross. 'Tracking People over Time in 19th Century Canada for Longitudinal Analysis.' *Machine Learning*, vol. 95, no. 1, 2014, pp. 129-46; Antonie, Luiza, Kris Inwood, and J. Andrew Ross. 'Dancing with Dirty Data: Problems in the Extraction of Life-Course Evidence from Historical Censuses'. *Population Reconstruction*. Edited by Gerrit Bloothooft, Peter Christen, Kees Mandemakers and Marijn Schraagen. Switzerland, Springer, 2015, pp. 217-242; Antonie, Luiza , Kris Inwood, Chris Minns, and Fraser Summerfield. 'Bias, Accuracy and Sample Size in the Systematic Linking of Historical Records.' *International Journal of Population Data Science,* vol. 3, no. 4, 2018, p. 386; Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, Katherine Eriksson, James J. Feigenbaum, and Santiago Pérez. 'Automated Linking of Historical Data'. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*, no. 25825, Cambridge, 2019, pp. 1-68.

[35] Baskerville, Peter, and Inwood, Kris E. *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Analysis from Historical Sources*. Carleton Library Series, No. 232, 2015, p. 6.

[36] Mandemakers, Kees, and Lisa Dillon. 'Best Practices with Large Databases on Historical Populations.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2004, pp. 34-38; Ruggles, Steven, Catherine Fitch and Evan Roberts. 'Historical Census Record Linkage.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 44, 2018, p. 25; Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, Trygve Andersen, and Hilde L. Sommerseth. 'Record Linkage in the Historical Population Register for Norway.' In *Population Reconstruction*, edited by Gerrit Bloothooft, Peter Christen, Kees Mandemakers and Marijn Schraagen, Cham: Springer, 2015, pp 155-172; Dillon, Lisa, Marilyn Amorevieta-Gentil, Marianne Caron, Cynthia Lewis, Angélique Guay-Giroux, Bertrand Desjardins, and Alain Gagnon. 'The Programme De Recherche En Démographie Historique: Past, Present and Future Developments in Family Reconstitution.' *The History of the Family*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2018, pp. 20-53.

wrongly assigned.[37] The age of 'big data' continues to provide new datasets, making the examination of the social mobility of large populations ever more feasible.[38]

The precision and reliability of automatic linking of longitudinal data relies on immense and detailed digitised and transcribed datasets, particularly national, nominal census returns. These records are not available for the Australian population. As pointed out by Graeme Davison in 1979, Australian social historians investigating the nineteenth century are limited in their ability to replicated North American quantitative studies, hampered by the lack of census records, and accessible voting data, tax returns, vital records and comprehensive city directories.[39] In Australia, fears over privacy concerns have led to the systematically destruction of original census forms after they have been processed into data sets for analysis.[40] Through the lobbying of genealogists, demographers, historians and epidemiologists Australia made a small step forward, and has now adopted an 'opt in' approach to census preservation.[41]

Methodology

The current dissertation follows a small population of early-arriving, settler-colonial immigrants, whose careers have been examined using manually-linked longitudinal microdata. Using family reconstitution and a prosopographical approach, these initial immigrants were linked to their children and grandchildren, enabling an investigation of occupational class inheritance and mobility. The resulting dataset was formatted to align, in a simplified form, with the Intermediate Data Structure (IDS) standards 'for storing and sharing individual-level longitudinal life-course data'.[42] The IDS provides a standardised data format aimed to facilitate the comparison of the longitudinal databases that result from historical demographic research.[43]

This thesis follows the 'demographic prosopography' approach taken by the Australian project *Founders and Survivors.* With a focus on forced migration to Australia, and

---

[37] Massey, Catherine G. 'Playing with Matches: An Assessment of Accuracy in Linked Historical Data.' *Historical Methods,* vol. 50, no. 3, 2017, pp. 129-143; Favre, Giocomin. *Bias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data,* 2019, p. 22.
[38] For a review of national and international datasets see Song, Xi, and Cameron D. Campbell. 'Genealogical Microdata and Their Significance for Social Science.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 43, 2017, pp. 75-99.
[39] Davison. 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia.' 1979, p. 13.
[40] Tull, Terence. 'The Strange History and Problematic Future of the Australian Census', *Journal of Population Research*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2007, pp. 1, 13.
[41] Tull, Terence. 'The Strange History and Problematic Future of the Australian Census', *Journal of Population Research*, vol. 24, no. 1, 2007, pp. 12-13.
[42] Merchant, Emily Klancher, and George Alter. 'IDS Transposer: A Users Guide." *Historical Life Course Studies*, vol. 4, 2017, pp. 59-96.
[43] Alter, George, and Kees Mandemakers. 'The Intermediate Data Structure (IDS) for Longitudinal Historical Microdata, Version 4.' *Historical Life Course Studies*, vol. 1, 2014, pp. 1-26.

prevailing upon the plethora of convict records, *Founders and Survivors* has resulted in a multigenerational demographic database detailing 59,500 males and 13,500 females, through over 1.25 million individual observations.[44] Demographic prosopography makes use of 'a wide range of historical data beyond vital registrations' to enable the creation of a cradle-to-grave dataset.[45] The *Founders and Survivors* dataset has inspired sub-projects and sample population analyses on subjects such as intergenerational health issues, convict labour management, political activism, and persistent familial criminality.[46] Although inspired by this work, the current thesis involves a comparatively small population over three generations, being South Australia's initial first expedition of settler-colonists and their children and grandchildren.

Family Reconstitution

Uncovering rates of occupational class inheritance within family networks requires the demographic technique of family reconstitution. This investigation of class persistence within families is part of a wider examination of the distribution of opportunities, as a high rate of persistence could be an indicator of a rigid social structure.[47] Alternatively, it may be an indicator of class satisfaction. This thesis reveals rates of intergenerational occupational class inheritance experienced by immigrants who possessed first-mover advantage. The first-generation population of this research were self-selected participants in an experiment in settler-colonial geographic and social mobility. Chances of intergenerational occupational

---

[44] Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish. 'Founders and Survivors: Tasmanian life course in historical context, Survey of Historical Databases with Longitudinal Micro-Data: The second questionnaire', on International Institute of Social History, *European Historical Population Samples Network*, viewed online <https://ehps-net.eu/sites/default/files/database_questionnaire/fas_010415_0.pdf>

[45] McCalman, Janet and Rebecca Kippen. 'The Life-Course Demography of Convict Transportation to Van Diemen's Land.' *History of the Family*, (online ahead of print), 2019, pp. 1-24.

[46] Inwood, Kris, Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Deborah Oxley, and Jim Stankovich. 'Growing Incomes, Growing People in Nineteenth-Century Tasmania.' *Australian Economic History Review,* vol. 55, no. 2, 2015, pp. 187-211; Kippen, Rebecca, and Janet McCalman. 'Parental Loss in Young Convicts Transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), 1841-53.' *The History of the Family*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2018, pp. 656-78; Godfrey, Barry, Kris Inwood and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. 'Exploring the life-course and intergenerational impact of convict transportation.' in Eichelsheim, Veroni I., and Steve G. A. van de Weijer, eds. *Intergenerational Continuity of Criminal and Antisocial Behaviour: An International Overview of Studies*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018; Kippen, Rebecca. *Convicts and Diggers: A Demography of Life Courses*, Families and Generations. Dataset / Database, 2007 <https://doi.org/10.4225/03/59ed3568a4305>; McCalman, Janet and Kippen, Rebecca. *Founders and Survivors: Life Course Ships Project*. Dataset / Database, 2017 <https://doi.org/10.4225/03/59ed402437518>; Founders & Survivors, *Projects*, viewed online < https://foundersandsurvivors.com/projects/>; McCalman, Janet, Sandra Silcot, Rebecca Kippen, and Leonard Smith. 'Building a Life Course Dataset from Australian Convict Records: Founders & Survivors: Australian Life Courses in Historical Context, 1803–1920.' In *Population Reconstruction*, edited by Gerrit Bloothooft, Peter Christen, Kees Mandemakers and Marijn Schraagen, Cham: Springer, 2015, pp. 285-298; Bradley, James, Rebecca Kippen, Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Janet McCalman, and Sandra Silcot. 'Research Note: The Founders and Survivors Project.' *The History of the Family*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2010, pp. 467-477; Research Data Australia, *Convicts and Diggers: A Demography of Life Courses, Families and Generations*, <https://researchdata.ands.org.au/convicts-diggers-demography-families-generations>

[47] Grusky, David B., and Katherine R. Weisshaar. *Social Stratification: Class, Race, and Gender in Sociological Perspective*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018, p. 3.

change are impacted by parental influence, upbringing, and wider family networks, and so, the history of occupational mobility is 'indissolubly linked with the history of the family'.[48]

French historian Louis Henry is considered the founder of the family reconstitution method.[49] Another early initiator was Jacques Henripin, who founded the Demography Department at the Montreal University in Canada. Both France and Quebec have long-standing family reconstitution datasets, with the national sample of the French population established in 1959 and the Population Register of Historic Quebec initiated in 1966.[50] The family reconstitution methodology was employed in England through the Cambridge Group project.[51] This project covered twenty-six parishes of England from 1550 to 1850 and made use of birth, death and marriage records.[52] These records are parish based, and therefore limited to those who remained in the same parish.[53] The exclusion of emigrants introduces a known bias to location-based family reconstitution research. In 1977 Sune Akerman criticised research which used the family reconstitution technique for disregarding the serious losses caused by out-migration, an issue also emphasised by Steven Ruggles and others.[54] Economic historian Joseph Ferrie declared in 1995 that social mobility studies at that time were still 'bedeviled by a lack of information on the mobility of nonpersisters'.[55] The issue of out-migration continues to plague demographic, public health and sociological studies, even as population registers and intergenerational datasets reach national proportions.[56]

A historian of European geographic mobility, Steve Hochstadt, found that rural-urban migration within Germany in the nineteenth century was circular rather than one way and

---

[48] Davison, Graeme. 'The Mobility Theme', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the study of Australian history centred on the year 1888*, Bulletin no. 1, February 1979, p. 10.
[49] Dupaquier, J. "Obituary: Louis Henry (1911-1991)." *Population Studies,* Vol. 46, No. 3, 1992, p. 539.
[50] Dillon, et, al. 'The Programme de recherche en démographie historique.' 2018, p. 21.
[51] Wrigley, E. A., and R. S. Schofield. 'English Population History from Family Reconstitution: Summary Results 1600–1799.' *Population Studies,* vol. 37, no. 2, 1983, pp. 157-84.
[52] Wrigley, Edward Anthony, Ros S. Davies, R. S. Schofield, and J. E. Oeppen. *English population history from family reconstitution 1580-1837*. vol. 32. Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 6-7.
[53] Wrigley, *English population history from family reconstitution 1580-1837*, pp. 20-21.
[54] Akerman, Sune. 'An evaluation of the Family Reconstitutional Technique', *Scandinavian Economic History Review,* vol. 25, 1977, pp. 169-170; Ruggles, Steven. 'The Limitations of English Family Reconstitution: English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 14, no. 1, 1999, pp. 105-30; Barr, Alwyn, 'Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San Antonio, 1870-1900.' *Social Science Quarterly*, September 1970; Gagan, David. 'Geographic and Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: A Microstudy', *The Canadian Review of Sociology and* Anthropology, vol. 13, no. 2, 1976; Whitelaw, J. S. 'A note on Geographic Mobility', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888*, Bulletin no. 6, November 1980; Hochstadt, Steve. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989,* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1999.
[55] Ferrie, Joseph P. 'Up and out or Down and Out?' 1995, pp. 33-55.
[56] Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D., and Ineke Maas. 'Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification.' *Annual Review of Sociology,* vol. 36, 2010, p. 430; Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States Since 1850.' *American Economic Review*, vol. 103, no. 4, 2013; Favre, Giacomin. B*ias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data: Evidence from Swiss Microdata.* Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 329, University of Zurich, 2019

disputed notions that preindustrial societies were rooted and regional.[57] While historians such as Thernstrom and Katz portrayed out-migration as a failed attempt to settle, Hochstadt pointed out that migration was not an unusual or uncharacteristic event affecting people who are 'socially marginal', but common and judicious.[58] These contradictions in the historiography can be addressed by identifying and following geographically mobile populations over time and across generations. The first-generation population of the current research were emigrants who embarked from the United Kingdom, and in this thesis their continued geographic mobility, as well as that of their children and grandchildren, is explored in terms of urban and rural migration, as well as intercolonial and international relocation. Those who can be defined as migrants, or 'movers', in the second and third generations are those who crossed a political boundary into another colony or another country.[59] Each person in the first, second and third generation is followed from cradle-to-grave, enabling only permanent relocations to be categorised as 'movers'.

South Australian Context

John Hirst's work, *Adelaide and the Country*, provides the definition of urban and rural for colonial South Australia.[60] During the time span of this research (1836-1920), there was no country town in South Australia with a population of more than 10,000, thus Adelaide formed the only urban district for South Australia. Hirst followed the definition of 'urban' Adelaide which had been set by the early population reports and census estimates, defined as an area within a 'ten-mile radius' (sixteen kilometres) from Adelaide's central post office.[61] In this way, urban South Australia is confined within the Adelaide Plains, within sixteen kilometres of the city of Adelaide. As pointed out by Hirst, this definition of urban Adelaide encompassed Port Adelaide, the suburbs and semi-suburban villages surrounding Adelaide, but also included the farms, market-gardens and orchards in between.[62]

The Historical Society of South Australia was formed in 1974, with historian Eric Richards providing the Society's inaugural speech on 'History from Below'. Richards summarised recent developments in social history and challenged the 'great-man-view of history' which had dominated South Australia historiography to that time.[63] Richards called for historical

[57] Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity,* 1999, pp. 19-23; see also Clark, Peter and David Souden. *Migration and Society in Early Modern England*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.
[58] Hochstadt, *Mobility and Modernity,* 1999, pp. 172-175.
[59] Hall, Patricia Kelly, and Steven Ruggles. '"Restless in the Midst of Their Prosperity"', 2004, p. 834.
[60] Hirst, John. *Adelaide and the Country*, *1870-1917: Their Social and Political Relationship*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1973, p. vii.
[61] Hirst. *Adelaide and the Country,* 1973, pp. vii - p. viii.
[62] Hirst. *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. vii-viii.
[63] Richards, Eric. 'History from Below.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 1, 1975, p. 10.

studies of South Australian society, of social structures and processes, and for the Wakefield system to be 'seen from the point of view of labour as well as of capital and of landlord'.[64] Richards highlighted the work of social historian George Rudé who, like Thernstrom and his 'magical electronic device', predicted 'the dawn of mass history with the aid of computers' enabling 'a close observation of the nation as a whole'.[65] While celebrating the widening of the historical lens, Richards reminded historians that studies of social structure should be 'humanised by the contributions of history from below'.[66]

This call was answered just a few years later with Christopher Nance's 1977 study of colonial South Australia as a 'social experiment'.[67] Nance investigated the social structure of settler-colonial South Australia in the light of the Wakefieldian theory of 'systematic colonisation'.[68] Nance emphasised that provision for social mobility was core to Wakefield's intention to create 'a superior colonial community' and stated that it was land ownership which was to be the vehicle for labourer mobility.[69] Nance tested access to land through the investigation of three rural hundreds, examining the original purchasers of crown land and town allotments. He found that 'in the years prior to 1841 few working men purchased land sections in and around the city, and the plots which they were able to afford were usually quite small.[70] Nance observed that Adelaide had so rapidly developed into a commercial and administrative centre that the assisted immigrants were readily employed in urban settings and rarely became land-owning farmers predicted by Wakefield.[71]

Working in the mid-1970s, Nance declared that an investigation of individual assisted immigrants was beyond the scope of his study, especially 'in view of the limited and incomplete information relating to such people'.[72] He pointed out that the vast majority of immigrants who arrived in South Australia 'obtained accommodation and employment and went about their daily business'.[73] As a result of the digitisation of historical records, and the transcription and indexing efforts of volunteers, historians and genealogists through local history associations, libraries, and archives, the present thesis is able to incorporate these everyday people into analyses. The individual assisted immigrants sought by Nance in the 1970s can now be identified, investigated and followed from cradle-to-grave.

---

[64] Richards. 'History from Below.' 1975, pp. 13-14.
[65] Richards. 'History from Below.' 1975, p. 16.
[66] Richards. 'History from Below.' 1975, p. 16.
[67] Nance, Christopher. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71: A Study of Some of the Aspects of South Australia's Early Social Development', MA Thesis, Flinders University, 1978.
[68] Nance. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1978, p. v.
[69] Nance. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1978, pp. vi-vii, p. xi.
[70] Nance. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1978, p. 252 & p. 284.
[71] Nance. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1978, p. 285.
[72] Nance. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1978, p. 252.
[73] Nance, Christopher. 'Making a Better Society: Immigration to South Australia, 1836-1871.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 12, 1984, p. 117.

On the other end of the scale to the societal study of Christopher Nance, was the portrayal of South Australian labouring families by Peter Price.[74] Price applied the strategies of Charlotte Erickson's 'invisible immigrants' by locating and investigating the writings of settler-colonial labouring families.[75] He accessed personal memoirs and correspondence of forty-two labouring families in the colony.[76] South Australia is particularly fortunate in its available resources: Eric Richards expressed surprise at the number of letters that have emerged as, 'for South Australia alone there appear to be more available letters from lower-class immigrant life than Erickson was able to discover for the whole of North America in the nineteenth century'.[77] Richards pointed out that, 'emigrant letters to and from Australia contain direct evidence from people who would normally leave little or no archival trace'.[78] Yet, it must be acknowledged that those labourers who left behind their writings were a highly selective proportion of the general population.

Contradicting the views expressed by Thernstrom and Katz, Robin Haines investigated assisted immigrant labourers from the United Kingdom to Australia and found that they 'shrewdly took advantage' of available opportunities.[79] Haines demonstrated that these labourers were generally 'well-informed, self-selecting, literate individuals' with the initiative to access funds to cover their costly passage to the distant antipodes.[80] This point was reinforced by Philip Payton through his examination of Cornish emigrants, who enabled South Australia's distinction as a 'copper kingdom'.[81] Immigrants to Australia took advantage of colonial labourer shortages to maximise the chance of occupational mobility for themselves and their children.[82] By unveiling correlations between occupational and geographic mobility we can reveal the benefit or burden of migration, answering the question, were non-persisters part of an anxious 'floating proletariat' or were they 'shrewd operators'?[83]

---

[74] Price, Peter C. 'Labouring Families in Early Colonial South Australia'. Thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, 1988.
[75] Erickson, Charlotte. *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.
[76] Price. 'Labouring Families in Early Colonial South Australia', 1988, p. 3.
[77] Richards, Eric. *Neglected Sources for the History of Australian Immigration*. Edited by Richard E. Reid and David Fitzpatrick Canberra: Dept. of History and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1989, p. 19.
[78] Richards. *Neglected Sources for the History of Australian Immigration*, 1989, p. 19.
[79] Haines, Robin. 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-Assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia, 1831– 1860.' *Population Studies,* vol. 48, no. 2, 1994, p. 246.
[80] Haines. 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators?', 1994, p. 246.
[81] Payton, Philip. *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's 'Great Emigration'*. 3rd ed. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2020, Chapter Three: The Rage for Emigration & Chapter Six: South Australia's Copper Kingdom.
[82] Haines, Robin, Margrette Kleinig, Deborah Oxley, and Eric Richards, 'Migration and Opportunity: An Antipodean Perspective', *International Review of Social History,* vol. 43, no. 2, 1998, p. 236.
[83] Haines, et. al, 'Migration and Opportunity.' 1998, pp. 235-63; Haines, Robin. 'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There': Poverty, the New Poor Law and Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom', *Australian Historical Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 108, 1997, pp. 1-21.

Linking Historical Data

Historical studies of occupational mobility over three generations have been rare.[84] The primary cause of this has been the time-consuming nature of linking people across time using primary source documents, an issue further complicated by geographic movement.[85] This study employed case-by-case manual linking of individuals over three generations. The recent provision of online indexes of birth, death and marriage records, combined with searchable electoral rolls, newspaper family notices, obituaries and cemetery records, compensates, to some degree, for the lack of census registers. These varied primary resources are fragmentary, and they elude, for the moment, advances in automatic record-linking techniques.

For this research, matched records are identified and linked using genealogical databases, which trawl a plethora of international indexes and digitised documents.[86] Standardised searches of these online genealogical databases provide a limited set of results, from which matches can be manually confirmed. Names, age, birthplace, names of parents, and in particular, mother's maiden name, provide evidence for match confirmation. The combination of filtered search design, digital record matching and manual confirmation allows a high degree of confidence in the linked data.[87] While a dataset of 'ground truth' genealogical historical data is considered unattainable, the methodology followed in this research of hand-linked individuals, combined with multiple-source confirmation of relationships, has permitted the construction of a high-quality, reliable dataset.[88]

Prosopographical Approach

Prosopography combines research techniques taken from genealogical, demographical and sociological research, and involves the manual extraction of population patterns.[89] The 'Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography' lists amongst the 'typical research objectives'

---

[84] Biblarz, Timothy J., Vern L. Bengtson, and Alexander Bucur. 'Social Mobility across Three Generations.' *Journal of Marriage and Family,* vol. 58, no. 1, 1996, pp. 188-200; Mare, Robert. 'A Multigenerational View of Inequality.' *Demography,* vol. 48, no. 1, 2011, pp. 1-23; Mare, Robert D. 'Multigenerational Aspects of Social Stratification: Issues for Further Research.' *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility,* vol. 35, 2014, pp. 121-28.
[85] Van Leeuwen and Maas. 'Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification.' 2010, p. 430.
[86] The commercial genealogical sites used in this research were global subscriptions to: *ancestry.com*, *findmypast.com*, *familysearch.org* and *myheritage.com*.
[87] Baskerville and Inwood. *Lives in Transition*, 2015, p. 6; Antonie, Inwood, and Ross. 'Dancing with Dirty Data' in *Population Reconstruction*, 2015, pp. 235-239.
[88] Abramitzky, Ran, et al. 'Automated Linking of Historical Data', 2019, p. 7.
[89] Efremova, Julia, *Mining Social Structures from Genealogical Data,* SIKS Dissertation Series No. 2016-19*,* Eindhoven University of Technology, 2016, p. 3.

the subjects of social stratification and social mobility.[90] Prosopography requires the identification of a well-defined population who share common characteristics or have connections.[91] The value of the prosopographical approach to the present research is that the selected population is investigated using a defined range of primary resources in order to answer specific historical questions, providing clear boundaries to the scope of the study.[92] In order to undertake this research of intergenerational occupational and geographic mobility as a feasible PhD dissertation, I have taken advantage of a limited population cohort, namely, South Australia's first expedition and their descendants.

A prosopographical study of a population allows a researcher to determine where the career or life-course of a particular individual fits within the typical experience of members of that population. This allows the researcher to answer the question, 'Is the life course of this individual typical or exceptional?'[93] As a prosopographical approach finds the average rather than the outlier, it is able to balance the Samuel Smiles or Horatio Algers presentation of social mobility, which presents the exceptional experience as an achievable ambition, the 'rags to riches' inspirational story which is called upon as the example of what is possible. The subjects of historical biography tend to be more the exceptional rather than the ordinary, in contrast to prosopography which is specifically 'interested in the average, the general and the "commonness" in the life histories of more or less large numbers of individuals.'[94] As the *Handbook* states, 'The individual and the exceptional is important only insofar as it provides information on the collective and the "normal"'.[95]

In relation to South Australia's initial settler-colonial immigrants who arrived in the colony in early 1836, selected individuals have dominated the limelight. Those who featured prominently in the public record, or had particularly romantic roles to play, appear frequently in retellings of the foundational years.[96] In accord with the 'great men' view of history, amongst those of the first expedition who are writ-large are: landowner and politician John Morphett; Premier Boyle Travers Finniss; Speaker in the House of Assembly George Strickland Kingston and South Australia's renowned Surveyor General, Colonel William Light.[97] While this research includes all participants in South Australia's first

[90] Verboven, K., Carlier, M., & Dumolyn, J., 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography' in Keats-Rohan, K. S. B., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook,* Prosopographica et Genealogica, vol. 13, Oxford, 2007, p. 41.
[91] Verboven, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 2007, p. 37.
[92] Verboven, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 2007, p. 39.
[93] Verboven, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 2007, p. 40.
[94] Verboven, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 2007, p. 37.
[95] Verboven, 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography', 2007, p. 37.
[96] For example, Lefevre, Carol. *Quiet City: Walking in West Terrace Cemetery*. Wakefield Press, 2016, pp. 18-21; Sendziuk, Paul, and Robert Foster. *A History of South Australia*. Cambridge University Press, 2018, pp. 18-20.
[97] Morphett, George C. *The Life and Letters of Sir John Morphett*. Adelaide: Hassell Press, 1936; Perry, Dulcie. *Sir John Morphett: A South Australian Colonist of Distinction*. Cummins Society with the Assistance of West Torrens Council,

expedition from the crew and agricultural labourers, to government officials, it must be acknowledged that these experiences are representative of this group of immigrants, not a measure of society as a whole.[98]

Through the inclusion of all passengers in South Australia's first expedition, this population includes the spectrum of society from the humble to the elite. As Thompson sought 'to rescue the poor stockinger, the Luddite cropper', this thesis rescues the Tiers sawyer and the Adelaide water carrier.[99] It is important to clearly define the resources to be investigated and the questions to be asked, and not become distracted by the elite, extraordinary or the unusual. On some individuals there will be a plethora of sources, and on others, very little. The study of a population which includes members across the social spectrum, requires the democratic and inclusive primary sources. The current research project has been able to reintroduce nomadic and rarely visible children and grandchildren into family trees and include them in analysis.

Sources

In his bid to encourage the long-term analysis of social structure from pre-industrial societies to the present day, sociologist Marco Van Leeuwen encouraged social historians to participate in multigenerational research, through the use of vital registers and census records.[100] In the absence of nominal census records in Australia, this research makes use of a variety of historical sources to create a dataset of microdata observations.[101] The task of family reconstitution in colonial South Australia was greatly assisted by the introduction of civil registration and the prevalent practice of publishing family notices for births, marriages and deaths in these colonial newspapers. In order to secure confidence in the identity of linked individuals, this research used multiple sources to extend and confirm true links. The core resources used in this research are civil registrations, church records, electoral rolls and newspaper family notifications. When combined, these historical sources serve to substantiate intergenerational relationships. In this study the small grains of evidence were gathered and processed in order to unveil the career mobility and

1992; Finniss, Boyle Travers. *The Constitutional History of South Australia during Twenty-One Years from the Foundation of the Settlement in 1836 to the Inauguration of Responsible Government in 1857*. W.C. Rigby, Simpkin, Marshall, 1886; Langmead, Donald. *Accidental Architect*. Darlinghurst: Crossing Press, 1994; Johnson, Donald Leslie, and Langmead, Donald. *The Adelaide City Plan: Fiction and Fact*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986; Dutton, Geoffrey, and Elder, David. *Colonel William Light: Founder of a City*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991.

[98] Katz, Michael. 'Occupational Classification in History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 3, no 1. 1972, pp. 86-88.

[99] Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968, p. 12.

[100] Van Leeuwen, Marco HD. 'The next generation of historical studies on social mobility: some remarks.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 24, no. 3, 2009, pp. 548 & 551.

[101] Efremova, Julia, *Mining Social Structures from Genealogical Data,* 2016, p. 3.

occupational inheritance experienced by South Australia's first expedition and their children and grandchildren.

An Australian substitute for census schedules, although frustratingly sparse in detail and with a selection bias to those registered to vote and residentially stable, are district electoral rolls. Electoral rolls for many Australian and New Zealand voting districts have been digitised and provided online in a searchable format through *Ancestry.com*. Electoral rolls record name, address and occupation of those registered to vote, with a tendency to list individuals by full birth name, including one or more middle names. When combined with names of other adult family members in the household, electoral rolls become a useful source to establish family connections, link individuals and to identify both addresses and occupations. In the case of single individuals who lived alone, the tendency of electoral roles to provide given and middle names assisted with identification.

Confirmation of the identify of these single individuals to a high degree of certainty, without the assistance of cohabitation with nuclear and extended family members, required the support of additional verifying sources. Addresses in successive electoral roles could be corroborated through locations provided in civil registrations for death and obituary notifications in newspapers. In addition to the individual's own newspaper notifications, personal notices for parents, brothers, and sisters often listed locations for surviving children and siblings. Even with cross-confirmation through these combined resources, it was single men and women who comprised a vast majority of those whose mid-career occupation could not be identified (see pages 145 and 205).The implementation of civil registration of births, deaths and marriages early in the colony's enactment greatly assisted to reduce the rate of population attrition. In Australia, civil registration was first initiated in Tasmania in late 1838 and then in South Australia in 1842, only six years after the commencement of colonisation.[102] An Anglican church was initiated in South Australia in 1836 and maintained records of baptisms, marriages and burials for the years between 1836 and 1842. Indexes of South Australia's birth, death and marriage registers have been presented online by volunteers at South Australia's *GenealogySA* and have been immensely valuable to this research. [103]

Australian historian, Graeme Davison, recommended that conducting social history research in Australia requires 'a little energy and friendly collaboration' and emphasised

[102] Jaunay, Graham, *South Australian births, deaths and marriages before civil registration*, 2005 <http://www.jaunay.com/earlybdm.php>,
[103] GenealogySA, *Online Database Search*, < https://www.genealogysa.org.au/resources/online-databases.html>

that the study of social mobility 'is a field for fruitful collaboration between historians and genealogists'.[104] Resources used within this research project have been transcribed, digitised, indexed, compiled, presented online and maintained by a multitude of volunteers, genealogists and local historians. Microfiche of local birth, death and marriage registers, along with an abundance of local resources, have been collated, maintained and transcribed by the society's volunteers.[105]

The family trees of South Australia's first expedition have received the attention of volunteers of local history and genealogy associations, in particular the Pioneers Association of South Australia and the Kangaroo Island Pioneers Association.[106] Geographic mobility is a bane to the genealogist as it is to researchers in history and the social sciences, and family trees tend to favour the geographically stable.[107] Global subscriptions to genealogical databases assist in locating those who moved internationally. In addition to these databases, the most useful resource to identify the geographically mobile individuals are family notices published in newspapers. In Australia, these family notices are available and searchable through the *Trove* service provided by the National Library of Australia.[108]

Newspaper notices reported birth, deaths and marriages from the commencement of colonisation. The first edition of South Australia's initial newspaper was published in London in June 1836, as the six ships involved in this research were still at sea.[109] This newspaper continued in South Australia as the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register.* A second newspaper promoting South Australian interests was established in London in 1837, *The South Australian Record*, and a second Adelaide based newspaper, *The Southern Australian,* entered publication in 1838.[110] Newspaper notifications provide additional information of family structure at times of births, marriages, deaths and anniversaries. These events are frequently our only window into the lives of average people, and as such, are core to family reconstitution.[111]

---

[104] Davison, Graeme. 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 2, August 1979, p. 14; Davison. 'The Mobility Theme', 1979, pp. 10-12.
[105] GenealogySA, *Online Database Search*, < https://www.genealogysa.org.au/resources/online-databases.html>
[106] The Pioneers Association of South Australia, *Perpetuating the memory of South Australia's early European settlers and promoting its unique history*, <https://www.pioneerssa.org.au/>; Wilson, David, *SA Pioneers 1836,* <https://dukeofyork.tribalpages.com/>; Wilson, David, *KI Pioneers: First eight ships* <https://sites.google.com/view/first8ships/>
[107] Smith, Tom, and Dennis Klaeser. 'Looking Backwards: A Summary of Findings and Recommendations.' *Historical Methods*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1983, pp. 26-27.
[108] National Library of Australia, *Trove: Digitised Newspapers and more,* <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/>
[109] *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* Saturday 18 June 1836.
[110] *South Australian Record,* Wednesday 8 November 1837; *The Southern Australian*, Saturday 2 June 1838.
[111] Levine, David. 'The Reliability of Parochial Registration and the Representativeness of Family Reconstitution.' *Population Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1976, pp. 111-112; Kasakoff, Alice Bee, and John Adams. 'The Effect of

Australian newspapers provided on *Trove* have been scanned using Optical Character Recognition (OCR) technology. The resultant text is then amended by registered crowd-sourced volunteers who have corrected over three-hundred and sixty million lines of newspaper text.[112] This crowd-sourced editing allows name searches of obituaries and family birth, marriage and death notices to be more reliably located.[113] Digitised newspapers, when combined with a known date of death, make obituaries a valuable and easily accessible resource for this research, often providing biographical details, occupations, places of residence, and lists of descendants. Family death notices frequently list the names and locations of sons and daughters, and the number of grandchildren alive at that time. Of particularly high value to family reconstitution are marriage names and locations of married daughters. This presence of names of females in newspaper notices facilitates the inclusion of women in family reconstitution, women who may have previously been lost to research through marriage and relocation. It needs to be acknowledged though, that the publication of family notices in newspapers required a monetary payment. The expense of lengthy notices which listed children, siblings, locations and married names of daughters and sisters may have introduced a selection bias to the deficit of those with limited financial means.

For the early settler-colonists who make up the first-generation cohort in this research, the year of arrival of 1836 carried social capital within South Australia and was commonly mentioned in obituaries or death notices. The social capital associated with being one of South Australia's initial colonial immigrants crossed class lines, with the deaths of labourers who arrived in 1836 attracting the attention more commonly reserved for the illustrious. For those who maintained connections with the colony, a labourer may have received a lengthy obituary, highlighting the year of arrival and the ship's name. This privilege could extend to descendants, with obituaries of the children and grandchildren of those who arrived in 1836 highlighting their year of arrival and status as descendant of a 'pioneer'. At death prominent citizens might receive editorial attention through an article or published tribute, which detailed their career. In this way, obituaries can clarify and provide valuable context to occupational titles. As pointed out by Clyde and Sally Griffen, 'occupational titles

Migration on Ages at Vital Events: A Critique of Family Reconstitution in Historical Demography.' *European Journal of Population*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1995, p. 199.

[112] National Library of Australia, *Trove: Text correction hall of fame* <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/hallOfFame>

[113] National Library of Australia, *Trove: Digitised newspapers and more* <https://trove.nla.gov.au/newspaper/>

alone cannot differentiate small shopkeepers from the city's more substantial businessmen'.[114]

In *As Sociology Meets History*, Charles Tilly encouraged historians with a leaning towards demography to bring 'ordinary people back into the historical record… to rescue them from abstraction' by making use of the 'fugitive mentions' found in the public record.[115] Tilly's 'fugitive mentions' are a curse when combined with a resource as immense as *Trove*'s digitised Australian newspapers. Tilly declared of the historian that, 'no profession has set greater store by data—all kinds of data, big, small, important, trivial. Every little bit counts'.[116] When attempting to compile longitudinal linked data comprising thousands of people, to become consistently lost in name searches within Australia's newspapers hinders the progress of the project. The discipline of a prosopographical approach is required.

A prosopographical approach also defines the variables which cannot be investigated using the defined resources. For this project, the variables of religion and race are not be delineated. In the case of religion, the defined resources of civil records, electoral rolls, newspaper notices and obituaries do not nominate a participant's religion with consistency or reliability. Marriage records frequently record the church in which the service was conducted, but this does not necessarily reflect the denomination of the participants or their religiosity. Obituaries are a more reliable source for religious affiliations, but the number of people for whom a religion is mentioned is limited.

The sources are also not clear when it comes to nominating the variable of 'race'. For example, Aboriginality is generally not highlighted in civil records, electoral rolls, newspaper notices and obituaries. Aboriginal people enter the research population of this thesis as they marry and have children with the descendants of settler-colonists who arrived in 1836. An example of this can be seen through the gathered information regarding Mary Ann Waller (née Simpson). Mary Ann Simpson was the granddaughter of Nat Thomas, a pre-colonial resident of Kangaroo Island, and his Aboriginal partner Betty. Mary Ann married Alfred James Waller, a grandson of an agricultural labourer who arrived with the first expedition and a person investigated within this research. None of the civil records associated with Mary Ann Waller, her marriage record, the birth of her children, nor her death record, make any reference to Aboriginality. Neither does Mary Ann's lengthy obituary, which lists and describes her parents, children and siblings and her life on

[114] Griffen, Clyde, and Sally Griffen. N*atives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978, p. 55.
[115] Tilly, Charles 'Sociology, Meet History' in *As Sociology Meets History*, Academic Press, New York, 1981, pp. 32-33.
[116] Tilly, Charles, 'What is History' in *History as Social Science*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1971, p 17

Kangaroo Island.[117] In the case of Mary Ann Waller, her ancestry as a grandchild of Nat and Betty Thomas has been well documented through recent research efforts.[118] This may not be the case for other Aboriginal people, who may or may not have known or publicly asserted their Aboriginality in the era under investigation.

Defining Occupational Class

In the examination of historical social mobility, historians have long agreed that it is the variable of occupation which 'includes more [and] which sets more limits on the other variables than any other criterion'.[119] The classification of occupational titles into classes sets the dividing lines of a society's social structure and provides the origin and the destination for studies of social mobility. It is the variable of occupation which provides an indication of probable income, education, social prestige, economic security, and chance of accumulating property.[120] The tracing of occupational mobility follows a person's movement in a social space, and the degree of openness of that society.[121] Occupational titles were recorded in many nineteenth century sources available to social history.[122] While occupation and earnings are considered separately in most mobility research, the relative value of occupational earnings can be correlated and used to establish a hierarchy which changes over time.[123]

A limitation of using the occupation as listed on marriage, birth and death records is the subjective nature of this information. The occupational titles included on civil records were provided by the informant and may be misleading. Where parental occupations are noted on marriage records, this is the occupation the bride or groom claimed for their parents. This is true of other declared occupations on historical records, such as electoral rolls and census registers. Another issue to consider in the use of occupation as a variable for intergenerational comparison is the bias introduced by misaligned careers between generations.[124] To address this risk it is necessary to divide careers into early, mid- and late-

[117] 'Obituary', *Kangaroo Island Courier*, Saturday 24 September 1932, p. 2.
[118] Taylor, Rebe. *Unearthed: The Aboriginal Tasmanians of Kangaroo Island*. Rev. ed. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2008 pp. 194-199 (including family tree).
[119] Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress*, 1964, p. 84; Carlsson, Gosta. *Social Mobility and Class Structure*. Lund: Gleerup, 1969, pp. 42-44; Miles, Andrew, and David Vincent. *Building European Society: Occupational Change and Social Mobility in Europe 1840-1940*. New York: Manchester University Press, 1993, p. 3.
[120] Griffen and Griffen. *Natives and Newcomers*, 1978, p. 51.
[121] Katz. 'Occupational Classification in History.' 1972, p. 63; Vincent & Miles, *Building European Society,* 1993, p. 3.
[122] Sobek, Matthew. 'Work, Status, and Income: Men in the American Occupational Structure since the Late Nineteenth Century.' *Social Science History*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1996, pp. 169-170, 173-175.
[123] Sobek. 'Work, Status, and Income.' 1996, pp. 183-184, 195-199.
[124] Favre, B*ias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data,* 2019, p. 2.

career age ranges.[125] For the present research, early career is defined as occurring between fifteen and thirty-five years, mid-career falling between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five years, and the years after the age of fifty-five defined as late career.[126] This research restricted the observations of occupations for the second and third generation to those which were observed between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five, in order to reduce life-cycle bias.[127]

Arriving in 1836 at an average age of twenty-six years, the first-generation cohort of this research was born c1810. The mid-career of the first generation, the point at which their occupational class is compared to that of their children and grandchildren, was observed in 1851, with a standard deviation of nine years. The second generation reached their mid-career in 1891, with a standard deviation of fifteen years. By the third-generation cohort, the average year of observation for their mid-career occupation was 1920, also with a standard deviation of fifteen years. Through observing occupational class persistence or change through the generations, this thesis uncovers patterns in social relationships from the mid-nineteenth century, through to the first decades of the twentieth century.

To measure occupational mobility is to measure the ability of a society to allow, or to encourage, people in one occupational class to participate in another occupational class. Labouring, farming, fishing or trade persistence may reflect satisfaction with the structure of society, or it may represent lack of choice. This study of occupational class inheritance and mobility does not bestow a value judgement on either class stability or movement.[128] A stable social structure does not necessarily indicate a lack of choice on the behalf of the participants. As pointed out by Henretta in his 1977 criticism of the study of social mobility, 'Any valid analysis of historical experience must consider the expectations and goals of the actors themselves'. [129] The goals of any person, family or group may have been for familial and communal continuity rather than personal advancement, and the mobility of an individual does not reflect the aspiration of an entire occupational class.[130]

---

[125] Schulz, W., Maas, I., & van Leeuwen, M. H. 'Occupational career attainment during modernization. A study of Dutch men in 841 municipalities between 1865 and 1928.' *Acta Sociologica*, vol. 58, no. 1, 2015, p. 13.
[126] Van Leeuwen, Marco, and Jacob Weisdorf. 'Social Mobility among Christian Africans: Evidence from Ugandan Marriage Registers 1895-2011.' *IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc*, 2015, IDEAS Working Paper Series from RePEc, 2015; Mazumder, Bhashkar, and Miguel Acosta.'Using Occupation to Measure Intergenerational Mobility.' *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science,* Vol. 657, No. 1, 2015, p. 184; Schnitzlein, Daniel D. 'A new look at intergenerational mobility in Germany compared to the US.' *Review of Income and Wealth,* Vol. 62, No. 4, 2016, p. 653.
[127] Favre, B*ias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data,* 2019, p. 2.
[128] Griffen and Griffen. *Natives and Newcomers*, 1978, pp. 32-33.
[129] Henretta, James. 'The Study of Social Mobility: Ideological Assumption and Conceptual Bias.' *Labor History*, vol. 18, 1977, p. 170.
[130] Henretta. 'The Study of Social Mobility,' 1977, p. 170.

Canadian historian Michael Katz pointed out that a society should not be defined in terms of individual opportunity and the ability of an individual to rise within society, especially when that society maintains a great degree of economic inequality from the upper class to the working classes.[131] Katz came to the conclusion that moves between lower white-collar and skilled manual occupations could not be considered in terms of 'upward' or 'downward' mobility, as they fall into similar levels when categorised by wealth or by status.[132] In *Industry and Empire*, Eric Hobsbawm defines middle class by reference to income and their employment of servants.[133] Despite these complications around definitions and analysis, the use of occupation as a variable to measure class stratification is an established practice in the fields of sociology and historical studies of social mobility.[134]

Within South Australia, the studies of Peter Price, John Sutterby and Dirk Van Dissel underscore the difficulties of defining occupational class. Price defined his population as 'labourers' if they had received assisted passage to South Australia or arrived with limited funds.[135] Sutterby explored the transition from manual to white-collar work and, like Hobsbawm, questioned the position of lowly-paid clerks within the middle class.[136] Sutterby provided a thorough description of working-class occupations, working conditions and pay rates for the era.[137] He concluded that at the turn of the century clerks were considered a 'commercial working class, not as middle class'.[138] These clerks had gained their positions through necessity rather than choice, as the division of labour changed at the turn of the century in favour of white collar work.[139]

In his study of the 'Adelaide Gentry', Van Dissel defined his upper class by status, birth and acceptance into a locally self-defined society. Van Dissel acknowledged that the selection of his 'eighty or so' gentry families was based on intermarriage, association, membership of elite clubs, patronage of churches and schools, a 'distinct style of life', and his own '"feel" for the society'.[140] Membership into this society was subjective, as Van Dissel conceded,

---

[131] Katz, Michael. *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: family and class in a mid-nineteenth century city*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1975, pp. 45, 54-55, 77.
[132] Katz. 'Occupational Classification in History.' 1972, p. 86.
[133] Hobsbawm, E. J. *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969, pp. 156-157.
[134] Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. 'Social Inequality and Mobility in History: Introduction.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 24, no. 3, 2009, p. 399; Miles and Vincent. *Building European Society,* 1993, p. 16.
[135] Price. 'Labouring Families in Early Colonial South Australia', 1988, p. 15.
[136] Hobsbawm, E. J. *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965, pp. 273-274; Sutterby, John Whitford. 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide Circa 1880-1921'. M.A. Thesis, Flinders University, 1988, pp. 17-20.
[137] Sutterby. 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide Circa 1880-1921', 1988, p. 63-73.
[138] Sutterby. 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide Circa 1880-1921', 1988, p. 401.
[139] Sutterby. 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide Circa 1880-1921', 1988, p. 402.
[140] Van Dissel, Dirk. 'The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1915: A Study of a Colonial Upper Class', M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1973, pp. 3-5.

there were 'certain wealthy and socially prominent families which, for some reason or other, do not belong to the group' and those who 'although eligible for membership of upper class institutions, and socially acceptable guests, preferred a simpler and more modest life'.[141] Within Van Dissel's study, social mobility within South Australian society was presented as the rate at which this colonial 'gentry' class accepted outsiders.[142] Van Dissel acknowledged that this status-based definition of upper class 'may seem vague to the historian', but 'was not vague to most members of the colonial society'. He argued that this group of families were clear on who was to be included amongst their ranks, as a 'Proper Gentleman most certainly knows who are his equals and who are not'.[143] This perception contradicts Pike's statement that the early colonists rejected 'any ready-made social hierarchy based on birth or position'.[144]

In order to combat these kinds of issues around definitions and to enable comparative analysis, Stephan Thernstrom requested a 'finely calibrated instrument' which would be able to reconstruct 'a social structure now vanished'.[145] Andrew Miles and David Vincent joined the chorus for a standardised occupational classification system under the heading 'The future' in their 1993 publication *Building European Society: occupational change and social mobility in Europe, 1840-1940*. [146] In their call for cooperation between sociologists and historians to facilitate international comparisons, Miles and Vincent highlighted the most pressing need to be standardised codes and a classifications scheme for historic occupations.[147] In the early 1990s Marco van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas emphasised the need for contributions from historians to answer questions, fundamental to sociology, on the long-term openness of societies.[148] Leeuwen and Maas highlighted the necessity of scholarly consensus on occupational coding and class stratification before the categorisation and analysis of long-term historical data could occur.[149] To this end social historian Andrew Miles joined forces with sociologists Marco van Leeuwen and Ineke Maas to provide Thernstrom's 'finely calibrated instrument'. A large-scale international

[141] Van Dissel. 'The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1915', 1973, p. 5.
[142] Van Dissel. 'The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1915', 1973, pp. 4-8.
[143] Van Dissel. 'The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1915', 1973, pp. 9-11.
[144] Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967, p. 499.
[145] Thernstrom, Stephan. 'Notes on the Historical Study of Social Mobility.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 10, no. 2, 1968, p. 170.
[146] Miles and Vincent. *Building European Society,* 1993, p. 15-16.
[147] Miles and Vincent. *Building European Society*, 1993, p. 3.
[148] Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. van, and Ineke Maas. 'Log-Linear Analysis of Changes in Mobility Patterns: Some Models with an Application to the Amsterdam Upper Classes in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 24, no. 2, 1991, p. 67.
[149] Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. and Ineke Maas. 'Long-Term Social Mobility: Research Agenda and a Case Study (Berlin, 1825-1957).' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 11, no. 3, 1996, p. 403.

collaboration resulted in the publication of *Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations* (HISCO) in 2002, which is now used extensively by historians and sociologists investigating social stratification and occupational mobility.[150]

Analysis of occupational mobility could not be accomplished without the allocation of occupations into social strata. With this end in mind, the Historical International Social Class Scheme (HISCLASS) was developed as a means of allocating HISCO coded occupations into a social class hierarchy. [151] HISCLASS is a Weberian categorical approach to occupational stratification, which takes into account the dimensions of manual and non-manual, economic sector, skill level, and level of supervision to which the occupation belongs.[152] The strength of HISCLASS is evidenced by the international collaborations and comparisons it generates, and its ability to act as a foundation for bridge building between sociological and historical research into stratification.[153] International articles and theses which utilise the HISCO and HISCLASS data divisions are appearing with increasing frequency.[154] Added to the HISCO toolbox in 2013 was HISCAM, a continuous scale-based schema for occupational analysis, based on social interactions correlated to status.[155]

Analyses of occupational stratification too frequently utilise male-only samples. This tendency is based on the dominance of male occupations in the historical records on which these studies are based and the difficulties involved in linking to married daughters. It is well acknowledged that there is a 'significant under-recording of female occupations in historical sources.'[156] Female occupations are generally under- or misrepresented, as demonstrated in Catherine Bishop's *Minding her own Business*.[157] Consequently, this thesis is only able to comment on the rate of visibility, rather than the actual rate of female

---

[150] Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D., Ineke Maas, and Andrew Miles. *HISCO: historical international standard classification of occupations*, Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2002; Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D., Ineke Maas, and Andrew Miles. 'Creating a Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO): An Exercise in Multi-National, Interdisciplinary Co-Operation.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2004, pp. 186-189

[151] Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. and Ineke Maas. *HISCLASS: A Historical International Social Class Scheme*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011.

[152] Van Leeuwen and Maas. 'Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification.' 2010, p. 433.

[153] International Institute of Social History, *HISCO - History of Work,* <https://socialhistory.org/en/projects/hisco-history-work>; Van Leeuwen, Marco HD, and Ineke Maas. 'A short note on HISCLASS.' *History of Work Information System.* International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 2005.

[154] Recent examples: Griffiths, Dave, Paul S. Lambert, Richard L. Zijdeman, Marco H. D. van Leeuwen, and Ineke Maas. 'Microclass Immobility During Industrialisation in the USA and Norway. *Acta Sociologica,* vol. 62, no. 2, 2019; Buylaert, Frederik, Gerrit Verhoeven, Reinoud Vermoesen, and Tim Verlaan. 'Review of Periodical Articles.' *Urban History*, vol. 47, no. 2, 2020; Perez, Santiago. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' *The Journal of Economic History,* vol. 79, no. 2, 2019.

[155] Lambert, Paul S, et al. 'The Construction of HISCAM: A Stratification Scale Based on Social Interactions for Historical Comparative Research.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 46, no. 2, 2013, pp. 77–89.

[156] Van Leeuwen. 'Social Inequality and Mobility in History.' 2009, p. 402.

[157] Bishop, Catherine. *Minding Her Own Business: Colonial Businesswomen in Sydney.* Sydney, New South Wales, 2015, pp. 13-20, 104.

workforce participation. Civil registrations favour the occupations of male participants; occupations of fathers are provided on birth registrations, and husband, father or male relatives are provided on death registrations.[158] While marriage registrations provide an occupation for both bride and groom, the bride's occupation is frequently listed as 'home duties' during the period under consideration.

This thesis allocates occupational class to the family unit, following the established practice of studies of social stratification which argue that dependent and employed members of a cohabiting family occupy the same social class and share economic advantages and disadvantages.[159] This approach was supported by Erikson and Goldthorpe in their 1992 publication *The Constant Flux*, in which they maintained that it was the entire family, rather than the individual worker, who experienced the consequences associated with secure and insecure employment.[160] Through this shared family-level class approach, children within this study began their life in the occupational class position of the family unit. Children and wives without visible employment outside of the home were considered dependent on the resources available to employed family members and were likely to experience similar 'future life chances'.[161] Female occupations become progressively more visible in the twentieth century, which coincides with life events of the third generation of this study. As Rosemary Crompton pointed out, there has been an assumption that the class of the household corresponds to the occupation of the main breadwinner, and that main breadwinner would usually be a man.[162] Within the current research, when a female had a nominated occupation on their marriage certificate, birth certificate of their children or their death certificate, this became her allocated occupational class as an employed individual. In the case of duel-earner family units, the family-level class allocation would be determined by the highest-ranking occupational class, regardless of whether that occupation was held by a male or a female.[163]

Participants in South Australia's first expedition were described in contemporaneous reports in terms such as: 'emigrants of the labouring class', 'persons of a superior class',

[158] Alford, Katrina. 'Colonial Women's Employment as Seen by Nineteenth-Century Statisticians and Twentieth-Century Economic Historians.' *Labour History*, vol. 51, 1986, pp. 1–10.
[159] Sorensen, Annemette. 'Women, Family and Class.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1994, pp. 27-28.
[160] Erikson, Robert and John H, Goldthorpe, *The Constant Flux,* Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1992, p. 233.
[161] Beller, 'Bringing Intergenerational Social Mobility Research into the Twenty-First Century', 2009, p. 510.
[162] Crompton, Rosemary. *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates.* Cambridge, United Kingdom, Polity Press, 1993, p. ix.
[163] Beller, Emily. 'Bringing Intergenerational Social Mobility Research into the Twenty-First Century: Why Mothers Matter.' *American Sociological Review,* vol, 74, no. 4, 2009, pp. 507-528; Sorensen, Annemette. 'Women, Family and Class.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1994, pp. 27-45; Stevens, Gillian. 'Sex- Differentiated Patterns of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility.' *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* vol. 48, no. 1, 1986, pp. 153-163.

'superior and inferior officers', artisans, labourers and crew.[164] These people were initially employed to fulfil a variety of functions in the proposed colony, but they were also motivated by their own ambitions and participated in varied careers. Coding identified occupations into HISCO and HISCLASS allowed us to observe these individuals in a more nuanced position in relation to the emergent social structure.[165] The standard HISCLASS schema is composed of twelve categories (Table 1.1). These occupational classes are based on the minutiae of detail provided by HISCO. As all occupations identified in this research will be first coded into the finer grained HISCO and then into HISCLASS (12), the data collected can be easily aggregated into a broader categorisation to enable comparative analysis with international studies which make use of a variety of class divisions.

Table 1.1: Historical International Social Class (HISCLASS) Aggregate Table.[166]

	HISCLASS (12)		HISCLASS (5)
Non-Manual	**1**	Higher-skilled managers	**Upper Class**
	2	Higher-skilled professionals	
	3	Medium-skilled managers	**Middle Class**
	4	Medium-skilled professional, clerical & sales	
	5	Lower-skilled clerical and sales	
Manual	**6**	Foremen	**Skilled Workers**
	7	Trades & skilled workers	
	8	Farmers and fishers	**Farming & Fishing**
	9	Lower-skilled workers	**Labouring Class**
	10	Lower-skilled farm workers	
	11	Unskilled workers	
	12	Unskilled farm workers	

[164] South Australian Company, *Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company, Condensed from the First Report, and First and Second Supplements as presented to the First Annual General Meeting*, Southwark, 1838, p. 18; South Australian Colonization Commission. *First annual report of the Colonization Commissioners,*1836, p. 11.
[165] Leeuwen, Maas, and Miles. *HISCO,* 2002; Van Leeuwen and Maas. 'A short note on HISCLASS.' 2005; Leeuwen, and Mass. *HISCLASS,* 2011.
[166] For more detail see *Appendix 5: HISCLASS Aggregate Table*.

Previous work on agrarian or colonial communities have compressed these twelve divisions into five, six or seven class categories.[167] In order to be valid as a description of social stratification, members of each category should be clearly distinguishable from members of other categories and have a high degree of internal homogeneity as a group.[168] The current research has coded occupations into five broad categories which provide units of analysis and discussion. Occupations were distributed under these five categories: upper class, middle class, skilled workers, farming & fishing, and labouring class (See Appendix Four: Common occupations under HISCLASS categories). These broad categories enable description and analysis and are well suited to colonial South Australia's social structure. These categories have also been utilised as a means of division in other studies of class in Australia.[169]

This thesis examines occupational class transfer from South Australia's first expedition to their children, and the rate of class persistence from the second to the third generations. Constrained by time and space within this doctoral project, investigations of the 'grandparent effect', occupational class transfer from the first to the third generation and examinations of class regression will be consigned to future research projects.[170] Explorations of correlations between grandparents and their grandchildren require the consideration of the career mobility experienced by the first generation, and their early-arrival advantage as the colony's first expedition. The sex of the second generation, and other variables such as geographic mobility, would need to be allowed for. These complicating factors place consideration of the first expedition as grandparents outside the scope of this thesis.

---

[167] Such as Dribe, Martin, and Christer Lundh. 'Partner Choice and Intergenerational Occupational Mobility: The Case of Nineteenth-Century Rural Sweden.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 24, no. 3, 2009; Holt, K. 'Marriage Choices in a Plantation Society: Bahia, Brazil.' *International Review of Social History*, vol. 50, 2005, pp. 25-41; Lippényi, Z., I. Maas, and M. H. D. Van Leeuwen. 'Modernization and Social Fluidity in Hungary, 1870- 1950.' *European Sociological Review,* vol. 31, no. 1, 2015, pp. 103-14; Maas, Ineke, and Marco H. D. Van Leeuwen. 'Toward Open Societies? Trends in Male Intergenerational Class Mobility in European Countries during Industrialization', *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 122, no. 3, 2016, pp. 838–885; Perez, Santiago. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2019, pp. 383-416.

[168] Ganzeboom, Harry, Paul De Graaf, and Donald Treiman. 'A Standard International Socio-economic Index of Occupational Status.' *Social Science Research,* vol. 21, no. 1, 1992, p. 3.

[169] McGregor, Craig *Profile of Australia*, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1966, pp. 106-107; Jones, F. L. and Peter Davis. 'Class Structuration and Patters of Social Closure in Australia and New Zealand.' *Sociology,* vol. 22, no. 2, 1988, p. 274.

[170] Allingham, John Douglas. 'Class Regression: An Aspect of the Social Stratification Process.' *American Sociological Review,* vol. 32, no. 3, 1967; Chan, Tak Wing, and Vikki Boliver. 'The Grandparents Effect in Social Mobility.' *American Sociological Review,* vol. 78, no. 4, 2013; Knigge, Antonie. 'Beyond the Parental Generation: The Influence of Grandfathers and Great-Grandfathers on Status Attainment.' *Demography,* vol. 53, no. 4, 2016; Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'Grandfathers Matter(Ed): Occupational Mobility across Three Generations in the Us and Britain, 1850–1911.' *Economic Journal,* vol. 128, no. 612, 2018.

Defining Labouring Class.

The 'labouring class' descriptor used in this thesis encompasses the unskilled and lower-skilled urban and rural labourers of the HISCLASS schema. This categorisation aligns with Wakefield's labourers, who were to receive assisted passage to South Australia, relieving Great Britain of its 'redundant' population.[171] These labourers were to be employed by the middle and upper classes, those who had excess capital to invest.[172] In turn, the propaganda surrounding South Australia as a colonial endeavour suggested that these labourers were expected to become landowners or capitalists within 'a few years' of arriving in the colony.[173] Despite the presentation that the colony would provide opportunities for social mobility, it was also suggested that the young labouring couples enticed to emigrate would become the 'breeders of a future generation of labourers.'[174] This thesis presents evidence of the rate at which these labourers either became South Australia's persistent 'colonial proletariat' or left the labouring class.[175]

Defining Farming and Fishing.

Small farmers were included in Wakefield's uneasy class, as their rate of profit plummeted in the early nineteenth century.[176] Wakefield included in the uneasy middle-class all whose investments were not so large that they could withstand a small rate of return on their investments.[177] The 'Farming & Fishing' descriptor aligns with the farmers and fishers of the HISCLASS schema. Wakefieldian systematic colonisation sought to create farming families who would inhabit the 'superabundant' land surrounding the planned concentrated settlement. These farmers would feed and supply the settler-colonies of Australia and the British Empire. The South Australian Company employees were to be whalers and sealers during the Southern Ocean whaling season and thereafter settle in the colony to fish and to farm. South Australia remained principally a primary producing state for the duration under investigation in this thesis. Colonial South Australia was known as the 'granary of the continent' and until the Great Depression of the 1930s, mining, wool and wheat were South Australia's main staple products.[178]

---

[171] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 76-78.
[172] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, Morning Chronical, 1 July 1834', 1834, pp. 211-212.
[173] South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony to be founded on the South Coast of Australia*, 1834, Austaprint edition, Hamstead Gardens, South Australia, 1978, p. 15.
[174] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, 1834, p. 187.
[175] Richards, Eric. 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins, Carolyn and Paul Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History*, Mile End: Wakefield Press, 2018, p. 32.
[176] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 84-86.
[177] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 87-90.
[178] Wanna, John. 'A Paradigm of Consent: Explanations of Working Class Moderation in South Australia', *Labour History*, vol. 53, 1987, p. 62.

Defining Skilled Workers

As explored by Eric Hobsbawm, the 'aristocracy of labour' was a term used in the nineteenth century to describe a 'distinctive upper strata of the working class' who were better paid, better treated, more 'respectable' and politically moderate than the lower working class.[179] When compared to the labouring class, the labour aristocracy were better paid, enjoyed higher job security and conditions, were treated with respect by those in the social strata above them and deference by those below, and held prospects of social advancement for their children.[180] The labour aristocracy could be considered 'superior in social status' to many lower white-collar workers, small shopkeepers and clerks.[181]

E. P. Thompson's *The Making of the English Working Class* included both labourers and skilled artisans within its discussion of the working class. Thompson noted that the term 'labour aristocracy' was already used in reference to skilled artisans by the 1830s.[182] He pointed out that skilled artisans 'considered themselves as "good" as masters, shopkeepers, or professional men', and the *Book of English Trades* listed carpenters, tailors and potters alongside apothecaries, attorneys and opticians.[183] The aristocracy of labour were more secure in their employment and better paid than lower skilled labourers, participated in craft-based organisations and had a reputation for being independent and 'insubordinate'.[184]

The definition of manual supervisors and foremen has presented a problem to historians of Australian labour and social structure.[185] The living standards, rates of pay and cultural alliances of these trained and skilled artisans could be considered closer to the white-collar lower middle class than to unskilled labourers.[186] The separate interests of the skilled worker and the middle class are often set aside by historians of social structure who focus on the easier-to-define working and upper classes.[187]

Skilled workers and manual supervisors are defined as 'skilled workers' for the purposes of this research, in deference to Australia as a 'workingman's paradise' for the majority of the

---

[179] Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 1968, p. 272.
[180] Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 1968, p. 273.
[181] Hobsbawm, *Labouring Men*, 1968, pp. 273-274.
[182] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class,* 1968, p. 237.
[183] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class,* 1968, p. 237.
[184] Thompson, *Making of the English Working Class,* 1968, p. 523.
[185] Turner, Ian. *Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900-1921,* Canberra, 1965, p. xiv.
[186] Connell, R. W. and Irving, T. H. *Class Structure in Australian History: Poverty and Progress,* Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, Second Edition, 1992, pp. 36, 48
[187] Irving, Terence and Connell, R, W. 'Scholars and radicals: writing and re-thinking class structure in Australian history, *Journal of Australian Studies,* vol. 40, no. 1, 2016, p. 8; Paternoster, Henry. 'Questioning the Legacy of *Class Structure in Australian History:* An Australian "Historical" Class Analysis?', *Labour History*, vol. 111, 2016, p. 103.

period under review.[188] The skilled artisans survived as a colonial labour aristocracy in South Australia longer than those in Britain.[189] The Australian colonies in the nineteenth century were 'renowned for their prosperity, egalitarianism and social mobility' with high wages and rates of working-class home ownership.[190] In Australia up until the turn of the century, tradespeople of the traditional skilled crafts such as building, metal trades, printing, wood and leather work are referred to as the 'labour aristocracy' because of 'their high wages, their high degree of job control, and their prospects for social advancement'.[191] This thesis reveals a differing rate of intergenerational mobility between those of the labouring class and skilled workers.

Defining Middle Class

The middle-class feature heavily in this research as it was these class-conscious potential emigrants who were particularly targeted by Wakefieldian promotion, seeking the civilised society promised by concentrated settlement.[192] The notion of systematic colonisation was developed in the early 1830s, a tumultuous time in the United Kingdom, when the middle class was being courted by the Whigs for parliamentary reform and by the 'extreme Radicals' to secure their revolution.[193] In his 1833 publication *England and America*, Wakefield dedicated a chapter to incentivising the 'middle or uneasy class' to consider emigration.[194] Defining the historic middle class is problematic but a necessity which historians of society cannot ignore.[195] The middle class is a common category of analysis in British historical studies, where, as Hobsbawm noted, 'most people in fact tend to work on the assumption that there are only two classes which count, namely the "working class" and the "middle class"'.[196]

While sociological studies investigate the middle class in terms of cultural experience and economic historians take note of property and monetary values, historical studies of social structure use occupations to identify the middle class. The North American colonies had an identifiable 'middling order' by the mid-eighteenth century, town-dwelling colonists identified by Benjamin Franklin as shopkeepers and tradesmen.[197] Australian historians of

---

[188] Markey, 'A Century of the Labour Movement in Australia', *Illawarra Unity*, Vol 3, Issue, 1, 2004, p. 43
[189] Wanna, John. 'A Paradigm of Consent: Explanations of Working Class Moderation in South Australia', *Labour History*, Vol. 53, 1987, p. 56.
[190] Markey, Ray. 'A Century of the Labour Movement in Australia.' *Illawarra Unity*, vol 3, no. 1, 2004, p. 43
[191] Markey, 'A Century of the Labour Movement in Australia.' 2004, p. 44.
[192] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 79, 122-124.
[193] Briggs, Asa. 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past and Present*, vol. 9, 1956, p. 70.
[194] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 80-106.
[195] Rickard, John. 'The middle class: what is to be done', *Historical Studies,* vol. 19, no. 76, 1981, p. 447.
[196] Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire*, 1969, p. 16.
[197] Hart, Emma. 'The Middling Order Are Odious Characters: Social Structure and Urban Growth in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina.' *Urban History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2007, pp. 209-210.

social structure, such as Russel Ward and Raewyn Connell, have resorted to using inverted commas when referring to 'middle class', as if 'to cast some doubt on its historical existence'.[198] Yet, as pointed out by Asa Briggs, the English society from which a high proportion of Australian settler-colonists were drawn had developed a strong sense of middle-class identity at the time of mass migration to Australia.[199]

The lower-non-manual occupations pose the most difficulty when classifying occupations, particularly when investigating white-collar workers such as clerks and salespeople. Under the HISCLASS schema, white-collar workers encompass the lower and medium-skilled professionals, clerks, salespeople, small proprietors and middle-managers. These individuals are likely to be employed wage-earners, self-employed or small-scale employers who own property. Those in clerical and sales positions represent the blurred line between skilled manual and white-collar work, especially as colonial society shifted to a bureaucratic, corporate and service-based employment structure. Under HISCLASS, lower-skilled non-manual occupations fall into the category 'lower-skilled clerical and sales' and the current research identifies movement across the manual divide into these lower-skilled white-collar positions.

Defining Upper Class

In *England and America* Wakefield defined the 'aristocracy', 'privileged class' or 'Spending Class' as anyone wealthy enough to 'buy law without depriving themselves of any other costly luxury'.[200] To Wakefield this category was not confined by occupations, with the 'Spending Class' encompassing all 'rich Englishmen' from the wealthiest of entrepreneurial tradesmen, to prosperous lawyers and merchants as well as noblemen.[201] Australia lacks the status-based upper class of England's titled or landed aristocracy. Despite this, Gollan's *Radical and Working Class Politics* refers to substantial land holders and squatters as if they were an Australian version of an English landed aristocracy.[202] Defining the upper class by occupation differs from a status-based definition, such as that of the English titled or landed aristocracy.

In *The Australian Legend*, Russel Ward insisted that nineteenth century Australia did not have an upper class in this English sense, and 'an almost total absence of any middle class'.[203] There was though, Ward observed, a self-defined colonial 'gentry' who made great

[198] Rickard, 'The middle class', 1981, pp. 447-448, 450.
[199] Briggs, 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics.' 1956, pp. 65-74.
[200] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, p. 82.
[201] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 7, 82.
[202] Gollan, Robin. *Radical and Working Class Politics*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1960, pp. 7-9, 112.
[203] Ward, Russel. *The Australian Legend*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978, p. 63.

effort to hold themselves distinct from 'the lower orders'.[204] Ward argued that this 'ludicrous straining after exclusiveness and gentility' was an artifice to disguise the 'perilously slight differences in taste between the classes'.[205] These definitions of an upper class are founded on locally-defined notions of 'status', conceived through community relationships, rather than the occupational-class system on which this thesis is based.

The upper-class, as defined in this thesis, incorporates the HISCLASS categories of the high-skilled managers and high-skilled professionals. This is a classification system built on occupational title and bears little relation to the status and ascription-based notion of 'gentry'. By examining South Australia's settler-colonial population in terms of occupational classes, this research uncovers the rate at which labourers and those of the ambitious middle class accessed high-skilled managerial and professional occupations. At the same time, this research discovers those who took up the agrarian dream of rural land ownership and the number of skilled artisans who swapped tools for commercial enterprise. When each of these shifts is examined in relation to those who relocated, this thesis uncovers correlations between geographic movement and occupational change.

Introducing the chapters

The next chapter, *Selling South Australia,* examines how the colony was promoted and sold to investors, the 'uneasy' middle class, and to labourers. This chapter places South Australia in the context of the age of mass migration and examines how the land of southern Australia's diverse Aboriginal Peoples, was claimed and sold from England. *Chapter Three: South Australia's First Expedition* introduces and examines the six ships which formed South Australia's first expedition and identifies the passengers and crew. Without the assistance of surviving passenger lists, the quest to identify those who sailed on these ships has received attention since the mid-nineteenth century. This chapter outlines the evolution of compiled passenger lists and how these lists grew with passing decades. Evidence for the inclusion of each individual in preceding passenger lists is assessed, arriving at a list of 230 passengers and crew identified as being on board these six ships when they arrived on the shores of South Australia between July and October 1836.

Chapter Four: Locating South Australia's First Expedition provides a summary of the study's rate of attrition as well as an overview of the geographic dispersion of the located population. After accounting for attrition, through the loss of crew and labourers, 145 individuals are followed through this research, forming a first-generation population of 105

[204] Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 1978, pp. 62-65.
[205] Ward, *The Australian Legend*, 1978, p. 63.

adults travelling with forty children. The career of the 105 adults who could be identified after their participation in South Australia's first expedition is examined in *Chapter Five: Career Mobility of the First Expedition*. In this chapter the first-generation population are followed from their occupation at arrival in the colony, through to their location and year of death. The careers of the first generation traverse the period from the mid-1830s to the 1870s, and these individuals, as an early-arriving population of settler-colonists, are placed in the context of the economic and social development of South Australia.

To establish the demographic and social structure of each generation, vital statistics are called upon which 'expressly illuminate the condition of society': the infant mortality rate, the ratio of the sexes, the size of families and the distribution of population between city and country.[206] *Chapter Six: Locating the Sons and Daughters* provides the demographic overview of the second generation, consisting of 474 individuals. The lives of the children of South Australia's first expedition spanned the second half of the nineteenth century (Table 1.1). This chapter locates their lives in the context of wider societal, technological, and political change. *Chapter Seven: Occupational Outcomes of the Sons and Daughters* compares the mid-career occupations of parents in the first generation with their sons and daughters and provides the varying rates of occupational inheritance. It also compares rates of occupational inheritance for populations who moved between rural and urban environments, and those who relocated to other colonies within Australia and overseas. This pattern is repeated in *Chapter Eight* and *Chapter Nine*, which relate to the 1,660 individuals who comprise the third-generation population, the grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition. The majority of the third generation of this study entered their mid-career in the 1910s and 1920s, before South Australia was considered an industrialised economy.

Table 1.2: Population demographics of three generations.

	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Population (N)	**N = 105**	**N = 474**	**N = 1,660**
Birth Year	μ **1809** (σ 8)	μ **1848** (σ 12)	μ **1878** (σ 14)
Mid-Career Age	μ **42 years** (σ 5)	μ **43 years** (σ 6)	μ **42 years** (σ 6)
Mid-Career Year	μ **1851** (σ 9)	μ **1891** (σ 15)	μ **1920** (σ 15)

[206] Hancock, Joan & Eric Richards. 'Wealth, Work and Well Being: Some Historical Indicators', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986, p. 587.

The findings of this research are placed in their international context in *Chapter Ten: Conclusion and International Comparisons*. This chapter explores the comparability of the created dataset with occupational class analysis conducted internationally. By making use of HISCO and HISCLASS this research can be aligned with findings for comparable intergenerational populations. The final chapter also explores the potential for expanding this preliminary dataset and analysis to include South Australia's second expedition and beyond. Rates of career mobility and occupational inheritance may have differed substantially for immigrants who entered a mature economy rather than the new settler-colonial society experienced by these early-arriving immigrants. The continuing expansion of digitised and indexed source material to support longitudinal micro-history, combined with standardised data structure and coding schemas, promises a bright future for comparative social history.

Chapter Two: Selling South Australia

In 1834 Edward Gibbon Wakefield introduced his *The New British Province of South Australia* with this reference in support of his scheme of systematic colonisation:

> *A colony so founded would fairly represent English society, and every new comer would have his own class to fall into; and to whatever class he belonged, he would find its relation to the others, and the support derived from the others, much the same as in the parent country.*[1]

Plans to establish a settler-colony on the southern coast of Australia grew from Wakefield's musings on imprisonment, transportation and colonisation while serving a three-year sentence in Newgate Prison, for the abduction of a teenage heiress.[2] The colonial endeavour which evolved from Wakefieldian concepts aimed to replicate English society, which was to be transplanted like 'a full-grown tree' onto land in South Australia.[3] Access to land was integral, as the economic foundation of systematic colonisation was the appropriation of profit-generating land.[4] The initiation of this scheme coincided with a time of demographic and economic upheaval in Great Britain. Mass migration out of Great Britain increased dramatically in the 1830s as a result of sudden population growth and transformation of farming practices, which had created a 'surplus population', particularly in rural areas.[5] At this time vast quantities of land in far flung colonies were appropriated from Indigenous owners, land which Wakefield described as 'superabundant'.[6]

South Australia had been a colonial project which was 'rationalized in plan before it was discovered on land.'[7] Australia's southern coast was designated as a potential settler-colonial destination in the months after news arrived in London of Captain Charles Sturt's

---

[1] Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *The New British Province of South Australia,* 1834, p. iv; Richard Whately, *Remarks on Transportation; and on a Recent Defence of the System; In a Second Letter to Earl Grey.* London: 1834, pp. 168–170, p. 92 quoted in Richards, Eric. 'British Emigrants and the Making of the Anglosphere', Payton, Philip, and Andrekos Varnava, eds. *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, p. 29.

[2] Main, J. M. 'Foundation of South Australia' in Jaensch, Dean, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History.* Vol. II. Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986, p. 2. For more on the abduction of Ellen Turner, see Ashby, Abby and Audrey Jones, *The Shrigley Abduction*, Sutton Publishing, Lancashire, 2003; Atkinson, Kate M. *Abduction: The Story of Ellen Turner*, Blenkins Press, UK, 2002.

[3] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 1; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 53.

[4] Nance, 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1977, p. v. & Chapter VI: From Labourer to Capitalist; Reynolds, Henry. 'South Australia: Between Van Dieman's Land and New Zealand', in Foster, Robert, and Paul Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2012, p. 26.

[5] Richards, Eric. 'The Discontinuity', *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750 -1900.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018, pp. 73-86.

[6] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 92-93, 199.

[7] Meinig, D. W. *On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1884*. Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally for the Association of American Geographers, 1962, p. 8.

journey along the Murray River into Ngarrindjeri land in 1830.[8] Wakefield and his associates seized upon Sturt's positive impressions, and by early 1831 a pamphlet was published with the title, *First Paper relative to the formation of a colony at Gulf St. Vincent*, a publication which was 'devoted entirely to the advantages awaiting early land buyers'.[9] In *The Genesis of International Mass Migration,* historian Eric Richards stated that an excess in population could only result in emigration 'where there exists a receptive destination'.[10] In the case of South Australia, lands of Aboriginal Peoples were selected to be receptive to Wakefield's plan for a replicated English society. The six ships of South Australia's first expedition heralded an overwhelming influx of new arrivals on these lands from 1836.

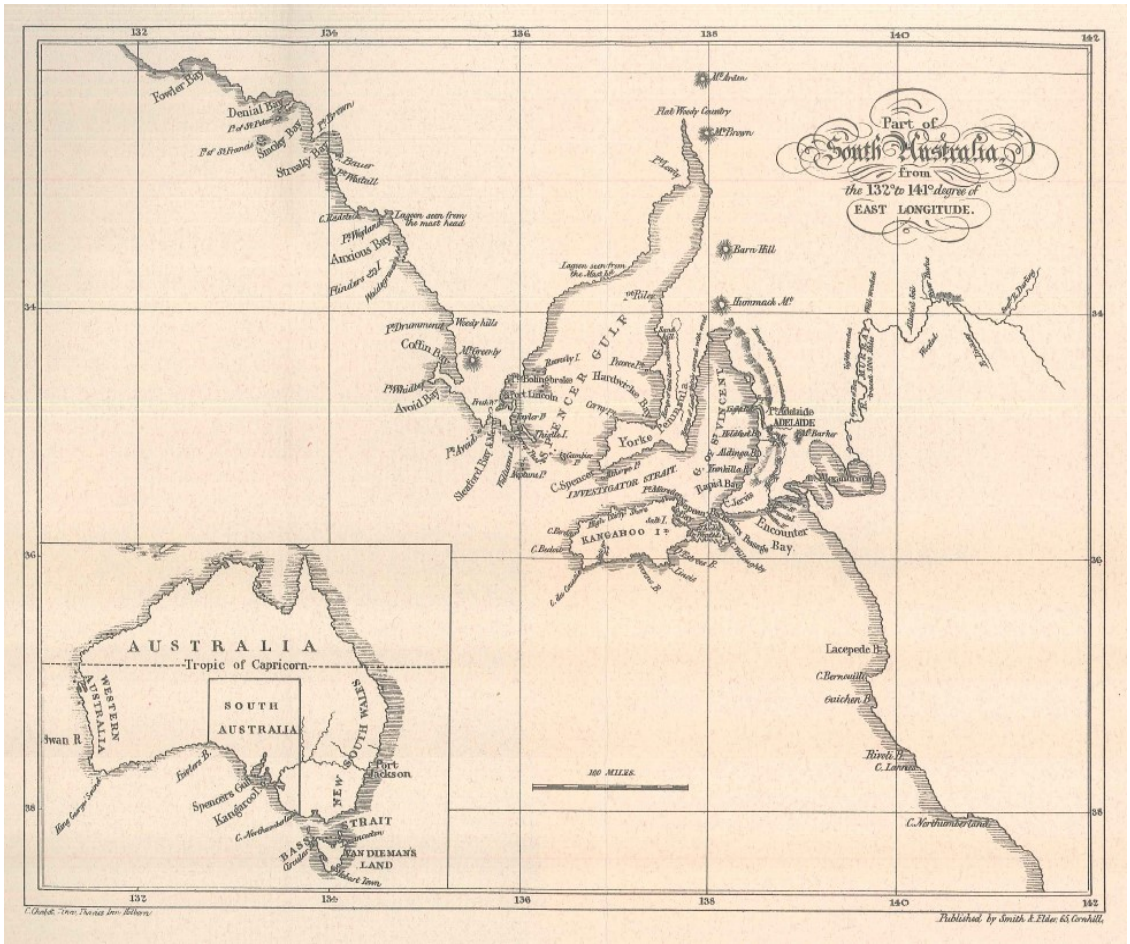


Figure 2.1: Promotional map of South Australia, 1839.[11]

[8] Price, A. Grenfell. *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia, 1829-1845: A Study of the Colonization Movement, Based on the Records of the South Australian Government and on Other Authoritative Documents*. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1924, p. 17; Booth, Jean. *Rethinking South Australia 1829 – 1841: Aspects of Governance and Empire,* Ph.D. Social Sciences, University of South Australia, 2004, pp. 84-85, 109; Main, J. M. 'Foundation of South Australia' in Jaensch, Dean, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History,* 1986, p. 5.

[9] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 1967, p. 55.

[10] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 2018, p. 276.

[11] Stephens, John. *The Land of Promise: being an authentic and impartial history of the rise and progress of the new British Province of South Australia*, London: Smith & Elder, 1839, foldout facing title page.

This chapter argues that the province of South Australia was promoted as an opportunity for early investors who would profit from the purchase of land in southern Australia. A wide range of employment opportunities were promised through the implementation of a concentrated settlement which would provide, from the colony's inauguration, a civilised society to meet the needs of the full spectrum of the social order.[12] Wakefield created a vision of a civilised society, 'possible even in the barbarous antipodes' and convinced emigrants and investors that this nascent society would provide 'a new social and economic ladder beyond Britain'.[13] Historian Douglas Pike found that two groups were targeted for Wakefield's promotion of emigration: labourers with 'enterprise and ambition' and the uneasy 'middling class' who possessed skill or capital.[14] Christopher Nance, in his study of opportunities for social mobility in colonial South Australia, agreed that Wakefieldian publicity was aimed 'primarily to middle-class capitalists, and to working-class folk'.[15]

Several of Wakefield's supporters, those who advocated for and promoted the scheme of systematic colonisation, competed for official positions which offered the security of guaranteed annuities. Potential emigrants of the middling orders were told they could access positions of esteem and consequence, without the competition which hindered advancement in England.[16] For the uneasy middle class, South Australia would represent an open field, free from the 'vast numbers of competitors' found in England.[17] Those who invested in South Australia were assured that a reliable labour force would be available, as land was to be sold at a 'sufficient price' to ensure that labourers could not purchase land 'too soon'.[18] For their part, labourers were induced to emigrate with promises of access to land or the potential of becoming entrepreneurs and employers in just 'a few years'.[19] In this way, those who participated in South Australia's first expedition had been presented with the possibility of opportunities of land, employment and profit.[20]

[12] Richards, 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions,* 2018, pp. 33-36.
[13] Richards, 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions,* 2018, pp. 35-36.
[14] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, pp. 78-79.
[15] Nance, 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71', 1978, p. 7.
[16] Hanson, Richard Davies. *The South Australian Literary Association: Inaugural Address, 5th September 1834*. Adelaide, South Australian Libraries Board, 1978, p. 3.
[17] Wakefield, *England and America,* 1833, p. 96.
[18] Sendziuk, Paul. 'No Convicts Here: Reconsidering South Australia's Foundation Myth', in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, p. 35; Wakefield, *Art of Colonization*, 1849, Letters LIII to LVIII, pp. 107-112.
[19] Wakefield, 'Inducements to Emigrate', *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 113-129; South Australian Association, *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony,* 1978, p. 15.
[20] Booth, *Rethinking South Australia,* 2004, p. 112.

The economic foundation for this proposed province rested on the appropriation and sale of the land of southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples.[21] This chapter establishes how lands of Aboriginal Peoples were considered available through the application of the legal principle of *ius gentium*.[22] The passing of the Letters Patent reserved the rights of Aboriginal Peoples to 'any lands that may now be in actual occupation or enjoyment in their own persons or in the persons of their Descendants', however the definition of 'actual occupation' was implemented through the position of 'Protector of the Aborigines [sic]' (hereafter 'Protector').[23] This chapter argues that while colonial recognition of Aboriginal Peoples' occupation, cultivation and relationship with their land was hindered by the delay in appointing a permanent Protector, the Colonial Commissioners intended to dismiss the Letters Patent in preference to the colony's Foundation Act of 1834.

Wakefield intended the proposed colonial society to be 'social, wealthy, and civilized', and to meet these aims, he put forward that colonies needed to be established 'on a great scale… to render them highly attractive to all classes'.[24] Wakefield promised investors the combination of 'plenty of labour with plenty of land', while labourers were assured that they would 'soon buy land with savings from their wages' and become 'not merely land-owners, but masters', employing labourers themselves.[25] In marketing South Australia, each element of society was targeted by the Wakefieldian promoters to enhance the case for colonisation; the 'younger sons of nobility' were promised positions of esteem in this new society, men of capital would find avenues for investment, industrious labourers would access well paid employment and those who emigrated as a servant would have 'the fairest prospects of having servants of his own'.[26] Wakefield targeted his incentives not only to those who intended to 'cultivate land', but those who would meet the 'demand for the services of all kinds… such as surveyors, architects, engineers, clerks, teachers, lawyers, and clergymen'.[27] Those of the first expedition that sailed for South Australia included a wide

[21] Sendziuk, Paul and Robert Foster. *A History of South Australia,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, p. x; Reynolds, Henry. 'South Australia: Between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand', in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, p. 26.
[22] Walker, David. *The Oxford Companion to Law,* Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980, p. 657; Boucher, David. 'Law of Nations and the Doctrine of *Terra Nullius*' in Asbach, Olaf, and Schröder, Peter. *War, the State, and International Law in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Ashgate, 2010, pp. 67-70.
[23] Attwood, Bain. 'Returning to the Past: The South Australian Colonisation Commission, the Colonial Office and Aboriginal Title.' *The Journal of Legal History*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2013, p. 72; Robert, Hannah. '"Satisfying the Saints": Colonial Entrepreneurs in the 1830s and 1840s and the Elasticity of Language.' in Banivanua Mar, Tracey, and Julie Evans (eds). *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives.* Carlton, Vic.: University of Melbourne, 2002, p. 17.
[24] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 101.
[25] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 115-116.
[26] Wakefield, 'Inducements to Emigrate', in *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 113-129; for more on marketing see Arnold, Marilyn. 'Promoting Emigration to South Australia from Britain 1829 – c1850: The importance of newspapers and other literature to the South Australian Colonisation Project*',* PhD thesis History, Flinders University, 2019.
[27] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 122.

range of people (administrators, managers, clerks, skilled professionals and investors, as well as artisans and labourers) and Wakefield argued that this diversity would 'help to form a rich and civilized community'.[28]

The era known as the 'age of mass migration' is generally defined as occurring between 1850 and 1914.[29] Schemes to establish the colony of South Australia coincided with the emerging impetus which prompted the first age of mass migration.[30] Wakefield and his fellow colonial planners were fostering the relocation and distribution of humanity, predominantly European at this stage, around the globe. As James Belich put forward in *Replenishing the Earth*, the age of mass migration was the result of a developing ideology which framed migration as an 'act of hope'.[31] This hope, when combined with advances in communication, transportation and the appropriation of land presented as available, resulted in what Belich termed the 'settler revolution'.[32] Belich argued that those immigrants who participated in the settler revolution were families and communities who intended to clone their original society at their chosen destination.[33]

The Wakefieldian promoters took advantage of both the hope and the fear that parents hold for their children when publicising plans for systematic colonisation. The proposed settler-colony promised improved lives for emigrants, employment for their sons and marriages for their daughters.[34] The uneasy middling class were presented with the notion that by immigrating to South Australia they could avoid watching their children 'fall' in social standing.[35] Men with small fortunes and large families could make use of the potential held within their many sons and daughters.[36] Wakefield argued that idle young men of good fortune would not only benefit from the hard work involved in colonisation, but would also create 'an honourable ancestry for their children' by being associated with the act of establishing a new settler-colonial society.[37]

This was the point of difference which formed the basis for the Wakefieldian scheme; the creation of a 'civilized colony' in which immigrants could see themselves and their children

---

[28] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 122.
[29] Hatton, T. J and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *The Age of Mass Migration: causes and economic impact*. Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1998, p. 3.
[30] Richards, Eric. 'The Peopling of South Australia' in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 118; Richards, 'Agrarian turmoil and the activation of mass mobility', *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 2018, pp. 121-123.
[31] Belich, James. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009, p 164.
[32] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 2009, p 556.
[33] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 2009, p 165.
[34] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, p. 103.
[35] Wakefield, *England and America*, 'Note II: Uneasiness of the Middle Class', 1833, pp. 101-103.
[36] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 122, 126-128.
[37] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 127.

advance.[38] Immigration to South Australia offered a 'social framework designed specifically to satisfy the cravings of the middling orders of society for security and respectability', and would allow them to 'become a modest gentry, an instant elite in a new society.'[39] As George French Angas reported:

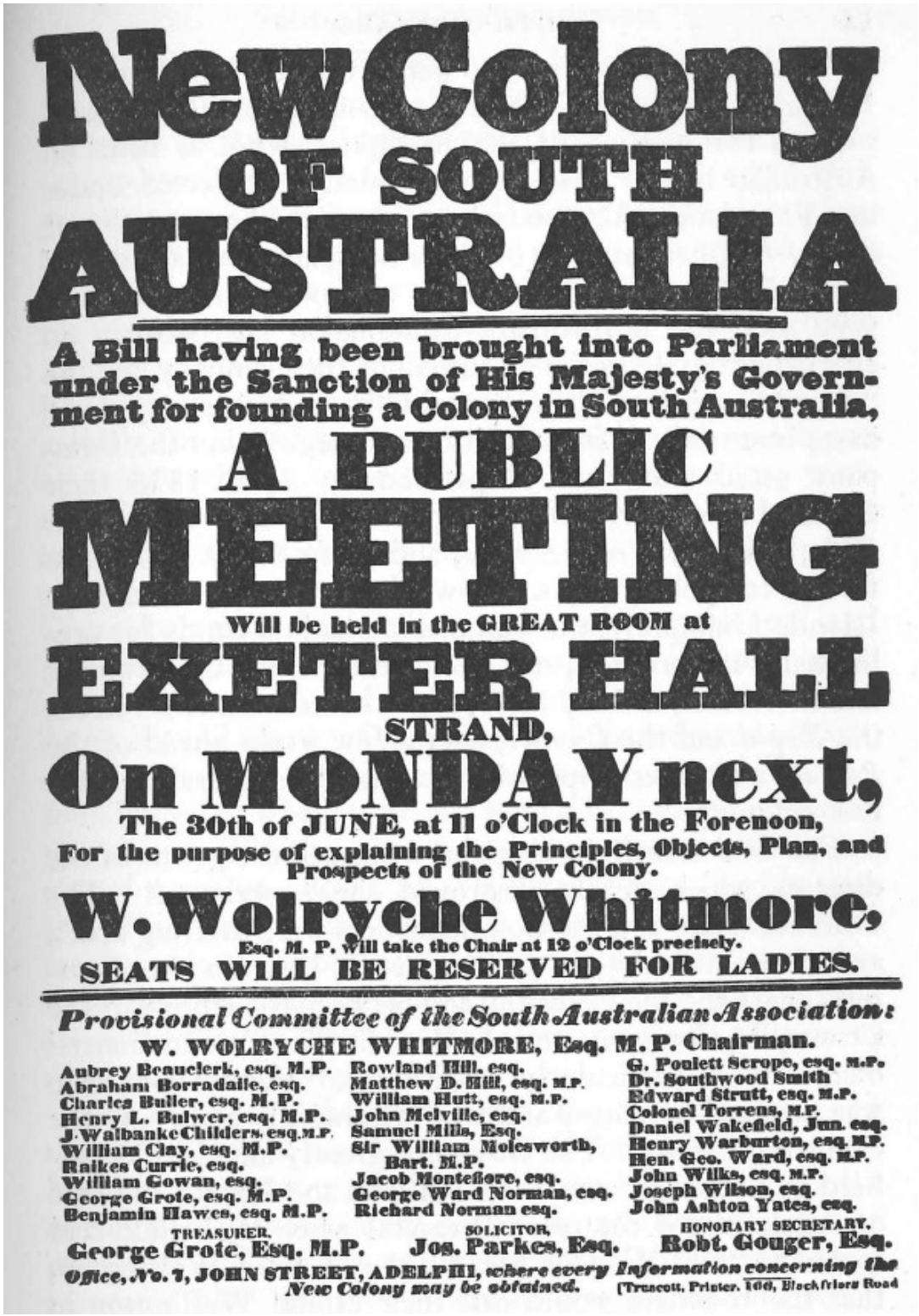
> *… an individual who is pining in the cold-catching and uncertain climate of Great Britain – struggling… to be a 'somebody', upon a very little income – may, by changing his abode to the genial climate of South Australia, live like a little prince, and become a 'somebody' with the same amount of income upon which he could barely exist in England.*[40]

In this way, Wakefield reformed the view of colonisation, which had been regarded as 'fit only for the residence of convicts, labourers, mechanics, and desperate or needy men'.[41] Wakefield removed the negative stigma associated with emigration to Australia, and attracted 'respectable members of the middling classes' to the colony which would be 'civilised… from the beginning'.[42]

There may have been an element of self-interest which motivated Wakefield's marketing of colonisation as a respectable and honourable endeavour. Thirty-year-old Wakefield's political ambitions had been extinguished in 1827 by his three-year prison sentence for the abduction of fifteen-year-old heiress, Ellen Turner.[43] A previous elopement in 1816 had served Wakefield well. At twenty years of age, he eloped with seventeen-year-old heiress Eliza Prattle. The marriage provided Wakefield with financial security and two children, but Eliza died soon after the birth of their second child.[44] Wakefield aspired to enter parliament, and if his second elopement had been successful, he would have gained the required social standing.[45] With his reputation and ambitions impaired, Wakefield turned his attention to writing and publishing on prison reform and colonial planning. Soon after the end of his prison sentence in 1830, Wakefield assisted in the formation of a colonisation society which evolved into the South Australian Association.[46]

---

[38] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 122.
[39] Richards, Eric. 'The Peopling of South Australia' in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, pp. 123 & 129.
[40] Angas, George French, *Savage life and scenes in Australia and New Zealand: being an artist's impression of countries and people at the antipodes*, Wellington, N.Z: Reed, Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1969, p. 213-214.
[41] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 128.
[42] Woollacott, Angela. *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-government and Imperial Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015, p 43; Richards, 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions,* 2018, pp. 33-42; Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 79, 123.
[43] Prichard, Lloyd. *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, Collins, London, 1968, p. 10.
[44] Garnett, R. *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: The Colonization of South Australia and New Zealand,* London, Fisher Unwin, 1898, p. 22.
[45] Prichard, *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, 1968, p. 11.
[46] Prichard, *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, 1968, pp. 29-32.



New Colony OF SOUTH AUSTRALIA

A Bill having been brought into Parliament under the Sanction of His Majesty's Government for founding a Colony in South Australia,

A PUBLIC MEETING

Will be held in the GREAT ROOM at

EXETER HALL

STRAND,

On MONDAY next,

The 30th of JUNE, at 11 o'Clock in the Forenoon,
For the purpose of explaining the Principles, Objects, Plan, and Prospects of the New Colony.

W. Wolryche Whitmore,

Esq. M. P. will take the Chair at 12 o'Clock precisely.

SEATS WILL BE RESERVED FOR LADIES.

Provisional Committee of the South Australian Association:

W. WOLRYCHE WHITMORE, Esq. M. P. Chairman.

Aubrey Beauclerk, esq. M.P.
Abraham Borradaile, esq.
Charles Buller, esq. M. P.
Henry L. Bulwer, esq. M.P.
J. Walbanke Childers, esq. M.P.
William Clay, esq. M.P.
Raikes Currie, esq.
William Gowan, esq.
George Grote, esq. M.P.
Benjamin Hawes, esq. M.P.
Rowland Hill, esq.
Matthew D. Hill, esq. M.P.
William Hutt, esq. M.P.
John Melville, esq.
Samuel Mills, Esq.
Sir William Molesworth, Bart. M.P.
Jacob Montefiore, esq.
George Ward Norman, esq.
Richard Norman esq.
G. Poulett Scrope, esq. M.P.
Dr. Southwood Smith
Edward Strutt, esq. M.P.
Colonel Torrens, M.P.
Daniel Wakefield, Jun. esq.
Henry Warburton, esq. M.P.
Hen. Geo. Ward, esq. M.P.
John Wilks, esq. M.P.
Joseph Wilson, esq.
John Ashton Yates, esq.

TREASURER.
George Grote, Esq. M.P.

SOLICITOR,
Jos. Parkes, Esq.

HONORARY SECRETARY.
Robt. Gouger, Esq.

Office, No. 1, JOHN STREET, ADELPHI, where every Information concerning the New Colony may be obtained.

(Truscott, Printer, 104, Blackfriars Road

Figure 2.2: Publicity for the Exeter Hall Public Meeting held 30 June 1834.[47]

[47] Royal Geographical Society of Australasia. South Australian Branch. *The Centenary History of South Australia*. Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 1936, p. 53.

The Exeter Hall Public Meeting.

A public meeting was planned by the South Australian Association for 30 June 1834, to be conducted in the large room at Exeter Hall on the Strand in London, to publicise the leading principles on which the colony would be founded. [48] Many of the early supporters who spoke at this meeting were later recognised in South Australia, providing names for streets and squares in the colony's capital city of Adelaide.[49] The meeting, which attracted more than 2,500 potential emigrants, was convened between the introduction of the South Australia Bill and its first reading in the House of Commons. Organised in order to 'drum up support for the legislation and to put pressure on politicians who had not yet agreed to vote', it was well attended by Members of Parliament, with several speaking in support of the colony.[50] Speakers emphasised the perceived pressure of competition for employment and positions in Great Britain, and South Australia was presented as an open field for opportunities and advancement.[51]

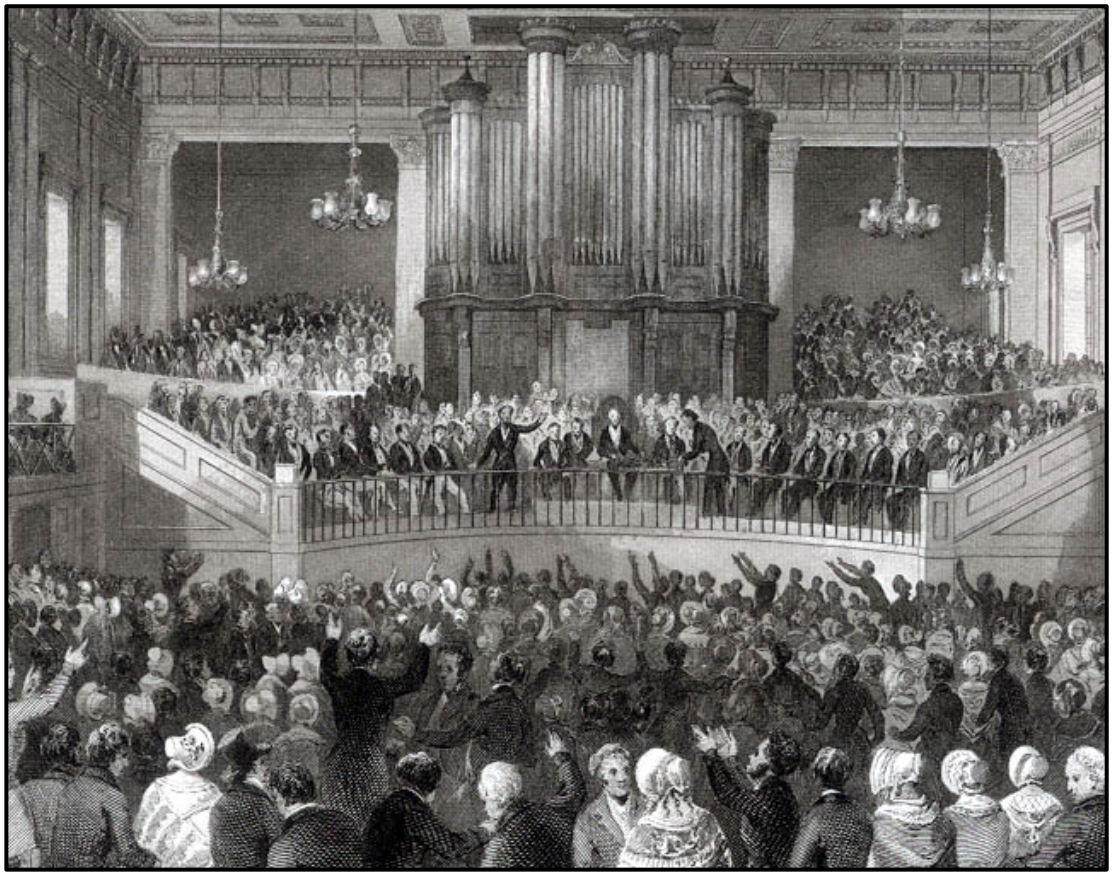


Figure 2.3: The Great Hall of Exeter Hall, London, 1841.[52]

[48] Wakefield, *The New British Province,* 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 149.
[49] Nicholas, Jeff. *Behind the Streets of Adelaide: The Unrevealed History of the Roads and Pavements of a Modern City*. Edited by Margaret McNally and Julian Grenvell. Malvern, Victoria: Torrens Press, 2016, p. 82.
[50] Howell, Peter. 'South Australian Act' in Jaensch, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History*, 1986, pp. 31 & 47.
[51] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, pp. 162-164.
[52] Melville, Henry and Thomas Shepherd, *Exeter Hall, 1841*, London: Mead, Library of Congress, 4422-A-2.

The overarching theme of the meeting was the need to provide an outlet for the 'surplus capital and labour' with which the small island of Great Britain was said to overflow.[53] It was declared that what was needed was room to move, as the 'gigantic energies of England want space for their exertion'.[54] Wakefield's theories of systematic colonisation had at their foundation the utilitarian understanding of Jeremy Bentham and John Stuart Mill, with its insistence on the 'greatest happiness for the greatest number'.[55] The concept of colonial South Australia was promoted to the Colonial Office and the British Parliament as a means of relieving the population pressures felt in England, particularly as unemployed rural workers amassed in urban environments.[56] This attached additional value to land in South Australia, through its utility in supplying Great Britain's 'surplus' labouring classes with employment and opportunities for land ownership. Emigration was promoted as a means to 'relieve the pressure under which the labourers suffer' and to 'increase human happiness abroad'.[57]

Presenters at Exeter Hall emphasised the pressure of competition which was said to be felt by all classes; intellectuals in their 'wigs and gowns', young physicians and surgeons, the highest class of artisan and the day labourers who waited 'too often in vain' at the gates of dock-yards hoping for 'even half a day's labour'.[58] William Clay M.P. declared that there was 'not one single place in the social circle… not overcharged with candidates for success'.[59] William Wolryche-Whitmore, M.P. acknowledged that the pressure to emigrate was 'not confined… to one class alone' but was 'felt by the highest and the humblest in the land'.[60] Whitmore emphasised the value of South Australia as a scheme which would provide employment for 'all the various grades of society' by 'extending civilization abroad'.[61]

The chance for those who were 'steady and industrious' to 'rise in the world' was stressed by George Grote M.P. who stated that the artisan and labourer would 'at his death… leave to his children a lot and station in society superior to that which he possessed'.[62] It was espoused that the labourers would 'soon be able to quit labour' and himself become a

[53] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, pp. 158-159 & 219.
[54] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 164.
[55] Whimpress, A.W.P. 'The Wakefield model of systematic colonisation in South Australia: an examination with particular reference to its economic aspects', University of South Australia, PhD Thesis, 2008, p. 18.
[56] Robert, Hannah. *Paved with Good Intentions: Terra Nullius, Aboriginal Land Rights and Settler-colonial Law*, Canberra, ACT: Halstead Press, 2016, p. 66.
[57] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 154.
[58] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 163.
[59] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 163.
[60] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 151.
[61] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 153.
[62] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 161.

capitalist.[63] Colonel Robert Torrens called on the agrarian dream when he declared that the high wages to be available in the new colonial society would enable the labourer to buy their own land, putting forward a timeframe of three years until 'a labourer may save sufficient to take a farm to himself'.[64]

There was also an evangelical element in several of the presentations. As Colonel Robert Torrens stated, an aim of colonial emigration was 'to replenish the earth, to extend Christianity and civilization to the remote portions of the earth'.[65] Another South Australian promoter declared that 'the All-wise Creator of the universe' had destined colonial lands 'to be the refuge of the population of the old world'.[66] Historian James Belich argued that there had been a 'tidal shift' in the mania for emigration after 1815, which was captured by a young historian, Thomas Arnold, in a prize-winning 1815 essay. Arnold had rejected criticism of emigration by citing Genesis, 'And God blessed them, and God said unto them, "Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it"'. Belich called this the 'creed of a new colonization crusade' of which South Australia was at the forefront.[67]

South Australian Act 1834.

The South Australian Act, which was granted Royal Assent on 15 August 1834, defined the territory of South Australia as the land between 132 and 141 degrees east longitude and the coasts of the Southern Ocean and 26 degrees south latitude.[68] This land was nominated a 'Province', and the planners 'overtly sought to distance themselves from the earlier-established Australian colonies' and set out to establish a degree of self-government which 'bordered on republicanism'.[69] Compromises were made, and the resultant province was 'a hybrid that was neither a crown colony nor chartered company', with authority shared by the Colonial Office and South Australia's Colonisation Commissioners.[70] This division of power, personified in the colony by Governor John Hindmarsh and Resident Commissioner

[63] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 167.
[64] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 175.
[65] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p. 177.
[66] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 'Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall,' 1834, p.186.
[67] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* p 148.
[68] Great Britain, Parliament. *An Act to Empower His Majesty to Erect South Australia into a British Province or Provinces, and to Provide for the Colonization and Government Thereof: 15th August 1834.* (Foundation Act 1834) (UK). London. For a thorough treatment of the Parliamentary Debates in the Upper and Lower House, see Howell, Peter, 'The South Australian Act, 1834' in Jaensch, Dean, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History* Vol. II. Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.
[69] Foster, Robert and Amanda Nettelbeck. 'Proclamation Day and the Rise and Fall of South Australian Nationalism.' in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, p 49.
[70] Pike, Douglas. 'Introduction to the Real Property Act in South Australia', *Adelaide Law Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1961, p. 171.

James Hurtle Fisher, led to the formation of feuding factions and wasteful inefficiencies in the colony's initial years.[71]

The Act defined the borders of South Australia and sanctioned the Commissioners to sell land to the value of £35,000 before colonisation could commence, with funds raised to be allocated to the cost of passage for labourers.[72] In this way land in South Australia was defined and sold, and the funds gathered were allocated and expended before land was surveyed. The preamble of this Act stated that the land designated to become 'South Australia' consisted of 'waste and unoccupied Lands which are supposed to be fit for the Purposes of Colonization'.[73] The Act omitted any mention of southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples.[74] The phrase 'waste and unoccupied' is difficult to accept from a present day perspective, given the recorded and described occupation of the land in question.[75] A small population of sealers, whalers and emancipated or escaped convicts were also living on Kangaroo Island with Aboriginal women and children, and a few Aboriginal men.[76] Other unofficial groups had established small settlements within the designated region of South Australia by 1836 and further undocumented immigrants continued to arrive.[77]

The terms 'waste' and 'unoccupied', as used in the South Australian Act 1834, can be interpreted according to the legal and economic understandings of the era. In the early nineteenth century these terms referred to the land's population density and degree of cultivation. At this time in England, 'waste lands' were grounds which were used in common and deemed underutilised.[78] The act of colonisation in the nineteenth century sought to claim for British settler-colonists land they understood to be thinly inhabited by people who were believed to use the land as a common ground.[79] This combination of low population density and collective land use meant that Aboriginal Peoples were thought to

---

[71] Sendziuk and Foster, *A History of South Australia,* 2018, pp. 22-25.
[72] Great Britain, Parliament, *Foundation Act 1834*; Gouger, Robert. *South Australia in 1837: In a Series of Letters; with a Postscript as to 1838*. Edited by Australia Public Library of South. Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962, pp. 12-13.
[73] Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834,* London.
[74] Booth, Jean. *Rethinking South Australia 1829 – 1841,* 2004, p. 108.
[75] For summaries of Australian pre-colonial contact with Aboriginal Peoples see Dooley, Gillian, and Danielle Clode. *The First Wave: Exploring Early Coastal Contact History in Australia*. Mile End, SA: Wakefield Press, 2019; Clendinnen, Inga. *Dancing with Strangers: Europeans and Australians at First Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
[76] Taylor, Rebe. *Unearthed,* 2002, pp. 72-77; Clarke, Philip. 'The Aboriginal Presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia' in *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, Canberra, Aboriginal History Monograph 6, 1998, pp. 14-22.
[77] Watson, Irene. *Looking at You Looking at Me --: An Aboriginal History of the South-east*. New ed., Nairne, S. Aust.: I. Watson, 2002; Hill, Les R. *Mount Gambier: The City around a Cave*. Leabrook, S.A.: Investigator Press, 1972; Faull, Jim, Young, Gordon, *People, Places & Buildings: Rural Settlements in the Adelaide Hills, South Australia*. Adelaide: South Australian Centre for Settlement Studies, 1986.
[78] Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 56.
[79] Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 56.

not have property rights in accordance with *ius gentium*, the 'law of nations'.[80] These 'laws' translated into a system of colonisation and oppression, supported by the Lockean notion that it was only when a people 'divided the land and engaged in agriculture that they established property rights'.[81]

The lands of the Aboriginal Peoples of South Australia were considered 'unoccupied' by the colonial planners, as they held to the legal principle according to *ius gentium* that:

> *those nations cannot exclusively appropriate to themselves more land than they have occasion for, or more than they are able to settle and cultivate. Their unsettled habitation in those immense regions cannot be accounted a true and legal possession.*[82]

The Aboriginal population density of the region designated to become South Australia varied widely from one person per 155.4 square kilometres in the land of the Pitjantjatjara in the north-west to one person per 1.3 square kilometre for the Ngarrindjeri of the lower Murray estuary.[83]

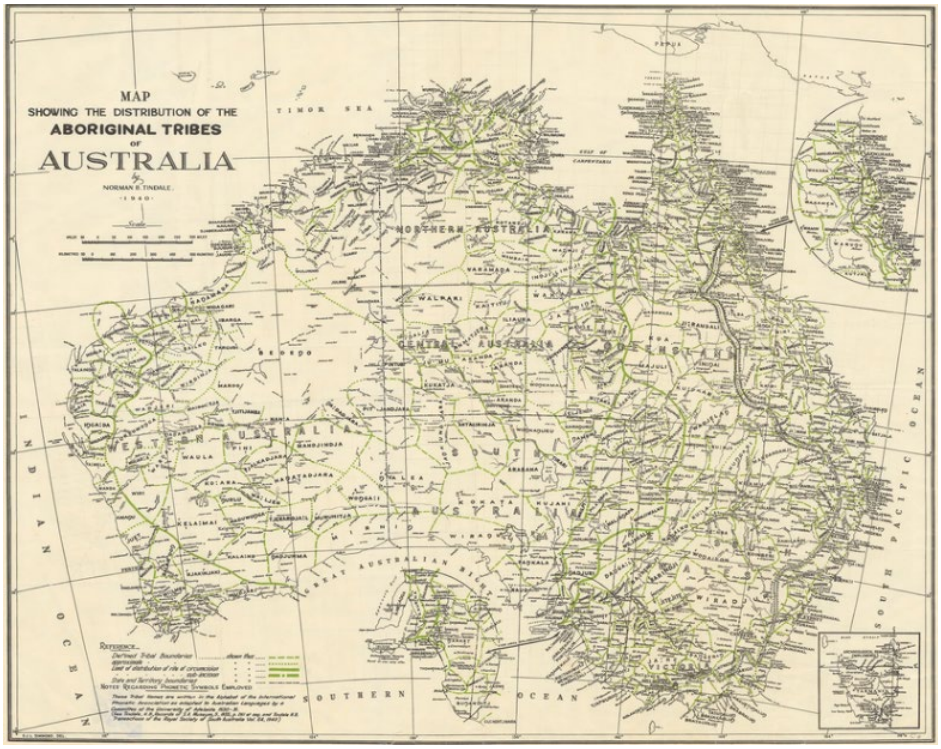


Figure 2.3: Map of Australia's Aboriginal Peoples.[84]

[80] Boucher, David. 'Law of Nations and the Doctrine of *Terra Nullius*' in Asbach, Olaf, and Schröder, Peter. *War, the State, and International Law in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Ashgate, 2010, pp. 67-70.
[81] Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions,* 2016, p. 56.
[82] Emerich de Vattel, *The Law of Nations or the Principles of the Law of Nature Applied to the Conduct and Affairs of Nations and Sovereigns: a new edition by Joseph Chitty*, London, 1834, p. 100 in Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, pp. 57-58.
[83] Brock, Peggy, and Tom Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath: A History of Aboriginal South Australia*. Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2017, pp. 24-25.
[84] Tindale, Norman 'Results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, 1938-1939. Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes: A Field Study', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, vol. 64, no. 1, 1940, p. 140.

There were protests against the inclusion of the phrase 'waste and unoccupied' in the South Australian Act. An anonymous article published in July 1835 in *The Westminster Review* argued that in South Australia:

> *the country, as far as it has been examined, has been found to be better peopled than any other part of the Australian continent. The hunting-grounds will be found there as everywhere else, to be the property of particular tribes* [sic].[85]

The article went on to question that the South Australian Act had overlooked any 'payment to the native inhabitants, the owners of the soil' and pointed out that Aboriginal Peoples, 'must be paid for their lands; and this will form a serious deduction from the gross amount of the pittance which will be received for them at a public sale'.[86]

Another ardent critic in 1835 was Charles Napier, who had initially been chosen as Governor for the planned colony. Napier penned a book, *Colonization: Particularly in South Australia* in which he condemned the legislation as 'an act to seize, by force,' a territory which was known to be populated, which would deprive 'an inoffensive race of people of their property, without giving them the slightest remuneration.'[87] As outlined by historian Henry Reynolds, those involved in the establishment of South Australia as a settler-colony sought to avoid the atrocities which had so recently transpired in Van Diemen's Land, yet avoided the treaties which had already recognised American Indian sovereignty in the United States and would affirm Maori rights to land in New Zealand.[88]

The South Australian Company

The South Australian Act, which had passed in August 1834, would not come into effect until land in South Australia had been sold to the value of £35,000.[89] The Act had nominated a minimum price of twelve shillings per acre, but respecting Wakefield's 'sufficient price', the Commissioners endeavoured to sell the land at one pound per acre.[90] When land sales stalled before reaching the required target, the South Australian Company was formed which bought the remaining acres at the reduced price of twelve shillings per acre.[91] As the colony's largest investor, the South Australian Company made plans for the installation of infrastructure and services such as, 'banking, shipping, wharfage, as well as

---

[85] *Westminster Review*, vol. 23, July 1835, p. 239 quoted in Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 2016, p. 62-63.
[86] Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 2016, p. 63.
[87] Napier, C. J. *Colonization: Particularly in South Australia,* London, 1835, Reprint New York: Kelley, 1969, p. 213; for a summary of other protests see Reynolds, Henry. *The Law of the Land*. 3rd ed. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin, 2003, pp. 127-129
[88] Reynolds, Henry. 'South Australia: Between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand.' in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, pp. 24-32.
[89] Finniss, *The Constitutional History of South Australia*, 1886, p. 2; Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834*.
[90] Main, JM 'Social foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 96.
[91] Sendziuk and Foster, *A History of South Australia,* 2018, p. 14.

farms and a variety of other activities'.[92] The chairman of the South Australian Company was George Fife Angas, who was to become the colony's largest landholder.[93] With the establishment of the South Australian Company, control and leadership in the colony was split three ways, between the South Australia's Colonisation Commissioners, the Colonial Office and the South Australian Company.

A letter written by Torrens on 14 December 1835 announced the completion of the South Australian Act's preliminary requirements.[94] Over the year since the passing of the Act in August 1834, land had been sold to the value of £35,000 and the Commissioners had raised an additional £20,000 to act as a guarantee of the colony's ongoing financial security. By January 1836, plans were in place for the first expedition to depart for South Australia as soon as possible. The South Australian Company was particularly eager to leave in order to be able to participate in the Southern Ocean whaling season.[95] When the South Australian Company placed pressure on the Commissioners to fix a departure date, South Australia's Emigration Officer John Brown blamed the delays on the Colonial Office and the 'Saints in the House of Commons'.[96] Brown was referring to the Evangelical reformers, who at the time of South Australia's establishment, held powerful positions in Britain's Colonial Office.[97]

In 1833 London's Evangelical humanitarian movement had achieved a great victory in the outlawing of slavery in the British Empire.[98] After this triumphant success, the Evangelicals had turned their attention to, 'using Britain's imperial reach to civilise and Christianise indigenous peoples–to transform them into "profitable workmen, good customers, and good neighbours"'.[99] A new Whig government came to power under Lord Melbourne in April 1835. This change in political control allowed the Evangelical humanitarians to question the Commissioners regarding their plans for the protection of South Australia's

[92] Dickey, Brian, and Peter Howell. *South Australia's Foundation: Select Documents*. Netley, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986, p. 8; for details see South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1836, pp. 18-31.
[93] Main, JM 'Social foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 98.
[94] Dickey and Howell, *South Australia's Foundation,* 1986, p. 8.
[95] South Australian Company. *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1836, pp. 12-14; Price, *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia*, 1924, p. 39.
[96] Brown, John. *Transcript of Diary of John Brown, Emigration Agent, with Index*. Borrow Collection, Flinders University, 1836, p. 84.
[97] Foster, Robert. 'True Lies: South Australia's Foundation, the Idea of "Difference", and the Rights of Aboriginal People.' In Collins, Carolyn and Paul Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History.* Mile End: Wakefield Press, 2018, pp. 67-70.
[98] Coupland, Reginald. *The British Anti-slavery Movement*. Home University Library of Modern Knowledge; 165. London: Butterworth, 1933, p. 56.
[99] *Select Committee on Aborigines Report,* 1837, p. 75 quoted in Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions,* 2016, p. 20.

Aboriginal Peoples.[100] In July 1835 Sir George Grey of the Colonial Office wrote to the Commissioners, requesting that the rights of Aboriginal people be protected, and that the Commissioners were to prepare to 'promote the spread of civilisation' and the Christian religion.[101] The Colonial Office had been motivated by a despatch from Lieutenant-Governor Arthur, who had offered observations and suggestions based on his experience in Van Diemen's Land.[102]

Rowland Hill, Secretary of the Colonisation Commissioners, sent a letter in return which reassured the Colonial Office of their intention to spread civilisation, as well as provide moral and religious instruction.[103] During negotiations with the Colonial Office, the Commissioners utilised the language of the Evangelical humanitarians in order to smooth the progress of their colonisation scheme.[104] In December 1835, Grey again wrote to the Commission, indicating that the project would be put on hold unless the Commissioners could provide the King with 'some reasonable assurance that He is not about to sanction any act of Injustice towards the Aboriginal Natives [sic] of that part of the Globe'.[105] As explored in detail in Henry Reynolds' *The Law of the Land*, negotiations were heated in December 1835, at a time when South Australia's first expedition was preparing for departure.[106] Emigration Officer John Brown expressed frustration that the rights of Aboriginal Peoples were only now being addressed as the ships were preparing to sail, stating, 'this ought to have been foreseen and prepared for, and we not delayed by their oversight.'[107]

The Letters Patent

Frenzied negotiations conducted over December 1835 and January 1836 resulted in the passing of the Letters Patent, the establishment of the position of 'Protector of the Aborigines [sic]' (hereafter 'Protector') and the appointment of an Anglican Chaplain to

[100] Foster, Robert, and Amanda Nettelbeck. *Out of the Silence: The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2012, pp. 14-15; See Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2003, pp. 105-117 for a detailed consideration of the correspondence between the Colonial Office and the Colonisation Commissioners to reach a compromise on the 'protection' of Indigenous Peoples of South Australia.
[101] Grey to Colonisation Commissioners, 17 July 1835, NA CO 396/1 in Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 62.
[102] Reynolds, Henry. 'South Australia: Between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand', in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, pp. 28-29.
[103] Rowland Hill to Sir George Grey, 23 July 1835, NA CO 13/1 in Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 62.
[104] For detailed analysis of the rhetoric around recognising Aboriginal peoples' rights to land see Robert, '"Satisfying the Saints", 2002, pp. 7-21.
[105] Grey to Torrens, 15 December 1835, CO 396/1 and CO 13/3 at 112 AJCP in Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 2016, p. 49.
[106] Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2003, pp. 121-125.
[107] Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown,* 1836, pp 84-85.

serve the colony.[108] While the Letters Patent retained the term 'waste and unoccupied', it contained an added proviso that reserved the right of Aboriginal Peoples to any lands in 'the actual occupation or enjoyment in their own Persons or in the Persons of their Descendants'.[109] In the circumstance that any lands were found to be in the 'actual occupation' of Aboriginal Peoples:

> *the Protector was then to negotiate a voluntary sale to the Colonization Commissioners, or, if the owners did not want to surrender their lands, 'to secure to the natives the full and undisturbed occupation or enjoyment of those lands and to afford them legal redress against depredations and trespassers'*.[110]

As outlined by historian Hannah Robert, the Letters Patent 'left three loopholes through which the Commissioners could still extinguish Aboriginal rights in land'.[111] Firstly, the Letters Patent conflicted with the South Australia Act of 1834 which declared all lands to be open to survey and public sale, and as recorded in John Brown's journal, the Commissioners intended to follow the Act.[112] Secondly, the rights of Aboriginal Peoples rested on the Commissioners' and Protectors' definitions of the phrase 'actual occupation' and Torrens reported that he believed this occupation would not be found.[113] Thirdly, as the Letters Patent provided no consequences to a breach of the proviso, it was unlikely to be enforced.[114]

Emigration Officer John Brown noted in his journal, 'What is to be the interpretation of the word "occupy" is the question… it [South Australia] is not occupied according to any law regulating possession which is recognised by civilized people'.[115] The Letters Patent had placed the burden of proof on the Protector to establish that land was occupied, rather than to prove that land was not occupied by Aboriginal Peoples.[116] The Commissioners also provided the definition of the term 'actual occupation'. Once in South Australia, the Protector was instructed that 'actual occupation' was to be defined as land used for

---

[108] Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown*, 1836, p. 97; Great Britain, Sovereign. *South Australia: Letters Patent Passed under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom, Erecting and Establishing the Province of South Australia and Fixing the Boundaries Thereof*. London, 1836.
[109] Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 72; Reynolds, Henry. 'South Australia: Between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand', in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, p. 29, Berg, Shaun. 'A Fractured Landscape' in Berg, Shaun, ed. *Coming to Terms: Aboriginal Title in South Australia,* Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 2010, pp. 1-24.
[110] Torrens to Glenelg, 7 January 1836, CO 13/4 AJCP, 37 in Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions,* 2016, pp. 101-102.
[111] Robert, '"Satisfying the Saints", 2002, p. 17.
[112] Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown,* 1836, p 100
[113] Torrens to Grey, [26] Dec. 1835; British Parliamentary Papers, 1836, vol.11, paper no. 512, 'Report of the Select Committee on the Disposal of Lands in the British Colonies', p. 130 in Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 72.
[114] Robert, '"Satisfying the Saints", 2002, p. 17.
[115] Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown,* 1836, p 75; Foster, 'True Lies: South Australia's Foundation.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History*, 2018, p. 68; for nineteenth century legal interpretations of occupied land see Borch, Merete. 'Rethinking the Origins of Terra Nullius.' *Australian Historical Studies,* vol. 32, no. 117, 2001, pp. 222-39.
[116] Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 2016, p. 49.

'cultivation of any kind' or which had 'a fixed residence on any particular spot' or used for 'funeral purposes'.[117]

The person selected as South Australia's first Protector, George Augustus Robinson, had worked as 'Conciliator' under Governor Arthur in Van Diemen's Land. Robinson considered the position, but negotiations over conditions were drawn out for a year.[118] It was not until January 1837 that Robinson wrote to the South Australian Governor to confirm that he intended to take up a similar post in Victoria.[119] Robinson's deliberation delayed the installation of a Protector in South Australia and led to the absence of a permanent Protector in South Australia until July 1839, with temporary appointees filling the role in the interim.[120] There was no Protector assigned to the position when South Australia's first expedition landed on Kangaroo Island between July and October 1836.

Cultivated Land

In 1834 Wakefield had sought to excite emigrants with the notion that they would gain the satisfaction of creating with their own hands 'fields, gardens and towns' where nothing had existed 'except the bare wilderness'.[121] In contrast to an untamed wilderness, the settler-colonists found on arrival in South Australia an open landscape with 'expanses of plain or gentle hill country covered with grasses or scrub forests'.[122] When Colonel William Light had first viewed the land on the eastern shore of the Gulf St. Vincent in September 1836, he had stated that his hopes:

> *were now raised to a pitch I cannot describe. I walked up one of the hills, and was delighted to find that as far as I could see, all around, there was an appearance of fertility.*[123]

When surveying the region around Yankalilla a few weeks later, Light reflected that the valleys reminded him of 'the orchards in Devonshire'.[124] Letters, diaries and paintings created by Europeans arriving in Australia repeatedly record their surprise to find not a

---

[117] 'Official Instruction to William Wyatt, Esq. Ad Interim Protector of the Aborigines [sic]', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Saturday 12 August 1837, p. 1.
[118] Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2003, p. 117; Pope, Alan, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors of Aborigines – but Protecting Whom? South Australia's Protectors of Aborigines 1836-1850', *History Forum*, vol. 11, no. 1, July 1989, p. 37.
[119] George Robinson, *Letter to South Australia Governor*, 2 January 1837 in Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 37.
[120] Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence,* 2012, p. 23.
[121] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 124.
[122] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, p. 4.
[123] Light, William. *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*. Edited by David Elder. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1984, p. 63.
[124] Light, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, 1984, p. 64.

bare wilderness but park-like landscapes.[125] A colonist who had arrived in South Australia in early 1839 described the scenery on the Fleurieu Peninsula as having:

> *very much the appearance of a nobleman's park, the soil being covered with a beautiful crop of verdant herbage, and thinly studded with large spreading trees. Considerable places also occur quite clear of timber of any description – ready, in fact, for the plough.*[126]

Despite observing and describing these managed lands as having a park-like appearance, many settler-colonists were blinkered to the possibility of Aboriginal cultivation and maintenance of the landscape.[127] For South Australia, it was interim, part-time Protectors who were tasked with recognising the 'actual occupation' of Aboriginal lands.

Concentrated Settlement

After having inspected and rejected alternative sites at Kangaroo Island, Encounter Bay and Port Lincoln, Light selected the site for the Wakefieldian concentrated settlement in December 1836. The settlement was to be positioned on the plains between the sea and the Mount Lofty Ranges, around the banks of a small river, known to the local Aboriginal people as Karrawirra Parri.[128] With the choice of this site for concentrated settlement, to be known as the Adelaide Plains, the decision had been made to move the major influx of immigrants onto the land of the Kaurna People.[129] The site chosen by Colonel William Light for the site of Adelaide South is still referred to as Tarndanya, or 'red kangaroo rock' in Kaurna language.[130] Using population estimates from protectors and missionaries, it is estimated that the Kaurna People numbered perhaps 700 individuals in 1836.[131] At the arrival of colonists, the number of Kaurna people on the Adelaide Plains may have been limited, as in mid-summer 'the Kaurna traditionally removed to the hills and foothills of the Mt Lofty Ranges'.[132]

---

[125] Gammage, Bill. *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2011, pp. 159-160, 253-254, 264-268; Pascoe, Bruce. *Dark Emu: Aboriginal Australia and the Birth of Agriculture*. Broome, Western Australia: Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2018, p. 174.

[126] Bennett, J. F. *Historical and Descriptive Account of South Australia: Founded on the Experience of a Three Years' Residence in That Colony.* London: Smith Elder, 1843, p. 31.

[127] Bill Gammage, 'The Adelaide District in 1836', in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, pp. 7–23.

[128] Dutton and Elder, *Colonel William Light*, 1991, pp. 172-187; Amery, Rob, *Warraparna Kaurna! Reclaiming an Aboriginal language*, Adelaide: University of Adelaide Press, 2016, p. 287.

[129] Amery,*Warraparna Kaurna! Reclaiming an Aboriginal language*, 2016, pp. 3-4.

[130] Amery, Rob & Buckskin, Vincent Kanya, 'Pinning down Kaurna names' in Clark, Ian D., Luise Hercus, Laura Kostanski, and Rob Amery. *Indigenous and Minority Place Names: Australian and International Perspectives.* Canberra, ACT: Australian National University Press, 2014, p. 197.

[131] Lockwood, Christine. 'Early Encounters on the Adelaide Plains and Encounter Bay' in Brock and Gara, *Colonialism and Its Aftermath,* 2017, pp. 65-66.

[132] Jenkin, Graham. *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1979, p. 32.

The impact of concentrated settlement dealt a powerful blow to the Kaurna people of the Adelaide plains in particular. Kaurna Elder Lewis O'Brien provides a summary:

> *Despite the earnest attempts of the Colonial Office, the settlement of Adelaide from 1836 was no less destructive to the Kaurna than other settlements to other Aboriginal peoples. There was little violence, but Kaurna land was listed on British property pages and the continuous wave of European settlers overwhelmed the Kaurna. With their land occupation denied, seasonal movements hampered, food resources exhausted, spiritual sites violated and the people themselves ravaged by introduced disease, the death rate of the Kaurna escalated.*[133]

Estimations of the South Australian Aboriginal population in the 1830s range from 10,000 to 15,000 people.[134] Each Aboriginal language group may have varied in size from 100 to 2000 individuals, with extended family units consisting of fifteen to fifty people.[135] It is understood that pre-contact Aboriginal populations had been considerably higher. Their communities were reported to have been devastated by contagious diseases, which emanated out of New South Wales along the Murray, and reached South Australia in the early 1800s.[136] As Charles Sturt travelled down the Murray River in 1830, he recorded evidence of a pandemic, thought to be either smallpox or chickenpox.[137]

The 'Protectors'

Governor Hindmarsh's private secretary, George Stevenson, was assigned the position of Protector for the first few months of 1837, but soon resigned after realising how 'political and sensitive' the role would be.[138] Following the resignation of Stevenson, the position of Protector was filled in April 1837 by Walter Bromley, a teacher in his fifties who had expressed an interest in the position while still in London.[139] Bromley began eagerly with plans to study local languages and to encourage the cultivation of land, but only weeks after acquiring the position, he suffered a debilitating burn which restricted his movement.[140] Bromley was frustrated in his inability to keep the Kaurna close by his camp

---

[133] O'Brien, Lewis and Groome, Howard. 'Kaurna', *Encyclopaedia of Aboriginal Australia*, David Horton (ed), AIATSIS, 1994, p. 540.
[134] Monaghan, Paul. 'Structures of Aboriginal Life at the Time of Colonisation in South Australia', in Brock and Gara, *Colonialism and Its Aftermath*, pp. 23-24.
[135] Monaghan, Paul. 'Structures of Aboriginal Life at the Time of Colonisation in South Australia', in Brock, Peggy, and Tom Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath: A History of Aboriginal South Australia*. Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2017, p. 24.
[136] Taplin, George. *The Narrinyeri*, p. 44 in Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*, 1979, p. 29; Dowling, Peter. '"A Great Deal of Sickness": Introduced Diseases among the Aboriginal People of Colonial Southeast Australia, 1788-1900', PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1998, pp. 13, 28, 42-43.
[137] Sturt, Charles. *Two Expeditions into the Interior of Australia during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831* (London, 1833), vol. I, p. 93 in Jenkin, *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*, 1979, p. 29; Pope, Alan. 'Deadly Disease', *Resistance and Retaliation: Aboriginal-European Relations in Early Colonial South Australia*, Heritage Action, Bridgewater, 1989, pp. 36-42.
[138] *Southern Australian*, 27 February 1839, pp. 2-3 in Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 37.
[139] Fisher*, Despatch to Commissioners*, June 1837 in Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 37.
[140] *Bromley, Letters to Colonial Secretary, 1837* in Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 37.

on the banks of the Karrawirra Parri, or River Torrens. Many Kaurna people who frequented the burgeoning settlement of Adelaide preferred to trade their labour for supplies from townspeople, rather than make use of Bromley's rations of unpopular porridge.[141] At a time when the duties of Protector required Bromley to travel the extensive Adelaide plains, he was suffering from failing health and was invited to resign for reasons of 'physical and mental imbecility' in July 1837.[142] Bromley was allowed to remain in his hut on the banks of the Torrens River and was found less than a year later, drowned in the river near his house.[143]

Dr William Wyatt, who had emigrated as ship surgeon on the *Cygnet*, was appointed part-time Ad Interim Protector in August 1837 with his instructions published in the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*.[144] Wyatt's five listed objectives were: to ascertain the number, strength, and disposition of the different tribes; to protect them in the undisturbed enjoyment of their proprietary rights to such lands as may be occupied by them in any especial manner; to encourage as much as possible the friendly dispositions towards the emigrants which at present exist; to induce them to labour, either for themselves or the settlers; to lead them by degrees to the advantages of civilization and religion.[145]

Wyatt was instructed to acquire a knowledge of local Aboriginal languages and teach the local Aboriginal people English.[146] As a medical practitioner, Wyatt's personal priority was to treat illness.[147] As relationships between local Aboriginal people and settlers became violent, Wyatt was blamed for neglect of duties.[148] After the murder of two shepherds near Adelaide in 1839, a public meeting accused Wyatt of neglect of duty. At the time of the attack Wyatt had been at Encounter Bay tending to the sick, but the mood of the meeting was against him.[149] During his time as Protector Wyatt endeavoured to have some reservations of land set aside 'to the benefit' of Aboriginal people, but without success.[150]

---

[141] Hassell, Kathleen, 'The Relations between the settlers and Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1860', Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1966, pp. 19-22 and *Colonial Secretary's Office, In Letters*, Nos. 117, 152, 169, 206, 21011837. SA Public Record Office GRG 2411 in Foster, Robert. 'Feasts of the Full-Moon: The Distribution of Rations to Aborigines in South Australia: 1836-1861.', *Aboriginal History,* vol. 13, 1989, p. 65.
[142] CO 13/7, SRSA in Foster and Nettelbeck. *Out of the Silence,* 2012, p. 23.
[143] 'Coroner's Inquest', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Saturday 19 May 1838, p. 8.
[144] *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 12 August 1837, p. 1.
[145] *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 12 August 1837, p. 1.
[146] *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 12 August 1837, p. 1.
[147] Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 39.
[148] Yarwood, A. T. and Knowling, M. J. *Race Relations in Australia: A History*. North Ryde, N.S.W.: Methuen Australia, 1982, p. 145; Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 39.
[149] *Southern Australian,* 10 May 1839; *Southern Australian* 8 May 1839; *Register* 11 May 1839 Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 39.
[150] *Southern Australian*, 5 June 1839 in Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence,* 2012, p 23.

Wyatt reported that his appeals to Resident Commissioner Fisher had failed, as 'the Act of Parliament admitted of no reservation of the kind'. [151] This demonstrated that the Commissioners intended to give preference to the South Australia Act over the Letters Patent. William Wyatt was a part-time temporary protector for two years until the arrival of the official Protector Matthew Moorhouse in June 1839.[152]

Matthew Moorhouse arrived in South Australia to take the permanent, full-time position of Protector in July 1839 and retained the role until 1856, the year self-government was granted to South Australia.[153] The priorities given to Moorhouse differed from those provided to Wyatt, as Moorhouse was to encourage the Aboriginal people to work for the settlers in return for rations or remunerations, and to prioritise the education of Aboriginal children.[154] In July 1840 Moorhouse reported to Governor Gawler that:

> *A more extended knowledge of the language has introduced us to a more general acquaintance with the manners and customs of these people. We find what the Europeans thought the Aborigines of Australasia did not possess – territorial rights, families owning and holding certain districts of land which pass from father to sons, never to daughters, with as much regularity as property in our own country.*[155]

In July 1840 Governor Gawler instructed Protector Moorhouse to set aside reserves of recently surveyed land for Aboriginal groups, before the land was available for selection by land purchasers.[156] Moorhouse identified several parcels of land in districts that seemed to correspond to areas associated with particular Aboriginal clans.[157] A group of landowners and representatives of the South Australian Company submitted a complaint to the Resident Commissioner, stating that as they had bought preliminary land orders in London, they 'were entitled to make our selections, in preference to all persons whatever'.[158] George Fife Angas, who had been enthusiastic on the subject of religious instruction for Aboriginal people, protested when surveyed land was reserved prior to sale.[159] While Gawler made an impassioned plea defending the rights of Aboriginal Peoples to their land, he did not pursue his authority to establish reserves, but instead set aside land in trust for their future use.[160]

---

[151] GRG 24/6/1838/103, SRSA in Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence*, 2012, p 24.
[152] Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 39.
[153] Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence*, 2012, p 23.
[154] Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 39.
[155] *Report of Matthew Moorhouse*, 27 July 1840, NA CO 13/16; Attwood, 'Returning to the Past', 2013, p. 66, fn 32.
[156] Foster, 'True Lies: South Australia's Foundation.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History*, 2018, p. 69.
[157] Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence*, 2012, p 24.
[158] *South Australian Government Gazette*, 23 July 1840, pp. 6-9.
[159] *George Gawler to George Fife Angas*, 10 July 1840, in Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions,* 2016, p. 32.
[160] *Southern Australian*, 28 July 1840, p. 4 in Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence*, 2012, pp. 24-25.

Governor Gawler was willing to defend the reality of rights of Aboriginal Peoples to their land, but he was not willing to negotiate land treaties.[161] The land that was reserved for their future use was leased back to settler-colonist farmers, and these funds joined the colony's general revenue, much in the same way that the wages of Aboriginal people were 'merged into consolidated revenue'.[162] Land grants were provided to Aboriginal people, but only on the understanding that the land would be farmed according to European methods, a practice that was formalised throughout the Australian colonies by the *Waste Lands Act (1842)*.[163] In this way Aboriginal land rights were acknowledged not through prior ownership of land, but through the willingness of Aboriginal people to imitate British systems of land use.[164]

The position of Protector has been described as 'a thankless if not impossible task', as it required both the protection of Aboriginal Peoples from the negative impacts of colonisation and the protection of the settler-colonists from their retaliation.[165] The objectives of the Protector can be understood to be even more unrealistic when the perspective of Aboriginal law is taken into consideration. A specialist in Indigenous and International Law, Professor Irene Watson, wrote of the overwhelmingly damaging effects of colonisation, in that it 'forced Aboriginal Peoples to violate their own principles of natural responsibility to self, community, country and future existence'.[166] The act of colonisation made expansive assumptions of the superiority of European civilisation, and 'the universalisation of an international law founded on that same illusion'.[167]

Contemporary knowledge of Aboriginal law now tells us that, even if 'actual occupation' had been recognised, the Protectors were asked to perform an impossible task as:

> *The idea of extinguishment of First Nations Peoples' relationship and connection to the land is an idea that is alien to an Aboriginal ontology. There is no rule that would enable that extinguishment of the law and/or the extinguishment of our relationship to our ancient territories. Aboriginal peoples could not hand over authority and our responsibility for the land;*[168]

[161] Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2003, p. 134.
[162] Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 2016, p. 78.
[163] Reynolds, *The Law of the Land*, 2003, p. 139; Foster, Robert. 'Coexistence and Colonization on Pastoral Leaseholds in South Australia, 1851-99' in McLaren, J., A. R. Buck and N. E. Write. *Despotic Dominion property rights in British settler societies*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004, p. 249.
[164] Robert, *Paved with Good Intentions*, 2016, p. 78.
[165] Pope, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors', 1989, p. 37.
[166] Watson, Irene, *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonisation and International Law*, Abingdon, Oxon Routledge, 2015, p. i.
[167] Watson, *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonisation and International Law*, 2015, p. 7.
[168] Watson, *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonisation and International Law*, 2015, p. 8.

In the case of South Australia, treaties were not attempted although the Letters Patent foreshadowed their implementation.[169] Where land was set aside as reserves, it was either to be farmed in a way recognised by settler-colonists, or to be under the supervision of missionaries.[170] Co-existence with Indigenous Peoples, with recognition of their own social structure and relationship to land, was beyond the conceptions of nineteenth-century colonial administrators.[171]

Conclusion

Land was the economic foundation for South Australia, onto which the 'whole tree' of British society was to be transplanted. From the declaration of the province, Aboriginal people were nominally British subjects and their relationships with the colonial structure were expected to follow a European frame of reference. The use of land in South Australia was to be 'efficient' and 'productive' according to English farming practices, social relationships were to be 'civilised' and 'Christian', and Aboriginal people were to provide labour in exchange for goods and services. Aboriginal men and women were required to learn the social structure and customs associated with an imposed culture, while also facing dispossession and dispersion which threatened the maintenance of their own languages and cultural practices. In turn, the lands of Aboriginal Peoples were turned to profit and formed the basis of settler-colonial social and economic advancement. This chapter outlined how this land came to be selected and appropriated as a site for systematic colonisation, and the motivations behind immigration. The following three chapters will: identify the participants in South Australia's first expedition, identify their locations and occupations after arrival in South Australia, and present an overview of the careers of South Australia's advance party of early-arriving settler-colonists.

[169] Reynolds, Henry. 'South Australia: Between Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand', in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, p. 32.
[170] Foster, 'True Lies: South Australia's Foundation.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History*, 2018, pp. 68-69.
[171] McLaren, Buck & Wright, 'Property Rights in the Colonial Imagination and Experience', in McLaren, John, Buck, A. R, and Wright, Nancy E. *Despotic Dominion Property Rights in British Settler Societies.* Vancouver, B.C.: UBC Press, 2004, p. 6.

Chapter Three: South Australia's First Expedition

Writing two years before the proclamation of colonial South Australia, Edward Gibbon Wakefield presented his expectation that the colony's first expedition should consist only of surveyors.[1] These surveyors were to be sent in advance, to identify and survey the location for concentrated settlement, prior to the arrival of settler-colonists.[2] With the formation of the South Australian Company between October 1835 and January 1836, the two survey ships of the first expedition were joined by four vessels sent by the Company: two supply ships and two ships fitted out to participate in the southern ocean whaling season.[3] The *First Annual Report* of South Australia's Colonisation Commissioners, presented to the British House of Commons on 28 July 1836, detailed these six ships, and declared that the first expedition consisted of 'two classes only, the surveying party and the South Australian Company's servants'.[4]

Despite Wakefield's expectation that an 'expedition of mere surveyors' would be sent in advance of colonists, also on board the two survey ships were colonial administrators and their clerks, two ship surgeons, auxiliary artisans such as bricklayers, carpenters, blacksmiths, as well as four gardeners and a butcher to supply the expedition with fresh produce. Also sailing with the surveyors were two land agents, representing the interests of absentee land purchasers in Great Britain. Apart from the whaling crew, the four Company ships brought administrators and clerical staff, agricultural labourers, brickmakers, carpenters and gardeners. This chapter outlines the passengers on board each of the six ships of South Australia's first expedition and provides their stated occupation on embarkation.

The Company Ships

The *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company* was prepared in May 1836, one month after the last of the Company's four ships departed. This report details the objectives of the company, the fitting out of their four ships and the selection process for those on board.[5] When combined with Company records deposited at the State Records of South Australia, a detailed picture of these ships and their passengers and crew

[1] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 140.
[2] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 140.
[3] Sutherland, George. *The South Australian Company: A Study in Colonisation*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898, pp. 53-58; South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1836, pp. 9, 13.
[4] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 10.
[5] South Australian Company. *First Report of the Directors,* 1836, p. 13.

emerges.[6] The *Duke of York* and *Lady Mary Pelham* were 'fitted for the purpose of whalers' and the *John Pirie* and *Emma* were purchased 'for the conveyance of stores to the Colony'.[7]

The crew of the *Duke of York* and the *Lady Mary Pelham* had been employed on three-year contracts, and it was expected that they would 'return, after each cruise, to the Company's station, in South Australia'.[8] It was through this argument that the cost of passage of South Australian Company crew was paid as an expense from the emigration fund.[9] It was expected that the crew of the *Duke of York* and the *Lady Mary Pelham* would sail 'with their families' who would be based at Kingscote on Kangaroo Island and would be induced 'to adopt it as their future home'.[10] Despite this assertion, only one crew member of a Company ship sailed with his wife. The Company ship *Duke of York* was the first of the six ships to arrive in South Australian waters, quickly followed by *Lady Mary Pelham* and *John Pirie*.[11]

The Commissioners' Ships

The two survey ships, *Rapid* and *Cygnet*, were the Commissioners' contribution to the first expedition, and were under the command of Surveyor General Colonel William Light. Light sailed onboard the *Rapid* with Captain John Rolls of the *Cygnet* 'bound to obey' Light's instructions.[12] The *Cygnet* had been commissioned from owner Mr Thomas Ward for the voyage to South Australia and 'for use in the colony during the progress of the surveys'.[13] In a diary entry, South Australia's emigrant officer John Brown pronounced the 'Captain and the owner' of the *Cygnet* as 'both sulky fellows'.[14] The *Rapid* had been purchased by the Commissioners, fitted out as a survey ship and stocked with twelve months' worth of provisions.[15] The Commissioners had also arranged for the construction of a hatch boat to be carried on *Rapid*'s deck and used in the closer survey of the South Australian coast.[16]

---

[6] State Records of South Australia, *South Australian Company*, Business Record Group 42.
[7] South Australian Company. *Report of the Directors,* 1838, p. 12.
[8] South Australian Company. *Report of the Directors*, 1838, p. 14.
[9] South Australian Company. *Report of the Director,* 1838, pp. 14-15.
[10] South Australian Company. *Report of the Director,* 1838, p. 15.
[11] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 11.
[12] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, Appendix, No. 9: Letter of Instruction to Colonel William Light, Surveyor-general of the Colony of South Australia, p. 33.
[13] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, Appendix, No. 7: Report on the Departure of the *Cygnet*, p. 31.
[14] Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown,* 1836, p. 114.
[15] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, Appendix, No. 8. Report on the Departure of the *Rapid*, p. 32.
[16] Sexton, R. T. *Shipping Arrivals and Departures South Australia 1627-1850: A Guide to Genealogists and Maritime Historians*. Ridgehaven, S. Aust.: Gould Books, 1990, p. 28.

Appendixes Seven, Eight and Nine of the *First Annual Report* discuss the passengers of these two ships in detail.[17]

Light was instructed to select thirty labourers, 'among whom should be at least three common carpenters, two smiths, four men accustomed to fell timber and one shoemaker'.[18] These instructions reminded Light that, 'As much will depend upon the steadiness of these men, great pains should be taken to select none but such as are temperate, intelligent and honest.' As well as these skilled tradesmen, Light was to identify and select surveyors or 'medical gentlemen' who were:

> *a good judge of the qualities of Australian soils… acquainted with the kinds of Australian timber most useful in building… a competent botanist and mineralogist… also someone accustomed to intercourse with the natives, and possessing at least a general knowledge of their language.*[19]

If Light were not able to secure persons with these skills, it was to be an important part of his duty 'if possible, to supply the deficiency'. Light was also to select the crew of the *Rapid,* who were to remain in South Australia to assist in the survey as labourers or in 'any manner you may direct'.[20] In contrast to the crew of the *Cygnet*, who were not listed as potential settler-colonists, it was expected that the crew of the *Rapid* would settle in the colony as immigrants.[21]

The Commissioners' *First Annual Report* defined South Australia's second expedition to be the *Buffalo*, commanded by Governor John Hindmarsh, along with two other vessels, *Africaine* and *Tam O'Shanter*.[22] It was expected that the first expedition would reach South Australia two months before the Governor arrived on the *Buffalo*, 'in order that the survey may be executed before he arrives in the Colony'.[23] The two survey ships, *Rapid* and *Cygnet,* arrived 18 August and 10 September 1836 respectively. The first ship of the second expedition, *Africaine,* reached South Australia on 2 November 1836 and the *Tam O'Shanter* and *Buffalo* both arrived the following month, in December 1836.[24] When the Governor landed at Holdfast Bay on 28 December 1836, the site for concentrated settlement had

---

[17] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, pp. 31-36.
[18] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 33.
[19] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 33.
[20] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 33.
[21] Colonial Office, Great Britain. *Register of Emigrant Labourers: Application for a Free Passage*, Records of the Emigration Department, 1836-1838, Australian Joint Copying Project (CO 386), certificate nos. 308-320.
[22] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, pp. 12-13.
[23] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, pp. 11-12.
[24] South Australian Colonization Commission. *Second Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1837.* Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London, no. 64, 1837, Appendix, no. 1: Statement of Ships to South Australia, p. 11; Light, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, 1984, p. 88.

been selected on Kaurna land, at Tarndanya.[25] Altercations between Governor Hindmarsh and Colonel Light, as predicted by the Commissioners in their *First Annual Report*, caused delays in the survey of the settlement, which commenced on 11 January 1837.[26]

The Colonisation Commissioners had instructed Colonel William Light to 'leave the port of London on the 17 March 1836, or as soon after that day as possible', but departure of the *Rapid* was delayed by 'Colonel Light's illness' and it did not sail until 3 May 1836. Even so, the Commissioners declared that, 'as she is the quicker sailer', the *Rapid* was expected to arrive in the colony at the same time as the *Cygnet*.[27] The *Rapid* completed the journey in three months and fifteen days, the fastest time for the ships of the first expedition, and arrived in South Australia on 18 August 1836, twenty-three days before the *Cygnet*. This provided Light with four and a half months before Governor Hindmarsh arrived on the *Buffalo* on 28 December 1836.

Identifying passengers

It was recognised in the first few years of South Australia's colonisation that passenger lists for these ships had not been preserved.[28] However, the identification of those settler-colonists who arrived in South Australia prior to the colony's proclamation has received periodic attention over the last one hundred and fifty years, with published passenger lists appearing approximately every four decades. This chapter provides an overview of the outcomes of these investigations. Through an analysis of available evidence, this chapter critiques published passenger lists to disclose inaccuracies which were reinforced in successive iterations. A close examination of the publication sequence exposes how passenger lists grew and introduced errors endured.

In *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857* historian Douglas Pike lamented that 'unhappily for the historian' passenger lists for South Australia's initial colonising vessels were not preserved.[29] Pike cited an enquiry conducted in 1838 by the Audit Office into the whereabouts of these and other documents. The auditors placed the blame with Emigration Superintendent John Hutt, who had kept a nominal list of passengers in a book which he 'did not leave behind him when he quitted the office'.[30] John Hutt had been

[25] Light, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, 1984, pp. 80-81; Amery and Buckskin. 'Pinning down Kaurna names' in Clark, Hercus and Kostanski, *Indigenous and Minority Placenames*, 2014, p. 206.
[26] Light, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, 1984, p. 95; South Australian Colonization Commission. *Second Annual Report,* 1838, p. 4.
[27] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 33.
[28] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 180.
[29] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 180.
[30] Audit Office: Queries upon accounts for 1836-1837, p 16, Q. 2 for 1837 (SAA 31) cited in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p 180.

Superintendent of Emigration for the Commissioners before serving as Governor of Western Australia between 1839 and 1846.[31]

In the absence of original passenger lists, contemporary primary documents created and retained by the Commissioners, the Company and the Colonial Office enable a reconstruction of passenger lists. The Commissioners' *First Annual Report* provided passenger numbers for the two survey ships and the four ships sent by the South Australian Company (Table 3.1). This report included 225 people on board these six ships, providing a numerical breakdown of male and female adults and children, as well as additional information on how their passage was funded.[32] When combined with additional evidence, these small subdivisions assist with identification. Appendices Seven and Eight of the Commissioners' report provide names for select cabin passengers and labourers and crew who sailed on the Commission ships the *Cygnet* and the *Rapid*.[33]

After evaluating available evidence, this chapter provides passenger lists of these six vessels, resulting in a population of 230 individuals, excluding ships' captains, who arrived in South Australia as part of the colony's first expedition. This is nine more people than described by the Commissioners in their *First Annual Report*. Captains' logs and shipboard letters reveal that passengers and crew departed and joined vessels mid-voyage, through desertion or misadventure, and as replacement crew.[34]

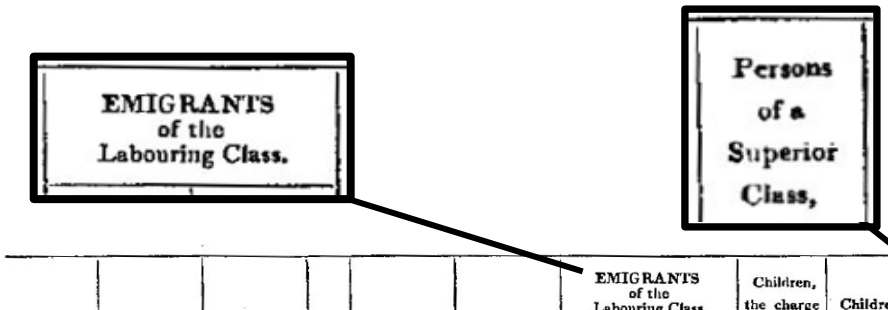
Table 3.1: Passenger numbers for the ships of South Australia's first expedition.

Ship	Dispatched	Details	Departed*	From	Arrived*	Pass.
John Pirie	SA Company	105t Schooner	22 Feb 1836	London	16 Aug 1836	28
Duke of York	SA Company	190t Barque	24 Feb 1836	London	27 Jul 1836	38
Cygnet	SA Commissioners	239t Barque	20 Mar 1836	London	11 Sep 1836	84
Lady Mary Pelham	SA Company	206t Barque	30 Mar 1836	Liverpool	30 Jul 1836	29
Emma	SA Company	164t Brig	21 Apr 1836	London	5 Oct 1836	22
Rapid	SA Commissioners	162t Brig	1 May 1836	London	21 Aug 1836	24
						225

* Departure dates and total passengers taken from the 'First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners of South Australia', presented to the British House of Commons on 25 July 1836. Arrival dates taken from the *Second Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners of South Australia*, presented to the British House of Commons on 26 December 1837.

[31] Staples, A. C. 'Hutt, John (1795–1880)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hutt-john-2218/text2881, published first in hardcopy 1966, accessed online 18 June 2019.
[32] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 10.
[33] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, pp. 31-32.
[34] History Trust of South Australia, *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, examples: *John Pirie Journal*, Sunday 10 April 1836 <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/sunday-10-april-1836-2.html>; Finniss, Boyle Travers. *Diary of Boyle Travers Finniss,* Tuesday 28 June 1836, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/tuesday-28-june-1836.html>; Martin, George. *Letter from Captain George Martin to George Fife Angus¸* Wednesday 6 April 1836, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/wednesday-6-april-1836-2.html>.

As well as presenting these 225 individuals as either surveyors or Company 'servants', the Commissioners' report defined those on board as either 'Emigrants of the Labouring Class' or 'Persons of a Superior Class, whose Passage is not defrayed by the Emigration Fund' (Figure 3.1). This definition was justified by the use of, or contribution to, the 'Emigration Fund' provided by the sale of land. Those of a 'superior class' were either employed by the Commissioners or Company or had paid their own cost of passage and purchased land orders for surveyed land in South Australia, thereby contributing to the Emigration Fund. The cost of passage for those of the 'Labouring Class' was an expense paid from this fund.



DATE of Departure.	From what Port.	NAME of VESSEL.	Tonnage.	By whom Despatched.	By whom Commanded.	EMIGRANTS of the Labouring Class. Adults conveyed by the Emigration Fund. M.	F.	Adults ineligible for conveyance by the Emigration Fund, the charge for whose passage has been defrayed by other means. M.	F.	Children, the charge for whose Passage has been defrayed partly by Emigration Fund, partly by other means. M.	F.	Children, the charge for whose Passage has been defrayed entirely by other means. M.	F.	Persons of a Superior Class, whose Passage is not defrayed by the Emigration Fund. M.	F.	Total of the whole.
1836:																
22 Feb. -	London -	John Pirie	105	S. A. Co.	G. Martin	17	4	2	—	1	1	1	2	—	—	28
24 — -	Ditto -	Duke of York -	190	Ditto	R. C. Morgan	25	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	5	4	38
20 March	Ditto -	Cygnet -	239	Commissioners.	John Rolls	38	14	—	—	9	8	—	—	11	4	84
30 — -	Liverpool	Lady Mary Pelham -	206	S. A. Co.	Robt. Ross	22	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	29
21 April -	London -	Emma -	164	Ditto	J. Nelson	12	3	—	—	—	1	1	2	2	1	22
1 May -	Ditto -	Rapid -	162	Commissioners.	Wm. Light	16	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	24
						130	23	10	—	10	10	2	4	26	10	225

	Males.	Females.	Total.
Labouring Class - - - -	152	37	189
Superior Class - - - -	26	10	36
Total - - -	178	47	225

Figure 3.1 Passenger demographics provided by the Commissioners.[35]

This designation as 'labouring' or 'superior' class hides the complexities contained within each category. For example, teenager sons of superior class passengers were included amongst the labourers attracting free passage, listed as employees of their parents or with no occupation.[36] The labourers and crew of several vessels were also confounded, with the

[35] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report*, 1836, p. 11.
[36] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, 1836, certificate nos. 179-182, Charles, Thomas, Robert & Septimus Wright [sons of Dr Edward Wright].

crew of the Company ships *Duke of York* and *Lady Mary Pelham*, contracted for the whaling season, listed as emigrant labourers intended for the colony and the cost of their passage defrayed by the emigration fund.[37]

Those whose passage had been paid by the emigration fund are able to be identified by their inclusion on the *Register of Emigrant Labourers applying for a Free Passage to South Australia* (hereafter *Register*).[38] The *Register* consists of over 9,000 applications entered between January 1836 and August 1840. Each *Register* entry is an extract from an application form completed by a potential emigrant labourer seeking to participate in the colonial venture. The format of the application has been preserved (Appendix 1), but unfortunately, no completed application forms are known to have survived.[39] The completed application form required four signatures: two from 'respectable householders' who were well acquainted with the applicant and could verify that the applicant was 'honest, sober and industrious'; another from a magistrate or clergyman of the local district; and another from a physician or surgeon to certify that the applicant was not 'seriously mutilated or deformed' or 'afflicted with any disease'.[40]

Once accepted, these applicants were added to the *Register* by the Secretary of the Colonisation Commissioners at their office on Adelphi Terrace, London. A small 'g' can be seen against the names of applicants who were allocated an embarkation number [Appendix 2: Sample of the *Register*]. By reorganising the applicant entries in the *Register* by their allocated embarkation numbers, Pat Button and the South Australian Genealogy and Heraldry Society revealed a clear correlation between embarkation numbers and departing ships, providing the names of the labourers and crew.[41] In this way, we are able to identify those individuals and families whose passage was provided by the 'emigration fund', supplied by the sale of land in South Australia.

Many of those of the 'superior' class were employed by either the Commissioners or the Company and are identifiable through records of their official positions and salaries. Those in the superior class also included independent emigrants who had paid their own passage. It was to these independent emigrants that Edward Gibbon Wakefield had particularly directed his propaganda.[42] Captains' logs, as well as letters and journals written by

[37] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 123.
[38] Colonial Office*, Register of Emigrant Labourers,* 1836*.*
[39] Gouger, *South Australia in 1837,* 1962, pp. 111-112; Button, *A Free Passage to Paradise?* p. 124.
[40] Gouger, *South Australia in 1837*, 1962, p. 112.
[41] Button, *A Free Passage to Paradise?* p. 9-14.
[42] Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire: In Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*. London: John W. Parker, 1849, 'Letter XIX', p. 823.

passengers during voyages, are used to identify cabin passengers, who were more likely to be mentioned by name than passengers in steerage. Cabin passengers were also more likely to be visible after arrival, appearing in newspapers through their investments, activities and public roles.

Government reports, Company papers, records from the Colonial Office and colonial newspapers combine to provide the identities and occupations of those who were on board South Australia's first expedition. A critical analysis of previously constructed passenger lists provides examples of how these resources, and others, have been used to identify these participants over time. Through close examination, it can be seen how first expedition passenger lists grew with each passing iteration, from lists published by George Strickland Kingston in 1877 to those of Diane Cummings in 2010.

George Strickland Kingston, 1877

In July 1877, newspapers ran a letter from the Speaker of the House of Assembly, George Strickland Kingston (1807-1880) with the title, 'The Pioneers'.[43] Kingston called upon his 'pardonable pride' in being an initial participant in South Australia's colonisation project. Kingston had sailed on the *Cygnet* in 1836 as Deputy Surveyor General with the survey party.[44] He requested that any passenger of a vessel which had arrived in 1836 favour him with 'a list of fellow passengers'.[45] In November 1877, Kingston submitted his compiled lists of passengers to South Australian newspapers, and they were published under the heading 'The Pioneers of South Australia'.[46] Kingston lamented that these lists of passengers' names did not match the numbers of emigrants provided by the Colonisation Commissioners, but anticipated that the publication of 'imperfect lists' would induce others to come forward and provide 'fuller information in reference to themselves and fellow-passengers'.[47] Kingston described no resources used in the compilation of these lists, apart from names of individuals remembered to have been on board, four decades after the event.

[43] 'The Pioneers: to the Editor', *The South Australian Advertiser*, 23 July 1877, p. 7; 'The Pioneers: to the Editor', *The Express and Telegraph*, 23 July 1877, p. 2; 'The Pioneers: to the Editor', *Evening Journal*, 28 July 1877, p. 1; The Pioneers: to the Editor, *Adelaide Observer*, 28 July 1877, p. 9; 'The Pioneers: to the Editor', *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, 28 July 1877, p. 14.
[44] Prest, Jean. 'Kingston, Sir George Strickland (1807–1880)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/kingston-sir-george-strickland-2311/text2995, published first in hardcopy 1967, accessed online 18 June 2019.
[45] 'The Pioneers: to the Editor', *Adelaide Observer*, 28 July 1877, p. 9.
[46] 'The Pioneers of South Australia: To the Editor', *South Australian Register*, 6 November 1877, p. 6.
[47] 'The Pioneers of South Australia: To the Editor', *Adelaide Observer*, 10 November 1877, p. 6.

Edward Andrew Opie, 1917

A later quest to construct passenger lists resulted in Edward Andrew Opie's 1917 *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, in which Opie wrote of his expectation of an easy mission which proved difficult. He had believed the Customs House in Port Adelaide would hold manifest books with detailed passenger lists, but found that the whereabouts of those books from the earliest years of colonisation were 'wropt [sic] in mystery'.[48] Opie reported on tales of early records held by the Customs House being 'tipped into the cellar', but also surmised that records may have been lost in early fires in the colony, citing those occurring in the Government Resident's office, the Surveyor General's residence, the Immigration Agent's office and an office at 'the old Government Hut'.[49]

Responding to this absence of records, Opie recites the resources he consulted in order to construct his passenger lists: George Strickland Kingston's lists of 1877; the register of the Old Colonists Association; the roll of pioneers held at the Glenelg Town Hall; photographs of early colonists which were on display in the Public Library; and 'correspondence'.[50] By reiterating those names which had been gathered by Kingston in 1877, Opie perpetuated names which had been remembered in error, forty years after the event. As will be demonstrated in this chapter, these errors persisted into the twenty-first century.

The Old Colonists Association referred to by Opie was proposed in 1882 as a philanthropic institution supporting those early settlers who were in their old age, and their children and grandchildren who had fallen on hard times. An article in April 1882 stated:

> *It is too well known that a large proportion, if not the large majority, of the earlier settlers in this and other colonies were unsuccessful, and it is melancholy to see them in their old age broken down, and some of them distressed in mind, body, and estate*.[51]

The Old Colonists Association held their inaugural public meeting on 20 February 1883 in the mayor's reception room of the Adelaide Town Hall.[52] At this meeting it was agreed that membership would be restricted to those who had arrived in South Australia prior to 28 December 1846 and who had been 'continued colonists'. By December that year the Association could report that they had gathered £293, with £200 deposited to gain interest, £47 disbursed 'to deserving applicants after careful enquiry into the circumstances in each

[48] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 6.
[49] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 6.
[50] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 6.
[51] 'A Proposed Old Colonists Association', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, 1 April 1882, p. 6.
[52] 'Old Colonists' Association', *The Express and Telegraph*, 21 February 1883, p. 3.

case' and £43 16s 3d spent on administrative expenses.[53] Providing homes for the elderly was a listed priority and in its first year the Association reported that they had provided an interest-free loan of £20 to an 'old colonist and widow, to aid in the completion of a two-roomed cottage'.[54]

The register of the Old Colonists Association recorded the name, age, date and ship of arrival, the ship's captain and the residence and occupations of members.[55] It was this register which Opie cited as one of his sources. As the Association commenced in 1882, forty-six years after the commencement of colonial South Australia, many of the original immigrants were elderly or had passed away and it was their children who recalled their date and ship of arrival. In this way, errors of memory found their way into Opie's list of passengers, which a closer analysis brings to light.

At the time of Opie's research in 1917, the Public Library (now State Library of South Australia) held photographic mosaics created by photographers Henry Jones (1826-1911) and Townsend Duryea (1823-1888). An American by birth, Townsend Duryea and his family arrived in Adelaide in 1855.[56] After the creation of remarkable panorama of the Adelaide city streets viewed from above in 1865, Duryea conceived a project to produce portraits of the surviving immigrants who had arrived in South Australia prior to 1840.[57] This endeavour resulted in a large photo-mosaic of nearly 800 individuals. The Art Gallery was presented with a copy of the Duryea mosaic in 1894, which was displayed in the Public Library.[58] Photographer Henry Jones in turn created a mosaic of 515 portraits to commemorate the Old Colonists' Banquet, hosted by merchant Emanuel Solomon at the Adelaide Town Hall on 28 Dec 1871.[59] Jones had also created a companion mosaic of portraits of 598 women who arrived in South Australia between 1836 and 1840.[60] The Public Library received the Henry Jones photomosaics of both male and female 'old colonists' in 1910 and these

---

[53] 'Philanthropic: Old Colonists' Association', *South Australian Register*, 5 January 1884, p. 2.
[54] 'Philanthropic: Old Colonists' Association', *South Australian Register*, 5 January 1884, p. 2.
[55] Old Colonists' Association, *Manuscript*, SRG 33, State Library of South Australia, 1883, *https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/contributor/Old+Colonists+Association.*
[56] Noye, R. J. 'Duryea, Townsend (1823–1888)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/duryea-townsend-3458/text5283, published first in hardcopy 1972, accessed online 20 June 2019.
[57] Richards, Eric. 'Migrants in the Mature Colony: South Australia c1840-c1877', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 45, 2017, pp. 6-7.
[58] 'The Public Library', *The Advertiser*, 25 June 1894, p. 3; [presented online by the State Library of South Australia, https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+8235]
[59] Jones, Henry & Public Library of South Australia. *Index to H. Jones's collection of photographs of South Australian old colonists (most of whom attended the Banquet given by Mr. Emanuel Solomon, December 28th, 1871)*. R.E.E. Rogers, Government Printer, Adelaide, 1909, p. 1.
[60] 'Old Colonists: Pictures at the Library', *The Advertiser*, 17 November 1910, p. 9; [presented online by the State Library of South Australia, https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+19985]

images were also hung for public display.[61] As Opie was researching his publication in the years preceding 1917, it is likely that he referred to the photomosaics by Henry Jones when he describes 'photos hanging in the Public Library' as his resource.[62]

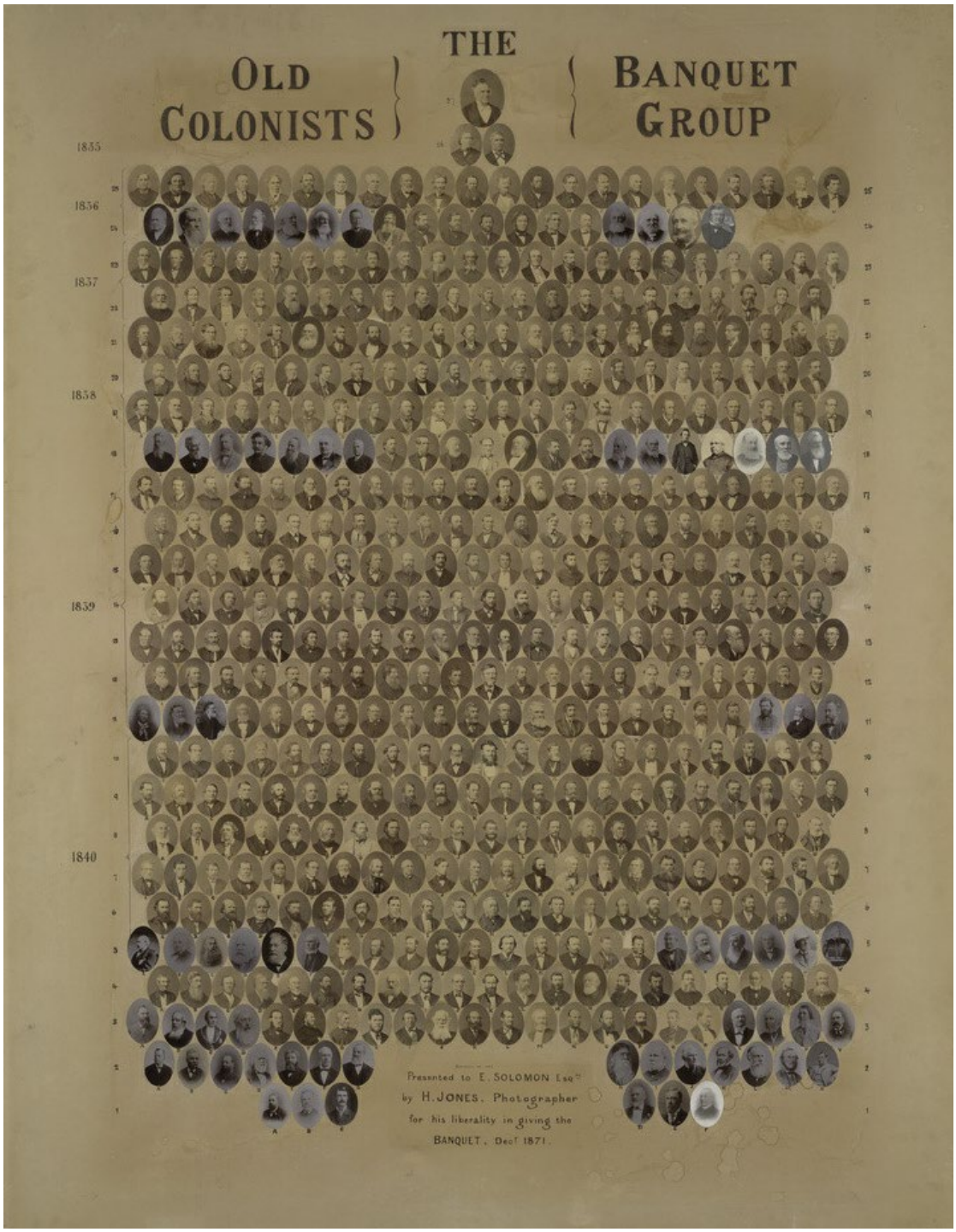


Figure 3.2 Old Colonists Banquet Group by Henry Jones, 1873.[63]

[61] 'Old Colonists' Portraits', *Daily Herald*, 17 November 1910, p. 4; [presented online by the State Library of South Australia, https://collections.slsa.sa.gov.au/resource/B+47769]
[62] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 6.
[63] Jones, Henry. *Old Colonists Banquet Group [Mosaic],* State Library of South Australia, B 47769.

Opie also stated that he consulted 'the roll in the Glenelg Town Hall'.[64] This document had been established on Commemoration Day (now Proclamation Day) 28 December 1895, the same year that American author Mark Twain famously attended the event.[65] The 'Roll Call' recorded those who attended the celebrations in Glenelg who had 'arrived during the first ten years after the foundation'.[66] The list of those who had signed the roll each year was published in South Australian newspapers along with their ship and year of arrival.[67] Opie also consulted 'correspondence' regarding early arrival in South Australia, which by 1917 was based on the knowledge or understanding of descendants, allowing further errors of recollection to infiltrate his passenger lists.

Harold Jack Finnis, 1964

In his 1964 pamphlet *Before the 'Buffalo'*, Pioneer Association of South Australia President Harold Jack Finnis referred to and expanded upon the passenger lists created by George Strickland Kingston in 1877 and Edward Andrew Opie in 1917. [68] Finnis provided additional names by referring to the Commissioners' parliamentary reports and South Australian Company papers 'deposited with the South Australian Archives'.[69] By consulting Company records, Finnis introduced names of crew, whalers and Company employees, and by using the Commissioners' reports on the *Rapid* and *Cygnet,* Finnis included the names of surveyors and their supporting labourers.[70] Through consultation with these additional resources, Finnis constructed the most expansive passenger lists to that time, but these lists also preserved those errors which had been introduced by Kingston and Opie.

Diane Cummings, 2010

First published in print form in 2005 and updated and republished in 2010, the lists of researcher Diane Cummings built upon the previous lists of Kingston, Opie and Finnis.[71] Cummings expanded upon these passenger lists by further referencing a vast number of published and archival resources, as well as genealogical databases.[72] Cummings' compiled passenger lists for the first six colonising ships extended to 295 individuals, an additional

---

[64] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 6.
[65] 'The Day We Celebrate', *The Express and Telegraph*, 31 December 1895, p. 3.
[66] 'A Successful Celebration: Glenelg En Fete'. *The Express and Telegraph*, 29 December 1896, p. 3.
[67] For example, 'The Colony's Birthday: Commemoration Day'. *The Advertiser*, 29 December 1897, p. 7.
[68] Finnis echoes Opie in accounting for the absence of records by accidental destruction by fire. Finnis, *Before the 'Buffalo',* 1964, p. 22.
[69] Finnis, *Before the 'Buffalo'*, 1964, p. 22.
[70] Finnis, *Before the 'Buffalo',* 1964, pp. 16-17, 22.
[71] Cummings, Dianne. *Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia,* 2010.
[72] For a comprehensive list see Cummings, Diane. 'Bound for South Australia: Acknowledgements and Sources' *Bound for South Australia,* State Library of South Australia, 2017, viewed online <http://www.slsa.ha.sa.gov.au/BSA/SAShipLinks.htm>

forty-two passengers when compared to the 225 passengers reported by the Commissioners in 1836 (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2: Commissioners' and Cummings' passenger numbers compared.

	Cummings (2010)			Commissioners' First Report (1836)		
Name of Vessel	**Adults**	**Children**	**Total**	**Adults**	**Children**	**Total**
John Pirie	27	5	32	23	5	28
Duke of York	44	5	49	38	-	38
Cygnet	81	25	106	67	17	84
Lady Mary Pelham	36	-	36	29	-	29
Emma	26	6	32	18	4	22
Rapid	40	-	40	24	-	24
Total	**254**	**41**	**295**	**199**	**26**	**225**

Through access to additional resources which had not been readily available to Kingston, Opie and Finnis, Cummings was able to identify additional passengers shown to be on board one of these six vessels. However, by including and building upon previous lists, Cummings continued to propagate those errors which had been introduced over the previous century. An analysis of these errors found that discrepancies fell into one or more of the following categories: errors in year of arrival, errors of name, inclusion of additional family members or interrupted voyages.

'Bound for South Australia', 2011.

Far more conservative passenger lists for these six ships were compiled by the History Trust of South Australia in 2011 to commemorate the 175th anniversary of South Australia as a settler colony.[73] The research behind the History Trust's *Bound for South Australia* website placed particular emphasis on shipboard logbooks, letters, journals and diaries to re-enact the journey from the United Kingdom to South Australia in 1836.[74] The use of these shipboard resources was particularly useful in identifying those independent passengers who paid their own passage and were not listed amongst the documented employees or the registered labourers. Passenger lists provided by the *Bound for South Australia* website assessed contemporary primary evidence for each passenger and did not include those names from previously compiled passenger lists that did not have supporting evidence.

[73] History Trust of South Australia, *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online *http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/*

[74] A list of sources can be found on the website's sitemap, History Trust of South Australia, 'Sitemap: pages', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online *http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/using-this-site/sitemap.html*

The Ships

Table 3.3: Research population compared with the Commissioners' First Annual Report.

	Research Population					Commissioners' First Report (1836)			
	Labourers		Colonists			Labourers		Colonists	
Name of Vessel	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Total**	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Persons**	**Total**
John Pirie	21	4	-	-	**25**	23	5	-	**28**
Duke of York	26	-	5	4	**35**	29	-	9	**38**
Cygnet	43	19	18	8	**88**	52	17	15	**84**
Lady Mary Pelham	29	-	2	-	**31**	27	-	2	**29**
Emma	15	4	3	-	**22**	15	4	3	**22**
Rapid	21	-	8	-	**29**	17	-	7	**24**
Total	**155**	**27**	**36**	**12**	**230**	**163**	**26**	**36**	**225**

For the purposes of this research, the Commissioners' *First Annual Report*, *Register of Emigrant Labourers* and the records of the South Australian Company have been referenced in conjunction with the compiled passenger lists of Kingston, Opie, Finnis, Cummings, and the websites of the History Trust of South Australia. Copious amounts of evidence for each proposed passenger has been gathered and presented online by David Wilson of the Kangaroo Island Pioneers Association through his well referenced websites, *SA Pioneers 1836* and *First 8 Ships*.[75] Through a systematic and comparative analysis of these resources, consensus lists have been compiled which conform to available evidence. These constructed passenger lists contain a total of 230 individuals, nine more than the number provided by the Commissioners in their report to the British House of Commons in 1836 (Table 3.3). The remainder of this chapter provides a closer examination of the passengers on board each of the six ships and provides explanations for this disparity.

John Pirie.

Table 3.4: Passenger numbers for the Company ship *John Pirie.*

	Identified Passengers and Crew				
	Labourers		Colonists		
Name of Vessel	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Total**
John Pirie	21	4	-	-	**25**

The *John Pirie* was a 105-tonne schooner, commanded by Captain George Martin, which sailed for the South Australian Company with a reported twenty-eight passengers.[76] As with

[75] Wilson, David, *SA Pioneers 1836,* <https://dukeofyork.tribalpages.com/>; Wilson, David, *KI Pioneers: First eight ships* <https://sites.google.com/view/first8ships/>

[76] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11.

the other Company ships, the crew of the *John Pirie* were included in the *Register* and the cost of their passage was paid through the Emigration Fund.[77] The *Register* provides the names of the twenty-three adults (nineteen males and four females) who were listed as the 'Emigrants of the Labouring Class' to sail on the *John Pirie*.[78] These names can be cross-referenced with another source for passenger names, the records of the South Australian Company, which list both crew and Company employees sent to South Australia in 1836.[79]

The Register provides the identity of four of the five children reported to be on board the *John Pirie*, the children of ploughman Charles Chandler and his wife Ann Elizabeth: ten-year-old Elizabeth, five-year-old William, three-year-old Sarah Ellen and one-year-old Harriet.[80] This family was from Acton, a rural community on the outskirts of London. During the voyage the children's mother, Ann Elizabeth Chandler, dramatically threw herself overboard after an altercation with other passengers, reportedly the Powell family, also from Acton.[81] Ann Elizabeth Chandler was brought back on board the *John Pirie*, which had sailed without a ship's surgeon. An on-board diary records that she was nursed to the best of the ability of the ship's captain and crew, but she continued to worsen, was weak, delirious and in severe pain until she died one month after the incident.[82]

The eldest of the Chandler children on board the *John Pirie* was ten-year-old Elizabeth 'Betsy' Chandler, who later married James Collins and had fifteen children. The family farmed in the Delamere region of the Fleurieu Peninsula.[83] An entry for a 'Mrs Collins' appears on the passenger list compiled by Harold Jack Finnis in 1964 – most likely a reference to Betsy Collins (née Chandler).[84] It is in this way that passenger lists became conflated, as the later lists included both the young Elizabeth Chandler and 'Mrs Collins'.

Evidence has been found through on-board letters and journals of interrupted voyages, as the numbers of passengers and crew changed mid-voyage. A labourer and three members of the crew deserted the *John Pirie* at Dartmouth after the ship was battered by storms and

---

[77] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 123.
[78] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 126-135, embarkations 1-19 [*John Pirie* crew]
[79] State Records of South Australia, *South Australian Company Board Minutes*, BRG42, Series 1, p. 49.
[80] Colonial Office*, Register of Emigrant Labourers,* certificate no. 5: Charles Chandler
[81] History Trust of South Australia. 'Diary of anonymous writer of voyage on *John Pirie,* Thursday 2 June 1836', *Bound for South Australia*, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/weekly-posts/week-15-high-drama-on-the-john-pirie.html>
[82] History Trust of South Australia. 'Diary of anonymous writer of voyage on *John Pirie*, Monday 27 June 1836 & Friday 1 July 1836', *Bound for South Australia*, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/weekly-posts/week-19-farewells-and-new-beginnings.html>
[83] 'Cape Jervis, June 20', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, Saturday 24 June 1882, p 12; 'Family Notice, Collins' *The Advertiser*, Monday 7 Oct 1907, p 6
[84] Finnis, *Before the 'Buffalo',* 1964, p. 16.

suffered several weeks of delays.[85] A letter written by Captain George Martin to George Fife Angas reported that Company employee Stephen Sessions, absconded after the storm, 'being completely terrified to death at the sea'.[86] The crew who deserted were replaced, but as the names of the new recruits were not listed on the *Register*, other sources must be used for identification. Ship board journals provided the name of a replacement seaman when they reported on the marriage of a young female passenger from the *John Pirie,* domestic servant Mary Ann Powell, who married seaman William Staples at Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island on Sunday 28 August 1836.[87] William Staples does not appear on the *Register* as a crew member of the *John Pirie*, so may have been one of the replacements for those who deserted the ship.

The *South Australian Act of 1834* was explicit in prohibiting access to the emigration funds from married labourers who applied to emigrate without their families.[88] The Commissioners' first annual report included two passengers on the *John Pirie* who were 'Adults ineligible for conveyance by the Emigration Fund, the charge for whose passage has been defrayed by other means'.[89] This category of passenger also appears on two other Company ships, the *Duke of York* and the *Lady Mary Pelham*. For each of these ships, this number matches the number of Company applicants who were recorded as leaving wives and children behind in England. In the case of the *John Pirie*, these are crew members George Baker Clark and John Gransmore.[90]

Access to shipboard journals and letters brought to light an additional labourer on board the *John Pirie* who had not previously appeared in any passenger lists. Labourer James Powell applied the same day as Charles Powell, and both were from East Acton, but James did not receive an embarkation number.[91] Charles Powell was listed as intended for the *Duke of York*, but transferred to sail on the *John Pirie*, possibly to join fifteen-year-old Mary

[85] History Trust of South Australia, 'Letter from Captain G. Martin to G. F. Angas, Dartmouth, 6 April 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <*http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/wednesday-6-april-1836-2.html*>
[86] History Trust of South Australia, 'Letter from Captain G. Martin to G. F. Angas, Dartmouth, 6 April 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <*http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/wednesday-6-april-1836-2.html*>
[87] History Trust of South Australia, 'Journal of Samuel Stephens, Saturday 27 August 1826'; 'Journal of Dr John Woodforde, Sunday 28 August 1836'; *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/weekly-posts/week-28-a-wedding-on-the-beach.html>
[88] Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834*, p. 3.
[89] South Australian Colonization Commission, *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11.
[90] Colonial Office*, Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 128: George Baker Clark & no. 129: John Gransmore.
[91] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 11: James Powell

Ann Powell, who was also from East Acton.[92] Records from a journal kept on board the *John Pirie* provide evidence of two men named Powell being on board. [93]

In another case of on-board letters providing additional information is that of Captain George Martin and his wife Mary (née Brett). The lists of Kingston, Opie, Finnis and Cummings all include the Captain's wife Mary Martin as being aboard the *John Pirie* in 1836; however letters written by Captain George Martin to his wife make it clear that she remained in England.[94] The same correspondence tells us that the fifth child on board the *John Pirie* was the six-year-old son of Captain Martin, whose eleven-year-old brother was also on board but listed as an apprentice seaman.[95] For the purposes of this study, the ship's captains and their children have been excluded from this research.

Table 3.5: Passenger list for the *John Pirie.*

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupation	Notes
1	ALFORD, Henry			✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
2	BROWN, John			✓	✓	✓	Farm Labourer	
3	CHANDLER, Ann Elizabeth		✓	✓	✓	✓	Ploughman's Wife	
4	CHANDLER, Charles			✓	✓	✓	Ploughman	
5	CHANDLER, Elizabeth				✓	✓	Ploughman's Daughter	
6	CHANDLER, Harriet					✓	Ploughman's Daughter	
7	CHANDLER, Sarah Ellen				✓	✓	Ploughman's Daughter	
8	CHANDLER, William				✓	✓	Ploughman's Son	
9	CLARK, George Baker			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
10	DAVIS, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	First Mate	
11	JONES, James			✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
12	JONES, Joseph			✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
13	NASH, John			✓	✓	✓	Carpenter	
14	NEVILLE, Harriet				✓	✓	Brickmaker's Wife	
15	NEVILLE, Samuel			✓	✓	✓	Brickmaker	
16	POWELL, Charles					✓	Labourer	
17	POWELL, James					✓	Labourer	
18	POWELL, Mary Ann				✓	✓	Domestic Servant	
19	POWELL, Wife					✓	Labourer's Wife	
20	SIMPSON, Henry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Second Mate	
21	SINKSON, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	

[92] History Trust of South Australia, 'Stephens, Samuel Stephens Journal, Saturday 27 August 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/saturday-27-august-1836-2.html>

[93] History Trust of South Australia. 'John Pirie Journal Thursday 2 June 1836, Saturday 18 June 1836, Friday 7 October 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011*, Government of South Australia, 2011.

[94] History Trust of South Australia. 'Letter from Captain George Martin to 'My Dearest Mary', Hobart Town, Saturday 29 October 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/saturday-29-october-1836-5.html>.

[95] History Trust of South Australia. 'Letter from Captain George Martin to 'My Dearest Mary', Hobart Town, Saturday 29 October 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/saturday-29-october-1836-5.html>.

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupation	Notes
22	STAPLE, William				✓	✓	Seaman	Replacement Crew
23	THOMPSON, Frederick			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
24	TINDALL, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Smith	
25	WALDRON, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Agriculturalist	
X	CANTILLION, James			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Deserted ship
X	COLLINS, Mrs			✓	✓		See CHANDLER, Elizabeth	Name error
X	GRANSMORE, John			✓	✓	✓	Cook	Deserted ship
X	MARTIN, Mary	✓	✓	✓	✓		Captain's Wife	Remained in London
X	MARTIN, George	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Captain	Not included in study
X	MARTIN, George Jnr				✓	✓	Captain's Son	Not included in study
X	MARTIN, Robert Terrance			✓	✓	✓	Captain's Son	Not included in study
X	SESSIONS, Stephen			✓	✓	✓	Labourer	Deserted ship
X	SMITH, James		✓	✓	✓			Arrived 1839
X	WALLACE, Harriet				✓			Arrived 1837
X	WOOD, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Deserted ship

Duke of York

Table 3.6: Passenger numbers for the Company ship *Duke of York.*

	Identified Passengers and Crew				
	Labourers		Colonists		
Name of Vessel	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Total**
Duke of York	26	-	5	4	**35**

The Commissioners' report stated that the *Duke of York* included twenty-nine male 'Emigrants of the Labouring Class' and nine 'Persons of a Superior Class'. The *Duke of York* was a South Australian Company whaling vessel which departed from London two days after the supply ship *John Pirie*. As with the *John Pirie*, the crew and labourers were listed on the *Register* with embarkation numbers falling between application numbers twenty and forty-four.[96] Four members of the crew were listed as 'ineligible for conveyance by the Emigration Fund', and these were likely to be those who were known to be leaving wives and children behind in England.[97] According to the Captain Morgan's journal, three crew members deserted the *Duke of York* prior to its leaving London and one was accused of attempted mutiny and removed at Torbay.[98]

[96] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, embarkation nos. 20-44.
[97] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 125: John Neale, no. 154: Frederick Pritchard, no. 144: George Brennan.
[98] History Trust of South Australia. 'Captain Morgan's Journal', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, provided online <boundforsouthaustralia.com.au> James Riley, William Williams and Frederick Pritchard. William Wells was accused of mutiny and was removed at Torbay.

The chief colonial administrators of the South Australian Company were Colonial Manager Samuel Stephens and Superintendent of Buildings and Labourers Thomas Hudson Beare, who both travelled on board the *Duke of York*. The nine passengers of a 'superior' class were predominantly the family of Thomas Hudson Beare, these being his wife, sister and four children. The other two 'superior class' individuals were Stephens and Company clerk Daniel Schreyvogel. The Beare family provide an example of how recalled given names could result in extra family members being added to passenger lists. The lists of Opie and Finnis did not include Charlotte Hudson Beare, the sister of Thomas Hudson Beare, who travelled with the family to South Australia and cared for the Beare children while their mother was unwell. Instead Opie and Finnis included a 'Gertrude Beare', although no person of this name has been found travelling with the Beare family. This led the Cummings list to include both a Charlotte Hudson Beare and a Gertrude Beare.

Other examples of name errors found in the lists of Opie, Finnis and Cummings were the entries for 'George Maisey' and 'G Massing'. No individuals with these names have been found on the *Register*, in Company Records, or residing in South Australia in the 1830s. It is possible that 'Maisey' and 'Massing' were transliterations of the name 'Mazey', as Port Adelaide identity Israel Mazey was well known locally for his arrival as a crew member of the *Duke of York*.[99] Changes to the ship's crew may have led to the inclusion of additional names on the passenger list for the *Duke of York*. For example, Frederick Pritchard is included as crew member on passenger lists, but Captain Morgan's journal recorded that he deserted while the ship was still in London, and therefore may not have been included in the tally presented by the Commissioners in their first annual report of 1836.[100]

Table 3.7: Passenger list for the *Duke of York.*

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupation	Notes
1	BATCHELOR, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
2	BEARE (née LOOSE), Lucy	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Superintendent's Wife	
3	BEARE, Arabella Charlotte	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Superintendent's Daughter	
4	BEARE, Charlotte Hudson				✓	✓	Superintendent's Sister	
5	BEARE, Elizabeth	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Superintendent's Daughter	
6	BEARE, Lucy Anne	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Superintendent's Daughter	
7	BEARE, Thomas Hudson	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Superintendent	
8	BEARE, William Loose	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Superintendent's Son	
9	BRENNAN, George			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Left two children
10	BUTLER, Henry			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	

[99] 'Old-Time Memories: a chat with a pioneer', *Adelaide Observer,* Saturday 18 February 1893, p. 41; 'Death of an Old Colonist', *South Australian Chronicle,* Saturday 30 June 1894, p. 9.
[100] History Trust of South Australia. 'Captain Morgan's Journal', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011*, Government of South Australia, 2011, provided online <boundforsouthaustralia.com.au>.

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupation	Notes
11	CARTWRIGHT, George			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
12	CLAIDON, John			✓	✓	✓	Cooper	
13	CLAVELL, William Edward			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
14	COREYS, Julian			✓	✓	✓	Third Mate	
15	DORRINGTON, George			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
16	FORBES, Charles			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
17	GLANSFORD, George			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
18	GLORIUS, Octavius			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
19	GREEN, Henry			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
20	JAMESON, Joseph			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
21	JONES, John			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
22	LIDDIARD, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
23	MARSHALL, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
24	MAZEY, Israel		✓	✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
25	MITCHELL, Henry			✓	✓	✓	Butcher	
26	NEALE, John	✓		✓	✓	✓	Carpenter	
27	PORTEUS, Andrew			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
28	POWELL, Charles Bendin	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener	
29	RICHARDS, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
30	RUSSELL, Robert Frazer	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Second Mate	
31	SCHREYVOGEL, Daniel Henry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Clerk to SA Company	
32	SPRATLEY, WB			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
33	STEPHENS, Samuel	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Colonial Manager	
34	THOMPSON, Charles			✓	✓	✓	Carpenter	
35	WEST, William		✓	✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
X	BEARE, Gertrude		✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	HAMILTON, Mr		✓	✓	✓			Arrived 1837
X	HAMILTON, Mrs		✓	✓	✓			Arrived 1837
X	HAMILTON, William Holmes		✓	✓	✓			May have arrived 1837
X	MAISEY, George			✓	✓			Possible name error
X	MASSING, G.		✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	MITCHELL, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓		Seaman	Possible name error
X	MORGAN, Robert Clarke	✓		✓	✓	✓	Ship Captain	Not included in study
X	NEALE, Daniel George		✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	PRITCHARD, Frederick			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Left wife, deserted ship
X	RILEY, James			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Deserted ship
X	WELLS, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Left wife and child, removed from ship
X	WILLIAMS, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Did not join ship

Cygnet

Table 3.8: Passenger numbers for the Commissioner ship *Cygnet.*

	Identified Passengers and Crew				
	Labourers		Colonists		
Name of Vessel	Adults	Child.	Adults	Child.	Total
Cygnet	43	19	18	8	**88**

The *Register* provided the identity of forty-three adult labourers and their seventeen children who sailed on the *Cygnet*.[101] The class lines between passengers are blurred by the travel arrangements of the children of the 'superior' class. The Commissioners' 1836 report states that eight of those charged steerage fare were the children of cabin passengers. These were the four children of Surveyor William Henry Neale, and the four daughters of Harbour Master Thomas Lipson. The two sons of Thomas Lipson travelled as emigrant labourers under their own application numbers, as did the four sons of ship surgeon Dr Edward Wright.[102] This agrees with John Brown's report that 'six sons of cabin passengers' were travelling in the steerage.[103]

Additional labouring women were included on passenger lists through last-minute marriages. Stephen Paris appeared on the *Register* as a twenty-nine-year-old single shepherd from Fareham, Hampshire. An on-board diary describes Stephen Paris as travelling with a young wife and after arrival Parris had a daughter with Caroline Paris (née Hardham).[104] When Caroline Paris died of 'inflammation' in Gawler in 1848 she was recorded as being twenty-seven years old, making her just fifteen when she travelled to South Australia in the *Cygnet*. On her death Caroline Paris left a family of five young daughters, all under the age of eleven years.

The *Cygnet* passenger list provided by Cummings contains seven entries where the first name is provided as an initial, which made verification difficult. The Milde family, described in Opie as 'Milde, his wife and daughter' were likely to be Wilhelm Milde, his wife Catherina Elisabeth (née Steffens) and their daughter Elise Charlotte Wilhelmina, who all sailed from Hamburg on the *Solway* and arrived in South Australia in October 1837. The last of Opie's entries for the *Cygnet* is 'Elise C. W. Milde' which supports the notion that his family had been incorrectly allocated to the *Cygnet*.[105]

[101] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 45-76.
[102] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 179-182.
[103] Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown*, 1836, p. 115.
[104] History Trust of South Australia, 'Boyle Travers Finniss Journal, Friday 12 August 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, viewed online <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/friday-12-august-1836-2.html>
[105] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 16.

Table 3.9: Passenger list for the *Cygnet.*

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupations	Notes
1	ADAMS, James	✓	✓		✓	✓	Farm Labourer	
2	ADAMS, James's Wife	✓	✓		✓	✓	Farm Labourer's Wife	
3	ADAMS, Mary Anne				✓		Farm Labourer's Daughter	
4	ADAMS, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Sawyer	
5	AFFORD, John	✓	✓		✓	✓	Labourer	
6	AVERY, John	✓		✓	✓	✓	Blacksmith	
7	BELL, Margaret (née Sayers)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Cabinet Maker's Wife	
8	BELL, George Nelson	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Cabinet Maker's Son	
9	BELL, Margaret Sayers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Cabinet Maker's Daughter	
10	BELL, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Joiner & Cabinet Maker	
11	BRENNAN, James			✓	✓	✓	Servant	
12	BRISTOW, Eliza Margaret Hutton	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Bricklayer's Daughter	
13	BRISTOW, George William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Bricklayer's Son	
14	BRISTOW, Janet (née Marshall)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Bricklayer's Wife	
15	BRISTOW, Robert	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Bricklayer	
16	BROWN, Elizabeth				✓	✓	Carpenter's Wife	
17	BROWN, James	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Carpenter	
18	BROWN, James Cue				✓	✓	Carpenter's Son	
19	BROWN, William				✓	✓	Carpenter's Son	
20	CANNAN, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
21	CHAPMAN, Charlotte (née Standley)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Cabinet Maker's Wife	
22	CHAPMAN, Charlotte Standley				✓	✓	Cabinet Maker’s Daughter	
23	CHAPMAN, Samuel	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Cabinet Maker	
24	CORNEY, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Shoe & Bootmaker	
25	COVEY, William	✓			✓	✓	Labourer	
26	DEVINE, David	✓	✓	✓	✓		Surveyor’s Labourer	
27	FINCH, Joseph	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
28	FINNISS, Anne Frances (née Rogerson)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor's Wife	
29	FINNISS, Boyle Travers	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
30	FRIEND, George	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Shipwright	
31	GILBERT, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Colonial Storekeeper	
32	GOODMAN, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Confectioner	
33	GRANT, John				✓	✓	Sawyer	
34	GREEN, Elizabeth (née May)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Labourer's Wife	
35	GREEN, Emma Barbara	✓	✓	✓	✓		Labourer's Daughter	Born during voyage
36	GREEN, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
37	HARDY, Alfred	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
38	HEATH, George	✓			✓	✓	Inn Keeper's Son	
39	HOARE, Sarah (née Angel)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Husbandman's Wife	
40	HOARE, Child				✓	✓	Husbandman's Child	
41	HOARE, Elisabeth Mary				✓	✓	Husbandman's Daughter	
42	HOARE, James	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Husbandman	
43	KINGSTON, George Strickland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Deputy-Surveyor	
44	LIPSON, Berry James	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master’s Son	
45	LIPSON, Eliza Anne	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master’s Daughter	
46	LIPSON, Elizabeth (née Fooks)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master's Wife	
47	LIPSON, Emma Catherine Berry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master’s Daughter	
48	LIPSON, Louisa		✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master’s Daughter	
49	LIPSON, Mary Fooks	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master’s Daughter	
50	LIPSON, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master	
51	LIPSON, Thomas Hardy Jnr	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Harbour Master’s Son	
52	LOCKETT, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Butcher	
53	MARSHALL, Catherine				✓	✓	Painter’s Daughter	
54	MARSHALL, James	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Painter	
55	MARSHALL, Mary	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Dressmaker	

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupations	Notes
56	MORPHETT, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Land Agent	
57	NEALE, Elizabeth	✓	✓	✓	✓		Assistant Surveyor's Child	
58	NEALE, Frances Emily	✓	✓	✓	✓		Assistant Surveyor's Child	
59	NEALE, Henry William	✓	✓	✓	✓		Assistant Surveyor's Child	
60	NEALE, Mary Elizabeth (née Young)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor's Wife	
61	NEALE, Mary Elizabeth	✓	✓	✓	✓		Assistant Surveyor's Child	
62	NEALE, William Henry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
63	OSBORN, Henry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
64	PARRINGTON, Charles	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Agricultural Labourer	
65	PARRIS, Caroline (née Hardham)	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Shepherd's Wife	
66	PARRIS, Stephen	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Shepherd	Single on Register
67	PARSONS, Edmund	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Servant	
68	POWYS, Lyttleton	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Land Agent	
69	QUIN, Hugh	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Second Mate	
70	ROGERS, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Storekeeper's Clerk	
71	SANDERS, Sarah				✓	✓	Servant	
72	SLADDEN, Basil	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener	
73	SLADDEN, Isaac	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Shoemaker	
74	SLADDEN, Smitheyt	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener	
75	STONE, James	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Kitchen Gardener	
76	STUBBINGTON, James	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Agricultural Labourer	
77	SYMONDS, Richard Gilbert	✓	✓	✓	✓		Assistant Surveyor	
78	TEASDALE, William	✓	✓	✓	✓		Assistant Surveyor	
79	THOMAS, Robert George	✓		✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
80	TROLLOP, George				✓	✓	Sawyer	
81	WELLMAN, Solomon William	✓			✓	✓	Bricklayer	
82	WILLIAMS, William	✓	✓		✓	✓	Groom	
83	WRIGHT, Edward, Dr	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Doctor	
84	WRIGHT, Emily Elizabeth	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Doctor's Wife	
85	WRIGHT, Charles	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Doctor’s Son	
86	WRIGHT, Robert	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Doctor’s Son	
87	WRIGHT, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Doctor’s Son	
88	WRIGHT, Septimus				✓		Doctor’s Son	
X	ADAMS, E	✓	✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	ADAMS, William Snr	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		No evidence
X	AVERY, Thomas	✓	✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	BAYTUB, Peter				✓			Arrived 1837
X	BRINNAN, John	✓	✓		✓			Possible name error
X	FINNISS, Fanny Lipson				✓			Born 1 Jan 1837
X	GREEN, Child	✓	✓	✓	✓		Labourer's Child	No evidence
X	HARRINGTON, E	✓		✓	✓			No evidence
X	HEATH, A	✓	✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	KINGSTON, Harriet Ann Stuart				✓		Deputy-Surveyor's Wife	Arrived 1838
X	KINGSTON, WH				✓			Possible name error
X	LAVEY, John	✓	✓	✓	✓			No evidence
X	MILDE, Daughter		✓	✓	✓			Arrived Solway 1837
X	MILDE, Mr		✓	✓	✓			Arrived Solway 1837
X	MILDE, Wife		✓	✓	✓			Arrived Solway 1837
X	OSBORN, J	✓	✓	✓	✓			Possible name error
X	PARSONS, C				✓			Possible name error
X	ROLLS, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Ship’s Captain	Not included in study
X	WELMAN, J	✓	✓	✓	✓			No evidence

Lady Mary Pelham

Table 3.10: Passenger numbers for the Company ship *Lady Mary Pelham.*

	Identified Passengers and Crew				
	Labourers		Colonists		
Name of Vessel	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Total**
Lady Mary Pelham	29	-	2	-	**31**

The *Lady Mary Pelham* was a South Australian Company whaling ship which departed from Liverpool on 30 March 1836, a month after the *Duke of York* left London. The *Register* provides the names of the 'labouring' class on board the *Lady Mary Pelham*, who were predominantly from the Liverpool area.[106] A closer examination of the *Register* reveals that Patrick Keiffe and his wife, as well as 'block pump maker' John Williams, did not embark to South Australia as their *Register* entries contain the note, 'these men engaged to sail in the *Lady Mary Pelham* but not sent'.[107] As with the other Company ships, the *John Pirie* and the *Duke of York*, the cost of passage of some of the crew could not be paid by the Emigration Fund, as they left wives and children in England. On the *Lady Mary Pelham* these were Ralph and Andrew Anderson, Edward Brett and Richard Wilde. The Commissioners' report lists only one male and one female of a 'superior class' and these two people were Cornelius and Charlotte Birdseye (née Wright). Cornelius Birdseye was employed by the South Australian Company as an overseer of the Company's livestock.[108]

Table 3.11: Passenger list for the *Lady Mary Pelham.*

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupations	Notes
1	AMEY, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Ship's Cook	
2	ANDERSON, Andrew			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Left wife
3	ANDERSON, Ralph			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Left wife and children
4	BIRDSEYE, Cornelius			✓	✓	✓	Stock Overseer	
5	BRETT, Edward			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	Left wife
6	BURN, Christopher			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
7	CAPPER, William Samuel			✓	✓	✓	Farmer & Brickmaker	
8	CARSS, Mary				✓	✓	First Mate's Wife	
9	CHADWICK, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
10	CLARK, John			✓	✓	✓	Agriculturalist	No embarkation number
11	DAVIS, Robert			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
12	DAWSEY, Alexander			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
13	DREWERY, William			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
14	EDMUNDS, Walter			✓	✓	✓	Third Mate	

[106] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, embarkation nos. 85-106
[107] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 256: Patrick Keiffe & no. 257: John Williams
[108] State Records of South Australia, *South Australian Company Board Minutes*, BRG42, Series 1.

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupations	Notes
15	FASTING, James				✓	✓	Labourer	
16	FORSYTH, James				✓	✓	Seaman	
17	KELLY, Richard			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
18	KELLY, Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
19	MASON, Henry			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
20	OWEN, John			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
21	ROBINSON, John			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
22	SLATTERY, John			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
23	SMITH, Joseph			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
24	SWYNEY, George			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
25	THOMAS, John			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
26	THOMPSON, James Doine				✓	✓	First Mate	Died during voyage
27	WALKER, William			✓	✓	✓	Agriculturalist	
28	WILDE, Richard			✓	✓	✓	Ship's Carpenter	Left wife and children
29	WILLIAMS, Elias			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
30	WILLIAMS, Robert			✓	✓	✓	Seaman	
31	WRIGHT, Charlotte				✓	✓	Stock Overseer's Wife	
X	KEIFFE, Patrick			✓	✓		Labourer	Register states 'not sent'
X	KEIFFE, Wife				✓		Labourer's Wife	Register states 'not sent'
X	ROSS, Robert	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Ship's Captain	Not included in study
X	ROW, John				✓			No evidence
X	WILLIAMS, John			✓	✓		Pump maker	Register states 'not sent'

Emma

Table 3.12: Passenger numbers for the Company ship *Emma.*

	Identified Passengers and Crew				
	Labourers		Colonists		
Name of Vessel	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Adults**	**Child.**	**Total**
Emma	15	4	3	-	**22**

The supply ship *Emma* was the last of the four South Australian Company ships to leave England, sailing from London on 21 April 1836, three weeks after the *Lady Mary Pelham* departed from Liverpool. The *Register* provides us with the identities of the twelve male labourers on board the *Emma* and three wives of labourers, Rebecca Lyne (née Page), Rachel Cranfield (née Neville) and Mary Wilkins (née Cafferay).[109] The four children present were those of Joseph and Rebecca Lyne (née Page) and William and Mary Wilkins (née Cafferay). The 'superior class' colonists on board the *Emma* have been identified as Henry

[109] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, embarkation nos. 107-119

Douglas, a nineteen-year-old land purchaser from London, and accountant Charles Simeon Hare and his wife Anna Maria.[110]

Cummings provides the name of one extra female of the labouring class as Ellen Bayfield (née McNeary), listed as sailing with husband Edwin Henry Bayfield. However Ellen McNeary married Edwin Bayfield in Sydney, New South Wales in December 1836, two months after the arrival of the *Emma* in South Australia.[111] Other additional *Emma* passengers on the Cummings list are William and Sarah Flaxman with their two children Georgiana and William Jnr; however when interviewed later in life Georgiana Bunkin (née Flaxman) reported that she and her family had travelled from Tasmania to South Australia in 1837.[112] Georgina recalled that she had sailed with her family 'by the brig *Emma'* arriving at 'Kingscote, Kangaroo Island, in June 1837', with 'only one other passenger, a man named Douglass'.[113] As Georgina was a child of eight years in 1836, her memories of this time may not have been reliable.

Table 3.13: Passenger list for the *Emma.*

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Labourer/Colonist	Notes
1	ALLEN, George			✓	✓	✓	Boat Builder	
2	BARNETT, John	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
3	BAYFIELD, Edwin Henry			✓	✓	✓	Wheelwright	
4	CHITTENDEN, Charles Thomas			✓	✓	✓	Boat Builder's Assistant	
5	CRANFIELD, John			✓	✓	✓	Brickmaker	
6	CRANFIELD, Rachel				✓	✓	Brickmaker's Wife	
7	DOUGLAS, Henry	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Land Purchaser	
8	HARE, Anna Maria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Accountant's Wife	
9	HARE, Charles Simeon	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Accountant	
10	HOWLETT, William			✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
11	HUTTON, William			✓	✓	✓	Sawyer	
12	LYNE, Elizabeth				✓	✓	Sawyer's Wife	
13	LYNE, Joseph	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Carpenter & Sawyer	
14	LYNE, Rebecca	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Sawyer's Daughter	
15	LYNE, Winifred				✓	✓	Sawyer's Daughter	
16	PALMER, James Edwin			✓	✓	✓	Labourer & Thatcher	
17	RICHARDS, George			✓	✓	✓	Carpenter & Joiner	
18	THOMPSON, Joseph			✓	✓	✓	Labourer	
19	WILKINS, Alfred	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener's Son	

[110] 'The Late Mr. C. S. Hare', *Port Augusta Dispatch & Flinders' Advertiser*, Saturday 29 July 1882, p. 6; 'Pioneers of the Colony', *The South Australian Advertiser*, Tuesday 12 October 1886, p. 7; 'Sturdy Old Colonists', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 7 June 1902, p. 25.
[111] Registry of Birth, Deaths & Marriages New South Wales*, Marriages*, Registration Number 67/1836 V183667 20
[112] 'Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Charles Bunkin', *Evening Journal*, Friday 7 January 1910, p 1; 'Bunkin-Flaxman' *The Age*, Saturday 23 December 1899, p 3
[113] 'Mr. and Mrs. Frederick Charles Bunkin', *Evening Journal*, Friday 7 January 1910, p 1.

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Labourer/Colonist	Notes
20	WILKINS, Henry				✓	✓	Gardener's Son	
21	WILKINS, Mary	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener's Wife	
22	WILKINS, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener	
X	BURFORD, Miss	✓	✓	✓	✓			No evidence
X	BURFORD, Mrs	✓	✓	✓	✓			No evidence
X	BURFORD, WF	✓	✓	✓	✓			No evidence
X	FLAXMAN, Georgiana				✓	✓	Fish curer's Daughter	Arrived 1837?
X	FLAXMAN, Sarah				✓	✓	Fish curer's Wife	Arrived 1837?
X	FLAXMAN, William			✓	✓	✓	Fish curer	Arrived 1837?
X	FLAXMAN, William Jnr				✓	✓	Fish curer's Son	Arrived 1837?
X	NcNEARY, Ellen				✓			Arrived 1837
X	NELSON, John F	✓	✓	✓		✓	Captain	Not included in study
X	NELSON, Thomas				✓			Arrived 1840
X	STEPHENS, Henry		✓	✓	✓			Name error

Rapid

Table 3.14: Passenger numbers for the Commissioner ship *Rapid.*

	Identified Passengers and Crew				
	Labourers		Colonists		
Name of Vessel	Adults	Child.	Adults	Child.	Total
Rapid	21	-	7	1	**29**

The *Rapid* was the last of the six ships of the first expedition to leave Great Britain for South Australia, sent by the Commissioners under the command of Surveyor General Colonel William Light. The Commissioners' report states that only seven 'superior class' passengers were sailing in the *Rapid* in 1836.[114] The colonists travelling with Light were first mate William George Field, second mate William John Samuel Pullen, third mate Robert Keate Hill, assistant surveyors William Jacob and William Claughton, and ship surgeon John Woodforde.

Shipboard letters confirm that thirteen-year-old Hiram Mildred was also on board and the obituary of James Trussell states that he was Colonel William Light's cabin boy on the *Rapid* in 1836. Not included in Commissioners' report was Maria Gandy who travelled with Light along with at least one of her brothers. George, William and Edward Gandy have all been put forward as candidates for passage on the *Rapid* under Colonel William Light in 1836. Kingston and Opie's passenger lists for the *Rapid* include both Edward and William Gandy while Cummings includes only Edward. The History Trust's *Bound for South Australia* website lists Edward and George, although George Gandy can be shown to have arrived with his wife and daughter in 1838 on the ship *Henry Porcher*. For the purposes of this research Willian and Edward Gandy have been included as travelling with their sister Maria Gandy on the *Rapid*.

[114] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11.

Table 3.15: Passenger list for the *Rapid.*

	Name	King	Opie	Fin	Cum	BfSA	Occupation	Notes
1	BARKER, Alfred	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
2	BRADLEY, Charles William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
3	BRADLEY, Wife	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew's Wife	
4	BUCK, Robert Jnr	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
5	BUCK, Robert Snr	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Cook	
6	CHATFIELD, Arthur William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
7	CHILDS, Joseph		✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
8	CLAUGHTON, William Jnr		✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
9	COPPARD, George	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
10	DUNCAN, John			✓	✓	✓	Crew	
11	FIELD, William George	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	First Mate	
12	FREEMANTLE, James			✓	✓	✓	Millwright	
13	GANDY, Edward			✓	✓		Maria Gandy's Brother	
14	GANDY, Maria	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Colonel's De facto	
15	GANDY, William	✓	✓	✓			Maria Gandy's Brother	
16	HILL, Robert Keate	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Third Mate	
17	HODGES, William		✓	✓	✓	✓	Apprentice Seaman	
18	JACOB, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Assistant Surveyor	
19	LAWES, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Gardener	
20	LIGHT, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Surveyor General	
21	MILDRED, George	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Carpenter	
22	MILDRED, Hiram Telemachus	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Carpenter's Nephew	
23	PENTON, George	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Agricultural Labourer	
24	PULLEN, William John Samuel			✓	✓	✓	Second Mate	
25	THORN, John Frank	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
26	TRUSSELL, James	✓	✓		✓		Cabin boy	
27	TUCKEY, William	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	Crew	
28	WALL, William	✓	✓		✓	✓	Crew	
29	WOODFORDE, John		✓	✓	✓	✓	Ship Surgeon	
X	BELL, William	✓	✓	✓	✓		Crew	No evidence
X	BRADLEY, William	✓	✓		✓			Possible name error
X	DICKSON, John				✓			No evidence
X	FINCH, John	✓	✓		✓			Possible name error
X	FREEMANTLE, William	✓	✓		✓			Possible name error
X	GANDY, George					✓	Maria Gandy's Brother	Arrived 1838
X	GEPP, Thomas			✓	✓			Arrived 1837
X	LEWIS, James	✓	✓	✓	✓			Arrived 1838
X	MILDEN, Joseph			✓	✓			Possible name error
X	THOMAS, Robert George				✓			Arrived *Cygnet* 1836
X	THORN, Wife	✓	✓		✓			Not on Register
X	THORPE, John			✓	✓			Possible name error
X	WOODFORDE, Thomas	✓			✓			Possible name error

Conclusion

Published passenger lists were expanded as resources became available. Kingston operated in the 'age of newspapers' and used this means to promote his quest and publish his findings.[115] Opie expanded on Kingston's lists by examining locally accessible resources.[116] The consultation of South Australian Company records and government reports allowed Finnis to include crew, labourers and officials who were previously unidentified.[117] Cummings introduced evidence from British archival records, including the *Register*, as well as genealogical resources, to provide additional passengers.[118] The *Bound for South Australia* project conducted by South Australian History Trust staff and volunteers cast a critical eye over previously published lists, which produced more conservative passenger lists. The analysis presented in this chapter provided a first-generation population for this research which closely aligns with the conclusions of the *Bound for South Australia* project.

This chapter demonstrated how errors and extra entries were initially introduced and perpetuated in subsequent lists. With the exclusion of these extra entries, there remained 230 individuals whose identity and participation in South Australia's first expedition could be verified through primary source evidence (Table 3.16). The resultant passenger lists closely resembled the figures provided in the Commissioners' *First Annual Report*. Disagreements can be accounted for by individuals who left ships mid-voyage, and omissions by the Commissioners.

Table 3.16: Labourers, colonists and crew of South Australia's first expedition.

South Australia's First Expedition	Adults	Children	Total	
Labourers	82	27	109	47 %
Crew	73	-	73	32 %
Colonists	36	12	48	21 %
Total	**191**	**39**	**230**	**100 %**

When considered under the categories 'Labourers', 'Crew' and 'Colonists', it can be seen that almost half of the participants in South Australia's first expedition were passage-assisted labourers, almost a third of those on board were crew and a fifth were colonists (Table 3.16). The following two chapters locate these individuals after their arrival in South Australia and follow their geographic movements and careers after disembarkation. Chapter four acknowledges the rate at which labourers, crew and colonists could not be found, while chapter five accesses the degree of career mobility experienced by those who were located.

[115] Mill, John Stuart. *On Liberty*, Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., London, New York, Melbourne, 1859, p. 173 in Arnold, *Promoting Emigration to South Australia,* 2019, p. 48.
[116] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 6.
[117] Finnis, *Before the 'Buffalo',* 1964, p. 22.
[118] Cummings, *Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia,* 2010, p. 1.

Chapter Four: Locating South Australia's First Expedition

As explored in the previous chapter, the six ships of South Australia's first expedition departed England in the early months of 1836. Two organisations were responsible for the preparation and embarkation of these ships: the South Australian Colonisation Commission (hereafter 'Commissioners') and the South Australian Company (hereafter 'Company'). The Commissioners dispatched two survey ships, *Rapid* and *Cygnet,* while the Company sent out two whaling vessels, *Duke of York* and *Lady Mary Pelham*, and two supply ships, *John Pirie* and *Emma*. The Commissioners and the Company each prepared and published a report within weeks of the departure of these ships, providing details of those on each ship.[1]

In their report, the Commissioners presented those on board as either 'Emigrants of the Labouring Class' or 'Persons of a Superior Class'. Those categorised as superior class were either employees of the Commissioners or Company or independent investors who had purchased land and paid their own fare. The passage-assisted labourers also included the crew of four of the six ships, as the crew were expected to remain in South Australia as settler-colonists. In turn, the Company described their participants as 'labourers and artisans', 'superior and inferior officers', or crew.[2] In order to standardise terminology, this chapter refers to these individuals as either 'labourers', 'colonists', or 'crew' and follows their progress after their arrival in South Australia in 1836.

Those of the 'superior class', categorised as 'colonists', were all visible after arrival in South Australia and few relocated out of the colony. These were people whose employment or economic investments were tied to South Australia, and they promoted their identity as early settler-colonial 'pioneers'. In contrast, a quarter of passage-assisted labourers could not be traced after disembarkation in South Australia. Those who travelled as families were more likely to persist in the colony than single men and women, although this result may have been influenced by an increased ability to identify family units. This chapter also confirms that Kangaroo Island did not become a 'nursery' for southern-ocean whalers, despite the claims of the South Australian Company.

[1] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First annual report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1836*. Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London, no. 491, 1836; South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1836.

[2] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11; South Australian Company. *First Report of the Directors*, 1836, p. 27; South Australia Company. *South Australian Company Condensed Report*, 1838, p. 18.

Labourers, Colonists and Crew

A difficulty faced by studies of immigration and geographic mobility are the individuals who are lost to the research. This complication occurs when a population is known, yet not all members of the population participate in the study to its completion. This effect is referred to as the attrition rate. In the case of this research, 230 individuals can be identified as participating in South Australia's first expedition, but not all of these individuals can be located after their arrival. The labourers, colonists and crew each have varying rates of attrition, which are uncovered in this chapter. This chapter examines potential causes for the varying attrition rates and the possible impact on the resultant research population.

Of the passage-assisted labourers, almost a quarter could not be located after their arrival in South Australia, while all colonists were able to be tracked from arrival to their place and time of death (Table 4.1). As might be expected, the crew had the highest attrition rate, with eighty-one per cent not located after the voyage (Table 4.1: Crew). When this overall rate for all crew is differentiated between those of the Company's and Commissioners' ships, a disparity is observed. Ninety-three per cent of the Company's crew were not identified after their journey to South Australia, compared to forty-two per cent of the Commissioners' crew.

Table 4.1: Rate of attrition for South Australia's first expedition.

South Australia's First Expedition (Adults and Children)	Initial Population	Not Found	Attrition Rate	Research Population
Labourers	109	27	25 %	82
Colonists	48	0	0	48
Crew	73	58	80 %	15
Total	**N = 230**	**N = 85**	**37 %**	**N = 145**

A Nursery for Seamen?

When researching an emigrant population in the age of sail, it might be assumed that the crew of the ship would not be included within the research population but would depart as employees of the vessel. This assumption could not be made in the case of South Australia, as colonial planners encouraged and planned for the inclusion of crew as settler-colonists. According to the *Regulations for Selection of Emigrant Labourers*, the cost of passage of crew members could be charged against South Australia's emigration fund, with the proviso that the crew intended to establish themselves in South Australia for a period of 'at least

three years' and that their families were to be 'resident in the colony'.[3] Under this rationale, the cost of the crew was offset as an expense, charged against funds raised by the sale of South Australian land. For this reason, details of the crew of four of the six ships, *Duke of York, John Pirie, Lady Mary Pelham* and *Rapid*, were included in the *Register of Emigrant Labourers* (hereafter '*Register'*).[4] The crew for the *Emma* and the *Cygnet* were not included as emigrants, as these ships were hired for the journey and not owned by the Company or the Commissioners.[5]

The Company's *First Report* declared that the crew would be engaged under a three-year contract, and that they and their families would take up residence in Kingscote, Kangaroo Island, adopting it as their future home instead of returning to England.[6] The Company's *First Report* gave credit to the Commissioners for the inclusion of this regulation, as it was expected to lay the foundation for a 'nursery for seamen' in South Australia.[7] Those members of the Company crew who left wives and children behind in England were identified and highlighted in the *Register*.[8] The costs of passage of single crew members were charged against the emigration fund, but the Commissioners refused to pay for those with dependent families who remained in England.[9]

It is a sad irony that the only crew member of a South Australia Company ship to travel with a wife, Irish-born James Doine Thompson, first mate of the *Lady Mary Pelham*, died en route.[10] In a letter to George Fife Angas, the ship's second mate Alexander Dawsey recorded that Thompson, along with third mate Walter Sayers Edmunds, had both been 'in a State of Intoxication and drunk'ness [sic]' since the ship had embarked 29 March 1836. Dawsey reported that Thompson had died 2 May 1836 after 'hard drinking brought on a brain fever which took him off in a most horrid state of mind' leaving 'a widow on board a stranger among a strange people going to a strange land'.[11] A memorial to James Doine

[3] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, Appendix 4: General Information respecting the Colony; Disposal of Land; Regulations for the Selection of Emigrant Labourers; Principles of Colonization, Item 56, p. 28.
[4] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 125-161, 258-280, 308-320.
[5] South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors,* 1836, p. 13; South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836*,* Appendix, No. 7: Report on the Departure of the *Cygnet*, p. 31.
[6] South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors,* 1836, p. 20 & 28.
[7] South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors,* 1836, p. 21.
[8] For example, Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 128: George Baker Clark 'Four children left', no. 129: John Gransmore 'Wife & one child left in England', no. 260: Ralph Anderson 'Wife left', no. 261: Richard Wilde 'Wife & children left', no. 271: Edward Brett, 'Wife left'.
[9] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, No 491, 'Adults ineligible for conveyance by the Emigration Fund, the charge for whose passage has been defrayed by other means', p. 11.
[10] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 278. James Doine Thompson; England, Select Marriages, Saint Dunstan, Stepney, London, 8 February 1831; Tombstone & Memorial Inscription, St David Anglican Church, Hobart, James Doine Thompson, died 3 May 1836.
[11] History Trust of South Australia, 'Robert Clark Morgan Journal, Thursday 12 May 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/thursday-12-may-1836-2.html>

Thompson was placed at St David's Anglican Church in Hobart. Strangely, the *Lady Mary Pelham*'s third mate and Thompson's drinking partner, Walter Sayers Edmunds, was also buried at St David's in Hobart after his death in October 1836. Edmunds had died after the *Lady Mary Pelham* had left South Australia to embark on its whaling voyage. Edmunds may have intended to remain and settle in South Australia, as he held a preliminary land order.[12] Thompson's wife, believed to be Mary Thompson (née Carss), could not be located after this voyage.[13]

Of the sixty-one crew members listed for the South Australia Company ships, only three were found to have settled in South Australia. These were Henry Simpson, second mate of the *John Pirie*; Robert Russell, second mate of the *Duke of York,* and Israel Mazey, a crew member of the *Duke of York*. Of the listed crew of the *Lady Mary Pelham*, none could be found returning to South Australia. After leaving South Australia with the *John Pirie*, Henry Simpson married Anne Liddon and the couple had their eldest child in Hobart, Van Diemen's Land in 1839. With his family, Simpson made his way back to South Australia, bought a cutter and ran a trade route between Kangaroo Island and the mainland.[14] Simpson spent some years at the Victorian goldfields and was employed as a wharfinger at Port Adelaide before he established an immensely successful import business which brought coal from Newcastle to Adelaide.[15] Henry Simpson and his wife Anne established homes at Tenterden (now Woodville South) and Ridge Park in Glen Osmond where they raised a large family.

In order to return to South Australia, twenty-year-old Israel Mazey broke his three-year whaling contract and absconded from the *Duke of York* when it docked at Hobart, Van Diemen's Land.[16] Mazey took a ship back to South Australia, where he worked at various whaling stations before establishing himself as a fisher at Alberton, near Port Adelaide.[17] Twenty-nine-year-old Mazey married sixteen-year-old Hannah Woolman in 1843, and together they raised a large family in King Street, Alberton. Many of their children and grandchildren maintained a connection with the fishing industry and the Port Adelaide district, as will be discussed in the following two chapters.

[12] South Australian Colonization Commission, *Third Annual Report,* 1839, Appendix 19: Plan of District of Adelaide, divided into Sections, p. 54.
[13] England Marriages, James Doine Thompson to Mary Carss, 8 Feb 1831, Saint Dunstan, Stepney, London.
[14] 'The Late Captain Henry Simpson', *Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News*, Thursday 1 May 1884, p. 3.
[15] 'The Late Captain Henry Simpson', *Frearson's Monthly Illustrated Adelaide News*, Thursday 1 May 1884, p. 3.
[16] 'Old-time Memories: a chat with a pioneer', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 18 February 1893, p. 41.
[17] 'Death of an old Colonist: reminiscences of the early days', *South Australian Chronicle*, Saturday 30 June 1894, p. 9.

Second mate Robert Russell had a more complex route back to South Australia. While sailing south down the Queensland coast, the *Duke of York* struck a reef near Curtis Island and was wrecked in August 1837.[18] Captain Robert Morgan's log recorded that thirty-two crew escaped the *Duke of York* using three smaller whaling boats and made their way to Sydney via Moreton Bay.[19] From Sydney, Robert Russell journeyed back to South Australia via New Zealand on the ship *Lady Wellington.* Scottish-born Robert Russell married fellow Scot Elizabeth Hislop in Adelaide in 1839, and like shipmate Israel Mazey, also settled and raised a family in Alberton.[20]

Neither the *Duke of York* nor the *Lady Mary Pelham* returned to England from their Southern Ocean whaling expedition. The *Lady Mary Pelham* continued to sail in Australian waters until wrecked off the coast of Belfast (now Port Fairy) in August 1849 with no loss of life and limited loss of cargo.[21] Despite the claims of the Company's first report that they sought to establish a 'nursery for seamen' in South Australia, the attrition rate for South Australian Company ships was ninety-three per cent. As a passenger from the *Duke of York* later reported to South Australian author John Wrathall Bull, speaking of the Company crew, 'Hardly one of these men remained here. A few of them returned years afterwards and settled in the colony.'[22] These few Company crew members who established themselves in South Australia all maintained close ties to the Port Adelaide area and together contributed 25 children and 86 grandchildren to this research.

The crew of the Commissioners' ship *Rapid* were also included on the *Register* with the expense of their passage charged against the emigration fund as intending settler-colonists.[23] The Commissioners instructed Colonel Light to select the crew of the *Rapid*, who were to 'assist in any manner' after arrival in South Australia.[24] Unlike the Company's crew, whose employment took them away from the colony, the labourers of the *Rapid* were employed within South Australia after arrival. Amongst the selected officers and crew were those who had served with Light previously and expressed towards him great loyalty and admiration.[25] One such example was twenty-one-year-old William Tuckey, who had

---

[18] Heinrich, Dorothy, *The Man Who Hunted Whales*: *a tale of Kangaroo Island and a doomed ship*, Highbury, South Aust.: Awoonga, 2011, pp. 145-146.
[19] Heinrich, in *The Man Who Hunted Whales,* 2011, 'In Quest of Moreton Bay', pp. 152-172.
[20] 'Obituary: Death of Mr. Robert Russell', *South Australian Register*, Tuesday 5 January 1892, p 3.
[21] 'The Total Wreck of the "Lady Mary Pelham"', *Geelong Advertiser*, Saturday 8 September 1849, p. 1; 'Belfast', *Geelong Advertiser*, Thursday 13 September 1849, p. 2.
[22] Bull, John Wrathall. *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an Extended Colonial History*. Adelaide: E.S. Wigg & Son, 1884, p. 7.
[23] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 308-320.
[24] Commissioners. *First Annual Report*, Appendix, No. 9. Letter of Instruction by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to Colonel William Light, Surveyor General for the Colony of South Australia, p. 33.
[25] Dutton and Elder, *Colonel William Light,* 1991, 'Pre-eminently qualified', pp. 150-151.

served with Light in Egypt and followed him to South Australia.[26] Tuckey was employed as a survey labourer under Light, and resigned in his support in 1838.[27] This loyalty to Light, as well as employment in the colony, meant that the crew of the *Rapid* were more inclined to remain in South Australia than the whaling crew of the South Australian Company. Four crew members of the *Rapid* bought town acres when they were made available by auction in March 1837.[28] Ten of the *Rapid*'s eighteen crew members can be traced after their journey to South Australia, with nine found settled in South Australia and one who returned to the United Kingdom.

The other Commissioner ship *Cygnet* had been hired, not bought, for the purposes of the voyage, and as such the crew were not listed in the *Register*. However, one crew member of *Cygnet*, second mate Hugh Quin, is known to have settled in South Australia. Quin had continued with the *Cygnet* when it embarked from South Australia; but, like Israel Mazey and Henry Simpson, he quit the ship at Van Diemen's Land in 1837 and returned to take a position as pilot in the harbour at Port Adelaide.[29] Quin became well known in the Port Adelaide district as a master mariner and the colony's second Harbour Master. Quin married twice, had eighteen children, many of whom retained ties to the Lefevre Peninsula.

Of the crew who could be identified after their voyage to South Australia, only one was identified in the United Kingdom. This was the William John Samuel Pullen, Light's second mate on the *Rapid*. Pullen had been serving in the Navy in the Mediterranean when Light convinced him to journey to South Australia where Pullen worked a surveyor. In 1842 Pullen returned to the United Kingdom, re-joined the Navy, and rose to the rank of Vice-Admiral by 1879.[30] It is very likely that other crew members returned to the United Kingdom, but could not be located. It was the exceptionally high profile of William Pullen and his self-declared association with South Australia which allowed him to be identified.

These identified crew were almost all found in South Australia, with the exception of William John Samuel Pullen, who was located in the United Kingdom. Pullen had been twenty-three years old when he sailed to South Australia in 1836 as second officer of the *Rapid* under Colonel William Light. Pullen returned to England in 1842, resumed his naval

[26] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 315 William Tuckey; 'Interesting Reminiscences (by an Octogenarian), *Adelaide Mail*, Saturday 19 April 1924, p. 5. [Tuckey remained in South Australia, married and raised a family of seven children in North Adelaide.]
[27] 'Early Australia and Before: Interesting Reminiscences', *Adelaide Mail*, Saturday 19 April 1924, p. 5.
[28] 'Account of the Sale of Public Lands', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 2.
[29] 'The Late Captain Quin', *South Australian Register*, Thursday 30 August 1896, p. 7.
[30] 'Pullen, William John Samuel', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume XI, <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/pullen_william_john_samuel_11E.html>

career and was promoted to vice-admiral in 1879.[31] Despite his illustrious career, Vice-Admiral Pullen maintained contact with the colony where he had spent a portion of his young adulthood.[32]

The attrition rate for the crew of the Commissioners' ships was forty-two per cent compared to ninety-three per cent rate for the Company ships.[33] The lower rate of attrition can be understood because Light, as instructed, selected artisans and labourers who were to be of use after the arrival of the *Rapid* in South Australia.[34] The *Rapid* continued to sail between Sydney, Hobart and Adelaide and returned to England in 1837, and it is highly likely that a portion of the crew continued to serve the ship during these voyages.[35] Despite the declared intentions of the Company, a 'nursery of seamen' was not established and only three of the crew of the Company ships established families in the colony. Collectively, the fifteen crew members who were included and traced within the framework of this research, contributed 109 children and 291 grandchildren to this study.

Figure 4.1: William Light's sketch of Beare family tents, Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, 1836.[36]

[31] Pullen, Hugh Francis, 'Pullen, William John Samuel', *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 11, University of Toronto, 1982 <http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/pullen_william_john_samuel_11E.html>
[32] 'Early Days of South Australia', *Port Adelaide News*, Friday 31 August 1883, p. 5; 'Early Days of South Australia (continued from our last)', *Port Adelaide News*, Tuesday 4 September 1883, p. 8.
[33] Eight of the nineteen listed Commissioners' crew could not be located and included in this research.
[34] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, Appendix No. 9: Letter of Instructions by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to Colonel William Light, Surveyor-general for the Colony of South Australia, pp. 33-36.
[35] 'Shipping Intelligence', *The Tasmanian*, Friday 30 June 1837, p. 3
[36] Light, William. *Mr Beare's tents, Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island, 1836,* State Library of South Australia, PRG 1/5/182.

Lost Labourers

The labourers who received passage assistance were not under obligation to remain in the colony. The Commissioners declared it 'useless and mischievous' to attempt to restrict the movements and employment prospects of passage-assisted labourers.[37] In his 1834 publication *The New British Province of South Australia*, Edward Gibbon Wakefield emphasised previous experiments with the use of indentured labourer, where the cost of passage would be paid by an employer, yet assisted labourers 'invariably quit their masters'.[38] Wakefield used the examples of Canada, New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Africa and Western Australia to illustrate colonial inability to locate and punish absconded employees.[39] For South Australia, the Commissioners sought to ensure that each assisted labourer felt themselves to be 'a perfectly free agent' and to remain in the Colony for only as long as it served their interest.[40]

In the light of this freedom of movement, it is perhaps to be expected that almost a quarter of the passage-assisted labourers of South Australia's first expedition could not be located after their embarkation to the colony (Table 4.1: Labourers). The previous chapter of this thesis identified one hundred and twelve passage-assisted labourers on board the six ships. Of these labourers, twenty-seven were not able to be traced as and included as participants in this study. These individuals were predominantly single men, but also included one single woman listed as a servant, and four couples, one of whom travelled with a child.[41] Single men and women are more difficult to identify with adequate specificity, as they lack the collaborating evidence provided by names and ages of a husband, wife or children. For example, two single, male assisted immigrants were John Goodman, confectioner, who emigrated on the *Cygnet*, and Thomas Waldron, agriculturalist, of the *John Pirie*. Men with matching names and ages were found in Victoria, but resources available within the confines of this research could not link them to the year and place of arrival to allow their inclusion in this research.[42]

Labourers who travelled as families were more likely to remain in South Australia, as predicted by the colonial planners, who had decided that 'parents of a numerous family were less likely than others to… remove from the Colony'.[43] The missing couple travelling

[37] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, 'Emigration', p. 10.
[38] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 113.
[39] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 113-116.
[40] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, 'Emigration', p. 10.
[41] 68% of the assisted labourers who could not be identified were single men.
[42] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 165: John Goodman & no. 123: Thomas Waldron.
[43] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 10.

with their child, was painter James Marshall, who immigrated on the Commissioner ship *Cygnet* with his dressmaker wife and their seven-month-old daughter.[44] With a relatively common first and last name and no names for his wife or child, this James Marshall could not be positively located. In the case of James Marshall, one person of that name and similar age died in Riverton, South Australia in 1902, but on his death notice his family cited his year of arrival as 1837.[45] Death notices for other potential James Marshalls who died elsewhere in Australia did not highlight 1836 or South Australia as their year or place of arrival. Those who settled in other colonies or overseas were not as motivated by social capital to highlight their year and place of arrival in family notices as those who remained in South Australia.

Another family group which could not be located was Charles, James and Mary Ann Powell from East Acton, then a rural community on the outskirts of London. Charles Powell was a thirty-four-year-old labourer travelling with his thirty-year-old wife, making them on the cusp of the age limit for passage assistance.[46] James Powell was a twenty-six-year-old labourer who applied on the same day as Charles.[47] Fifteen-year-old Mary Ann Powell, also from East Acton, put in an application as a domestic servant two months after the Powell men.[48] They travelled on the Company ship *John Pirie* and were referred to collectively in onboard journals, but their family relationship has not been determined.[49] Within two weeks of the *John Pirie's* arrival in South Australia, Mary Ann Powell was married to a member of the crew, William Staples, providing the first recorded marriage after the arrival of the colonial vessels.[50] After arrival on Kangaroo Island both Charles and James are mentioned as South Australia Company employees, but soon vanish from the public record, as do the newlyweds, William and Mary Ann Staples.[51] No death notices for a Powell or Staples family member linked them to arrival in South Australia in 1836.

---

[44] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 96: James Marshall, wife and daughter.
[45] 'Family Notices', *The Advertiser*, Monday 10 November 1902, p. 4.
[46] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 8: Charles Powell.
[47] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 11: James Powell.
[48] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 124: Mary Ann Powell.
[49] History Trust of South Australia, 'John Pirie Journal, Thursday 2 June 1836, Saturday 18 June 1836 & Friday 7 October 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au>.
[50] History Trust of South Australia. 'Samuel Stephens' Diary, Sunday 28 August 1836'; 'John Woodforde Diary, Sunday 28 August 1836'; 'Captain Morgan's Journal, Sunday 28 August 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/weekly-posts/week-28-a-wedding-on-the-beach.html>
[51] History Trust of South Australia. 'John Pirie Journal, Monday 12 September 1836, Tuesday 13 September 1836, Monday 19 September 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011*, Government of South Australia, 2011.

Dressmaker Mrs Marshall and servant Mary Ann Powell were two of the three women with independent occupations on South Australia's first expedition, with the third being servant Sarah Sanders.[52] None of these women could be identified after their arrival in South Australia. Thirty-one-year-old servant Sarah Sanders may have left the colony, married and changed her name, making her more difficult to identify. The struggle to retain female servants distressed South Australian employers. As Pike noted, the 'good servants they brought with them married and new ones were hard to keep and harder to train'.[53]

The quarter of labourers who could not be located after 1836 are likely to have moved on to other colonies or countries.[54] These young labourers were free to seek employment elsewhere and would have been well positioned to continue to move when high unemployment rates and financial crisis impacted the infant colony of South Australia in 1841, and when the lure of gold motivated people to travel to California or to Victoria.[55]

Locating the Labourers

While it is difficult to state with certainty what percentage of the first expedition's assisted labourers participated in the Victorian goldrush, records consulted for this research place fourteen of the adult assisted labourers at the goldfields in the 1850s. These absences from the colony are known predominantly through obituaries. Several couples recorded the birth of children in Victoria during this time, for others, gaps in the births of children in the early 1850s hint at a possible absence. These gold-fever induced sojourns were relatively brief for most settlers. For carpenter William Hodges, the twenty-two months he spent in pursuit of gold was his only time out of the colony after his arrival in 1836. In 1906, his obituary stated that he had sailed first for Californian and then returned to try his luck in the Victorian goldfields.[56] On his return, William Hodges became a successful and well-known publican in Tothill Creek and Hindley Street in Adelaide.[57]

it was predominantly skilled artisans, particularly carpenters, who relocated permanently. These people were able to be linked to arrival in South Australia in 1836 through their published reminiscences, obituaries, or death records. All of those who relocated were

[52] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificates no. 96: James Marshall; no. 124: Mary Ann Powell; no. 174: Sarah Sanders.
[53] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 497.
[54] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 152.
[55] South Australian Colonization Commission. First Annual Report, 1836, Appendix 4: General Information respecting the Colony; Disposal of Land; Regulations for the Selection of Emigrant Labourers; Principles of Colonization, p. 27; Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent,* 1967, p. 496; 'Gold in California – New El Dorado', *South Australian*, Tuesday 23 January 1849, p. 1; 'Victoria Gold Field', *Adelaide Times*, Monday 13 October 1851, p. 3.
[56] 'Mr William Hodges', *Observer*, Saturday 14 July 1906, p. 36.
[57] 'Mr William Hodges', *Observer*, Saturday 14 July 1906, p. 36.

found in Victoria, except for boat-builder George Allen who settled at Thorndon Quay in Wellington, New Zealand.[58] It was Allen's obituary which identified him as a passenger on the *Emma* and linked him to his brief time in South Australia.[59] Allen had worked as a ship builder on Kangaroo Island for a year before moving on to Hobart and then Sydney, before returning to the United Kingdom where he married Jane Elizabeth Paul.[60] The young couple arrived in Wellington, New Zealand in 1841 where Allen continued his trade as a shipbuilder on the Thorndon Quay and was active in local politics.[61] Allen was aged in his sixties when he took up land in Lower Hutt, and his children and grandchildren maintained connections to this area of New Zealand's North Island.

Those who relocated to Victoria were predominantly in a timber-related trade. These artisans held building skills which were particularly valued in Victoria, an economy in the midst of a building boom and inflated by gold wealth.[62] Carpenter and wheelwright James Brown, who immigrated on the *Cygnet* with his wife Elizabeth and their two young sons, relocated with his family to the heart of the golden triangle in Maldon, Victoria.[63] Of James and Elizabeth's eventual nine children, only three lived to adulthood; however all three, as well as most of their grandchildren, maintained ties to Maldon and the mining industry. But not all Victorian moves were to the goldfields. Joiner and cabinet maker Thomas Bell and his family were in living Bourke Street, Melbourne in 1852 before settling in Richmond. Bell and his wife Margaret (née Sayers) had immigrated on the *Cygnet* with their young daughter and son.[64] At this time, Richmond was a working-class industrial inner suburb of Melbourne and it became a centre for skilled workers returning from the goldfields.[65] By the time of his death in 1871, aged sixty years, Thomas Bell had raised a large family, worked persistently as a cabinet maker, and had spent nine years in South Australia, four years in Tasmania and twenty years in Victoria.

Locating the Colonists

There was limited loss through either attrition or relocation of those who immigrated to South Australia as colonists with the first expedition. These people had a vested emotional and financial interest in the success of the colony and remained committed to the scheme.

---

[58] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 301: George Allen
[59] 'Obituary: Mr. George Allen', *New Zealand Times*, 11 May 1899.
[60] 'The Late Mr. George Allen, One of Wellington's Old Identities', *New Zealand Mail*, 25 May 1899.
[61] 'Accidents & Fatalities: Mr George Allen', *Marlborough Express*, 11 May 1899.
[62] Davison, Graeme. *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1978, p. 89.
[63] Williams, Albert James. *A Concise history of Maldon and the Tarrangower diggings*, Maldon Progress Association, 1980, p. 7*;* Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 86: James Brown.
[64] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 3: Thomas Bell.
[65] Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne,* 1978, p. 72.

Wakefield and the colonial planners differentiated between the labouring applicants and those potential emigrants who were of 'that class who, from their property and station, would necessarily be influential in the colony'. These influential colonists were invited to meet at the Association's offices at the Adelphi in London, to make themselves 'thoroughly acquainted' with each other and the principles of systematic colonisation.[66] Intending colonists joined the South Australian Literacy and Scientific Association and participated in a Conversazione Club to share knowledge of the conditions they were likely to meet in the new colony.[67] The initial settler-colonists possessed a collective sense of identity and common purpose. These investors and emigrants who were 'early adopters' of South Australia as a colonial destination were reminded that they were participating in a 'great as well as original work' and were 'creating an honourable ancestry for their children'.[68]

The Colonisation Commissioners' *First Report* listed thirty-six 'persons of a superior class' as being on board the six ships of the first expedition.[69] This aligns with the thirty-six adult colonists identified in this study, who have been found to have travelled with twelve children. These additional individuals were either employees of the South Australian Company or the South Australian Colonisation Commission, or they were independent investors or land agents, and some travelled with wives and children. An abundance of collaborating evidence identifies these 'superior class' settler-colonists; the reports of the Colonisation Commissioners and South Australian Company, private diaries and journals, published books, correspondence, newspapers and gazettes.[70]

The thirty-six colonists were administrators, professionals and investors in the fledgling colony, and their subsequent careers were highly visible after their arrival in the colony. They associated themselves as 'pioneers' of South Australia. Not only do their names appear in the public record, but also on the street signs, suburbs and natural features of South Australia. Colonel William Light of the *Rapid* is of course remembered by Light Square and the Adelaide suburb of Colonel Light Gardens, but less well known is the eponym of Gilbert Street, Colonial Storekeeper Thomas Gilbert.[71] Two streets in North Adelaide were

---

[66] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 125 & pp. 140-141.
[67] Talbot, Michael R. 'A Re-Evaluation of the South Australian Literary and Scientific Association Library.' *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2008, p. 271; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 114.
[68] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 125-127.
[69] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11.
[70] South Australian Company. *First Report of the Directors,* 1836; South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836; Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown,* 1836; SA Company Board Minutes, SRSA, BRG42, Series 1.; Light, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, 1984; Finniss, Boyle Travers. *Notebook Containing Manuscript Journal of B.T. Finniss from 16th March 1836 (known as 'Cygnet Journal' or 'Finniss's Diary'),* Borrow Collection, Flinders University, 1836; Morphett, George Cummins. *A synopsis of the diary of Dr. John Woodforde, surgeon on board the Rapid, 1836*. Pioneers' Association of South Australia, Adelaide, 1950.
[71] Nicholas, *Behind the Streets of Adelaide,* 2016, pp. 218 & 470.

named for surveyors of the *Cygnet*, Boyle Travers Finniss and George Strickland Kingston.[72] As a large landholder and investor, John Morphett, who also emigrated on the *Cygnet,* was amply recognised through Morphett Street, Morphett Vale and Morphettville.[73] South Australia's first Harbour Master, Captain Thomas Lipson received Lipson Street in Port Adelaide and Beare Avenue in Netley remembers the family estate of Thomas Hudson Beare, Superintendent of Buildings and Labourers with the South Australian Company.[74]

Of the thirty-six adult colonists, eight were found to have relocated permanently outside of South Australia after 1836. Four settled in Victoria and four returned to the United Kingdom. These eight represented twenty-two per cent of adult colonists of the first generation of this study. Unlike the assisted labourers, colonists who left South Australia were more likely to return to the United Kingdom. An example is the Company's stock overseer Cornelius Birdseye, who immigrated with his wife Charlotte on board the whaling ship *Lady Mary Pelham*.[75] The 1861 English census showed that Cornelius and Charlotte had returned to the United Kingdom, were living in Croydon, London and listed as 'Landed Proprietors'.[76] Despite this, the couple maintained their connections with the colony, as Charlotte Birdseye's death in 1864 was published in the *South Australian Register*.[77] Cornelius Birdseye had been a preliminary land purchaser and maintained land holdings in the colony, which he bequeathed to his second wife Emma after his death.[78] When Emma Birdseye (who outlived Cornelius by forty-six years) died in 1926, she still held considerable interest in property in the state, holding South Australian real estate to the value of £18,150.[79]

One of the surveyors, John Cannan, also returned to the United Kingdom and settled in Scotland, where he died in 1852. Cannan had bought two town acres at the land auction held in March 1837.[80] By 1840, Cannan had established a water-powered saw mill at First Creek at the foot of the Adelaide Hills, which he sold to fellow *Cygnet* passenger Boyle

[72] Nicholas, *Behind the Streets of Adelaide*, 2016, p. 882.
[73] Nicholas, *Behind the Streets of Adelaide,* 2016, p. 548.
[74] Cockburn, Rodney. *What's in a Name?: Nomenclature of South Australia : Authoritative Derivations of Some 4000 Historically Significant Place Names*. Rev. and enl. ed., Ferguson Publications, 1984, pp. 158-159.
[75] History Trust of South Australia. 'Cornelius Birdseye to Mr Angas, on board the Lady Mary Pelham', Liverpool, 8 April 1836', *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011,* Government of South Australia, 2011. <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/friday-8-april-1836-3.html>
[76] Birdseye, Cornelius. 76 Thornton Heath, Croydon, *1861 England Census*.
[77] 'Family Notices: Deaths', *South Australian Register*, Tuesday 12 July 1864, p. 2.
[78] Opie, E. A. D. 'Early Adelaide: Survey and Land Grants', *The Register*, Saturday, 27 December 1913, p. 18; Birdseye, Emma. *National Probate Calendar, England & Wales*, 24 May 1927.
[79] 'First Dealer Makes Fortune', *News*, Tuesday 7 June 1927, p. 12; 'Personal', *The Register*, Friday 27 May 1927, p. 8.
[80] 'Account of the Sale of Public Lands', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 2.

Travers Finnis.[81] John Cannan then established himself at Circular Head in the far north-west corner of Van Diemen's Land, before returning to live in Scotland, where he died intestate and without issue at the age of thirty-eight.[82] The other surveyors of the first expedition who relocated out of South Australia were found in Victoria. These were David Devine, who became a cartage contractor in Melbourne, and William Henry Neale, who relocated with his wife and children to establish himself as an auctioneer and electoral officer in Bendigo, Victoria.[83] The Victorian gold rush had caused ballooning populations in Melbourne, Bendigo and Ballarat and their surrounding regional area, which became valuable markets for South Australian produce.[84]

Defining the 'children'

Chapter Three of this thesis found that the lists of passengers and crew of the six ships consisted of 230 individuals. Of these individuals, forty were defined as children, and therefore of the second generation of this study (Table 4.2), although who constituted a 'child' for the purposes of this research needs to be clarified. For the Colonisation Commissioners, a labourer could be considered an adult and receive assisted passage from the age of fifteen years.[85] There were two fifteen-year-old assisted labourers on board the first expedition, domestic servant from Acton, Mary Ann Powell travelling on the *John Pirie*, and assisted boat-builder from Deal, Charles Thomas Chittenden on board the *Emma*.[86] These teenager labourers were considered independent immigrants for the purposes of this study. Similarly, seventeen-year-old assistant-surveyor William Teasdale travelled independently with his own occupation, and as such occupies a first-generation position in this research. The situation is not as clear for the teenage sons and daughters of the passage-paying colonists.

Table 4.2: Adults and children of South Australia's first expedition after attrition.

	Labourers	Colonists	Crew	Total
Adults (1st Generation)	56	35	14	N = 105
Children (2nd Generation)	26	13	1	N = 40
Total	**N = 82**	**N = 48**	**N = 15**	**N = 145**

[81] 'Flour and Saw Mills', *South Australian*, Tuesday 25 August 1840, p. 3; 'Water Power to Let or Sell', *South Australian*, Friday 11 September 1840, p. 1; 'Early Water Mills', *Observer*, Saturday 28 April 1928, p. 50.
[82] 'Family Notices', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 29 January 1853, p. 3.
[83] 'Death from Falling Down a Lift Shaft', *The Argus*, Saturday 27 February 1892, p. 11; 'Death of Mr W. H. Neale', *Bendigo Advertiser*, Tuesday 11 May 1886, p. 3.
[84] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, p. 21.
[85] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 27.
[86] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 124: Mary Ann Powell & no. 300: Charles Thomas Chittenden.

While the passage-assisted labourers and crew included teenagers, they travelled independently and with identifiable occupations. In contrast, several colonists travelled as families with teenagers or young adult children as dependents. The Commissioners' regulations for the selection of emigrant labourers allowed the passage of colonists' children to be paid from the Emigration Fund, 'provided that such children or other dependents go out as *boná fide* labourers, to work for their parents or others'.[87]

An example is Harbour Master Thomas Lipson and his wife Elizabeth (née Fooks) who sailed with six children (four daughters aged between twenty-two and seven years, and two sons who were fifteen and twenty). The Lipson family provides an example of the breakdown of the binary division between 'superior class' and 'labourers'. The oldest daughter of Thomas & Elizabeth Lipson was twenty-three years old, but she travelled as a dependent of her parents and did not hold an independent occupation. The sons of Thomas and Elizabeth Lipson were included on the *Register of Emigrant Labourers* and their passage was paid by the emigration fund.[88] These sons were listed on the *Register* without ages or occupations, and in the case of fifteen-year-old Thomas Lipson, without his first name. Also taking advantage of this regulation was Dr Edward Wright. The *Register of Emigrant Labourers* included the four sons of Dr Edward Wright and his wife Emily. These sons were aged between ten and seventeen years, and were listed without occupations.[89] For the purposes of this study, the second generation includes individuals who travelled as dependents with their parent.

Movers, Stayers and Lost

When considering the 'stayers', 'movers' and the 'lost' of South Australia's first expedition, the group that remained in the colony to the greatest degree were the colonists (Table 4.3). The stayers in this generation were defined as those who settled in South Australia and were resident in the colony until their death. These people may have left the colony for some months or years, returning to the United Kingdom or sojourning to the Victorian goldfields, but their primary residence remained South Australia. Three-quarters of the colonists remained in South Australia (Table 4.3: Colonists). These were people who had personally invested in the colony's economic future or social success. Many were employed as managers, professionals or administrators in the colony, and were visible participants in colonial society.

[87] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, Appendix 4: General Information respecting the Colony; Disposal of Land; Regulations for the Selection of Emigrant Labourers; Principles of Colonization, Item 44, p. 27.
[88] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 177: Berry Lipson, no. 178: [Thomas] Lipson.
[89] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 179 to 182: Charles, Thomas, Robert & Septimus Wright.

Table 4.3: Geographic relocation of South Australia's first expedition.

First Expedition	'Stayers'		'Movers'		'Lost'		Total	
Colonists	36	**75 %**	12	25 %	0	-	48	100 %
Labourers	70	**64 %**	12	11 %	27	25 %	109	100 %
Crew	14	18 %	1	1 %	58	**80 %**	73	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 120	51 %	N = 25	17 %	N = 85	37 %	N = 230	100 %

As previously discussed, the colonists who moved were located in either Victoria or the United Kingdom. Eleven labourers were identified residing in Victoria and one had relocated to New Zealand; however, there were twenty-seven labourers who remained unaccounted for (Table 4.3: Labourers). These individuals were not found in South Australia and it is probable that they left the colony. When combined with the number of known 'movers', these people represented a thirty-six per cent loss of South Australia's passage-assisted labour force. This is an unsurprising number, given the financial difficulties experienced in the colony's first decade, followed by the lure of Californian and Victorian goldfields. Also unsurprising was the high loss of the first expedition's crew (Table 4.3: Crew). Despite rhetoric indicating that Company seamen and whalers would maintain a home-base in South Australia, this did not eventuate. The crew of the Commissioners' ship *Rapid* settled in South Australia to a higher degree, but their rate of loss was still consistent with seafaring careers.

The next chapter will explore the careers of those 105 adults who could be identified and traced after their arrival in South Australia in 1836. This involves one hundred and five adults who travelled with forty children. While this chapter defined these individuals as colonists, labourers or crew, the next chapter will explore their careers in terms of their occupational class. Through this occupation-based categorisation, the varied careers of these ambitious early-arriving settler-colonists are uncovered.

Chapter Five: Career Mobility of the First Expedition.

Despite the expectation that the six ships of South Australia's first expedition would be limited to surveyors and whalers, those on board represented a cross-section of British social structure, with passengers holding a wide range of occupations.[1] Reports written by the Company and Commissioners presented these passengers as being either 'superior class', 'of the labouring class' or crew. When examining these individuals by their occupational class over the course of their career, a more nuanced picture is presented. The participants in South Australia's first expedition were flexible and responsive to change. Following their careers and continuing migration uncovers the rate at which Wakefieldian promises of access to land, and for occupational and entrepreneurial opportunities, came to fruition for the participants in South Australia's first expedition.

The careers of the first generation of this study are explored in this chapter, from their early career to their death. This chapter identifies ambitious labourers who became small business owners and rural labourers who were able to establish themselves on land. Almost half of the labourers experienced occupational class mobility, leaving the remaining half as persistent labourers. Those who arrived in South Australia as administrators and professionals pursued upper-class careers after settling in the infant colony, and a third of the middle class achieved leadership roles. These upwardly mobile families persisted in the upper and middle class over three generations.

Wakefield had argued that the success of colonial South Australia hung on the careful selection of its first settler-colonists. Wakefield sought to attract ambitious young adventurers and to present them with 'new fields of opportunity'.[2] While the South Australian Act 1834 refers to assisting 'poor Emigrants', the labouring class of the first expedition had been selected for their usefulness to the colony, rather than as an act of charity.[3] The labourers of the *Rapid* were chosen by Colonel William Light to be under his employ after arrival, and the labourers of the South Australian Company ships were also said to have been carefully selected.[4] It was intended that early colonists should experience success, to alleviate the risk of unfavourable reports making their way back to Great Britain.[5] Instead, successful labourers were to send letters which boasted of their bettered conditions, to attract further emigrants.[6] From the perspective of the settler-colonists, the

[1] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 140.
[2] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 79.
[3] Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834 (UK).* London.
[4] South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors*, 1836, pp. 16, 27; South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, Appendix No. 8: Report on the Departure of the *Rapid*, p. 32
[5] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 138.
[6] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 117.

opportunities on offer were a high priority, as most migrated to 'better themselves economically'.[7]

As uncovered in chapter three of this thesis, the six ships of the first expedition carried 230 individuals. After attrition of a majority of the crew and a quarter of the labourers, the first expedition who were located after disembarkation in South Australia comprised 105 adults and 40 children. These 105 adults constitute the first generation of this study. The majority of these were individuals were in their early adulthood, with an average age of twenty-six years.[8] This placed them early in their career (Table 5.1: Early Career). These were young adults who, like the majority of participants in the Age of Mass Migration, were literate, ambitious, young and adventurous; excited to be 'leaving home to gain accelerated independence'.[9] There were nineteen teenagers in the first generation, such as assistant surveyor William Teasdale, Company clerk Daniel Henry Schreyvogel, or young bride Caroline Paris. Eleven individuals were over the age of thirty-five years on arrival in South Australia in 1836, and therefore in their mid-career (Table 5.1: Mid-Career). These tended to be the administrators or professionals of the colony, such as surveyor general Colonel William Light, harbour master Thomas Lipson, physician Dr Edward Wright and company superintendent Thomas Hudson Beare.

Table 5.1: Early, mid, and late-career observations for the first generation.

First Generation Observations			
	Early-Career	**Mid-Career**	**Late-Career**
Age Range	15 to 35 years	35 to 55 years	55 to 75 years
Mean Age	μ **26 years** (σ 5)	μ **42 years** (σ 5)	μ **62 years** (σ 7)
Mean Year	μ **1836** (σ 9)	μ **1851** (σ 9)	μ **1871** (σ 11)

As well as being young adults with an average age of twenty-six, the majority of the first expedition, eighty per cent, were male. This contradicted the requirement of the South Australian Act 'that among the emigrants the two sexes should be as nearly as possible equally numerous'.[10] While the Commissioners acknowledged the male to female balance of emigrants as 'a most important principle of colonization', they argued that the labour needs of the new colony and the 'unavoidable difficulties' to be faced by early emigrants led to the first expedition consisting of more men than women.[11] The twenty-one women of the first expedition were almost all wives of male emigrants, with the exception of

[7] Davison, 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia', 1979, p. 9.
[8] The mean age of the first generation in 1836 was 25.2 years with a standard deviation of 5 years.
[9] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 2018, 'The Migration Mystery', p. 30.
[10] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 10; Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834 (UK).* London, section VI.
[11] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 10.

Charlotte Hudson Beare, sister of Company Superintendent Thomas Hudson Beare, and Maria Gandy, companion of Colonel William Light.

For the purposes of analysis, the adult participants of South Australia's first expedition were categorised into five occupational classes: upper class, middle class, skilled workers, farming and fishing, and labouring class (See Appendix 4 for lists of occupations). The foundation for these five categories was the HISCO and HISCLASS occupational coding and classification systems.[12] The twelve categories of conventional HISCLASS were compressed into these five categories.[13] When the colonists, labourers and crew were delineated into HISCLASS according to their early career occupations, the largest proportion of the first generation of this research were labourers (Table 5.2: Labouring Class). The labouring class was predominantly those who carried the occupational title 'labourer', but also included gardeners, sawyers, brickmakers and servants.

Table 5.2: Early career occupational class distribution for the first generation.

First Generation Early Career (μ 26 years, μ 1836)		
Occupational Class	**#**	**%**
Upper Class	12	11 %
Middle Class	27	26 %
Skilled Workers	20	19 %
Farming & Fishing	0	-
Labouring Class	46	44 %
Total	**N = 105**	**100 %**

At arrival in South Australia in 1836, the skilled workers represented almost a fifth of the first expedition (Table 5.2: Skilled Workers). These were individuals with skilled trades, the most common being carpenters, cabinet makers, bricklayers, and masons, providing the colony with its builders. Just over a quarter of the first expedition held middle-class occupations (Table 5.2: Middle Class). These included the first and second officers of each ship, the stock overseers, land agents, clerks and storekeepers. Surveyors were also categorised in the middle class, as medium-skilled professionals. Those in the upper class were colonial managers and professionals (Table 5.2: Upper Class). While none of the first expedition were categorised as farmers and fishers on arrival in the colony in 1836 (Table 5.2: Farmers & Fishers), ten individuals had moved into this occupational class by their mid-career, as will be examined in this chapter.

[12] Van Leeuwen, Maas and Miles, *HISCO,* 2002; Van Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS,* 2011.
[13] Upper Class (HISCLASS 1 & 2), Middle Class (HISCLASS 3, 4, & 5), Skilled Workers (HISCLASS 6 & 7), Farmers and Fishers (HISCLASS 8), Labouring Class (9, 10, 11, & 12).

Careers in Context

The careers of the first generation of this research span the years from 1836 to the 1870s (Table 5.1), the first four decades of South Australia's history as a settler-colony. Those who remained in South Australia during its initial five years saw wild speculation in 'town acres'.[14] The underlying reason for concentrated settlement was to support profit through land speculation.[15] As historian Peter Howell pointed out, 'The feature of the proposed colony which had been advertised most widely and consistently was that it would be a paradise for land-jobbing.'[16] Speculation and inflated prices quickly increased the value of land in Adelaide.[17] Those who had purchased land orders in England at 12/- per acre were able to select their Adelaide allotments on 23 March 1837, with remaining allotments sold by public auction four days later.[18] Robert Gouger recorded that the auctioned acres in Adelaide sold for an average of £7 per acre in March, but by November 1837 acres in highly sought-after locations were selling for £80 per acre and offers of £160 per acre had been received and refused.[19]

For the first five years of colonisation, the population of South Australia was 'bottled up in the city', with three-quarters of the population living within ten miles of Adelaide.[20] A combination of land speculation, an urban-based society without funded infrastructure, an influx of labourers requiring employment and a delay in establishing primary industry, all factored into Governor Gawler's dishonoured government drafts and the South Australian financial crisis of 1841.[21] Immigration to the colony halted, newly installed Governor Grey was instructed to send unemployed labourers to Sydney, and colonists were leaving South

---

[14] Cashen, John. 'Social Foundations of South Australia: Owners of Labour', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 106-107; Gouger, *South Australia in 1837,* 1962, pp. 21, 75-76; Pascoe, J. J. *History of Adelaide and Vicinity: With a General Sketch of the Province of South Australia and Biographies of Representative Men.* Adelaide: Hussey & Gillingham, 1901, p. 65.

[15] Williams, Michael. 'The making of Adelaide', in McCarty, J. W., and C. B. Schedvin. *Australian Capital Cities: Historical Essays.* Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978, pp. 114-115; Morphett, John Sir. *Reasons for the Purchase of Land in South Australia, by Persons Resident in Britain*, Adelaide, S. Aust: Flinders University Library, Special Collections., 1835, p. 1-2.

[16] Howell, Peter. 'South Australian Act' in Jaensch, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History*, 1986, p. 46.

[17] Nance, Christopher, 'From Labourer to Capitalist', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 2, August 1979, p. 40, Bennett, J. F. *Historical and Descriptive Account of South Australia: Founded on the Experience of a Three Years' Residence in That Colony*. London: Smith Elder, 1843, p 17.

[18] South Australian Colonization Commission. *Second Annual Report,* 1838, p. 4.

[19] Gouger, Robert. *South Australia in 1837,* 1962, p 21.

[20] Richards, Eric. 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876'. *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1975, p. 113; Pike. *Paradise of Dissent*, 1957, p. 169.

[21] Cashen, John. 'Social Foundations of South Australia: Owners of Labour', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 106-107; Finniss, Boyle Travers, *The Constitutional History of South Australia, 1886*, pp. 23-31; Bull, John Wrathall. *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an Extended Colonial History*. Adelaide: E.S. Wigg & Son, 1844, pp. 206-207, 212-219; Pike. *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, pp. 230-242.

Australia for New Zealand and other Australian colonies.[22] Recovery from South Australia's 1841 financial crisis was achieved through Belich's 'export rescue', by means of copper and wheat.[23]

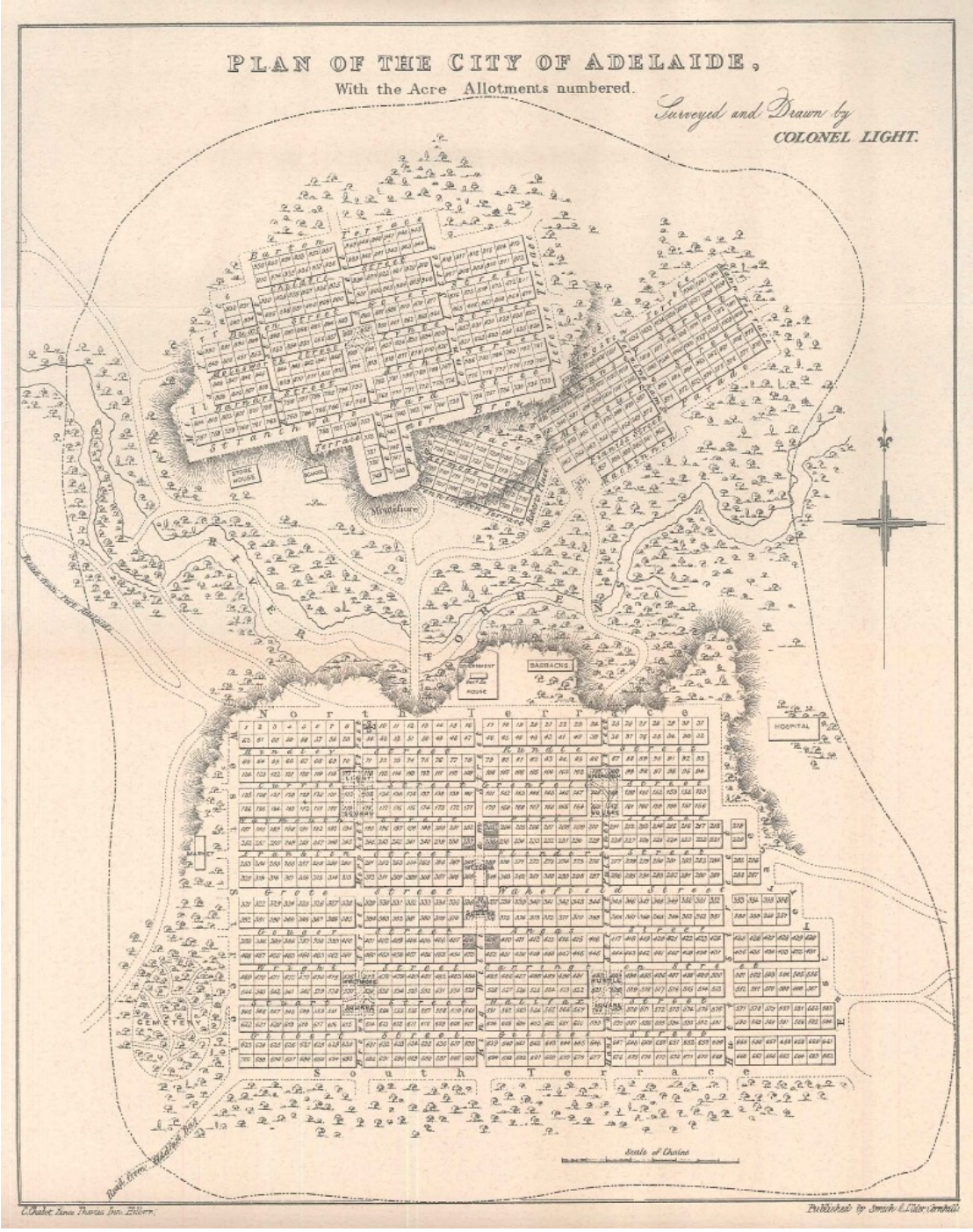


Figure 5.1: Plan of the city of Adelaide by Colonel William Light.[24]

[22] Coghlan, T. A. *Labour and Industry in Australia: From the First Settlement in 1788 to the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901*. Vol. 1, Melbourne: Macmillan, 1969, p. 309.
[23] Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 2009, pp. 85-87; McLean, Ian W. Why *Australia Prospered: The Shifting Sources of Economic Growth*. The Princeton Economic History of the Western World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013, p. 75.
[24] Stephens, John. *The Land of Promise: being an authentic and impartial history of the rise and progress of the new British Province of South Australia*, London: Smith & Elder, 1839, foldout facing p. 101.

By April 1841, Glen Osmond, in the foothills of Adelaide's South Mount Lofty Ranges, was producing silver-lead ore from Australia's first metalliferous mine.[25] But it was the discovery of copper at Kapunda and Burra, in 1843 and 1845 respectively, that brought economic recovery and established South Australia's reputation internationally as the 'copper kingdom'.[26] Another economic boost came in 1843 with the invention by South Australian John Ridley, of a mechanical wheat reaper called 'The Stripper'.[27] This local invention set the colony on a path to become the 'granary of Australia'.[28] Historian Eric Richards referred to South Australia's first ten years as a phase of 'feasibility colonizing', as producers experimented with potential primary industries.[29] By the end of the 1840s wheat and copper had been firmly established in the prominent position as the colony's leading exports.

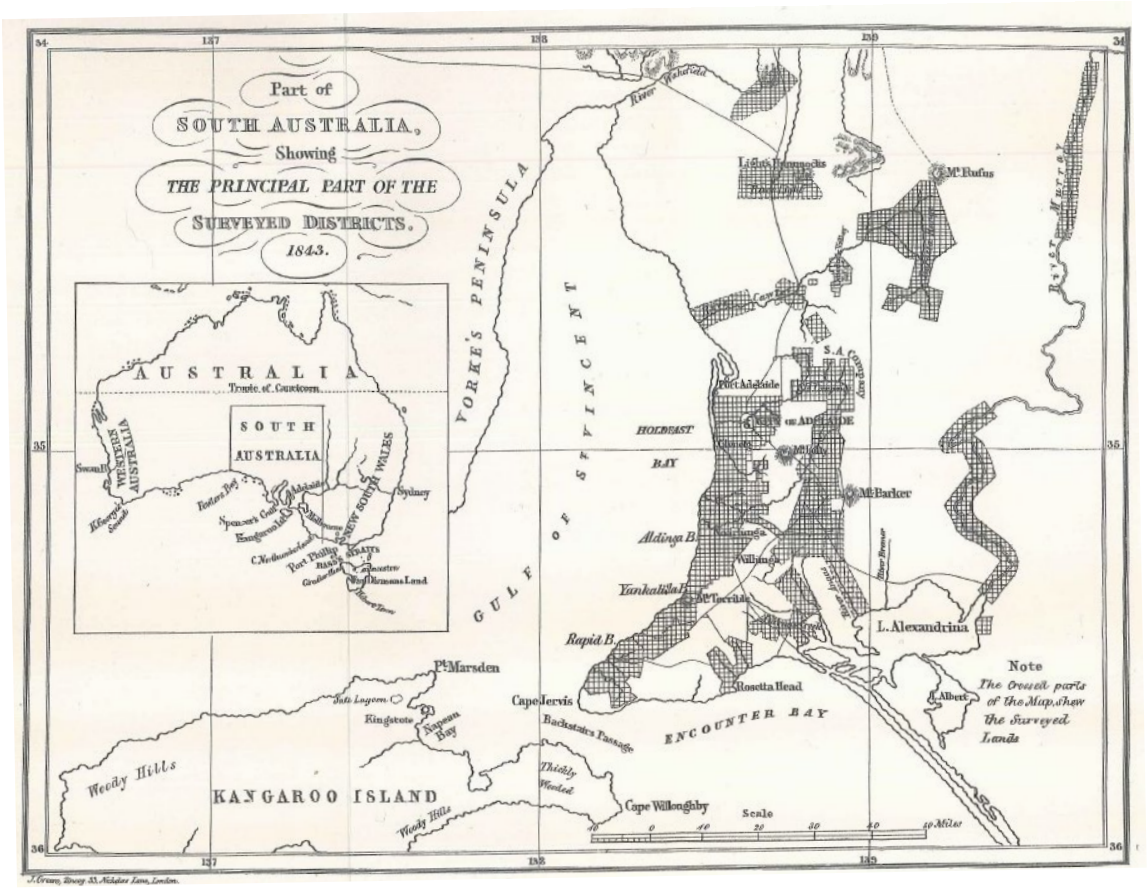


Figure 5.2: South Australia's surveyed districts in 1843.[30]

[25] Payton, Philip. *Making Moonta: the invention of Australia's little Cornwall*, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2007, p. 42.
[26] Payton, *Making Moonta*, 2007, pp. 42-43; Coghlan, *Labour and Industry,* Vol 1, 1969, pp. 309, 419 & 454.
[27] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, pp. 20-21; Williams, Eleanore and Michael Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 533.
[28] Donovan, Peter. *An Industrial History of South Australia*. Adelaide: University of Adelaide, Faculty of Architecture & Town Planning, 1979, p. iv; Coghlan, *Labour and Industry,* Vol 1, 1969, pp. 454-455; Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 533.
[29] Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry', 1975, p. 110.
[30] *South Australia in 1842*. London: Hailes, 1843, foldout facing title page.

From end of the financial crises in 1844 to the Victorian gold rush in 1851, South Australia attracted settlers from other colonies on top of renewed immigration from Europe.[31] As the country regions of the colony were surveyed and made available for purchase and investment, those settled in Adelaide began to disperse.[32] By 1851 almost half of South Australia's population were living in the newly established rural districts.[33] Those who had participated South Australia's first expedition were in their mid-career by 1851 and it was predominately farmers and labourers who took to the country areas (Table 5.3). In the initial decades of South Australia as a settler-colony, most rural settlement was confined to Kaurna, Ngarrindjeri, Peramangk, Ngadjuri, Narungga and Nukunu land, along the Fleurieu Peninsula to the south of Adelaide, the Mount Lofty Ranges running along the east, and from the Barossa Valley to the Clare Valley to the north.[34] This expansion out into rural areas continued, and by the time the first-generation population were in their late career in the 1870s, two thirds of the colony's population lived in country districts.[35]

Those South Australian settler-colonists who arrived as immigrants of the first expedition remained predominantly urban. Those in upper-class occupations all remained in urban centres, as did the majority of the skilled workers (Table 5.3: Urban). This tendency may have eventuated as many of this initial group were selected as artisans, administrators, professionals and managers, predominantly urban occupations supporting the initial colonial endeavour. South Australia developed an early service-based economy with financial and administrative institutions established in its initial decades.[36]

Table 5.3: Urban/rural geographic movement of the first generation.

Urban / Rural Geographic Movement of the First Generation.						
Occupational Class at Mid-Career (μ 1851)	**Rural**		**Urban**		**Total**	
Upper Class	0	-	21	**100 %**	21	100%
Middle Class	6	21 %	22	**79 %**	28	100%
Skilled Workers	2	12 %	14	**88 %**	16	100%
Farmers & Fishers	8	**80 %**	2	20 %	10	100%
Labouring Class	12	48 %	13	52 %	25	100%
Percent of Total	N = 28	28 %	N = 72	**72 %**	100	100%

[31] Coghlan, *Labour and Industry,* Vol 1, 1969, p. 375.
[32] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, p. 11.
[33] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 227.
[34] Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 515.
[35] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. 227-228.
[36] Wanner, Richard and Bernadette Hayes. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility Among Men in Canada and Australia', *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1996, p. 50.

The majority of the immigrants of the first expedition were in their early thirties when South Australia experienced its financial crisis and recession of the early 1840s. Labourers who arrived in South Australia in 1836 were not obliged to remain in South Australia after their passage had been paid, were motivated by their own agendas and moved to meet their needs. The economic component of internal migration has been acknowledged and it is understood that the willingness of people to move within Australia were 'mainly defined by the prospect of making money'.[37] These individuals were aged in their late thirties or early forties with the advent of gold-fever on the discovery of gold in California and then Victoria. As examined in the previous chapter, twenty-five members of the first expedition were known to have relocated out of South Australia, with nineteen of those found in Victoria. The passage-assisted labourers who were lost to this study were also potentially lost to the Victorian goldfields. These immigrants may have been tempted either by gold, land and employment opportunities available in other colonies of Australia, New Zealand or further afield.

For the majority of the first generation of this study, sojourns to the gold fields were brief. They returned to South Australia and settled to enjoy the long boom years of the 1860s and 1870s.[38] The participants in South Australia's first expedition were retired or elderly by the droughts of the 1880s. In 1886 settler-colonial South Australia celebrated its jubilee year and by this time any participants in the first expedition who remained alive were elderly, long past their retirement years. When an 'Old Colonists Association' was proposed in 1882, it was said that 'a large proportion, if not the large majority' of South Australia's early settler-colonists had been unsuccessful and were 'broken down' in their old age.[39]

Those who had participated in South Australia's first expedition lived, on average, to 1873, with an average age of sixty-four years. By 1882 there were forty-three participants who remained alive. One of these who was Joseph Finch, who was destitute in his old age and particularly visible to the Old Colonists Association. Finch was based in South Australia after the death of his wife Fanny in Castlemaine, Victoria in 1863. From 1881 until his death in 1895 at the age of eighty-one years, he received assistance from the Destitute Asylum.[40] Finch was in court in 1883, hoping to reclaim a portion of town acre 608 in Gilbert Street,

[37] Blainey, Geoffrey. 'Essay on Distance, *Historical Studies,* vol. 16, no. 65, 1975, p. 602.
[38] Richards, 'Migrants in the Mature Colony', 2017, pp. 8-11; Davison, 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia', 1979, p. 7.
[39] 'A Proposed Old Colonists Association', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, Saturday 1 April 1882, p. 6; for more on old age in colonial South Australia see Jones, Jennifer Anne. *Old Age in a Young Colony: Image and Experience in South Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, PhD thesis, University of Adelaide, 2010.
[40] *Register of admission – Destitute Asylum, 1870-1924*, State Records, Government of South Australia, GRG 28/5.

Adelaide, which he had initially purchased by auction in 1837.[41] The court did not find in his favour, as the land had been subdivided and sold, and they did not find evidence that Finch had retained any portion.[42] His case was often brought to the attention of the Old Colonists Association, particularly after Joseph Finch attended a Commemoration Day celebration in Glenelg in 1886, holding a sign which stated that he, 'took part in the original survey under Colonel Light' and was now in need of assistance.[43]

Those who emigrated in the earliest days of colonisation were well positioned to take advantage of the unique opportunities available in an experimental, nascent society established on newly appropriated land. Those who arrived in 1836 with capital, or were able to quickly accumulate it, were able to buy land in Adelaide before it rapidly rose in value. Seventeen of the first expedition passage-assisted labourers or crew bought land through the preliminary auction held on 27 March 1837.[44] Four crew members of the *Rapid* bought one acre each at an average price of £8 per acre, and the *Rapid*'s first mate William George Field purchased six acres for approximately £6 per acre. From the *Cygnet*, thirteen assisted labourers purchased town acres at the auction. These acres purchased by manual labourers tended to be cheaper than the average, Joseph Finch had purchased his Gilbert Street acre for £5/5s, and several labourers combined funds to buy acres in common.[45]

Inflated land prices in and around Adelaide caused land to be rapidly subdivided and sold in smaller sections.[46] Historian Christopher Nance examined patterns of land ownership in South Australia and found that original purchasers of sections in both Adelaide and rural areas had prioritised subdivision and resale.[47] Nance found that early land purchasers in both rural and urban areas were almost all wealthy, with names 'synonymous with early South Australian history' and they 'promptly subdivided the land and sold it at greatly inflated prices'.[48] By 1840 the population of the colony was 14,610 and three-quarters of that population lived within ten miles (sixteen kilometres) of Adelaide.[49] This level of concentrated settlement in and around the Adelaide township made subdivisions profitable

[41] 'Sale of Lands', *South Australian Record,* Monday 27 November 1837, p. 2.
[42] 'Supreme Court-Civil Sittings', *South Australian Advertiser,* Saturday 10 March 1883, p. 6; 'Law Courts: Magarey V. Finch', *South Australian Advertiser,* Wednesday 18 August 1886, p. 7.
[43] 'Old Colonists Association', *Adelaide Observer,* Saturday 27 January 1883, p. 13; 'Commemoration Day: Old Colonist', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle,* Saturday 1 January 1887, p. 19; 'To Correspondents', *The Express and Telegraph,* Saturday 25 June 1887, p. 2.
[44] 'Account of the Sale of Public Lands', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 2.
[45] 'Account of the Sale of Public Lands', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 2; 'Sale of Lands', South Australian Record, Monday 27 November 1837, p. 2; 'Sale of Town Lands', *South Australian Record,* Saturday 13 January 1838, p. 2.
[46] Pike, 'Introduction to the Real Property Act in South Australia', 1961, p. 171.
[47] Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist', 1979, p. 36.
[48] Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist', 1979, p. 36.
[49] Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, pp. 112-113.

and sought-after. Labourers were able to buy small pieces of subdivided land in the villages which grew up around the outskirts of the parklands and Adelaide Plains, interspersed by the vast estates of wealthy land owners.[50] These plots could be used for entrepreneurial purposes or domestic agriculture to subsidise household income and production.[51] With their early arrival and access to small parcels of land, the first generation population of this study were well positioned to serve the hospitality needs of the almost fifteen thousand immigrants who had arrived in South Australia between 1836 and 1841.[52]

Publicans and Shopkeepers

A greater number of the occupationally mobile labourers and artisans became the proprietors of small businesses than persistent farmers. These labouring families who became publicans and storekeepers were examples of the entrepreneurial activities of those upwardly striving into the 'middling orders'.[53] The population of South Australia rapidly expanded between 1836 and the financial crisis in 1841, with 11,019 assisted immigrants arriving from Great Britain alone.[54] With additional immigrants arriving from other colonies by sea and overland, the new colony was inundated with arrivals in its infancy. At the time of the first census of South Australia in 1841 the non-Aboriginal population of South Australia was 14,902.[55] New arrivals required accommodation, nourishment and supplies and the initial immigrants of the first expedition were able to fill these needs. Those who had arrived early were there to provide accommodation and serve the needs of these new immigrants.

Those premises which provided food, drink and/or shelter in early colonial South Australia were called by a variety of names: inn, tavern, hotel, public house, licenced dealer.[56] Licenses to operate a public house 'of good order' were granted from the first year of colonisation.[57] There were thirty-eight new licenses granted in the city of Adelaide in 1839 and seventy-five hotels licensed before 1842.[58] A visitor to the colony in 1838 noted the

---

[50] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country,* 1973, pp. 38-41.
[51] Pike, 'Introduction to the Real Property Act in South Australia', 1961, p. 171.
[52] Jaunay, Graham. *1841 South Australian census: what you will and won't find*, 2004. <http://www.jaunay.com/1841census.pdf>.
[53] Hart, 'The Middling Order Are Odious Characters', 2007, p. 211.
[54] Coghlan, *Labour and Industry*, Vol 1, 1969, p. 374.
[55] Jaunay, Graham. *1841 South Australian census: what you will and won't find*, 2004. <http://www.jaunay.com/1841census.pdf>. A minor attempt was made to include Aboriginal people, with 526 Aboriginal people counted at Port Lincoln on pages 263-264 and eight included on page 272.
[56] Adair, Daryl, '"Respectable, Sober and Industrious": A Social History of Public Houses and Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide, 1836 – c1870', Honours Thesis, History Department, Flinders University, 1989, p. 4.
[57] Sumerling, *Patricia. Down at the Local: A History of the Hotels of Kensington, Norwood and Kent Town.* Kent Town, S. Aust.: City of Norwood, Payneham & St. Peters; Wakefield Press, 1998, p. 24.
[58] McDougall and Vines, *The City of Adelaide: A Thematic History*, Conservation and Heritage Consultants, Norwood, August 2006, pp. 31-32.

pervasiveness of licensed premises, as when walking around Adelaide there seemed 'to be nothing but grog shops in every direction'.[59] South Australia could more accurately have been designated 'the city of pubs' rather than 'the city of churches', as at the turn of the century colonial South Australia had 'almost four times the number of pubs and more than twice the number of wine saloons as churches'.[60] It was calculated that in 1840 there were sixty-three public houses within the Adelaide city area, which at that time held a population of 6,657, providing 'one public house to about every 105 residents'.[61] Despite, or perhaps because of, the 'exorbitant cost of paying out for the licence' the early hotel buildings were 'crude affairs'; some were 'simply private dwellings with one room set aside as a public bar'.[62]

Of the first generation's assisted labourers, seventeen were visible as publicans or storekeepers. Some of these entrepreneurial labourers were in business for just a few years during the initial years of colonisation, while others founded families who were proprietors for generations. These labourers became working-class entrepreneurs, or 'penny capitalists', taking advantage of their unique position in a newly formed colony.[63] These occupationally mobile passage-assisted labourers met Wakefield's expectation that the transition from labourer to 'capitalist and an employer of labour' would take just 'a few years'.[64] The number of public houses and inns in Adelaide was negatively impacted by both the financial crises of the early 1840s and the departure for the Victorian goldfields in the early 1850s.[65] Many of these early entrepreneurs turned their hands to other endeavours under these changing circumstances.

For shepherd Stephen Paris, the role of publican was a brief, transitory occupation in the course of his career, as he took advantage of early opportunities. Stephen Paris had been entered on the *Register* as a twenty-nine-year-old single shepherd from Fareham in Hampshire.[66] By the time of his passage on the *Cygnet,* he travelled with a young 'Mrs

---

[59] James, T. Horton. *Six Months in South Australia; with Some Account of Port Philip and Portland Bay, in Australia Felix: With Advice to Emigrants*, London: J. Cross, 1838, p. 90.
[60] Howell, *South Australia and Federation*, p. 61; Adair, Daryl, '"Respectable, Sober and Industrious": A Social History of Public Houses and Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide', 1836 – c1870, Honours Thesis, History, Flinders University, 1989, p. i.
[61] McLellan, John. *Adelaide's Early Inns and Taverns: Incidents in the Early Settlement of a Country Worth Fighting For.* Adelaide, S Aust.: Pioneers' Association of South Australia, no. 13, 1941, p. 1.
[62] McDougall and Vines, *The City of Adelaide,* 2006, p. 31; Sumerling, *Down at the Local,* 1998, pp. 18-19; James, *Six Months in South Australia,* 1838, p. 89.
[63] Benson, John. *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs,* New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1983, p. 6.
[64] South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony,* 1834, p. 15.
[65] McLellan, *Adelaide's Early Inns and Taverns,* 1941, p. 1.
[66] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 26: Stephen Paris.

Paris', as noted by the on-board journal of Boyle Travers Finniss.[67] Single men applying for free passage were told their chances of selection would be greater if they returned with 'a young wife'.[68] Mrs Paris was born Caroline Hardham and may have been as young as fifteen years at the time of immigration.[69] The couples' first child, who they named Fanny Adelaide, died as an infant in December 1837.

Stephen Paris may have arrived in the colony with saved funds or have quickly accumulated capital after arrival, as when Adelaide town acres were made available for auction in March 1837, Stephen Paris was in a position to purchase two acres in North Adelaide.[70] In December 1837, he was granted a licence to sell wine, beer and other malt liquors on Section 968 in North Adelaide.[71] His licence was granted in partnership with eighteen-year-old William Teasdale, who had also immigrated on the *Cygnet* as an assistant surveyor. The partnership did not persist past the earliest years of the colony. William Teasdale became publican in Truro, and a storekeeper and agent in Blanchetown, while Stephen Paris returned to his work as a shepherd.[72] Stephen and Caroline Paris had five daughters between 1839 and 1848, and on each of the birth records, Stephen Paris was listed with the occupation of shepherd and Caroline signed the birth records with her mark. When Caroline Paris died in 1848, these five daughters were aged between newborn and nine years. Stephen Paris died eleven years later, and was described as an 'old shepherd… a steady man' who had 'left a large family of motherless children'.[73] His five orphaned daughters at this time were aged between eleven and twenty years, and their outcomes will be included in the next chapter.

Other working-class labourers changed professions and were publicans of substantial establishments. Mary Wilkins, later Mary Dumbleton, immigrated to South Australia on the Company ship *Emma*, as the wife of gardener William Wilkins along with their two young sons. The family had been requested as employees of land purchaser Henry Douglas.[74] At the auction of town acres held in March 1837, William Wilkins purchased Section 396 on Gouger Street for £9.[75] By 1842 William Wilkins held a publicans' licence for a hotel called

[67] Finniss, Boyle Travers. *Notebook containing manuscript journal of B. T. Finniss*, Special Collections, Flinders University Library, Friday 12 August 1836.
[68] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 117.
[69] Age from burial record, Register of Baptisms, Marriages and Burials, St George's Church, Gawler.
[70] Lot 968 for £4/4 and Lot 983 for £5/-; 'Sale of Town Lands', *South Australian Record*, Saturday 13 January 1838, p. 2; 'Original Purchasers of Town Acres', *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, Saturday 29 July 1871, p. 4.
[71] Hoad, J. L. *South Australian Hotel Records Prior to 21 February 1839*, Gumeracha, South Aust.: Gould Books, 1988, p. 19.
[72] 'Death of a Pioneer', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 15 April 1899, p. 28;
[73] 'Kapunda', *South Australian Register*, Tuesday 6 September 1859, p. 3.
[74] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 76. William Wilkins; 'Reminiscences of the Late Mr. Douglas', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 11 July 1903, pp. 23-24
[75] Opie, *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*, 1917, p. 33.

Market House, which was positioned opposite the cattle market in Thebarton.[76] When William Wilkins died in early 1845, he was a locally respected business man, despite recent reporting that he had suffered from a 'loss of reason'.[77]

The situation surrounding his death initiated a trial and local scandal.[78] Newspapers reported that his wife Mary Wilkins had arranged for her husband to be housed under supervision in the village of Thebarton, and placed under the medical care of Dr Edward Wright, who had immigrated as ship's surgeon on the *Cygnet.*[79] Dr Wright was tried for manslaughter but later acquitted, after it was found William Wilkins had been administered a lethal dose of morphine while under his care.[80] At the death of her husband, Mary Wilkins was left with six young sons aged between infancy and twelve years old.

In 1845, Mary Wilkins married another Adelaide publican, William Henry Dumbleton and they became landlords of the Adelaide Hotel in Hindley Street.[81] One of the duties of publicans at this time was to provide lighting for Adelaide streets, by providing 'a light over the front door of their hotel from dusk until dawn'.[82] Only three weeks after the death of his Mary in 1865, sixty-two year old William Dumbleton died after a fall from a ladder, while attempting to light the lamp at the front the Adelaide Hotel.[83] By this time the five living sons from Mary's first marriage were adults, aged between twenty-one and thirty-four years, but Mary and William Dumbleton also had a daughter, who was then aged eighteen years.

As with the labouring class immigrants, several of the artisans downed tools and served as publicans to the infant colony. While eleven of the twenty skilled workers of the first expedition were persistent with their trade, six could be seen operating a public house at some point in their career. This move to an entrepreneurial role may not necessarily represent 'upward' movement in social standing or increased economic security, but it demonstrates the presence of opportunity and ambition.[84] Historian Michael Katz came to the conclusion that moves between lower white-collar and skilled manual occupations

---

[76] 'Publicans' Licences', *South Australian Gazette*, Saturday 9 April 1842, p. 1; 'St Patrick', *Southern Australian*, Friday 10 March 1843, p. 3.
[77] 'Wilkins Bridge', *South Australian*, Tuesday 17 December 1844, p. 2.
[78] 'Dr Wright's Case', *South Australian Register*, Wednesday 19 March 1845, p. 2.
[79] 'Local News: The Late Mr Wilkins', *South Australian*, Friday 31 January 1845, p. 3.
[80] 'Trial of Dr. Wright, for Manslaughter', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 15 March 1845, p. 3 Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown*, Wednesday 23 March 1836, p. 115; 'Dr Wright's Case', *South Australian Register*, Wednesday 19 March 1845, p. 2.
[81] 'Family Notices: Married', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 4 October 1845, p. 4.
[82] McDougall and Vines, *The City of Adelaide,* 2006, p. 57.
[83] 'Coroner's Inquest', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, Saturday 10 June 1865, p. 6.
[84] Katz, 'Occupational Classification in History', 1972, p. 68.

could not be considered in terms of 'upward' or 'downward' mobility, as they fall into similar levels when categorised by wealth or by status.[85]

An example of a skilled artisan taking advantage of an opportunity in hospitality was cabinet maker Samuel Chapman, who held a liquor licence from 1837 to 1839. Other than this brief stint as a publican, Chapman was listed as cabinet maker for the rest of his long life.[86] For others, the vocation of publican was something they worked towards and the occupation became a family legacy, as it did for wheelwright Edwin Henry Bayfield. Bayfield worked as a carrier throughout the 1840s before taking up the licence of the O.G. Hotel on Gilles Plains in 1850.[87] Bayfield held the licence for the O.G. Hotel until his retirement in 1880 and he was living at his son's hotel, the Commercial Hotel in Two Wells, when he died in 1884.[88]

These passage-assisted labourers could be observed moving between their trade, hospitality and farming over the course of their career. Bricklayer Robert Bristow had immigrated on the Commissioner ship *Cygnet* with his wife Janet (née Marshall) and their two children Eliza and George.[89] In June 1837, Janet Bristow wrote a letter to her sister 'Mrs Moore' of Dean Street, Holborn in London, detailing how the young family had progressed in the new colony.[90] Janet explained that she and Robert had taken advantage of opportunities on board the *Cygnet*. Robert Bristow had worked as the cook's assistant until the ship had reached Rio de Janeiro, and from there taking the cook's position. Janet had earnt £12 by washing for those on board during the voyage. After landing at Kangaroo Island Janet & Robert had bought 'a pig and some fowls' from local Islander Henry Wallen, an early settler who had a well-established farm at Three Well (Cygnet River). Their two children, twelve-year-old Eliza and ten-year-old George, were put to service 'at £5 a year and their education'.[91]

Janet Bristow recorded that she and her husband Robert purchased four town acres with 'ready money' at the auction in March 1837.[92] The couple became well known publicans in Adelaide, initiating the Marino Hotel (now Kingston House) and the Great Tom of Lincoln

[85] Katz, 'Occupational Classification in History', 1972, p. 86.
[86] Hoad, *South Australian Hotel Records,* 1988, p. 19.
[87] 'Renewals of Publicans' General Licences', *South Australian Register*, Wednesday 12 March 1851, p. 3.
[88] 'Funeral Notices', *South Australian Register*, Friday 12 September 1884, p. 2.
[89] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 95: Robert Bristow
[90] 'Jane and Robert Bristow to Mrs Moore, Dean Street, Holborn', *South Australian Record*, 27 November 1837, p. 5.
[91] 'Jane and Robert Bristow to Mrs Moore, Dean Street, Holborn', *South Australian Record*, 27 November 1837, p. 5.
[92] 'Sale of Lands', *The South Australian Record*, Saturday 11 November 1837, pp. 10-11; 'Sale of Lands', *The South Australian Record*, Monday 27 November 1837, pp. 18-19.

Hotel at Thebarton.[93] The name of their Thebarton hotel reflected Robert's origins from the city of Lincoln in England.[94] After a career as publicans, the couple retired to Kangaroo Island in 1856 and farmed 230 acres at Hog Bay (Penneshaw).[95] When Robert Bristow passed away of tuberculosis at the age of fifty-seven, he was listed on his death certificate as a builder, reflecting his trade origin.

The first generation of this study provides only one case of a wife holding the primary occupation for her family. Joseph Finch had been an eighteen-year-old labourer from Twyford, Hampshire when he immigrated on the Cygnet. In 1839 he married an ambitious young woman named Frances Coombe in 1839.[96] Joseph worked as a carrier, shepherd and sailor while he and Frances had five children in Adelaide, with one dying as an infant in 1848. Fanny and Joseph travelled with their four children to the gold fields of Victoria sometime in the early 1850s, first to the Forest Creek diggings and then into the township of Castlemaine.[97] It was reported that in Forest Creek in 1852, 'Mrs Finch's Board and Lodging House' was 'the only one in which any person could get respectable accommodation'.[98] An 1853 newspaper article reported that constables had 'entered the domicile of Mrs Fanny Finch, from Adelaide' and removed two carts of alcoholic drink.[99] In 1855 'the notorious Mrs Fanny Finch' appeared in court described as a popular refreshment tent provider who was fined £50 for 'selling spirits without a licence'.[100] As a working-class entrepreneur, Fanny Finch pushed the boundaries of respectability for the sake of profit.[101]

When Joseph and Fanny Finch registered the birth of subsequent children in Muckleford, near Castlemaine in 1855 and 1858, Joseph was listed as a carrier with no occupation recorded for the mother. As a restaurant and boarding-house keeper, Fanny Finch held the category of proprietor, and this was the occupation Fanny Finch conferred to her family. As a bootlegger who was infamous through frequent interactions with the law, Fanny Finch was an entrepreneurial working-class woman on the margins. She was a 'penny capitalist'

---

[93] 'Sea Bathing- Marino', *Adelaide Chronicle and South Australian Literary Record*, Wednesday 24 November 1841, p. 1; 'Transfer of Licences', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 19 December 1846, p. 2; 'Publicans' Licences', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 10 October 1846, p. 6.
[94] 'Death of an old colonist', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 6 June 1863, p. 8.
[95] 'Death of an old colonist', *South Australian Register*, Wednesday 13 May 1863, p. 2.
[96] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 168: Joseph Finch.
[97] 'Confessions of Another Gold-Seeker', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 21 February 1852, p. 5.
[98] Sinclair, Kacey. 'How the "famous Fanny Finch' became Australia's first known female voter – 50 years before it was legal', *The Conversation*, Saturday 16 March 2019.
[99] 'News from the Diggings', *The Cornwall Chronicle*, Wednesday 25 May 1853, p. 2; Victoria, *Examiner*, Saturday 4 June 1853, p. 9.
[100] 'Castlemaine Police Court, Sly Grog Selling', *Mount Alexander Mail*, Friday 2 November 1855, p. 3; 'Castlemaine', *The Argus*, Tuesday 30 October 1855, p. 5.
[101] Benson, *The Penny Capitalists,* 1883, p. 133.

under Benson's definition as, 'penny capitalists were not over-concerned with the letter of the law' and were 'associated not with prosperity, but with marginality'.[102]

Figure 5.3: Fanny Finch's Restaurant, Castlemaine, c1859.[103]

Fanny Finch was also exceptional in other respects, as newspaper reports listed Fanny as a 'woman of colour'.[104] She had been born in London to parents of 'African racial heritage' and raised at a London Foundling Hospital.[105] In another twist, newspapers reported that 'the famous Fanny Finch' had voted in Castlemaine Municipal Council election on 22 January 1856.[106] Voting rights had been granted in 1854 to ratepaying 'persons' and as a local ratepayer Fanny Finch had claimed her right to vote.[107] Women's occupations are largely invisible within civil registrations of birth, deaths and marriages in the nineteenth century. The birth and death notices of the children of Fanny Finch made no reference to her occupation, as only the occupation of the child's father was listed. When Fanny died in Castlemaine in 1863, the column of her death notice headed 'Name and Surname, Rank or Profession' contained only her name. This omission, and the disregard of female occupations in the public record, indicates that there may have been other undiscovered

[102] Benson, *The Penny Capitalists,* 1983, p. 133.
[103] Sinclair, 'How the "famous Fanny Finch' became Australia's first known female voter', 2019; Daintree, Richard. 'Castlemaine, looking south-west across the town – sections of panorama, c1859 [close up]', State Library Victoria, b201476.
[104] 'Court of General Session', *Mount Alexander Mail*, Friday 23 November 1855, p. 5.
[105] Sinclair, 'How the "famous Fanny Finch' became Australia's first known female voter', 2019
[106] 'Castlemaine', *Argus*, Thursday 24 January 1856, p. 6; Sinclair, 'How the "famous Fanny Finch' became Australia's first known female voter', 2019.
[107] Sinclair, 'How the "famous Fanny Finch' became Australia's first known female voter', 2019.

female 'breadwinners' within the working-class population of this study. As demonstrated by Emma Hart, women's entrepreneurial efforts were essential in the establishment of an upwardly striving middling order.[108] These entrepreneurial urban 'middling sort' combined efforts to contribute to the family's financial security.[109] Indeed, a defining feature of the entrepreneurial middle class was their willingness to allow women to contribute to business activities.[110]

Farmers

For the participants of South Australia's first expedition, observations as business operators and purchasers of small sections of urban land were more frequent than the transition to rural farmer. This supports previous findings that labourers were generally not able to purchase farming land within a few years of arriving in South Australia.[111] Christopher Nance found that those who had arrived in South Australia as assisted immigrants did not buy newly surveyed land from the Crown, but bought small sections of subdivisions.[112] When it came to the larger eighty-acre sections of rural land, passage-assisted labourers were 'noticeably scarce'.[113] The Wakefieldian intention had been for labourers to save until they could purchase a section of crown land, with these funds then used to send out more labourers.[114] Wakefield condemned the practice of selling small parcels of suburban sections, as it 'made it too easy "for the labouring classes to set up… as market gardeners and cattle rearers", and in these ways to withdraw from the labour market'.[115] Wakefield's central notion that labourers would purchase newly surveyed land, which would then fund more assisted immigrants, rarely came to fruition for the first expedition.

As seen in the promotion of South Australia as a settler-colony, it was widely accepted that labouring emigration to Great Britain's far-flung colonies in the nineteenth century would be motivated by their desire to own land.[116] Nance argued that 'desire to own land was a powerful motivating force' that inspired emigration to South Australia, where land was described as 'superabundant'.[117] After the financial crisis of 1841, attention was very

---

[108] Hart, 'The middling orders', 2007, pp. 214-215.
[109] Hart, 'The middling orders', 2007, p. 211.
[110] Earle, Peter. 'Women and Business' in *The Making of the English Middle Class: Business, Society, and Family Life in London, 1660-1730*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989, pp. 158-174; Hunt, Margaret. *The Middling Sort: Commerce, Gender, and the Family in England, 1680-1780*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996, pp. 125-139.
[111] Richards, 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions,* 2018, p. 33.
[112] Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist', 1979, p. 39.
[113] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 182.
[114] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 116-117.
[115] Wakefield's evidence, Parliamentary Paper, 1841, 394, Q 2701, in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 182.
[116] Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist', 1979, p. 33; See also Erickson, Charlotte. 'Agrarian Myths of English Immigrants' in *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1994. pp. 34-59; Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 2009, p. 166.
[117] Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist', 1979, p. 33.

quickly turned towards agriculture, to reduce reliance on imported produce and food supplies.[118] This is demonstrated by the amount of flour imported into South Australia, which decreased by more than half between 1840 and 1842, and thereafter ceased entirely.[119]

Like the occupation of publican in the first decade of the colony, the pursuit of farming also appeared as a brief interlude for some. A wide variety of labourers dabbled in farming, like the *Duke of York* crew member Israel Mazey who was listed as a blacksmith and fishmonger before sojourning to the Victorian goldfields in the early 1850s. After his return to South Australia, Mazey briefly farmed in Blumberg (now Birdwood), before returning to Alberton where he worked persistently as a fisherman for the rest of his working life.[120] Mazey bought property in King Street, Alberton, where several of his children and grandchildren continued to reside.[121] Mazey was an example of those labourers who returned from the goldfields with enough gold to buy 'independence and a place of your own'.[122] A servant, William Williams, was also listed as a farmer in the Reed Beds (near Henley Beach) for a few years in the mid-1840s, in between stints as a publican. The careers of those of South Australia's first expedition were varied, but the agrarian dream became a reality for six assisted labourers who remained associated with land and agricultural pursuits.[123]

An example of an agrarian success is found in the career, family and descendants of James Stone, who emigrated as an eighteen-year-old kitchen gardener on the *Cygnet*.[124] James was one of seven assisted labourers from the area of Gosport, Hampshire who boarded the *Cygnet* as a group on Thursday, 17 March 1836.[125] The Gosport labourers had applied for assisted passage through local emigration agent John Batty Thorngate, who also emigrated to South Australia.[126] When James Stone married Harriett Evans in Adelaide in 1839, they were both twenty years old. Stone worked as a surveyor's labourer before the couple became farmers on Peramangk land, first in Meadows in the 1840s and then at Bull Creek by the 1850s. James and Harriett Stone farmed this land for the remainder of their lives,

---

[118] Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 113.
[119] Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 113.
[120] 'Death of an old Colonist: reminiscences of the early days', *South Australian Chronicle*, Saturday 30 June 1894, p. 9.
[121] 'Obituary: Mr John Henry Mazey', *The Register,* Wednesday 4 July 1928, p. 13.
[122] Pike, Douglas. 'The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition.' *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1962, p. 30
[123] These were James Hoare, James Stone, Joseph Jones, John Brown, Charles Chandler and John Grant.
[124] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 51: James Stone.
[125] The *Cygnet* was then towed down to Gravesend on Saturday 20 March 1836. Brown, *Transcript of Diary of John Brown*, 1836, pp. 113-114.
[126] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 24, 46-52; Kilner, David & Mighall, Garry. *The Thorngate Estate and the origins of Thorngate, Fitzroy and Medindie Gardens, South Australia, 1839 to 1915.* Nailsworth, South Aust.: Prospect Local History Group, 2010.

until James Stone died in 1879 aged 61 years, followed twenty years later by Harriet. All five of their children who reached adulthood continued to farm and they remained a predominantly farming family into the third generation.

Other labourers established themselves on the land later in life, such as sawyer John Grant who married Hannah Garford in 1852. Birth records for the couple described Grant as a sawyer in Dulwich until the late 1860s, when, then aged in his fifties, he was listed as a farmer and gardener. John Grant was the forebear of a remarkably persistent farming family, with descendants owning market gardens in Dulwich, Payneham, Burnside, Grunthal (now Verdun) and Darley (now Paradise). Another labourer who established himself as a market-gardener later in life was John Barnett who had immigrated on the Company ship *Emma* and worked as a sawyer in the Company Tiers (now Crafers). Alfred Barker was one of the crew selected for the *Rapid* by Colonel William Light, and over his career he was listed as a mail driver, publican and cattle holder before establishing a very successful sheep run in the colony's north.

Chandlers Hill in the southern Mount Lofty Ranges was 'a crossroad for Kaurna, Peramangk and Ngarrindjeri travellers'.[127] This area now bears the name of agricultural labourer, shepherd and farmer Charles Chandler, who had emigrated with his wife Elizabeth Anne and four children on board the Company ship *John Pirie*.[128] This family was one of applications originating out of Acton, a rural community on the outskirts of London, now a London suburb.[129] Elizabeth Anne Chandler died during the voyage, leaving Charles to arrive in South Australia alone with four young children who were between one and ten years of age.[130] Once in South Australia, Charles Chandler was employed by the South Australian Company as a shepherd, working initially on Kangaroo Island. After Charles and his children moved to the mainland, Charles married thirty-five-year-old Harriet Clarke in 1838. The family moved into a shepherd's hut on the Ngangkiparinga or 'Women's River' (now the Onkaparinga River), where Charles continued to work as a shepherd.[131] Moving up onto Company land in the Mount Lofty Ranges, Charles and Harriet established a farm which they named 'Unbunga', believed to derive from the Kaurna word 'Nganpangga'.[132] The

[127] Schutlz, Chester. 'Nganpangga', *Kaurna Warra Pintyandi: The Southern Kaurna Place Names Project*, 2020, p. 2.
[128] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 5: Charles Chandler.
[129] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate nos. 5-15, 18, 124, 295-299.
[130] History Trust of South Australia. 'Letter of Captain George Martin on Saturday 29 October 1836', <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/saturday-29-october-1836-5.html> 'Week 15: High drama on the John Pirie', <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/weekly-posts/week-15-high-drama-on-the-john-pirie.html> *Bound for South Australia: South Australia 175 years, 1836-2011*, Government of South Australia, 2011.
[131] Dyster, Tom. *The Collins Family from Delamere*. Adelaide, S. Aust: Collins Family from Delamere Association, 1986, p. 10.
[132] Schutlz, Chester. 'Nganpangga', *Kaurna Warra Pintyandi: The Southern Kaurna Place Names Project*, 2020, p. 2.

Chandler family holdings in the area grew, and by the 1860s the region was referred to as Chandlers Hill, yet this name was not made official until one hundred years later, in 1964.[133]

One of the less successful attempts at farming was made by John Brown who immigrated on the *John Pirie* as Company stock keeper.[134] In 1842, Brown was a sheep grazier on Barngarla land on the Eyre Peninsula; however, as lands further afield from the concentrated settlement of Adelaide were appropriated, Aboriginal people protested and frontier violence escalated as settler-colonists spread out onto the land.[135] Land at Port Lincoln on the Eyre Peninsula had been surveyed in 1839, but attempts to move settler-colonists onto this land had been met with violence from Barngarla people and settlement progressed slowly.[136] John Brown was killed in March 1842, along with his hut-keeper, a boy named Lovelock.[137] Rolles Biddle, another local sheep grazier, was also killed at that time, along with his housekeeper Elizabeth Stubbs and shepherd James Fastings.[138] Reprisal attacks and arrests followed, leading to the arrest and eventual hanging of a twenty-five-year-old Barngarla man, Ngarbi.[139] In contrast to the multigenerational farming families propagated by other agricultural labourers, such as James Stone, Charles Chandler and John Grant, the grazier ambitions of John Brown ended on Barngarla land in 1842.

The Overseers

Becoming overseers or station managers was another avenue of occupational mobility for those who had immigrated as labourers. Absentee pastoralists with large and dispersed land holdings required managers, overseers, shepherds and hut-keepers to work their runs.[140] Station owner in the south-east of South Australia, Robert Leake complained in 1846 that he had 'no society in the bush', as 'those around us are only overseers, men that have sprung from labourers'.[141] Those employed to move onto newly surveyed lands were

---

[133] City of Onkaparinga, *Chandlers Hill: European History and Heritage*, <http://www.onkaparingacity.com/history/viewsuburb.asp?content=chandlers>

[134] Not to be confused with South Australia's Emigration Agent, this John Brown is believed to have been responsible for the diary which records the passage of the *John Pirie* from England to South Australia.

[135] Brock, Peggy. 'South Australia' in McGrath, Ann. *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*. St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1995, p. 214; also see Foster, Robert, Amanda Nettelbeck, and Rick Hosking. *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2001.

[136] 'New Settlement and Town of Port Lincoln', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Saturday 13 April 1839, p. 3; Brock, 'South Australia' in McGrath, *Contested Ground*, 1995, p. 215; Pope, *Resistance and Retaliation,* 1989, pp. 57-59.

[137] 'The Port Lincoln Murders', *South Australian,* Tuesday 29 March 1842, p. 2.

[138] 'More Port Lincoln Murders', *South Australian,* Tuesday 12 April 1842, p. 2.

[139] 'Port Lincoln: Outrages and Murder by the Natives', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 2 April 1842, p. 3; 'Port Lincoln', *South Australian*, Tuesday 22 November 1842, p. 2; 'Local Intelligence', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 5 August 1843, p. 5.

[140] Krichauff, Skye. *Memory, Place and Aboriginal-settler History: Understanding Australians' Consciousness of the Colonial past*. London: Anthem Studies in Australian History, 2017, pp. 35-36.

[141] MacGillivray, Leith. *Land and People: European Land Settlement in the South East of South Australia, 1840 – 1940*, PhD, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1982, p. 67.

at the forefront of frontier. It was part of an overseer's job description to protect the stock from encroachments of local Aboriginal Peoples. As an overseer in South Australia's far north reported in the late 1840s, he 'bore the brunt of every thieving tribe [sic]… who had to be terrified before their depredations ceased'.[142] Loss of sheep and cattle to Aboriginal spears was expected but was to be minimised by the overseer and their employees. George Glen, an overseer of a sheep run in the Rivoli Bay district in the 1840s, had to manage 'open hostility' between the local Bungandidj People who claimed sheep at Mayurra Station and had learnt 'only too well the distance a pistol could fire'.[143]

Figure 5.4: Penton Vale, head station of Anstey & Giles, c1870.[144]

George Penton, a twenty-seven-year-old agricultural labourer from Twyford, Hampshire became a station overseer on the Yorke Peninsula.[145] George Penton was one of the eight labourers who emigrated from Twyford, Hampshire, a town where Colonel William Light had been intermittently residing from 1832 to 1834.[146] Penton was requested by Light and sailed with him to South Australia on board the *Rapid*.[147] George Penton took up work as a station overseer on the Yorke Peninsula, on Narungga land, in 1847.[148] The Yorke Peninsula

[142] Hayward, J. F. 'Reminiscences of Johnson Frederick Hayward', *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, South Australian Branch,* Session 1927– 8, vol. 29, 1929, pp. 82, 89 cited in Krichauff, Skye. *Memory, Place and Aboriginal-Settler History*, 2017, p. 36.
[143] MacGillivray, *Land and People,*1982, p. 61.
[144] State Library of South Australia, B 2422.
[145] 'The Late Mr. G. Penton', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 13 July 1867, p. 2.
[146] Dutton, *Founder of a City*, 1984, p. 130.
[147] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 191: George Penton.
[148] 'Link with Col. Light', *Observer*, Saturday 6 November 1909, p. 42.

had been surveyed in the early 1840s and the first pastoralists arrived in 1846.[149] In January 1849, Penton was involved in the first recorded act of settler violence on Narungga land, when he shot and killed a Narungga man during an armed conflict over stolen sheep.[150] Penton's actions were 'commended by the Adelaide press and his employers' and 'Narungga appear to have tolerated this open contest between two grown men'.[151] When George Penton died in 1867, his obituary stated that Narungga people of the Yorke Peninsula had been 'wild and extremely ferocious', but his 'firm and judicious measures' caused them to be 'restrained… by the wholesome dread… of the name of George Penton'.[152]

The Persistent Labourers

Charles Parrington was a persistent labourer who relocated with his family onto the Yorke Peninsula where he worked as a shepherd and fisherman. Parrington had been twenty-three years old when he immigrated as one of the Gosport labourers on the *Cygnet*. Two years later he married twenty-two-year-old Mary Pallant in Adelaide. The couple initially settled in Thebarton, but by the mid-1840s were associated with the Yorke Peninsula. Charles Parrington was described as 'an exceptionally fearless man', who had been sent in 1846 to examine Narungga land by his employer Alfred Weaver.[153] Parrington settled with his family at Penton Vale Station where he worked as a shepherd. In retirement he was a fisherman, living with his wife Mary at Coobowie.[154] When Charles Parrington died suddenly in 1882 aged seventy years, his obituary recorded that accommodation would be found for his wife Mary at Penton Vale Station.[155]

Almost half of those who emigrated as labourers remained persistently in the labouring class (Table 5.4: Labouring Class) and worked as labourers, shepherds, brickmakers, carriers and sawyers. While shepherd Stephen Paris briefly appeared as a publican in 1839, he was listed consistently as a shepherd from 1836 to his death in 1859, making his career one of labouring class persistence rather than mobility. For the persistent labourers, life was not

---

[149] Richards, Eric. 'Yorke's Peninsula and the British Diaspora.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 39, 2011, pp. 50-51; Krichauff, Skye. 'York Peninsula: Rethinking Narungga responses to Europeans and colonialism' in Brock, Peggy, and Tom Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath: A History of Aboriginal South Australia*. Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2017, p. 177.
[150] Krichauff, 'York Peninsula' in Brock and Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath,* 2017, p. 179.
[151] Krichauff, 'York Peninsula' in Brock and Gara, eds. Colonialism and Its Aftermath, 2017, p. 179.
[152] 'The Late Mr. G. Penton', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 13 July 1867, p. 2; 'Wallaroo Times', *The Wallaroo Times and Mining Journal*, Wednesday 10 July 1867, p. 2.
[153] 'The Story-Teller. Old Time Memories, Blacks on Yorke's Peninsula', *Evening Journal,* Saturday, 22 October 1887, p. 2; 'Place names of York Peninsula: Early Pastoral Days', *Pioneer,* Friday 14 November 1930, p. 1.
[154] 'General News', *The Express and Telegraph,* Saturday 30 December 1882, p. 4.
[155] 'Obituary', *Southern Australian Weekly Chronicle*, Saturday 30 December 1882, p. 23; 'A Yorke's Peninsula Pioneer Dead', *Chronicle*, Saturday 15 November 1902, p. 12.

financially secure and saving for advanced years or ill health was a challenge. Applications to the Destitute Asylum provided relief, as it did for labourer William Covey who, aged forty-two, who was found to be 'ill and destitute' in Gumeracha in 1857.[156] Covey died of epilepsy in Adelaide two years later.

The financial insecurity associated with labouring-class persistence can be seen in the career of Adelaide water-carter John Afford. John Afford had immigrated as a twenty-six-year-old servant on the *Cygnet*, under the employ of nineteen-year-old fellow passenger Littleton Hatsell Powys, who travelled as a representative of his father, as investor in South Australian land.[157] A friend of John Morphett, Powys was an example of a 'young men of good fortune' that Wakefield had hoped to attract to the colony, but Powys did not stay long in South Australia and returned to England to pursue a career in law.[158] Following the departure of Powys, his servant John Afford became a water-carter and raised a large family while living in Leigh Street in Adelaide.[159] The rapid expansion of population in the concentrated settlement of Adelaide created problems of infrastructure to supply peoples' basic needs, and the carting of water from the River Torrens became an integral industry.[160] In 1854, one month after their youngest daughter died of dropsy at fourteen months, the Afford family received a charitable payment of £1 10s.[161] Funds had been collected 'for the purpose of watering Hindley-street during the dry season' and part of the surplus was supplied to John Afford, who was described as 'a very old and deserving colonist' who had lately 'fallen into affliction'.[162]

The family lost another child in 1856, a daughter reported to have died of 'teething' aged twenty months. In 1857, with seven children between sixteen and four years of age living at home, forty-seven-year-old John Afford applied to the destitute board for relief. It was refused on the grounds that the family were paying fourteen shillings per week in rent for their home in Leigh Street, and the Destitute Board considered 'that a person could not be destitute who paid such a high rent'.[163] Six years later the family had moved to Topham Street when John Afford died of heart disease at the age of fifty-three.[164] By this stage their four older children were over eighteen, and may have helped their mother Rosina support

[156] 'Destitute Board', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 7 March 1857, p. 7.
[157] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 167: John Afford; South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, Appendix No. 12: Financial Statement, p. 39.
[158] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia, 1834*, p. 126; England Census 1851
[159] 'The water-carriers of Adelaide', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 6 December 1845, p. 2.
[160] Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 112.
[161] 'Well-time benevolence', *Adelaide Times*, Saturday 1 April 1854, p. 3.
[162] 'A Proper Application', *South Australian Free Press*, Saturday 8 April 1854, p. 1; 'Surplus Funds', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 1 April 1854, p. 2.
[163] 'Destitute Board', *South Australian Register*, Tuesday 6 January 1857, p. 3.
[164] 'Funeral Notices', *South Australian Register*, Friday 4 December 1863, p. 1.

the younger children still at home. Several of the Afford children became partners in a grocery store in Hindley Street and their occupational outcomes will be included in the next chapter.[165]

Jack-of-all-trades

Of the artisans who immigrated with the first expedition, fifty-five per cent were persistent in their trade over the course of their career (Table 5.4: Skilled Workers). As well as dabbling in farming or small business, tradesmen took up other endeavours in the earliest years of the colony. An example is twenty-year-old shoemaker John Corney, who immigrated on the *Cygnet*.[166] At the time of his migration to South Australia, the trade of shoemaker had lost its prestige in England, where shoemakers had been degraded to the status of 'outworkers'.[167] Corney married and settled in Hamilton, on Ngadjuri land north of Kapunda, and raised a large family. On the birth records of his children he was listed intermittently as bootmaker, shoemaker or shepherd. In the initial years of the colony, Corney had also worked as a surveyor's assistant and fondly recalled Light's words to him, 'Take hold of the chain, Corney, and if you live to be an old man you can say you helped to measure out the first town acre.'[168]

Those in the building and timber industries were more likely to be persistent in their trade, like the ship's carpenter of the *Rapid*, George Mildred, who established himself in Port Adelaide and worked consistently as a shipwright.[169] Boat builder George Allen continued his occupation, though in Wellington, New Zealand rather than South Australia. Likewise, wood-workers were consistent, like Thomas Bell, James Brown and Samuel Chapman. While Thomas Bell and James Brown relocated to Victoria, Samuel Chapman remained settled in Adelaide. The skilled workers tended to be urban and to remain in their chosen location once settled.

The Middle Class

Just over half of those who immigrated in South Australia's first expedition with middle-class occupations were persistent in this class (Table 5.4: Middle Class). Wakefield's pledge to this 'uneasy' class came to fruition as these clerks, surveyors and administrators continued as professionals, became proprietors, land agents or managers of landed estates. Of these middle-class immigrants, just over a third experienced upward class mobility and

[165] 'Partnerships, Business, &c', *Evening Journal*, Thursday 15 December 1887, p. 4.
[166] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 46: John Corney.
[167] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 1968, p. 239.
[168] 'Personal: Mr John Corney', *Register*, Thursday 13 August 1925, p. 8.
[169] Colonial Office, *Register of Emigrant Labourers*, certificate no. 319: George Mildred.

moved into upper-class occupations, almost all of these were within South Australia. A small number of the middle-class ranks took up farming, such as surveyor George Claughton who farmed on Ngarrindjeri land at Currency Creek, near Goolwa and lived to ninety-one years.[170]

Middle-class persistence is exemplified in the careers of many of the surveyors of the first expedition. Categorised as medium-skilled professionals, the surveyors had varied careers, but generally continued to work as professionals, proprietors or agents. Three of the surveyors from the *Cygnet* provide illustrations: William Henry Neale became an auctioneer and electoral official, William Teasdale was a storekeeper and commission agent in Truro and Blanchetown, and Richard Symonds became a land agent in Newhaven (North Haven) and teacher of bookkeeping in Adelaide. Many of the surveyors and their assistants were able to purchase town acres at a time when land speculation in Adelaide was rampant, providing these young men with an economic boost in their early career.[171] The ten surveyors who journeyed with the first expedition contributed thirty-nine children and one hundred and forty-four grandchildren to this study; their occupational outcomes will be explored in the next two chapters.

Another example of a successful and respected middle-class career is that of a well-known Port Adelaide identity, Captain Hugh Quin.[172] Quin, the youngest of eleven children, was born in Newry, Ireland but relocated to New York with his mother and sister after the death of his father.[173] He was a nineteen-year-old sailor when he joined the *Cygnet* at Rio de Janeiro as the ship's second officer.[174] On arrival in South Australia, Quin received the position of pilot for the Port River. Over his long career Quin was a master mariner, a tugboat captain and Port Adelaide's assistant harbour master, before taking over as harbour master from Captain Thomas Lipson in 1856.[175] Quin married twice and raised a large family of eighteen children in the Port Adelaide area. A close connection to this district was maintained by a substantial proportion of his descendants.

As careers progressed, the upper-class numbers in the first generation were swelled by the rising middle-class, who took on leadership and professional roles in the colony. These were merchants, surveyors and land agents who became government officials, civil engineers, a

---

[170] 'Kangarilla', *South Australian Register,* Monday 27 August 1900, p. 3.
[171] 'Personal: Mr John Corney', *Register*, Thursday 13 August 1925, p. 8; 'Old-Time Memories: A fine old pioneer', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 26 April 1902, p. 4.
[172] ; 'Port Adelaide's Sixtieth Year: A Retrospect', *Evening Journal*, Saturday 21 October 1899, p. 7; 'Captain Quin', *Adelaide Observer*, Saturday 2 May 1896, p. 26.
[173] 'The Late Captain Hugh Quin', *South Australian Register*, Thursday 30 April 1896, p 7.
[174] 'The Late Captain Hugh Quin', *South Australian Register*, Thursday 30 April 1896, p 7.
[175] 'The Late Captain Hugh Quin', *South Australian Register*, Thursday 30 April 1896, p 7.

politician, a barrister, and a company manager. In this way South Australia can be seen living up to its promise to the ambitious middle-class.[176] Douglas Pike pointed out that amongst the early South Australian colonisation converts were 'ambitious middle-class townsmen with few claims to "good society"' in England.[177] Within a new settler-colonial society, these upwardly mobile middle-class immigrants were able to succeed in leadership roles.[178] As Eric Richards pointed out, these 'first migrant capitalists who reached Adelaide' were able to 'make the best of an early start in the race'.[179]

In his analysis of land settlement in South Australia, Bowes found that investors and speculators dominated land-ownership in South Australia's initial colonisation.[180] In South Australia 'many of the choicest sites were owned by absentees, whose relations, dependants and agents used and leased their lots under an infinite arrangement of contracts and agreements'.[181] An analysis of the purchasers of the initial 80 and 134 acre sections in the district of Adelaide finds several names from South Australia's first expedition: surveyors Richard Gilbert Symonds, Boyle Travers Finniss & John Cannan, Surveyor General Colonel William Light, and Company employees Thomas Hudson Beare and Cornelius Birdseye. A section purchased for the Hon. Rev. Littleton Powys was passed as absent, despite sending his son as his representative.[182] The name to feature most frequently was land agent and investor John Morphett, whose name was associated with at least twenty-five town acres, four country sections and two districts by 1839.[183]

This land speculation had been a planned component of the formation of colonial South Australia, as an outlet for British investment.[184] In 1835 John Morphett had promoted the purchase of land in South Australia to those who appreciated 'the rapidity with which land increases in value in new countries'.[185] Morphett also emphasised the lack of conditions regarding occupation or cultivation that would be in place for South Australia, as absentee

[176] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 126-127.
[177] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 145.
[178] Van Dissel, *The Adelaide Gentry,* 1973, p 10-11
[179] Richards, 'Yorke's Peninsula and the British Diaspora.' 2011, p. 50.
[180] Bowes, Keith Russell, 'Land Settlement in South Australia', PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1962, pp. 177-178.
[181] Pike, 'Introduction to the Real Property Act in South Australia', 1961, p. 169.
[182] South Australian Colonization Commission, *Third Annual Report,* 1839, p. 55.
[183] Account of the Sale of Public Lands', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 2; 'Sale of Town Lands', *South Australian Record*, Saturday 13 January 1838, p. 2; 'Original Purchasers of Town Acres', *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail*, Saturday 29 July 1871, p. 4; *Commissioners Third Report*, pp. 54-60.
[184] Wakefield, 'Inducements to Emigrate', in *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 113-129.
[185] Morphett, John Sir. *Reasons for the Purchase of Land in South Australia, by Persons Resident in Britain*, Adelaide, S. Aust: Flinders University Library, Special Collections., 1835, p. 1.

land speculators did not need make use of the land purchased. He reminded potential investors, 'land can be used or not at the option of the proprietor'.[186]

As a patriarch of a family which became closely associated with the foundation of South Australia, the career of John Morphett exemplified the ambitious young middle class who sought opportunities to prosper and rise to prominence.[187] Colonel Light had become acquainted with twenty-five-year-old John Morphett when they were both in Egypt in 1834, and Morphett used this connection to gain a place on the Commissioners' ship *Cygnet*.[188] Through participation in the first expedition, Morphett was well positioned to identify valuable land before it had been surveyed, as he acknowledged:

> *Owing to the politeness and kindness of the Surveyor-general, the Deputy-surveyor, and the South Australian Company's Manager, I have been enabled to carry my research to a greater extent than as a private individual I could have hoped or expected; and I have now the satisfaction of informing you, that, through their instrumentality and my own exertions, I have seen more of the country, both coast and inland, than any other colonist.*[189]

He established himself in South Australia as a large land holder and political figure, becoming President of the Legislative Council in 1865.[190] Established in 1843, the Legislative Council provided a means for men of wealth and land to gain political influence in the colony.[191] Four of those who arrived on South Australia's first expedition, Charles Simeon Hare, George Strickland Kingston, John Morphett and Boyle Travers Finniss, participated in South Australia's first elected Legislative Council.[192]

The Persistent Upper Class

Wakefield encouraged 'men of rank and connexions' to emigrate and take up the 'heroic work' of colonisation.[193] There were nine individuals on board the first expedition who were classified as holding upper class occupations on arrival in 1836. These were skilled professionals and managers of the colony. Those who immigrated with upper class occupations all maintained their elite position throughout their careers (Table 5.4: Upper Class). While there is evidence of travel, all were living in South Australia at the time of their

---

[186] Morphett, *Reasons for the Purchase of Land in South Australia,* 1835, p. 2.
[187] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 113.
[188] Light, *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*, 1984, p. 21.
[189] South Australian Colonization Commission. *Second Annual Report,* 1838, pp. 6-7.
[190] 'Morphett, Sir John (1809–1892)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, 1967, accessed online <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/morphett-sir-john-2483/text3337>
[191] Main, 'Social foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 100.
[192] Pascoe, *Adelaide Vicinity*, 1901, p. 109.
[193] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1838, 2nd ed, p. 129; Wakefield, *A View in the Art of Colonization,* 1849, p. 43.

deaths. This group were deeply invested in the fortune of the colony and their identity as South Australian 'pioneers'.[194]

Pike noted that the 'superior settlers' included military officers who had sold their commissions to emigrate to South Australia, such as Harbour Master Thomas Lipson, who had reached the rank of First Lieutenant in 1819.[195] Another example was Boyle Travers Finniss who, previous to his interest in colonisation, had been a Lieutenant with the British Armed Forces at Mauritius.[196] Finniss had travelled to South Australia in the first expedition on board the *Cygnet*, acting as an Assistant Surveyor to Colonel William Light.[197]

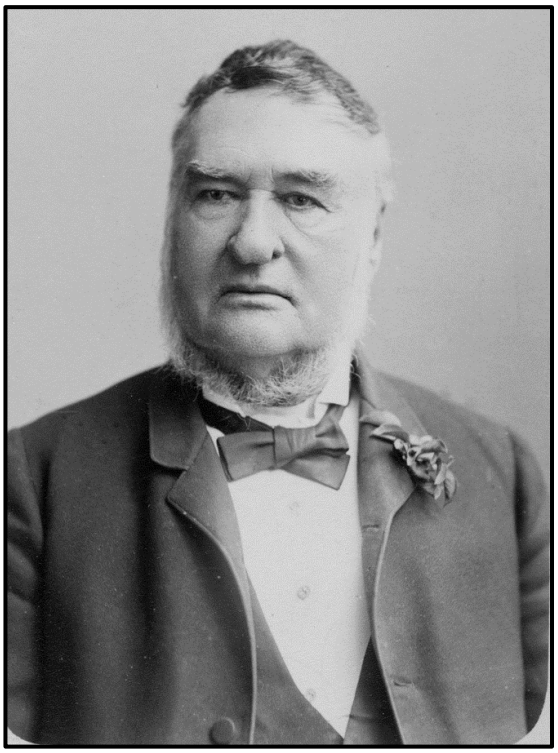


Figure 5.5: Boyle Travers Finniss, c1882.[198]

Twenty-eight-year-old Finniss had married sixteen-year-old Anne Frances Rogerson in Dublin, Ireland in 1835 and they journeyed to South Australia together.[199] Anne gave birth to a daughter, Fanny Lipson Finniss, in Rapid Bay on 1 January 1837, three and a half

[194] For example: 'Death of Mr Samuel Stephens', *South Australian Register,* Saturday 25 January 1840, p. 4; 'The Late Dr. Wright', *The Advertiser,* Wednesday 9 November 1859, p. 2; 'The Late Captain Lipson, R.N.', *South Australian Register,* Thursday 26 November 1863, p. 6; 'The Late Mr C. S. Hare', *South Australian Register,* Monday 24 July 1882, p. 5.
[195] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 148; O'Byrne, William Richard. *A Naval Biographical Dictionary,* John Murray, London, 1849, p. 661.
[196] 'Finniss, Boyle Travers (1807–1893)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/finniss-boyle-travers-2044/text2529>
[197] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, Appendix No. 11: Letter of Instruction by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to B.F [sic].Finniss, Esq., one of the Assistant Surveyors for South Australia, p. 36.
[198] *Boyle Travers Finniss,* State Library of South Australia, c1882, B 11204,
[199] 'The death of the Hon. B. T. Finniss. South Australia's First Premier', *South Australian Chronicle*, Saturday 30 December 1893, p. 5.

months after the arrival of the *Cygnet*. Fanny was proclaimed as the first European girl born in the colony.[200] Boyle Travers Finniss played an active role in the new colony: on subsequent birth registrations he was listed as Deputy Surveyor, Commissioner of Police, Colonial Treasurer, Registrar General, and Colonial Secretary and was to become the first Premier of South Australia after the colony achieved responsible government in 1856.[201]

John Woodforde was a twenty-six-years-old recently qualified physician when he sailed as ship's surgeon on the Commissioners' ship *Rapid*. In the months after landing in South Australia, he reflected on the wishes of his mother and sister that he should return to England. Woodforde's diary recorded that despite their wishes, he saw a chance of 'bettering' himself in the colony and thought he should at least 'make a trial' as a settler-colonist.[202] Woodforde acted as surgeon to Light's surveyors, before establishing a long-standing medical practice in Adelaide, a practice he maintained until his death aged fifty-five years in 1866.[203]

Figure 5.6: Charles Simeon Hare, 1872.[204]

A more varied upper-class career can be seen in that of American Charles Simeon Hare, who immigrated with his with wife Anna Maria as Company Accountant on the *Emma*.[205] Hare was considered an eccentric figure, whose 'strongly marked features' and 'well-known personal peculiarities gave him a prominent place in public attention wherever he went'.[206]

---

[200] 'The first girl born in South Australia', *Observer*, Saturday 20 April 1907, p. 24.
[201] For more on his career, see Finniss, Boyle Travers, *The Constitutional History of South Australia,* Rigby, Adelaide, 1886.
[202] History Trust of South Australia, 'Transcription of Dr Woodforde's Diary, Thursday 15 December 1836' *Bound for South Australia,* <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/thursday-15-december-1836-4.html>
[203] 'Death of Dr. Woodforde, City Coroner', *South Australian Register,* Friday 27 April 1866, p. 4.
[204] Duryea, Townsend, *Old Colonists, 1836-1840,* State Library of South Australia, B 8235/1/13K
[205] 'The Relentless Destroyer', *Evening Journal*, Friday 19 February 1892, p. 2.
[206] 'The Late Mr. C. S. Hare', *South Australian Register*, Monday 24 July 1882, p. 5.

He was a popular orator, who provided a 'strong Yankee flavor' to the Legislative Council when nominated in 1843.[207] When Hare died in 1882 at seventy-four years, his long obituaries portrayed his many colonial pursuits, including appointments as Superintendent of Convicts, Justice of the Peace and Manager of Railways.[208]

Summary Mobility Tables

Placing early to mid-career occupational class positions in a mobility table provides an overview of career change for the participants of South Australia's first expedition (Table 5.4). It can be seen that those who arrived in upper class occupations maintained these roles after arrival in South Australia (Table 5.4: Upper Class). It was the labouring class who experienced the most occupational mobility, with over half of those who arrived as labourers experiencing upward occupational mobility, and half of those crossing the manual divide (Table 5.4: Labouring Class). The majority of those who immigrated to South Australia in middle-class occupations maintained their position or moved into leadership roles in the colony's upper-class.

Table 5.4: Early to mid-career outcomes for the first generation.

		Early-Career Occupational Class μ 26 years old (σ = 5), 1836 (σ = 5)					
		Upper Class	**Middle Class**	**Skilled Workers**	**Farming & Fishing**	**Labouring Class**	Total
Mid-Career Occupational Class μ 42 years (σ = 5), 1851 (σ = 9)	**Upper Class**	**100 % (12)**	35 % (9)	0	0	0	21
	Middle Class	0	54 % (14)	20 % (4)	0	25 % (11)	29
	Skilled Workers	0	0	55 % (11)	0	12 % (5)	16
	Farming & Fishing	0	11 % (3)	5 % (1)	0	14 % (6)	10
	Labouring Class	0	0	20 % (4)	0	49 % (21)	25
	Total	12	26	20	0	43	101
	%	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
						Persistent:	**57%**
						Upwardly Mobile:	**35%**
						Downwardly Mobile:	**8%**

[207] 'The Late Mr. C. S. Hare', *Port Augusta Dispatch and Flinders' Advertiser*¸ Saturday 29 July 1882, p. 6.
[208] 'The Late Mr. C. S. Hare', *South Australian Register*, Monday 24 July 1882, p. 5; 'Charles Simeon Hare: Pioneer who played many parts', *Chronicle,* Thursday 29 March 1934, p. 12.

While none of South Australia's first expedition travelled with the explicit occupation of farmer, once settled in the colony, ten of the first expedition took up sustained farming (Table 5.4: Farming & Fishing). Six of these were agricultural labourers and gardeners from rural England, fulfilling the arcadian predictions of the colony's promoters. These farmers also included an independent gentleman, a first mate, and a surveyor. As Erickson found in *Leaving England*, the farming class in frontier colonies were drawn from varying backgrounds.[209]

Occupational change from mid- to late-career was minimal (Table 5.5), which is demonstrated by the high percentages in the diagonal cells. The least persistent were the farmers and fishers, some moving back into labouring occupations (Table 5.5: Farming & Fishing). Those farmers who were listed as labourers at their late career had originally participated in the first expedition as assisted labourers, while the one farmer who had taken up an upper-class occupation had immigrated as a 'superior class' passenger. Two of the upper class were found in the middle class, as a pastoralist and a clerk (Table 5.5: Upper Class). Three of those who had taken up small businesses at their mid-career had returned to their roles as skilled artisans, and there was also a continuation of the movement into upper class roles (Table 5.5: Middle Class).

Table 5.5: Mid to late-career outcomes for the first generation.

		Mid-Career Occupational Class 42 years old (σ = 5), 1851 (σ = 9)					
		Upper Class	**Middle Class**	**Skilled Workers**	**Farming & Fishing**	**Labouring Class**	#
Late-Career Occupational Class 62 years (σ = 7), 1871 (σ = 11)	**Upper Class**	**88 % (14)**	8 % (2)	0	14 % (1)	0	17
	Middle Class	12 % (2)	**79 % (19)**	7 % (1)	0	0	22
	Skilled Workers	0	13 % (3)	**71 % (10)**	0	6 % (1)	14
	Farming & Fishing	0	0	7 % (1)	57 % (4)	11 % (2)	7
	Labouring Class	0	0	14 % (2)	29 % (2)	**83 % (15)**	19
	#	16	24	14	7	18	79
	%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	

Persistent: **78%**
Upwardly Mobile: **9%**
Downwardly Mobile: **13%**

[209] Erickson, 'Agrarian Myths' in *Leaving England*, 1994, p. 40.

Conclusion

Wakefield had emphasised that South Australia would be established from the start as a 'complete society'.[210] Through an analysis of the careers of passengers, it can be seen that the initial six colonising vessels of South Australia's first expedition brought out a spectrum of society: from those who would persist as labourers and skilled artisans, to ambitious entrepreneurs and aspiring elite. Colonial planners aimed to create an 'English Province' based on the structure of British society, but with an amendment: occupational class mobility for labourers and the uneasy middle class in particular. It was not equality that was promised to the participants in South Australia's first expedition, but a structure of advancement and reward for those with 'capital or enterprise'.[211]

This chapter identified and followed the careers of the participants of South Australia's first expedition, six ships that left Great Britain between February and May 1836. These ships brought the initial labourers, artisans, investors, surveyors and administrators to the newly established settler-colony of South Australia. When considering the career mobility of these individuals, it was discovered that those who emigrated from Great Britain in upper-class occupations, as colony managers and professionals, were entirely persistent in their occupational class. South Australia was initiated as a concentrated 'civilised' settlement, and for those who immigrated in upper-class managerial and professional roles in the first generation, their colonial careers were spent in urban Adelaide. It was predominantly the labourers and skilled workers who moved out of Adelaide in the first generation, to become famers, miners, rural labourers, publicans, storekeepers, and station overseers.

A third of the middle-class emigrants were able to move into upper-class leadership roles, taking advantage of managerial, political and professional opportunities. When these upwardly-mobile middle class are measured alongside those who were persistent in their class and those who took up farming, it must be considered that promises made to the 'uneasy' middle class were realised.[212] The labouring class were the most occupationally mobile of those classes, with just over half becoming farmers, station overseers, publicans and shopkeepers in the new colony. Nevertheless, this left almost half of those who immigrated as labourers to remain in labouring roles. More labourers became publicans than farmers, as these initial immigrants were well positioned to cater to the hospitality needs of new arrivals. Amongst South Australia's first expedition were agricultural

[210] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 138-139.
[211] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 499.
[212] Wakefield, Edward. 'Uneasiness of the Middle Class' in *England and America*, 1833, pp. 80-106.

labourers from rural England who became farmers in South Australia, fulfilling the arcadian promises of promoters.

This chapter followed the careers of these individuals after arrival, paying particular attention to the predominant occupational class held at their mid-career, between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five years. It will be this occupational class which will be compared to that of their children and grandchildren in their mid-career. The rate of occupational class persistence or change experienced across the second and third generation is explored in the next four chapters.

Chapter Six: Locating the Sons and Daughters

As South Australia was established at the nascence of global migration out of Great Britain, the second generation of this research came to maturity as the European Age of Mass Migration was in full momentum.[1] This chapter introduces the children of the participants in South Australia's first expedition and provides a demographic overview for this population. Their careers and geographical movements are placed in their historical context. The parents of this second-generation population had been early participants in this relocation out of Europe. They had departed from England, relocated to its antipodes and established a settler-colony on the lands of southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples.

The second generation of this study, the children of South Australia's first expedition, continued to move, from urban to rural areas, into other colonies and other countries. This chapter provides evidence that, in contrast to the first generation, in the second generation all occupational classes participated in the urban to rural shift which occurred in the second half of the nineteenth century. The opening up of agricultural lands in the 1870s assisted the maintenance of rural populations within South Australia, and although this generation experienced both drought and depression, the majority remained in the colony. Amongst those who moved, upper-class and skilled workers relocated to other colonial capital cities, while populated service towns attracted those of the middle class. The following chapter will assess the degree of correlation between these geographic movements and the rate of persistence in each occupational class, and will also compare the occupational outcomes of the sons and daughters.

Demographics of the First Expedition's Sons and Daughters

There were 474 individuals identified as the children born to who participated in South Australia's first expedition: 229 males, 246 females, and three infants of undisclosed sex. These sons and daughters constitute the second generation of this research. The average birth year of this generation was 1848, with a standard deviation of twelve years. Consequently, the majority of these sons and daughters were born between 1836 and 1860. These individuals were born into a youthful society. As South Australian historian Douglas Pike pointed out, until 1870 half of South Australia's population was under the age of twenty-one.[2] This generation was part of that population, as their average age in 1870

[1] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 2018, pp. 98-99, 150, 161.
[2] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 497.

was twenty-two years, and they moved into their adulthood in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Family Size

In the mid-nineteenth century the average family size for Australia was 7.75 births per couple.[3] The rate of fertility for South Australia as a whole was slightly above this average. Margaret Anderson's study of family size in colonial South Australia found the average number of births at that time to be 8.0 births per couple.[4] An analysis of birth civil registrations, combined with newspaper birth and death notices, disclose the number of births for each first-generation couple. For those of the first expedition who had children, their average family size within this research was then comparatively low, at 6.6 births per couple (Table 6.1). This was lower than the average found for the United Kingdom, which had an average of 6.7 births per couple in the mid-1840s.[5] The occupational class with the largest average family size was the skilled workers, with 8.5 children per couple. The occupational class with the smallest average family sizes were the middle and upper classes, with 5.3 and 6.5 children per couple, respectively. This finding supports that of Margaret Anderson, who found the smallest family sizes in white-collar and upper-class families.[6] Confirming the conclusion that couples in newly settled frontier societies have a tendency towards high fertility, it was the rural farming and labouring families who had the largest number of children.[7]

Table 6.1: Average number of children per first generation couple.

Average number of children per couple (birth year μ 1848, σ 12)			
Occupational Class	**Couples**	**Children**	**Average**
Upper Class	11	71	6.5
Middle Class	28	149	5.3
Skilled Workers	11	93	8.5
Farming & Fishing	8	64	8.0
Labouring	14	97	6.9
Total	**N = 72**	**N = 474**	**6.6**

[3] Moyle, Helen. *Australia's Fertility Transition: A study of 19th-century Tasmania*, Canberra, ACT: ANU Press, 2020, p. 39.
[4] Anderson, Margaret. 'No sex please, we're demographers: Nineteenth century fertility decline revisited', in Damousi, Joy, and Katherine Ellinghaus, eds. *Citizenship, Women and Social Justice: International Historical Perspectives.* Parkville, Vic.: University of Melbourne and Australian Network for Research in Women's History, 1999, p. 252.
[5] Moyle, *Australia's Fertility Transition,* 2020, p. 39.
[6] Anderson, 'No sex please, we're demographers', in Damousi and Ellinghaus, eds. *Citizenship, Women and Social Justice,* 1999, p. 254.
[7] Coombs, Jan. 'Frontier Patterns of Marriage, Family, and Ethnicity: Central Wisconsin in the 1880s.' *Journal of Family History,* vol. 18, no. 3, 1993, p. 279.

Pike noted that in the first decades of colonial South Australia 'large families were the rule and second marriages were common'.[8] Amongst the couples of the first expedition there were fifteen second marriages, and four third marriages. Some of these second and third marriages resulted in families which were far larger than the population average, such as the seventeen children of Company Superintendent Thomas Beare or the eighteen children of Port Adelaide Harbour Master Captain Hugh Quin. These exceptionally large families did not change the finding that most of those of the first expedition had smaller families that was the average at the time. A contributing factor to this smaller family size may have been the act of immigration. A large proportion of the first expedition, a little over half of the adult participants, had consisted of young, single men in their twenties, who may have delayed their marriages until settled at their destination.

Accounting for mortality

This research quantified childhood mortality by defining 'infant mortality' as those children who died prior to their first birthday. In contrast, 'child mortality' is calculated as the number of deaths for children under the age of sixteen, after accounting for infant mortality.[9] In the second generation of this research, forty-six infants died under the age of one year, and a further forty-five children died before their sixteenth birthday (Table 6.2). Assessing the number of infant deaths against the 474 total births for this generation, an infant death rate of 97 per mille is provided, a low rate when compared to the known rate for the Australian colonies.

Table 6.2: Mortality rates for the second-generation population.

Total second-generation births (μ 1848)		**N = 474**	**Per cent**	**Per mille**
Mortality	Infant Mortality (under 1 year)	46	9.7 %	97
	Child Mortality (1 to 15 years)	45	10.5 %	105
	Died prior to mid-career (16 to 35 years)	33	8.6 %	86
Adults alive at mid-career occupation (μ 1891)		**N = 350**		

Before 1860, statistics in Australia were kept for total deaths and total populations only, rather than by age. Accordingly, these results need to be compared with post-1860 rates.[10] In Australia in the early 1870s, the recorded rates of infant mortality ranged from a low of 102 per mille in Tasmania to a high of 158 per mille in South Australia, with an average of

[8] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, p. 497.
[9] Moyle, *Australia's Fertility Transition,* 2020, p. 114.
[10] Taylor, Richard, Milton Lewis, and John Powles. 'The Australian Mortality Decline: All-Cause Mortality 1788–1990.' *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health,* vol. 22, no. 1, 1998, p. 28.

118 for the Australian colonies combined.[11] The low rate found in Tasmania was likely to have been impacted by the classification of short-lived children as stillborn, rather than live births, and also by the under-registration of births known to have occurred in Tasmania during the nineteenth century.[12] The high infant mortality rate documented in South Australia was caused by a known administration error, which saw the deaths of children who were aged one year 'wrongly included by the registering officers with those under one year'.[13] The comparative rate for England and Wales in 1870 was higher than that found in Australia, at 155 infant deaths per mille.[14]

In a population the size of this second generation, mortality rates were affected by events within particular families. Infant and child mortality rates varied greatly when considered by occupational class of the parent (Table 6.3). The families of the upper-class experienced a low rate of infant mortality, but the highest rate of child mortality (Table 6.3: Upper Class). This was the result of single families losing two, three and four children after infancy, as in the case of the family of Company Superintendent Thomas Beare, in which four children died under the age of sixteen. Two of these children died of scarlet fever in the early months of 1848, eighteen-month-old John Beare in February, and six-year-old Thomas Beare in March.

Table 6.3: Mortality rates for the second generation by occupational class.

Childhood Mortality (birth year μ 1848, σ = 12)					
Parent's Class	**Total Births**	**Infant Mortality***	**Per Mille**	**Child Mortality****	**Per Mille**
Upper Class	77	4	52	10	137
Middle Class	143	20	140	11	89
Skilled Workers	93	9	97	8	95
Farming & Fishing	64	1	16	5	79
Labouring Class	97	12	124	11	129
Total	**N = 474**	**N = 46**	**97**	**N = 45**	**105**

* Children deceased under 1 year.
** Children deceased between 1 year and 16 years of age.

A high rate of infant mortality was found in those families of middle-class occupation, as several families each lost two, three or four children in their infancy. Four of these infant deaths were found amongst the eighteen children of Port Adelaide Harbour Master Hugh

[11] Coghlan, T. A. *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1901-1902*. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1902, p. 509
[12] Moyle, Australia's Fertility Transition, 2020, p. 79; Kippen, Rebecca. 'Death in Tasmania: Using civil death registers to measure nineteenth-century cause-specific mortality'. PhD thesis, Canberra, ACT: Australian National University, 2002, p. 55.
[13] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 509
[14] Corsini, Carlo A., and Pier Paolo Viazzo. *The Decline of Infant and Child Mortality: The European Experience, 1750-1990*. Cambridge, MA, USA: Kluwer Law International, 1997, p. 43.

Quin. The lowest rate of infant mortality was found in the families of the farmers and fishers, with only one child recorded to have died under the age of one year. This low rate may have been a result of the challenges associated with the registration of infant births and deaths in rural areas.[15]

Accounting for attrition

The rate of attrition for the second-generation population of this research was slight in comparison to that of the first-generation. For those who had been identified after their arrival in South Australia in 1836, they and their children could be found and followed with limited loss of population (Table 6.4). There were fifteen individuals for whom no further evidence could be found beyond their births. Three individuals were located as children or young adults, but who could not be found in the public record beyond these early years. For twenty-five people, their lives from birth to death were visible, but an occupation at mid-career could not be identified.

Table 6.4: Attrition for the second-generation population.

Total second-generation births (μ 1848)		**N = 474**	**Per cent**	**Per mille**
Attrition	Missing from infancy	15	3.2 %	32
	Missing at mid-career	3	0.6 %	6
	Missing mid-career occupation	25	5.3 %	53
Adults with mid-career occupations (μ 1891)		**N = 307**		

The attrition rate in this research was minimised through the degree of record-keeping which existed for the non-indigenous population in the first years of colonial South Australia. Church registers commenced soon after proclamation of the colony on 28 December 1836, recording baptism, deaths and marriages prior to civil registration.[16] In Australia, civil registration was first initiated in Tasmania in late 1838 and then in South Australia in 1842, six years after the commencement of colonisation.[17] For the segment of the second-generation population born outside of the colony, civil registration commenced in Victoria in 1853, and in New Zealand in 1848.[18]

---

[15] Williams, Naomi, and Chris Galley. 'Urban-Rural Differentials in Infant Mortality in Victorian England.' *Population Studies,* vol. 49, no. 3, 1995, p. 402; Callanan, Janine. 'Giving Birth in the Bush: Colonial Women of Victoria and the Challenges of Childbirth, 1850-1880.' *Provenance: The Journal of Public Record Office Victoria*, no. 17, 2019, p. 15.

[16] Jaunay, Graham, *South Australian births, deaths and marriages before civil registration*, 2005 <http://www.jaunay.com/earlybdm.php>,

[17] Jaunay, Graham, *Australian birth, death and marriage certificates,* <http://www.jaunay.com/bdm.html>,

[18] Births, Deaths and Marriages Victoria. *History of the Registry*, 2020, <https://www.bdm.vic.gov.au/about-us/history-of-the-registry>; Te Tari Taiwhenua Internal Affairs. *Births, Deaths & Marriages Online: Timeline,* 2013, <https://www.bdmhistoricalrecords.dia.govt.nz/timeline>

The research necessary to identify and link the first and second generations was greatly assisted by the practice of publishing family notices for births, marriages and deaths in early colonial newspapers. As the nineteenth century progressed, published notices of births, deaths and marriages became increasingly common and detailed, providing lists of children, siblings and married names for daughters and sisters. Through these lists the descendants of those who arrived as passage-assisted labourers, who might otherwise have left little mark on the public record, could be more accurately assembled. As the colony flourished, status as a 'pioneer of 1836' attracted elevated social capital, and family notices highlighted the year and ship of arrival.[19]

The first edition of South Australia's initial newspaper, the *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* was published in London in June 1836, while the six ships of the first expedition were still at sea.[20] The second edition of this newspaper was published in the year after the ships' arrival in the colony, on Saturday 3 June 1837, and it included a short family notice section which listed only one birth and two deaths. These were the birth and death of the infant son of Colonial Secretary Robert Gouger, as well as the death of his wife, Harriet.[21] Harriet Gouger had given birth to their son, Henry Hindmarsh, in a tent on the shore of Holdfast Bay on 29 December 1836, the day after the proclamation of the colony. Unfortunately, mother and son both died eleven weeks later.

The few notices, limited to one family, included in this second edition is surprising. In the year after the arrival of the first colonising ship, there had been at least eighteen deaths in addition to that of Harriet Gouger and her infant son, not including those who had died during the voyage.[22] For example, Nepean Kingston Neale, the son of assistant surveyor William Neale, was born on 13 September 1836, two days after the arrival of the *Cygnet* at Nepean Bay on Kangaroo Island, only to die nine weeks later at Holdfast Bay.[23] Others who had arrived on South Australia's second expedition, the *Africaine*, *Tam O'Shanter* and *Buffalo*, also died in the early months of 1837. These exclusions emphasise the need to bring attention to the other passengers of the first expedition, to share the limelight alongside the colony's more prominent identities.

[19] 'The Pioneers', *Evening Journal,* Saturday 28 July 1877, p. 1; 'The Pioneers', *South Australian Advertiser,* Monday 27 December 1886, p. 5.
[20] *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* Saturday 18 June 1836.
[21] 'Family Notices', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* Saturday 3 June 1837, p. 4.
[22] Stace, Brian. *Early South Australian Pioneer Deaths,* Adelaide: Pioneers Association of South Australia, 2014, pp. 2-3.
[23] 'The first-born South Australia', *Evening Journal*, Thursday 20 April 1876, p. 2.

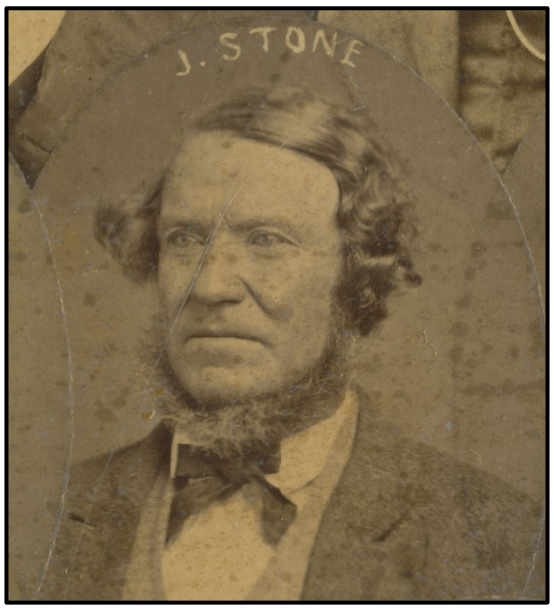


Figure 6.1: James Stone, 1872.[24]

As previously mentioned, the second generation included fifteen children for whom no further information could be found after their birth (Table 6.4: Missing from infancy). These fifteen births represented three per cent of this generation. No evidence was found for their lives, no occupation or residence, marriage or death records, and their names were not mentioned in family notices of obituaries for their parents or siblings. One of these infants was the son of James and Harriet Stone (née Evans) who settled on Peramangk land in Bull Creek, on the Fleurieu Peninsula. James and Harriet registered the birth of a son Edwin Henry, their seventh of nine children, on 4 October 1854. Their other eight children were traced through records of their births, marriages and deaths, but no further records were found for Edwin Henry. When James Stone died in 1879, aged 60 years, his published death notice listed his surviving children as three sons and two daughters, who were identified for the purposes of this research.[25] James' widow Harriet survived him by twenty years, passing away in 1899 at 80 years of age, and the family notice for her death boasted of five children, forty-three grandchildren and seventeen great-grandchildren.[26] These children and grandchildren could be accounted for, excluding Edwin Henry. A search of genealogical databases of international scope elicited no evidence for Edwin Henry Stone beyond his birth. It is possible that this son left home, left the colony and escaped the resources of this research, or it is possible he died during infancy or childhood and his death record was mislabelled, lost or not recorded.

[24] State Library of South Australia, *Old Colonists, 1836-1840*, B8235/1/13E.
[25] 'Family Notices', *The Express and Telegraph,* Tuesday 27 May 1879, p. 2.
[26] 'Family Notices', *Southern Argus,* Thursday 16 November 1899, p. 2.

When these fifteen births, for whom there was no further information, are combined with the forty-six known infant deaths, the rate of infant mortality increases from 97 deaths per mille to a figure more in line with rates for the era, at 129 infant deaths per 1000 births. There may have also been an unknown number of additional children born in this second generation, whose births were not registered or not identified, and for whom no evidence was found of their subsequent lives. The number of unidentified children has been minimised through the investigation of death notices for all family members of the first and second generation, which often listed deceased as well as living children and siblings.

The rate of infant mortality of male children is known to be higher than that of female children. In 1861 the infant mortality rate for males in South Australia was 160.6 per mille compared to 131.7 per mille for female children.[27] When differentiated by sex, this study found that infant mortality for male births was 137.2 per mille and 113.8 per mille for females births within the second generation of this research. This disparity between sexes has been explained by sex differences in genetic and biological makeup, but preconception or prenatal environmental factors may also contribute to this phenomenon.[28]

There were three individuals, one female and two males, who could not be located in their middle age, despite evidence that they lived to their early adulthood (Table 6.4: Missing at mid-career). The missing female was Constance Gandy, fourth child of Edward Gandy with his second wife Marie (née Bailey, formerly Addison). Constance had registered the birth of her daughter Ruth when she was unmarried and twenty-six years old. Ruth died five weeks later of gastroenteritis, and no further evidence could be found for her mother. Constance Gandy may have changed her name through marriage or choice and could not be linked back to her birth name.

For the two missing males in the second generation, a change of name and location was also possible. One of the missing males was Septimus Wright, youngest son of Dr Edward Wright. Septimus may have used another name, but this name was not provided in the obituaries for his father, mother or brothers. In an 1894 interview, the two older Wright brothers, Charles and Robert, related that their two younger brothers, Thomas and Septimus, aged fourteen and ten years, had been selected to draw lots at the initial 1837 land ballot for town acres held in March 1837. [29] In return for performing this task the

[27] Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 178.
[28] Pongou, Roland. 'Why Is Infant Mortality Higher in Boys Than in Girls? A New Hypothesis Based on Preconception Environment and Evidence from a Large Sample of Twins.' *Demography,* vol. 50, no. 2, 2013, p. 421.
[29] 'Old-time memories. Interview with pioneers: The brothers Wright of Yankalilla', *South Australian Register,* Wednesday 10 January 1894, p. 6.

younger brothers were each presented with half an acre of land. Septimus could be seen in 1853, at twenty-seven years, purchasing land in Waikerie on Meru land in the Riverland region of South Australia.[30] After this, no further information on Septimus Wright could be found.

The other missing male was Peter Wilkins, who was three months old when his publican father, William Wilkins, died of a medically administered morphine overdose in 1845.[31] Coincidentally, this remedy had been prescribed by Dr Edward Wright, father of Septimus Wright.[32] Peter Wilkins had been twenty-one years old when his mother died in 1865, and the following year he was listed in Adelaide hospital records as a twenty-two-year-old groom. After this listing he made no further appearance in the public record that could be found within the constraints of this study, and the death notices and obituaries of his siblings did not provide any information as to his fate.

This study is also missing mid-career occupations for twenty-five individuals (Table 6.4: Missing mid-careers). Almost all of these individuals, twenty-two of the twenty-five, did not marry and were listed as spinsters and bachelors at their deaths. These were fifteen women and seven men. For people who remained single, particularly women, there were limited resources from which to garner titles for any occupations they may have held. These single individuals lacked the marriage registration and subsequent birth registrations which commonly provided occupations.[33] For single women, in the section of the death registration which usually detailed the deceased's occupation, the information provided was more often 'spinster', or an indication of their relationship to other members of the household, rather than a description of employment.[34] In the case of single men, a death record might be the only source for an occupational title. For those who lived past their middle-age, this could not be taken as their mid-career occupation. For example, when James 'Clue' Mazey died in Queenstown aged sixty-nine, he was listed as a fisherman. As a son of Alberton fisher Israel Mazey, and a member of a large fishing family, Clue may have been a fisher for most of his career, but this could not be assumed. As a single man who made little appearance in the public record, Clue's mid-career occupation could not be identified.

[30] 'The Occupancy of Waikerie', *Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record,* Thursday 17 December 1936, p. 30.
[31] 'Supreme Court', *South Australian,* Tuesday 18 March 1845, p. 3.
[32] 'Dr Wright's Case', *South Australian Register,* Wednesday 19 March 1845, p. 2.
[33] Devos, Isabelle, Sofie De Langhe, and Christa Matthys. 'Lost in Registration? Missing Occupations of Single Women in the Bruges Countryside, c1814.' *The History of the Family,* vol. 19, no. 4, 2014, p. 469; Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D., and Richard L. Zijdeman. 'Digital Humanities and the History of Working Women: A Cascade.' *The History of the Family,* vol. 19, no. 4, 2014, p. 411.
[34] Devos, De Langhe and Matthys. 'Lost in Registration?' 2014, p. 474.

Bachelors and Spinsters

Among the sons and daughters of those who participated in South Australia's first expedition, more than twice as many sons remained unmarried than daughters (Table 6.5). The average year of marriage for the second generation was 1875.[35] The population of South Australia at the time of the 1876 census was 212,528, with females comprising forty-eight per cent of the total recorded population.[36] The 1876 census recorded that in the closely settled districts of South Australia, females represented forty-nine per cent of the population in 1876, with females slightly higher than fifty per cent in the districts of Adelaide, Light and Hindmarsh.[37] This led to single adult females outnumbering single adult men in the colony's urban centre. This was not the case for the more remote pastoral districts, where, on average, females represented thirty per cent of the population.[38] In the rural districts, those regions contained within surveyed hundreds, there were three single adult women for every four single adult males. This disparity between the sexes was amplified in the more remote pastoral districts, where the 1876 census demonstrated that, on average, there was only one single adult female for every eleven single adult males.[39]

Table 6.5: Rates of adult sons and daughters who remained single.

	Adult Children*				Single Sons		Single Daughters	
	Males	Females	Singles	%	#	%	#	%
Upper Class	30	33	18	28.6 %	12	40.0 %	6	18.2 %
Middle Class	55	53	15	13.9 %	11	20.0 %	4	7.5 %
Skilled Workers	37	36	15	20.5 %	9	24.3 %	6	16.7 %
Farming & Fishing	26	29	4	7.3 %	3	11.5%	1	3.4 %
Labouring Class	23	46	12	17.4 %	6	26.1 %	6	13.0 %
Total	N = 171	N = 197	N = 64	13.6 %	N = 41	24.0 %	N = 23	11.7 %

* Not including children who died before the age of 16 years. Those counted as single were listed as single on the death registration.

It was the sons of the upper class who had the highest percentage of remaining permanently single. These were urban men in professional, managerial or clerical roles, with the exception of three bachelors who lived on their rural properties. There was a geographic correlation underlying the discrepancy between single men and single women. Overall, the majority of permanently single men lived in rural regions, and all but two of the

[35] With a standard deviation of seventeen years.
[36] Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 172.
[37] *South Australia. Census, 1876*, Part 1. Summary, pp. 3-4.
[38] *South Australia. Census, 1876*, Part 1. Summary, p. 4.
[39] *South Australia. Census, 1876*, Part III. Conjugal Condition of the People, 'Table I: Showing the Number of Unmarried, Married and Widowed of each Sex'.

permanently single women lived in urban areas. A comment in the 1871 South Australian census noted that there were more unmarried males than females in the colony at that time, and that bachelors were predominant in country districts.[40]

Females with visible occupations

This study's second-generation population reached their mid-career in 1891, and the South Australian census in that year listed 24,253 female 'breadwinners' and their occupations.[41] When considered against the 91,356 females in the colony over the age of fifteen years, this provided a figure of 26.5 per cent of adult females in South Australia who were earning an independent income.[42] When the elderly were discounted, almost a third of women in Adelaide between the ages of fifteen and sixty were in paid employment.[43] Within the confines of this research, there were only ten women born in the second generation who were found to have visible occupations, representing merely 5.1 per cent of the women over fifteen years of age (Table 6.6). The average year of observation for these visible female occupations was 1900, higher than the average mid-career for the population. This speaks to the declaration of occupations on the resources used in this study, being predominantly birth, death and marriage registrations. In the nineteenth century, the listed occupations on these records for females were most frequently 'home duties' for married women and 'spinster' for single women, with limited declarations of an occupational title.[44]

Table 6.6: Daughters with visible occupations.

Parent's occupational class	Total Adult Females*	Females with visible occupations	
Upper Class	33	1	3.0 %
Middle Class	53	3	5.7 %
Skilled Workers	36	2	5.6 %
Farming & Fishing	29	1	3.4 %
Labouring Class	46	3	6.5 %
Percent of Total	N = 197	N = 10	5.1 %

* Females over the age of fifteen years.

Geographic Mobility in the Second Generation

The adult careers of the second generation spanned the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The individuals in this second-generation

[40] Boothby, Josiah. *Statistical Sketch of South Australia*. London: Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1876, p. 15.
[41] South Australia. *Census of 1891, Part 1: Summary Tables*. Adelaide, 1891, Table XXV.
[42] South Australia. *Census of 1891, Part 2: Ages of the People*. Adelaide, 1891, Table I.
[43] Bacchi, Carol. 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986, Table 15.5, p. 429.
[44] Devos, De Langhe and Matthys. 'Lost in Registration?' 2014, p. 474.

population were in their early career phase, aged fifteen to thirty-five years, during South Australia's boom decade of the 1870s, and reached their mid-career during the colony's dry decade of the 1880s and the international recession of the early 1890s. During this period, employment patterns in colonial Australia changed in city and country communities, as agricultural lands became available, rural service towns were established and mineral discoveries moved populations. There was a migration out of Adelaide after the mid-nineteenth century and South Australia's rural areas experienced a net gain in population each decade from 1851 until 1881, at which time a population shift swung back toward Adelaide.[45] Adelaide had contained just over half of South Australia's population at the 1851 census, and the colony's capital city did not reach this proportion again until 1921.[46]

Adhering to the standard established by historian John Hirst in his seminal work, *Adelaide and the Country 1870-1917,* the defining line between urban and rural in South Australia was placed ten miles, or sixteen kilometres, from the Adelaide post office.[47] This definition of the city's urban area encompassed Port Adelaide, and the suburbs and semi-suburban villages surrounding Adelaide, but also included farms, market-gardens and orchards located in between. The majority of the second generation were located in South Australia at their mid-career, but through a combination of first- and second-generation intercolonial and international migration, the second generation of this research were located in diverse locations (Table 6.7).

Table 6.7: Locations of the second generation at their mid-career.

Location of second generation at mid-career (µ1891)		
South Australia	354	**77.1 %**
Victoria	57	12.4 %
New South Wales	14	3.1 %
New Zealand	12	2.6 %
Western Australia	10	2.2 %
England	5	1.1 %
Queensland	3	0.7 %
Northern Territory	2	0.4 %
United States	1	0.2 %
Scotland	1	0.2 %
Percent of Total	N = 459	100 %

[45] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, Appendix tables, pp. 227-228.
[46] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 1; Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 179.
[47] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. vii - p. viii.

As individuals in this generation moved into other colonies, the urban limits of other capital cities needed to be defined. The definition of urban Melbourne in the nineteenth century was likewise placed at sixteen kilometres from the central point of Melbourne, and this also included many rural areas in between concentrated populations.[48] In the second generation of this research, individuals were also located, but to a lesser degree, in Sydney and Perth. As a 'city of suburbs', nineteenth century urban Sydney was categorised as the city centre combined with the suburban-settlements within a twenty-five-kilometre radius.[49] The urban centres in nineteenth century Western Australia were defined as the region within twelve kilometres of the centre of Perth and a three-kilometre arc surrounding the port of Fremantle.[50]

Table 6.8: Urban/rural geographic movement of second generation.

Rural / Urban Movement of Second Generation										
Occupational Class of the Second Generation (µ1891)	**Remained Rural**		**Relocated Rural to Urban**		**Relocated Urban to Rural**		**Remained Urban**		Total	
Upper Class	0	-	0	-	11	23 %	36	77 %	47	100 %
Middle Class	8	9 %	10	12 %	24	29 %	42	50 %	84	100 %
Skilled Workers	7	14 %	11	22 %	8	16 %	23	47 %	49	100 %
Farmers & Fishers	30	50 %	0	-	19	32 %	11	18 %	60	100 %
Labouring Class	28	41 %	6	9 %	12	18 %	22	32 %	68	100 %
Percent of total	N = 73	23 %	N = 27	9 %	N = 74	24 %	N = 134	44 %	308	100 %

In the first generation, those of the upper, middle and skilled worker occupational classes had been most attached to capital cities and in the second generation the upper, middle and skilled worker classes remained the most persistently urban (Table 6.8). Those of the urban upper class were the cities' managers and highly-skilled professionals. The three surviving children of George and Maria Mayo (née Gandy) serve as examples of Adelaide's urban upper-class, being a minister's wife, a doctor's wife and a civil engineer. The urban upper-class were predominantly located in Adelaide, but they also moved between the other Australian capital cities. Five of the children of Harbour Master Captain Hugh Quin were engineers in Sydney, Brisbane, and Melbourne as well as Adelaide. The children of

[48] Turner, Ian. 'The Growth of Melbourne.' in McCarty, J. W., and C. B. Schedvin. *Australian Capital Cities: Historical Essays*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978, pp.73-74

[49] Aplin, Graeme. 'Models of Urban Change: Sydney 1820–1870.' *Australian Geographical Studies,* vol. 20, no. 2, 1982, pp. 144-58; Fry, E. C. 'The Growth of Sydney.' in McCarty and Schedvin. *Australian Capital Cities,* 1978, pp. 31-35; Kelly, Max. *Sydney: City of Suburbs*. Kensington, N.S.W: New South Wales University Press, 1987, p. 192.

[50] Thomas, Merredith, 'East Perth 1884-1904: A Suburban Society.' in McCarty and Schedvin. *Australian Capital Cities,* 1978, pp. 144-147; Shaw, Brian J. 'Residential Differentiation in Nineteenth-Century Fremantle: The Antipodean Case.' *Australian Geographer,* vol. 24, no. 2, 1993, p. 46.

Adelaide Superintending Surveyor, Alfred Hardy and his wife Mary Louise (née Newenham) were solicitors and surgeons in Adelaide, Sydney, Hobart, and Perth. The next chapter will explore the correlation between occupational class persistence and geographic mobility.

In the first generation those in the upper class had remained entirely urban, but in the second generation twenty-three per cent moved out to fulfil professional, managerial and leadership roles in the colony's increasingly populated rural centres (Table 6.8: Upper Class). Examples of this movement were three of the Beare siblings, children of Company Superintendent Thomas Hudson Beare, who were, or were married to, rural solicitors. Arabella Charlotte Beare (Image 6.2) married solicitor George Williams when she was eighteen years old. The couple raised their ten children in Auburn on Ngadjuri land in the Clare Valley, where George was well known and referred to as 'Lawyer Williams'.[51] Over 5000 people attended the funeral of Arabella's brother John James Beare, solicitor and Mayor of Moonta, when he died of nephritis in 1884 at thirty-five years of age.[52] Younger brother Edwin Arthur Beare was twice Mayor of Wallaroo and practised as a solicitor in South Australia's Copper Triangle until his death in Kadina in 1912.[53] The expansion of South Australia's rural centres and service towns provided opportunities for the colony's upper class to maintain their positions away from the urban centre of Adelaide.

Figure 6.2: Arabella Williams (née Beare), c1885.[54]

[51] 'Obituary, Death of Mr. G. E. Williams', *Chronicle*, Saturday 19 June 1897, p. 21.
[52] 'Funeral of Major Beare', *South Australian Register,* Thursday 20 November 1884, p. 5.
[53] 'Death of a prominent citizen, the late Mr. E. A. Beare, LL. B.', *The Kadina and Wallaroo Times,* Saturday 9 March 1912, p. 2.
[54] State Library of South Australia, Arabella Williams (née Beare), B40774.

The children of the upper class also shifted to country towns to fill the wide range of middle class managerial, proprietary and clerical roles needed in these developing rural centres (Table 6.8: Middle Class). These included the graziers and land developers who relocated onto rural properties, such as Hurtle Willoughby Morphett (Image 6.3), youngest son of politician John Morphett and his wife Elizabeth (née Fisher), who became a pastoralist and land developer at Woods Point, on Ngarrindjeri land between Murray Bridge and Tailem Bend, where he spent the majority of his long life.[55] James Hurtle Morphett, another of the Morphett children, was a pastoralist, mine owner, clerk and Justice of the Peace in Queensland's Great North West.[56] Frederick Robe Finniss, (Image 6.4) fourth son of the first Premier of South Australia, Boyle Travers Finniss and his wife Ann Frances (née Rogerson), first went north with his father in 1864 to select the site of Australia's northern capital, and later returned to the Northern Territory as a clerk with the Eastern Extension Australasian and China Telegraph Company. [57] Frederick Robe remained in Palmerston (now Darwin) for the entirety of his career, working as a clerk for the Overland Telegraph Company until his death in 1908.[58]

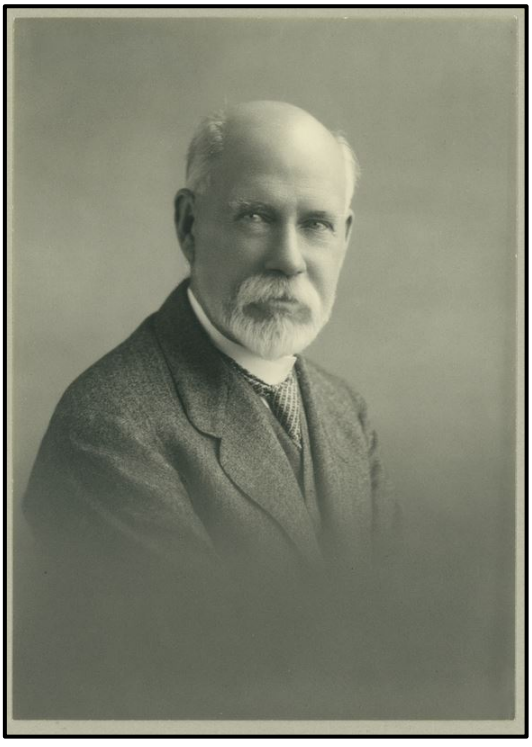


Figure 6.3: Hurtle Willoughby Morphett, c1920.[59]

Figure 6.4: Frederick Robe Finniss, c1870.[60]

[55] 'Death of a notable pastoralist, Mr Hurtle Morphett', *Advertiser,* Wednesday 19 October 1938, p. 24.
[56] 'Personal: Death of Mr James Hurtle Morphett', *Townsville Daily Bulletin,* Wednesday 12 February 1919, p. 4.
[57] 'The Late Frederick Robe Finniss', *Northern Territory Times and Gazette,* Friday 23 October 1908, p. 3.
[58] 'Port Darwin: Death of Mr. F. R. Finniss', *The Advertiser,* Monday 19 October 1908, p. 8.
[59] State Library of South Australia, *Hurtle Willoughby Morphett, c1920*, B22147.
[60] Flinders University, *Frederick Robe Finniss, c1870*, Borrow Collection, BORR/HV/F/3.

Against the trend of the time, more skilled workers from the second generation returned to the city than left for the country (Table 6.8: Skilled Workers). These were predominantly the sons and daughters of rural publicans, storekeepers, overseers and farmers who relocated from the country to an Australian city to pursue a trade, or for women, as the wife of an artisan. An example is William Hodges Jnr, eldest son of William Hodges Snr, who in the 1860s had been publican of the Royal Oak Hotel, Tothill Creek on Ngadjuri land in the colony's Mid North (Figure 6.5). Both father and son returned to Adelaide in the 1870s, where William Hodges Jnr worked as a saddler for J.A. Holden & Co in Adelaide.[61] Another example of a rural to urban move is Richard Kemp Teasdale, fourth son of Truro storekeepers William and Sarah Teasdale (née Jacques), who relocated to Sydney in the 1880s. Once there he married, raised a family and worked for twenty-five years as a railway officer with the New South Wales Railways.[62]

Figure 6.5: Royal Oak Hotel, Tothill Creek, c1890.[63]

Those who were in the farming and fishing occupational class who remained in urban areas included fishers in the Port Adelaide area who were descendants of *Duke of York* crew members Israel Mazey and Robert Frazer Russell; and market gardeners who maintained land within sixteen kilometres of Adelaide city centre (Table 6.8: Farmers & Fishers). Sawyer John Grant and his wife Hannah (née Garford) established a market-garden on land in

[61] 'Return Thanks: Mrs. W. Hodges and Family', *The Advertiser,* Saturday 22 February 1919, p. 6
[62] 'Mr. R. K. Teasdale', *Observer,* Saturday 29 February 1908, p. 38.
[63] State Library of South Australia, *Royal Oak Hotel, Tothill Creek, c1890*, B40571.

Dulwich. The Grant family were able to maintain an agricultural presence on this suburban land, which passed to the family's youngest son Stephen Garforth Grant, who 'carried on the nursery founded by his father' until 1924 (Figure 6.6).[64] Another suburban farmer on the outskirts of Adelaide's defined urban area was Thomas William Wright, third son of Dr Edward Wright and his wife Elizabeth. Thomas Wright operated Mersham Farm at Upper Dry Creek before he died of 'congestion of the brain' aged thirty-nine in January 1862, leaving a wife and five young children. This family did not maintain their land, as the farm was sold within two months of Thomas's death.[65]

Figure 6.6: Home of Stephen Garforth Grant, son of John and Hannah Grant, Dulwich, c1908.[66]

As might be expected, those who moved out to rural areas in the first generation were predominantly made up of those who took up farming, along with almost half of the persistent labouring class population. In the second generation, the farming class expanded as an increasing expanse of pastoral land was surveyed as agricultural land and made available for purchase. Amongst those who were listed as 'remained rural' is hidden a vast number of moves, as labourers and farmers relocated in search of productive or affordable agricultural land (Table 6.8: Remained Rural). The following sections of the chapter investigates the opening up of agricultural land in South Australia and neighbouring Victoria and follows the 'movers' who relocated between Australian colonies and abroad.

[64] 'Mr. S. G. Grant Dead', *News,* Tuesday 24 December 1929, p. 8.
[65] 'Farming, Stock, Implements at Mersham Farm', *South Australian Register,* Saturday 1 March 1862, p. 4.
[66] State Library of South Australia, *Grant Family Home, Dulwich, c1908*, B36085.

As discussed in chapter four, eighty-three per cent of the identified first generation were settled in South Australia after arrival in the colony. As a result, the majority of the second generation of this research spent their early life in South Australia (Table 6.7). Chapter four of this thesis located eleven of the first generation resettled in Victoria, six individuals who had returned to the United Kingdom, and one passage-assisted labourer who had relocated to New Zealand. The children of those who moved to another colony or country and who remained settled there throughout their lives were defined as 'stayers' within this research (Table 6.9). For example, boat-builder George Allen resettled in Wellington, New Zealand where he and his wife raised a family of nine children. Those of his children who remained in Wellington over the course of their careers are defined as stayers as they remained in the colony of their birth. The rate of geographic persistence in this generation was eighty-one per cent, which demonstrates only a two per cent decrease in the persistence rate from the first generation (Table 6.9: Percent of total).

Intercolonial and international movers and stayers

The overall rate that the second generation remained in the colony of their birth was eighty-one per cent (Table 6.9: Percent of Total). This ranged from the farmers and fishers as the most geographically persistent at ninety-two percent to the upper-class who had the lowest rate at seventy-four per cent. While predominantly located in Adelaide, the upper class were the most likely occupational class to venture abroad (Table 6.9: 'Movers' relocated overseas). In his analysis of Adelaide's 'gentry class', Van Dissel found that a limited number of the gentry moved freely between England and Australia, however, they were conscious of their dual identities as loyal South Australians and 'Greater Britons' and as such they, 'adhered to English values'.[67]

Table 6.9: Geographic relocation of second generation.

Intercolonial / Overseas Relocation of Second Generation								
Occupational Class of the Second Generation (μ1891)	**'Movers' intercolonial**		**'Movers' Overseas**		**'Stayers' in the colony of their birth**		Total	
Upper Class	7	15 %	5	11 %	35	**74 %**	47	100 %
Middle Class	13	15 %	3	4 %	68	**81 %**	84	100 %
Skilled Workers	10	21 %	1	3 %	37	**77 %**	48	100 %
Farmers & Fishers	5	8 %	0	-	55	**92 %**	60	100 %
Labouring Class	15	22 %	0	-	54	**78 %**	69	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 50	16 %	N = 9	3 %	N = 249	**81 %**	308	100 %

[67] Van Dissel, *The Adelaide Gentry*, 1973, p. 14.

Some settlers were able to send their children abroad for their advanced education, such as James Arthur Hardy, who was a medical student at St George's University London from 1870 to 1874.[68] James Hardy did not remain in England after completing his education, choosing instead to practise as a surgeon in Hobart and Sydney. Other members of the upper class were found further afield, such as Clara Augusta Jamieson (née Mildred), youngest daughter of Customs Sub-Collector Hiram Mildred and his wife Susanna (née Cheetham), who worked as a nurse in Shanghai, China before marrying an engineer and moving to Chelsea, London. Mary Ann Beare, daughter of Company Superintendent Thomas Hudson Beare, married a surveyor and civil engineer Frederick Archer in Penwortham in South Australia's Clare Valley in 1860. The couple had three children before Frederick Archer took work with the Indian Civil Service and the family relocated to Calcutta (now Kolkata) in West Bengal in 1864.[69] Four children were born in India, and two died, before the family returned to Adelaide a decade later.

Overseas relocations were rare in the second generation, with most movers relocating within Australia. The most frequent destination for the second generation of this research was Victoria (Table 6.10). The 1891 census shows that seventeen per cent of those born in South Australia had relocated to another Australian colony, a significant increase from eight per cent in 1881.[70] The greatest percentage of South Australia's intercolonial migrants were located in Victoria in 1891.[71] Using birthplace statistics, it was estimated that South Australia experienced a net loss of thirty-one thousand people during the colony's drought and dry decade in the 1880s.[72] This move was reversed during the international recession of the early 1890s, when Victoria experienced a net loss of population to South Australia.[73]

It was identified that sixteen per cent of the second generation had relocated to another colony in Australia (Table 6.9: Movers to another colony). Of these movers, forty-two per cent had moved to Victoria (Table 6.10). Skilled workers and those above the manual divide were attracted to the better economic conditions to be found in the rapidly expanding 'Marvellous Melbourne'.[74] George Woodforde, youngest surviving son of Adelaide surgeon John Woodforde, established himself as a Melbourne sharebroker, as did Lindsay Mildred, youngest son of customs collector Hiram Mildred. The Melbourne suburbs of Carlton,

[68] 'Young South Australian', *Evening Journal,* Tuesday 2 June 1874, p. 3.
[69] 'Family Notices: Deaths', *The Register,* Monday 19 January 1903, p. 4
[70] Rowland, D. T. 'Migration between Australian Colonies in the 1880s.' *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 5, September 1980, pp. 162-163.
[71] Rowland, 'Migration between Australian Colonies in the 1880s.' 1980, pp. 163-164.
[72] Rowland, 'Migration between Australian Colonies in the 1880s.' 1980, p. 164.
[73] Rowland, 'Migration between Australian Colonies in the 1880s.' 1980, p. 166.
[74] Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*. 2005, pp. 120-121.

Richmond and Fitzroy attracted skilled workers, while the middle class were more likely to be found the suburbs of St Kilda, Prahran, and Brighton. Many of the descendants of Port Adelaide's harbour master Hugh Quin were inclined towards professions in engineering, and daughters Lizzie and Mabel Quin both married engineers and lived in Melbourne's Prahran and St Kilda.

Table 6.10: Location of second-generation 'movers' at their mid-career.

Location of second-generation 'movers'		
Victoria	27	42 %
New South Wales	14	22 %
Western Australia	10	15 %
Queensland	3	5 %
New Zealand	3	5 %
England	3	5 %
Northern Territory	2	3 %
United States	1	2 %
Scotland	1	2 %
Percent of Total	N = 64	100 %

Those who moved into the rural regions of Victoria were predominantly found in the towns around the goldfields or in Victoria's Wimmera and Mallee country. One example of this was Frank Wilkins, fourth son of the deceased publican William Wilkins, who continued the family tradition as a small business owner with a grocery store in Newlyn, a rural town northeast of Ballarat, on Dja Dja Wurrung land in Victoria.[75] Another example was John William Parrington, youngest son of Yorke Peninsula shepherd and station-hand Charles Parrington (Figure 6.7). John moved to the Wimmera region of Victoria and was working as a labourer when he married Mary Anne Dalziel. The couple raised five surviving children, moving around Djab Wurrung land, while John Parrington worked as a station hand and labourer.[76]

In contrast to the labouring career of John Parrington, his eldest sister Sophia followed the path of many rural daughters who lived on rural properties as farmers' wives. The majority of these remained within South Australia, but several daughters from a labouring background moved across the colony's border to take up farming land which was more affordable in Victoria in the 1860s.[77] Sophia Parrington, eldest surviving daughter of shepherd Charles Parrington, had herself married a shepherd, Alexander Cameron, in 1859

[75] 'Ballarat Circuit Court', *The Ballarat Star,* Tuesday 1 August 1871, p. 4.
[76] 'John Parrington, late of Skipton', *The Argus,* Wednesday 19 May 1943, p. 9.
[77] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. 81-82.

at the Inverness Hotel in Glenroy, a rural settlement in South Australia's Bindjali region. Her husband worked as a boundary rider in the Tatiara region of South Australia in the early 1870s before the couple moved across the border to farm on Wergaia land in Victoria's Wimmera region. When Sophie Cameron died in 1884 of bronchitis and heart disease at forty-four years, she left eight surviving children between three and twenty-two years old.

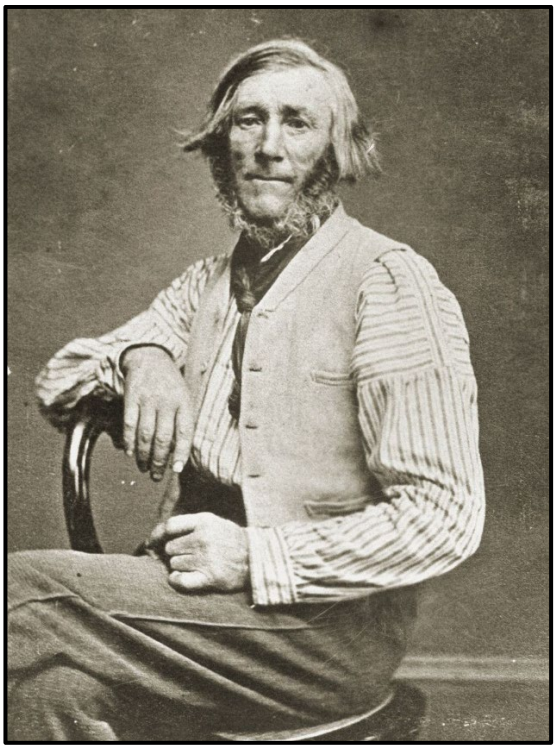


Figure 6.7: Charles Parrington, c1870.[78]

Sadly, the Parrington's second daughter Mary also died of bronchitis. She had married a labourer, Thomas Henderson, in Delamere, South Australia and their four sons were aged between four months and seven years when Mary died in 1869, at twenty-seven years of age. Another labourer's daughter to farm on Wergaia land in the Wimmera district was Rebecca Lyne, youngest daughter of Tiers sawyer Joseph Lyne and his wife Rebecca (née Page). Rebecca Jnr married John Spencer, a labourer and carter in Naracoorte, South Australia in 1865, and the couple moved to farm in Lillimur, Victoria. The Wimmera district of Victoria had been seen as a particular competitor to South Australia from the 1860s, when Victoria made arable land available on accessible terms for potential farming families.[79]

[78] State Library of South Australia, *Charles Parrington, c1870*, B2738.
[79] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, pp. 23, 204; Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 517; Hirst, John. 'South Australia and Australia: Reflections on their Histories' in Foster and Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points,* 2012, pp. 126-127.

Urban / Rural Mobility

In the 1860s, responding to perceived competition from rival colonies, the South Australian government sought to bring more land under cultivation, in order to maintain its position as Australia's preeminent wheat exporting colony.[80] Farmers had moved out of South Australia and into neighbouring colonies, extending Australia's wheatlands.[81] Wheat farming within South Australia had been blocked from expanding by pastoralists who maintained well-established sheep-runs to the north.[82] In 1869 the three principal products of South Australia were wheat, wool and copper.[83] The extent of South Australia's available arable land was delineated with 'Goyder's Line', defined in 1865 by George Goyder, the colony's longstanding Surveyor General from 1861 to 1894.[84] With the passing of the Waste Lands Amendment Act (Strangways Act) in 1869, large sections of land within the bounds of Goyder's Line were designated as 'agricultural areas' and made available to purchasers through a system of credit.[85] The newly surveyed land in agricultural areas was sold in sections large enough to support a farming family and could be paid off by instalments spread over four to six years.[86] Another government initiative of 1886, designed to supplement a labourer's income but not to provide the sole source of income, was the establishment of 'working men's blocks' on newly surveyed sections.[87]

The survey and subdivision of these agricultural areas brought an influx of settlers to establish farms and service towns on land which had been dominated by vast pastoral leases.[88] In the decades from 1836 to the 1860s, an era when these lands had been dominated by squatters, overseers and shepherds, Aboriginal traditional owners had been devastated by displacement, frontier violence and diseases unwittingly introduced by European populations.[89] By the time the farmers and rural townspeople arrived to populate the newly surveyed agricultural lands in the 1870s, Aboriginal populations had significantly

[80] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, pp. 22-24.
[81] McCann, Joy. 'History and memory in Australia's wheatlands', in Davison, Graeme, and Marc Brodie. *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in Twentieth Century Australia*. Clayton, Vic.: Monash University, 2005, p. 03/8.
[82] Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 517.
[83] SACC, *Annual Report 1869*, p. 11 cited in Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 127.
[84] Sheldrick, Janis M. *Nature's Line*: *George Goyder, Surveyor, Environmentalist, Visionary*. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2013, p. 5.
[85] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, pp. 26-27; Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist.' 1979, p. 40.
[86] Richards, 'Immigrant Lives' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 160; Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 518, 530-531.
[87] Nance, 'From Labour to Capitalist.' 1979, p. 40.
[88] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 12.
[89] Krichauff, *Memory, Place and Aboriginal-Settler History,* 2017, p. 38; See also Foster and Nettelbeck, *Out of the Silence,* 2012; Foster, Nettelbeck and Hosking, *Fatal Collisions,* 2001.

decreased and interactions with the incoming settlers were minimal.[90] Interactions were also minimised through the displacement of Aboriginal people onto missions located on the outskirts of the colony's agricultural areas.[91]

With the expansion of access to arable land in rural South Australia, settler-colonists and their descendants began to move out of Adelaide and into rural townships and farming communities. As a result of the Strangways Land Act, from 1869 to 1884 there was a push of population into the service towns and farming communities in the north, west and south east of South Australia.[92] The colonisation of South Australia was concurrent with the impact of industrialisation, the mass production of iron and steel, transportation by railway and mechanisation of farming.[93] In South Australia the expansion of the colony's agricultural areas occurred alongside the development of a network of railways, which were initiated in the colony in 1854 and expanded in the 1860s, 1870s and early 1880s, bringing a new source of employment.[94] The expansion of railways in these decades included networks radiating over the Adelaide plains, linking villages and paving the way for suburban land speculation.[95] The second generation of this research were part of the movement out of the city at this time. Almost a quarter of the children of the first expedition moved to rural areas over the course of their careers (Table 6.8: Percent of total).

Well-established Happy Valley vignerons Henry and Lydia Douglas passed their vineyards (Figure 6.8) on to their youngest son, Samuel Curlewis Douglas, but five of their other eight children also continued as farmers or vine growers. Two daughters married vignerons and remained in the O'Halloran district, while two sons and another daughter relocated in the early 1870s onto lands in the newly surveyed agricultural areas. Eldest son Joseph Douglas and his wife Isabella (née Klose) took up land in the Hummocks in the mid-north in 1869, then moved to Maitland on Narungga land on the Yorke Peninsula in 1874, where they

---

[90] Krichauff, Skye. 'Squatter-Cum-Pastoralist or Freeholder? How Differences in Nineteenth-Century Colonists' Experiences Affect Their Descendants' Historical Consciousness', in Payton, Philip, and Andrekos Varnava. *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019, pp. 107-108, 113-114.

[91] Nunkuwarrin Yunti. *Aboriginal Missions in South Australia*. Adelaide, S. Aust.: Nunkuwarrin Yunti of South Australia Inc., 2003; Williams, Michael. *The Making of the South Australian Landscape; a Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*. London, New York: Academic Press, 1974, pp. 16-17; Mattingley, Christobel, and Ken Hampton. *Survival in Our Own Land: Aboriginal Experiences in South Australia since 1836*. Rev. ed. ed. Sydney, N.S.W.: Hodder and Stoughton, 1992.

[92] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, pp. 166-167; Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 516-521

[93] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, p. 5.

[94] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth,* 1962, p. 128; Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 126.

[95] McGreevy, Michael. 'Suburban Growth in Adelaide, South Australia, 1850-1930: Speculation and Economic Opportunity.' *Urban History*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2017, pp. 214-215.

raised their family of twelve children. By the turn of the century, Joseph and Isabelle, along with six of their sons and one of their daughters, had relocated again to the appropriately named Wandering in the Wiilman region of Western Australia. The vineyards in Happy Valley had been left to the youngest son of Henry and Lydia Douglas, Samuel Curlewis Douglas, who died of colic irritability at the age of twenty-nine in 1896, leaving a widow and two children. His widow, Florence Christian Douglas (née Watts) successfully managed the Happy Valley vineyards in her own right until her death in 1934.[96]

Figure 6.8: Family home of Henry Douglas, Happy Valley Reservoir, c1894.[97]

The 1870s was a decade of prosperity in urban and rural South Australia.[98] In Adelaide, a tariff on imported goods helped expand local production, and from 1870 to 1875 the urban manufacturing labour force increased by sixty-four per cent.[99] For rural South Australia, high rainfall had enhanced harvests and encouraged farmers to take up land in the colony's far north.[100] This prosperous decade came to an abrupt end, when it was followed by a severe drought from 1880 to 1882 which particularly impacted those who had ventured north of Goyder's Line.[101] For South Australians, the global depression of the early 1890s arrived in a colony already struggling economically from the repercussions of a dry decade.[102]

---

[96] 'Fruit Plentiful', *The Advertiser,* Friday 1 April 1904, p. 6.
[97] State Library of South Australia, *Happy Valley Reservoir, c1894*, PRG563/2/631.
[98] Sendziuk and Foster. *A History of South Australia,* 2018, p. 78; Howell, Peter. *South Australia and Federation*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2002, p. 48; Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 129.
[99] Richards, 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876', 1975, p. 130.
[100] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 14; Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986, pp. 521-522; Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape,* 1974, pp. 42-43.
[101] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, pp. 78-82, 203; Williams, The Making of the South Australian Landscape, 1974, p. 48.
[102] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 2.

One family which had taken up land in the colony's north was that of Henry Wilkins, third son of publican William Wilkins, who died when Henry was nine years old. Henry Wilkins and his wife provide an example of the settler-colonial restless mobility marvelled at by de Tocqueville.[103] Henry had been a twenty-five-year-old butcher in Port Augusta when he married twenty-one-year-old Louisa Smith at the Northern Hotel in 1863. When the couple had their first child in 1864, Henry was a shepherd at Holowiliena Station on Adnyamathanha land in the Flinders Ranges. Their stay in the colony's far-north was brief, as by the birth of their next child in 1865, the couple had moved to Port Victor (now Victor Harbor) where Henry was listed as an inn keeper. The couple relocate again with their three surviving sons to Hampton near Burra in 1871, where Henry worked as a miner until the closure of the Burra Mine in 1877.[104] In 1878 the couple and their children took up Ngadjuri land in the colony's mid-north, at Hallett Extension (now Mount Bryan East), which bordered on Goyder's Line. Here the couple raised their ten surviving children. The decade of drought spent on the Mount Bryan farm impacted one of their younger sons, who was inspired to take an interest in meteorology and went on to become famed polar explorer, geographer and photographer, Sir George Hubert Wilkins.[105]

Examples of intergenerational farming in South Australia's mid- and far-north are found with the daughters of Kapunda shepherd, Stephen Paris. When Paris died in 1859, he left five orphaned daughters aged between eleven and twenty years old.[106] Their mother Caroline (née Hardham) had died eleven years earlier at the age of twenty-seven, three months after the birth of their youngest daughter. The eldest of the five daughters remained single, but the younger four all married and farmed on land in the colony's mid and far north, some bordering on or crossing over Goyder's Line. When second daughter Jane married farmer George Wilmott in 1864, both bride and groom signed their marriage record with a mark, indicating their illiteracy. They farmed on Ngadjuri land in Gum Creek, fifteen kilometres west of Burra. Third daughter Emily was forty years old in 1882 when she married illiterate farmer, James Cornfoot. The marriage took place on the farm of the youngest Paris sister Charlotte, who had married farm labourer Joel Sparks in 1872. These couples had ventured beyond Goyder's Line and were farming in Bendleby, on northern Ngadjuri land on the edge of the Flinders Ranges. The fourth Paris daughter, Mary Ann, married illiterate shepherd and horse breaker David Heaslip in 1862 and they were farming

[103] Tocqueville, Alexis de. *Democracy in America*. Edited by J. P. Mayer and George Lawrence. New York: Harper Perennial Modern Classics, 2006, pp. 280-284.
[104] 'Burra Letter', *Kapunda Herald*, Friday 1 September 1916, p. 3.
[105] 'Is Submarine Exploration Crazy? Sir Hubert Wilkins says No', *The Family Circle*, 30 October 1936, vol. 9, no 18, pp. 18-23.
[106] 'Kapunda', *South Australian Register,* Tuesday 6 September 1859, p. 3.

in Gladstone in 1875. The opening up of South Australia's agricultural land in 1869 was a success for the descendants of Stephen Paris. Between the Paris sisters, they had twenty-five children who survived infancy, with eighteen of these continuing as farmers. The experiences of their children, who are included in the third generation of this research, will be discussed in chapter eight.

Although South Australia struggled to recover from the double impact of drought and depression in the last decades of the nineteenth century, the challenge was met through the instigation of new farming techniques.[107] Strategies such as fallowing, the use of superphosphate and mullenising led to improved yields in the already establish agricultural areas of the colony.[108] Experimentation and success with these techniques in South Australia's wheat producing regions saw a further expansion of the colony's agricultural areas as low-nutrient land was brought under cultivation.[109] Moves onto these lands will be explored in the investigation of the geographic mobility of the third generation, in chapter eight.

The movements of this generation hint at the intercolonial migration which would become even more visible in the third generation. Thousands of South Australians were attracted onto Wilyakali land at Broken Hill in the late 1880s.[110] While this mining district was geographically located in the neighbouring colony of New South Wales, it was a mere fifty kilometres over the border, and its 'commercial, communication and family links were with South Australia rather than distant Sydney'.[111] The Broken Hill mines provided work not only to miners, but also to workers on South Australian wharves, railways and smelters, especially in Port Pirie.[112] Port Pirie was connected to Broken Hill in January 1888 by the Silverton Tramway which transported silver ore to be smelted and transformed Port Pirie into a centre for the processing and export of metals.[113] In the second generation of this study there were four people found resettled in Broken Hill, with four others were located there briefly, and only three people in the second generation lived and worked in Port Pirie. Movement to these areas became more visible in the third generation.

---

[107] Pike. 'The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition.' 1962, pp. 30-31.
[108] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, pp. 210-211; Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape,* 1974, p. 144-147, 280-287.
[109] Reuter, Doug. 'The South Australian Superphosphate Story - Part I.' *Agricultural Science,* vol. 24, no. 2, 2012, p. 24; Marshall, Ann. '"Desert" Becomes "Downs": The Impact of a Scientific Discovery.' *Australian Geographer,* vol. 12, no. 1, 1972, pp. 24-25.
[110] Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia,* vol. 4, 1969, p. 1553.
[111] Payton, *The Cornish Overseas,* 2020, p. 327.
[112] Blainey, Geoffrey. *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining*. 5th ed.: Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2003, pp. 157, 267-269, 273-274
[113] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, p. 214; Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 177.

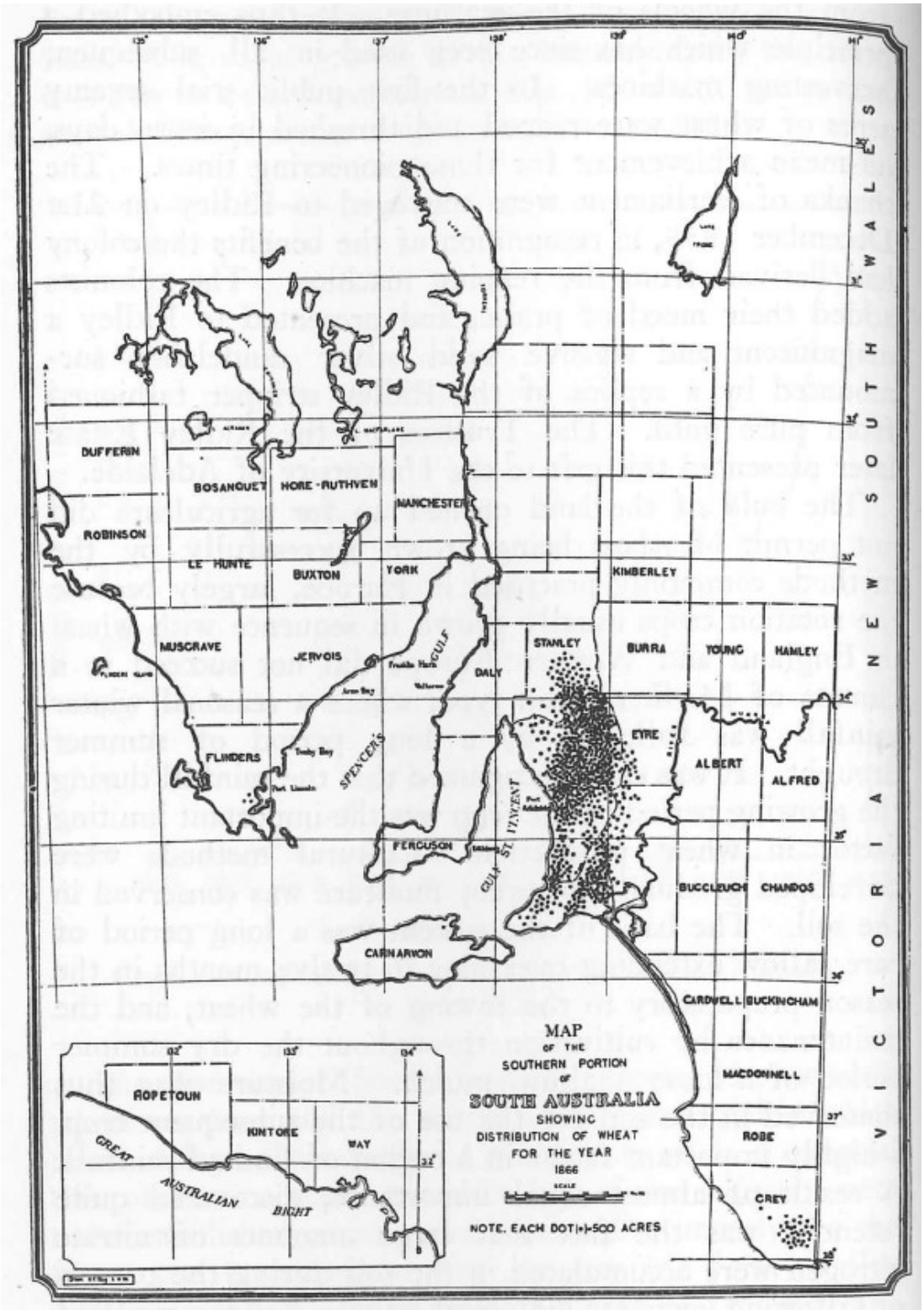


Figure 6.9: Distribution of wheat acreage in South Australia, 1866.[114]

[114] Royal Geographical Society of Australasia. South Australian Branch. *The Centenary History of South Australia*. Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 1936, p. 152.

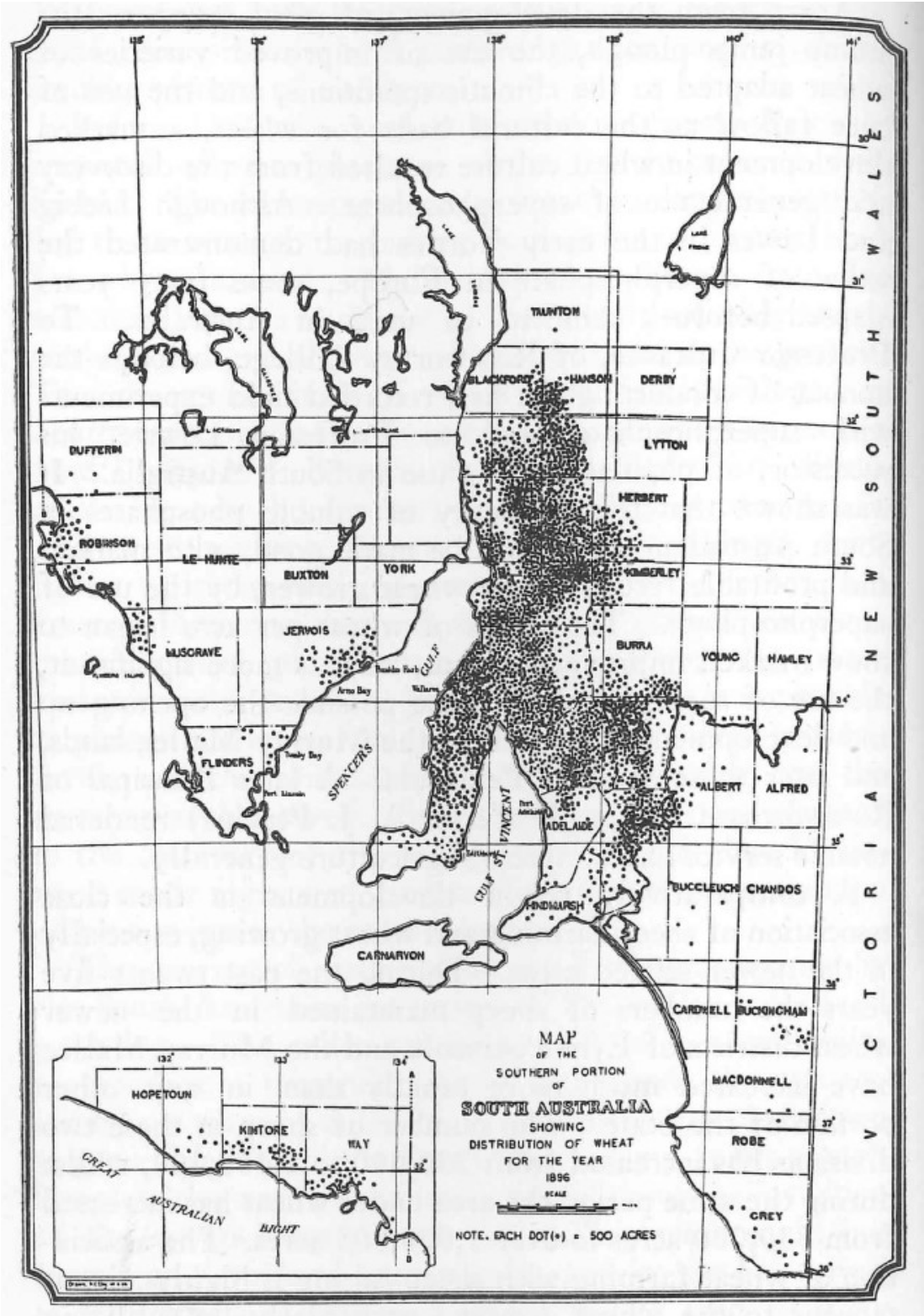


Figure 6.10: Distribution of wheat acreage in South Australia, 1896.[115]

[115] Royal Geographical Society of Australasia. South Australian Branch. *The Centenary History of South Australia*. Adelaide: Royal Geographical Society of Australasia, 1936, p. 156

In the years of depression before the turn of the century South Australia experienced substantial out-migration.[116] Motivated by the discovery of gold in the west, the 1890s saw a massive migration to Western Australia.[117] The population of Western Australia was almost multiplied fourfold in this decade, with labourers streaming in from South Australia and Victoria in particular.[118] In the second generation of this study only ten people relocated to Western Australia. Amongst these were several miners, skilled workers, a railway employee, a station hand and a solicitor working in Perth. As this generation were in their forties in the 1890s, they may have been comfortably settled and less inclined to roam in search of riches. As Blainey pointed out, it was predominantly young men who were attracted to the goldfield of Western Australia.[119]

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the second-generation population of this research was predominantly persistent in South Australia. Within South Australia there was a substantial urban to rural shift during the careers of the second generation. Unlike the first generation, when it was farmers and labourers who relocated to country areas, the second generation saw all occupational classes moving to populate the growing regional towns, with only skilled workers more likely to leave country areas and return to cities.

It was those of the upper class who presented the highest rate of emigration overseas, although the overall number who left Australia was minimal. Skilled workers and labourers had the highest rate of relocation to another colony, with the most popular destination being South Australia's neighbouring colony of Victoria. The colonial capital cities attracted those above the manual divide, while labourers and farmers moved to access newly surveyed farming land.

The analysis in this chapter found that the participants in South Australia's first expedition had smaller families than expected, with only the children of farmers and skilled labourers approaching the Australian average. A delayed age of marriage through immigration may have caused this discrepancy. The rate of infant mortality experienced by these families was also lower than expected, but when known infant deaths were combined with births

[116] Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 172.
[117] Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia,* vol. 4, 1969, p. 1577.
[118] Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended,* 2003, pp. 193-194; Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia,* vol. 4, 1969, p. 1577.
[119] Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended,* 2003, pp. 193-194.

for whom no further information could be found, infant mortality increased to a rate comparable with other colonies in that era.

In the second generation the number of unmarried sons was double that of daughters. The sons of the upper class had a particularly high rate of remaining single, with forty per cent living as bachelors. Overall, the males who remained single in the second generation were predominantly in rural South Australia, where the ratio of males to females did not have the parity that existed in the urban area of Adelaide and its surrounding suburban villages.

Only five per cent of women in the second generation were identified with visible, independent occupations. This compares with the twenty-five per cent of adult women in the 1891 census listed as female 'breadwinners'. This speaks to the resources used in this research, predominantly birth, death and marriage registrations, which disinclined to include occupational titles for women, using the descriptors of 'home duties', 'spinster' or 'single woman'.

This chapter demonstrated that despite droughts and depression, South Australian farmers were particularly persistent in the colony. During the careers of the second generation, the opening up of agricultural land to the north and west of Adelaide drew potential farmers away from the temptation of neighbouring Victoria. Those seeking land were encouraged to relocated within South Australia and establish themselves as intergenerational farming families. The next chapter conducts a closer inspection of the occupational outcomes of the children of South Australia's first expedition, uncovers the rates of class persistence and exposes the contrasting mobility experienced by sons and daughters. It also compares those who stayed to those who moved and uncovers the impact, if any, of relocation on occupational mobility.

Chapter Seven: Occupational Outcomes of the Sons and Daughters

The fortunes of the children of South Australia's settler-colonists were of interest to the colonial planners. Conjectures as to the potential class inheritance of children were included in the promotion to prospective emigrants, as Wakefield asked in his 1833 publication *England and America,* 'What is to become of the sons and the daughters?' Wakefield argued that it was a high priority for 'a man of fixed income' to ensure that his daughters were married, and it should be his first priority to prevent these daughters from marrying down, 'into a lower, which commonly means a poorer, rank than that in which they were born'.[1] For the migrants' sons, emigration was presented as a means to protect male bread-winners from the high level of competition perceived to have been a threat to all levels of occupations and professions in Great Britain at that time.[2] For the ambitious, South Australia was presented as a destination where 'paths to distinction' would be 'open and unencumbered' for those who emigrated.[3]

Wakefield aimed to make immigration attractive to the respectable middle class. Wakefield's middle class were those who sought property and profit, who had capital to invest, daughters to see well married and sons to be well employed.[4] He argued that the 'small capitalist' would almost certainly better their position if they were to emigrate from England and would improve their situation for themselves and their family.[5] He targeted much of his sales pitch 'to the "uneasy classes", those who feared falling status, anxious for their children most of all'.[6] To Wakefield the 'uneasy' middle class were those who held ambition for their children, who aimed to educate and help to establish them in the world but who were fearful for their provision.[7] It was not only the middle class who were said to fear for the future of their children. According to Wakefield, labouring emigrants were to be 'young couples just married, seeking a new home' who were motivated by 'the love of independence, but a sentiment of ambition, and, most of all perhaps, by anxiety for the welfare of children to come.'[8]

---

[1] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, p. 103.
[2] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, 1834, pp. 162-164.
[3] Hanson, *The South Australian Literary Association*, 1978, p. 3.
[4] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 80-106.
[5] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, 1834, p. 167.
[6] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750 -1900*, p 115
[7] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, p. 93.
[8] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 1834, p. 110.

This chapter examines the occupational class outcomes for the sons and daughters of South Australia's first expedition from the perspective of their parents. Were those who had immigrated to South Australia in leadership and administration roles able to protect their daughters from 'marrying down'? Were their sons able to secure position of esteem in the new settler-colony? Were those who had established themselves in the first generation as farmers, or business proprietors, or urban professionals, able to pass on their vocation to their sons and daughters? At what rate did children persist in their parents' occupational class and how did that rate of persistence vary if those children moved to another colony or overseas?

This chapter argues that the occupational outcomes for the sons and the daughters of each occupational class were starkly different; a difference which was especially evident in the manual classes. Daughters had access to occupational class mobility through marriage, an opportunity which appears unavailable to sons. This opportunity for marital mobility was particularly prevalent in remote rural areas where the male to female ratio was low, but was still present in urban environments where the sexes had parity. This upward mobility available to the daughters did not extend to include access to the upper class for those with farming, fishing or labouring parents. Those of manual-class origin had limited access to upper-class occupations.

The rate at which 'movers' left the colony of their birth was nineteen per cent. When considering these movers in relation to their class of origin, it was observed that the occupational mobility of labourers did not change if they relocated, their rate of persistence as labourers remained consistent. In contrast, a third of skilled workers' children who remained in the colony of their birth were upwardly mobile, while this was true for none who moved. The children of skilled workers who moved were mainly male and persistent or downwardly mobile, while the children of skilled workers who were upwardly mobile were principally female. The children of farmers who were persistent as farmers in the second generation were the most likely to have remained within the colony of South Australia. This was a result of sons inheriting land, daughters marrying local farmers and the movement of this generation onto newly surveyed agricultural lands within the colony, particularly in the Mid-North and the Yorke Peninsula. In contrast, the children of the upper-class experienced a higher rate of persisting in that occupational class if they emigrated to another colony or overseas. This was a result of both professionals and managers moving between colonial capital cities, and to a less degree, overseas, to continue their careers in these upper-class occupations. Similarly, children of the middle class who relocated to another colony or

overseas were found in upper-class occupations at a higher rate than those who did not move.

This chapter compares the mid-career occupation of the second generation, the sons and daughters of South Australia's first expedition, to the mid-career of their parents. When investigating intergenerational occupational mobility, maintaining a consistent age range at which occupations are compared between grandparent, child and grandchild is critical to avoid life-cycle bias.[9] For the purpose of intergenerational analysis, it is the occupation held at mid-career, defined as being that held between the ages of thirty-five and fifty-five years, that is considered an individual's peak career point and this is used for intergenerational comparisons.

For the first-to-second generation, this second-generation mid-career occupational class is compared with the occupational class of the first generation after they had experienced the career mobility associated with participation in a new settler-colonial society. In the first generation, a quarter of labourers and a fifth of skilled workers were upwardly mobile and crossed the manual divide from their early- to mid-career. In addition, a third of those who had immigrated with middle class occupations moved into upper-class roles in the new society, and it was that occupational class which was compared with that of their children.

As examined in the previous chapter, the second-generation population reached their mid-career, on average, in 1891 at forty-three years of age (Table 7.1: Second Generation). As such, the span of mid-career observations of the second generation ranged between 1876 and 1906. The mean year of mid-career observations of occupations for the first generation had been 1851, at the average age of forty-two years (Table 7.1: First Generation). In this way, the first generation's occupational class at the mid-nineteenth century has been compared to the second generation in the last quartile of the nineteenth century.

Table 7.1: First and second-generational birth year, mid-career year and age.

	First Generation	Second Generation
Birth Year	μ **1809** (σ 8)	μ **1848** (σ 12)
Mid-Career Age	μ **42 years** (σ 5)	μ **43 years** (σ 6)
Mid-Career Year	μ **1851** (σ 9)	μ **1891** (σ 15)

[9] Favre, B*ias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data,* 2019, p. 2.

Overview of Second-Generation population

The previous chapter revealed the attrition rate for the second generation—the loss of population through infant, child and young adult mortality, through missing individuals and missing mid-career occupations. After accounting for this attrition, there were 307 individuals in the second generation, 151 sons and 156 daughters of South Australia's first expedition, whose mid-career occupations could be compared to that of their parents (Table 7.2). When the second generation are categorised according to the occupational class of their parents, it can be seen that the largest proportion are children of the middle class (Table 7.2: Middle Class). These were the surveyors, clerks, and administrators of the first expedition, as well as those who immigrated as passage-assisted labourers who rose into the middle-class by becoming publicans, storekeepers and station overseers by their mid-career. The children of the other occupational classes had relative uniformity, at between sixteen and nineteen per cent of the second-generation population.

Table 7.2: Occupational class origin of second-generation population.

Children of the First Expedition				
Occupational Class	**Total**	**%**	**Daughters**	**Sons**
Upper Class	52	17 %	25	27
Middle Class	94	31 %	44	50
Skilled Workers	59	19 %	27	32
Farming & Fishing	48	16 %	25	23
Labouring Class	54	17 %	35	19
Total	**N = 307**	**100 %**	**N = 156**	**N = 151**

The outcomes of the children of each of these occupational classes are considered in this chapter, paying particular attention to their rate of class persistence, and how this persistence was impacted by continued migration. Their parents had all immigrated to South Australia in 1836. While the vast majority of the first generation had remained in South Australia, a small number were identified who had relocated to Victoria or New Zealand or returned to the United Kingdom. This chapter will compare the occupational outcome of their children who continued to migrate ('movers') to those children who remained in the colony of their birth ('stayers').

Children of Labouring Parents

Wakefield separated the 'work-people' of Britain from 'all the other classes, nobility, clergy, gentry, placeholders, stockholders, manufacturers, merchants and tradesmen'.[10] The act of emigration, through applying for and accepting assisted passage as a labourer with the South Australian colonial endeavour, was presented as a means to leave the labouring class, to become landowners or capitalists within 'a few years' of arriving in the colony.[11] At the 1834 Exeter Hall public meeting promoting South Australia, the chance for those who were 'steady and industrious' to 'rise in the world' was emphasised by Member of Parliament George Grote. Grote declared that the artisan and labourer who emigrated to South Australia would 'at his death… leave to his children a lot and station in society superior to that which he possessed'.[12]

Not all promoters of the South Australian scheme shared this optimism for the future of the proposed colony's labouring class. Also speaking at the Exeter Hall was geologist, political economist and radical member of the reformed House of Commons, Poulett Scrope.[13] Scrope belied the occupational mobility objectives of South Australia's systematic colonisation when he argued that young male and female labourers under thirty years of age were to be prioritised for assisted passage, so as to provide South Australia with the 'breeders of a future generation of labourers.'[14] This thesis reveals to what degree passage-assisted immigration to South Australia provided access to occupational mobility out of the labouring class, or provided the colony of South Australia with generations of persistent labourers. Chapter five demonstrated that fifty-one per cent of those who had arrived as labourers had moved out of this occupational class by their mid-career. This section concerns the sons and daughters of the remaining forty-nine per cent, those who had remained in the labouring class of the course of their careers. Those in the first generation who had remained labourers were predominantly carriers, shepherds, sawyers or general labourers.

Labourers' children were defined as 'persistent' when they were found to be in labouring occupations at their own mid-career. 'Upward' mobility occurred when labourers' children were in any occupational class other than labouring, and for the labouring class there is no downward mobility, as this is the 'lowest' occupational category. When considering the

[10] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, p. 172.
[11] South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony,* 1834, p. 15.
[12] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, 1834, p. 161.
[13] Main, 'Foundations of South Australia', in Jaensch, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History,* 1986, p. 7.
[14] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, 1834, p. 187.

occupational outcomes of all labourers' children, the rate of occupational persistence was thirty-seven per cent (Table 7.3: Persistent). This total rate of occupational class persistence conceals the discrepancy in outcomes between the sons and the daughters. The occupational outcomes for daughters of labouring origin contrasted starkly to that of the sons. Daughters of the labouring class were more than twice as likely to experience a change in occupational class (Table 7.3: Upward).

Table 7.3: Occupational class mobility for children of labourers.

Children of Labourers						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**Second Generation**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	34	**63 %**	7	37 %	27	**77 %**
Persistent	20	37 %	12	**63 %**	8	23 %
Downward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	N = 54	100 %	N = 19	100 %	N = 35	100 %

When the rate of upward mobility is broken down by occupational class (Table 7.4), it can be seen that a large percentage of labourers' daughters married into the farming and fishing occupational class, while the majority of labourers' sons remained labourers, working as station hands, urban labourers or railway employees. There was a geographic element to this mobility. It was the sons of urban labourers who were upwardly mobile and crossed the manual divide to became business proprietors. It was predominantly the rural daughters who married farmers or market-gardeners, and the urban daughters who married skilled workers or into the middle class.

Access to the upper-class was rare for both labourers' sons and daughters. There was only one example of a marriage into the upper class: Ellen Lyne, daughter of Company Tier's (now Crafers) sawyer Joseph Lyne and his wife Rebecca (née Page). Ellen married chemist and druggist Percy Weedon Dyer in Adelaide in 1862 when she was twenty-one years old. The couple lived in Kooringa (Burra) and had two daughters before Ellen Dyer died of 'inflammation of the brain' when she was twenty-five years old. As she died before her mid-career, she was not included in the analysis for this research. No labourers' sons entered upper-class occupations and no other daughters married into the upper class (Table 7.4).

Table 7.4: Occupational class outcomes for children of labourers.

Children of Labourers						
Destination class of second generation	**Second Generation**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upper Class	0	-	0	-	0	-
Middle Class	10	19 %	5	26 %	5	14 %
Skilled Workers	6	11 %	0	-	6	17 %
Farmers & Fishers	18	33 %	2	11 %	16	46 %
Labouring Class	20	37 %	12	**63 %**	8	23 %
Total	N = 54	100 %	N = 19	100 %	N = 35	100 %

This discrepancy between sons and daughters was exacerbated by rural and urban population differences. The planners of colonial South Australia had aimed to create a society with equal numbers of males and females, and in urban and suburban Adelaide this aim came to fruition. At the time the second generation was entering marriages, there was parity between the sexes in the settled districts of South Australia. [15] This was not the case for the more remote pastoral districts, where females were on average thirty per cent of the population.[16] The male to female imbalance in rural areas had been exacerbated by the expansion of South Australian agricultural frontier in the 1870s.[17]

In the first generation, almost half of the persistent labourers moved away from the city and into rural districts. In terms of occupational mobility, this move benefitted the daughters of these rural labourers rather than their sons, who were more likely to persist as labourers and to remain single.[18] During the second generation, there was a push to extend the rural boundaries of the colony. John Lockett Jnr, son of Nectar Brook shepherd John Lockett Snr, provides an example of this. Nectar Brook was on Nukunu land in the colony's mid-north region, between Port Pirie and Port Augusta, but John Lockett Jnr went further into the colony's outback. As a teenager John Jnr was a boundary rider at Willippa Station on southern Adnyamathanha land in the Flinders Ranges. When he died, aged fifty-eight years in 1921, John was single and a station hand at Murnpeowie Station (Figure 7.1) in South Australia's far north, on the border of Adnyamathanha and Pirlatapa land, near the Strzelecki Desert. John Lockett Jnr serves as an example of the roving rural labourer who constituted the outback's shearers, drovers and bush-workers and served as the template for Ward's typical Australian male.[19]

[15] Average year of marriage was 1875 with a standard deviation of seventeen years; South Australia. *Census, 1876,* Part 1. Summary, pp. 3-4.
[16] South Australia. *Census, 1876*, Part 1. Summary, pp. 3-4; Vamplew, Wray, et al. *South Australian Historical Statistics*. Historical Statistics Monograph, No. 3, History Project Incorporated, Kensington, New South Wales, 1984, p. 13.
[17] Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 173.
[18] Boothby, *Statistical Sketch of South Australia*, 1876, p. 15.
[19] Pike. 'The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition.' 1962, p. 28.

Figure 7.1: Farm building on Murnpeowie Station, c1922.[20]

There is evidence in this generation of labourers' sons living as subsistence farmers, defined as farming supported by additional employment off the land. Observations of subsistence farming was assisted by the high fecundity of many rural families, as the father's occupation could be seen vacillating between farming and labouring on successive children's birth registrations. Continual cropping on the original eighty acre farming subdivisions quickly exhausted the soil of nutrients in the days before superphosphate, and those who 'failed at farming… would sink into the ranks of the labourers'. [21] These small farmers who could not either expand their holdings or relocate, sought additional employment to support their families.[22] William Chandler, the only son of Charles and Elizabeth Chandler, serves as an illustration of the tenuous nature of farming.

Charles Chandler had arrived in South Australia as a widowed father of four children, after his wife died during the voyage of the *John Pirie*. Charles Chandler worked predominantly as an agricultural labourer and was a shepherd at his mid-career, before farming on Peramangk land in the Mount Lofty Ranges, in an area which came to be known as Chandlers Hill.[23] His only son, William Chandler, also farmed at Chandlers Hill, but vital records listed William intermittently as a labourer, farmer and wood-carter over the course of his career, which spanned the years from his marriage in 1853 to his death in 1902, aged seventy-one years. The most common size of rural allotments was 80 acres, which was not

[20] State Library of South Australia, *Farm building on Murnpeowie Station, c1922*, B62595.
[21] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. 21-22.
[22] Pike, Douglas. 'The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition.' *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1962, pp. 31-32.
[23] City of Onkaparinga, *Chandlers Hill: European History and Heritage*, <http://www.onkaparingacity.com/history/viewsuburb.asp?content=chandlers>

enough land to support a family, especially the large families of this time.[24] The Strangways Act of 1869 acknowledged the hardships faced by subsistence farmers and introduced measures aimed to promote persistent farmers, by making country sections larger so that they might support families without requiring additional outside income.[25]

Figure 7.2: Sarah Ellen Hickman (née Chandler), c1872-1881.[26]

In contrast to William Chandler, all three daughters of Charles Chandler established persistent farming families. Eldest and youngest of the daughters, Elizabeth Collins (née Chandler) and Harriet Waller (née Chandler) relocated in 1857 with their husbands and children to farm in the Delamere region, on southern Kaurna land on the Fleurieu Peninsula. Their sister Sarah Hickman (née Chandler) and her family joined them in 1864 (Figure 7.2). In December 1869, three months before her sixteenth birthday, the eldest daughter of William and Sarah Hickman was bitten by a snake while walking through a hay field and died three days later. The newspaper report of her death declared that, 'the sad

[24] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, 1962, pp. 25-27; Bowes, 'Land Settlement in South Australia', 1968, p. 51.
[25] Nance, Christopher. 'From Labour to Capitalist.' 1979, p. 40.
[26] State Library of South Australia, *Old Colonists Mosaic: Sarah Ellen Hickman*, B19985/21F.

occurrence has cast quite a gloom over the neighbourhood'.[27] This gloomy air is understandable considering the substantial number of Harriet's cousins who lived locally. As well as being the eldest of ten children, Harriet Chandler had, at that time, fifteen Collins cousins and nine Waller cousins in the Delamere region. These are examples of the large families common in settler-colonial farming communities.

While sisters Elizabeth Collins and Harriet Waller remained on the Fleurieu Peninsula, Sarah Hickman moved with her family to the Yorke Peninsula in 1872, to farm on Narungga land at Troubridge near Edithburgh.[28] Charles Chandler became the grandfather of fifty-four children born in South Australia, and half of these grandchildren would continue as farmers, while a third were labourers. The movements of these grandchildren around regional South Australia, Victoria and New South Wales will be included in the next chapters on the third generation.

Almost half of the daughters of labouring origin married farmers or market-gardeners. The Chandler sisters, along with the Paris sisters discussed in the previous chapter, and the daughters of shepherd Charles Parrington and sawyer Joseph Lyne, as well as others, demonstrate the ability of labourers' daughters to marry men who were able to acquire land. This marital mobility was most likely assisted by the rural disparity between men and women that existed in nineteenth century colonial South Australia, but urban daughters were also able to access upward occupational mobility through marriage. Almost all of the daughters of urban labourers married out of the labouring class, with only three of the seventeen urban labourers' daughters themselves marrying labourers. The urban daughters who were upwardly mobile married men with a trade, who were business proprietors or were in sales.

All four surviving daughters of Hindley Street water-carrier John Afford married out of the labouring class, two married skilled workers, and two married shopkeepers. These daughters also provide the only examples of international relocation in the children of labourers, with the youngest and eldest of the Afford sisters located abroad. Eldest daughter Rosina Afford was in New Zealand when she married gas-fitter George Philip Daye in Christchurch in 1870. Youngest daughter Annie Emma Afford married Adelaide shopkeeper William Charles Bennett Richards in 1877 when she was eighteen years old. This marriage appears to have been unsuccessful as Annie Emma Richards left her husband

[27] 'Finniss Vale', *South Australian Chronicle and Weekly Mail,* Saturday 11 December 1869, p. 7.
[28] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, pp. 26, 30, 48.

and took their two surviving sons to live in the United States.[29] The elder of these sons became a well-known Californian artist and author, who wrote under the nom de plume Marshal South.[30]

Another Afford sister, Alice Laura married Adelaide grocer William Alfred Hubble in 1879 when she was twenty-three years old. Hubble went into business with two of his Afford brothers-in-law and they operated a grocery business on the corner of Hindley and Leigh Streets in Adelaide, under the name Afford, Stout & Co. Another son, Thomas Dean Afford, operated a bakery in Kapunda which in 1864, was said to be 'the largest business of this kind in the town'.[31] Other sons of urban labourers took up white-collar clerical and sales roles, such as Adelaide draper Smitheyt Sladden Jnr, and clerk Albert Sladden. In an odd coincidence, Smytheyt Sladden Snr had spent the early 1850s working as a water carrier, so all five sons to cross the manual divide were sons of Adelaide water-carriers (Table 7.4: Middle Class).

What is not known is how the upward mobility of these labourers' sons who became business proprietors, might have been assisted by their own marriages. Marriage records in South Australia did not provide occupations for parents of both the bride and the groom, preventing an examination of the correlation of upwardly mobile males and the occupational class of their wife's parents. In the case of the Afford family, two brothers were in business with their sister's husband, so they appear to have been assisted by their sister's marriage rather than their own. To interrogate the effect of marital mobility on the occupational mobility of the males would require an analysis of the careers of the parents of their brides, which was not possible within the confines of this research.

In the second generation, eighty per cent of the children of labourers were 'stayers' who remained in the colony of their birth, and twenty per cent were 'movers' who relocated to another colony or country. When comparing the occupational class mobility of the stayers and movers of labourers' children, their rate of upward or stable mobility was fundamentally equivalent (Table 7.5). The upwardly mobile movers were all females, predominantly moving into Victoria.

[29] 'Emma Richards', United States Border crossing, St Albans, Vermont, 1908; 'Annie E Richards', California, Death Index, 1 August 1924, San Diego, California.
[30] Lindsay, Diana. 'Finding the Real Marshal South', *Desert USA Newsletter*, <https://www.desertusa.com/desert-people/marshal-south.html>
[31] Morrison, W. Frederic. *The Aldine History of South Australia, Illustrated*. Volume Two, Adelaide: The Aldine Publishing Company, 1890, Appendix, p. 175.

Table 7.5: Geographic relocation of children of labourers.

Children of Labourers						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**'Movers'**		**'Stayers'**		**Percent of Total**	
Upward	7	**64 %**	27	**63 %**	34	**63 %**
Persistent	4	36 %	16	37 %	20	37 %
Downward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	N = 11	100 %	N = 43	100 %	N = 54	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 11	20 %	N = 43	**80 %**	N = 54	100 %

Children of Farming and Fishing Parents

There were sixty-four births originating from first-generation couples who were farming or fishing by their mid-career. After allowing for attrition, as outlined in the previous chapter, there were forty-nine sons and daughters of the farming and fishing class to be compared to their parents' mid-career occupational class (Table 7.6). As previously observed for the labouring class, the overall rate for upward mobility of thirty-one per cent hides a disparity between the sexes (Table 7.6: Upward). The daughters of the farmers and fishers experienced a rate of upward mobility which was more than three times that of the sons. Those farmers' and fishers' sons who were not occupationally persistent were three times more likely to be working as labourers at their mid-career than daughters.

Table 7.6: Occupational class mobility for children of farmers and fishers.

Children of Farmers and Fishers						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	15	31 %	3	13 %	12	48 %
Persistent	22	45 %	12	50 %	10	40 %
Downward	12	24 %	9	37 %	3	12 %
Total	N = 49	100 %	N = 24	100 %	N = 25	100 %

The farming and fishing class had an overall persistence rate of forty-five per cent. These twelve farming or fishing sons and ten daughters were the children of those who had established themselves as farmers or fishers in the first generation. The most persistent of the farming families was that of James and Harriet Stone, farmers on Peramangk land in Bull Creek. All five of their children who reached adulthood, two daughters and three sons, continued to farm in South Australia. Each of the three Stone brothers and one of the sisters remained farmers in the Bull Creek area and did not have to relocate to find fresh farming land. The youngest of the sisters moved to the colony's mid-north to farm on northern Kaurna land at Mount Templeton in the early 1870s, at the time the agricultural

lands had been made available through the Strangways Act. This farming tradition continued amongst Stone descendants, with over fifty-six per cent of the grandchildren of James and Harriet Stone persisting as farmers. These third-generation farmers will feature in the next two chapters.

Those who persisted in the fishing industry were children of two *Duke of York* crew members and Port Adelaide fishers, Israel Mazey and Robert Frazer Russell. These two men each married and between them had twenty children and seventy-one grandchildren. Of the ten children of Israel Mazey to live to their mid-career, three sons were listed as fishers, two sons as fish hawkers, and the eldest daughter was married to a fish hawker. When John Henry Mazey, the second son of Israel and Hannah Mazey (née Woolman), died in 1928 at the age of eighty years, his obituary stated that he had died in King Street, Alberton in the house next door to the one in which he had been born, and had lived on that street his entire life.[32] Like his father, John Henry Mazey had a life-long association with the Port Adelaide fishing industry, and all of his children continued to live in the neighbouring suburbs of Alberton and Rosewater. Two of the four sons of Robert Russell also continued as fishers. The families of both of these *Duke of York* crew members were remarkably loyal to the Port Adelaide area.

An example of the differing occupational outcome for sons and daughters can be found in the large family of James Hoare, market-gardener in Clare. James Hoare had journeyed to South Australia on the *Cygnet* with his wife Sarah Hoare (née Angel) and their two children. The couple had a son, John Rapid Hoare, on 7 November 1836, two months after the arrival of the *Cygnet* at Kangaroo Island. This son has been celebrated in South Australia as the first white male child born in the colony after the arrival of settler-colonists.[33] This claim was disputed by surveyor William Neale and his wife Mary (née Young) who had also journeyed on the *Cygnet*, and had a son, Nepean Kingston Neale on 13 September 1836 two days after the arrival of the *Cygnet*. Sadly, this infant son died at Holdfast Bay two months later, on 11 November 1836.[34]

In the early 1850s, James Hoare with his wife and children, travelled to the goldfields in Victoria. In October 1854, a newspaper notice declared that Sarah Hoare had died at the Tarrengower Diggings, on Dja Dja Wurrung land between Bendigo and Ballarat. James

[32] 'Obituary: Mr John Henry Mazey', *The Register,* Wednesday 4 July 1928, p. 13.
[33] 'Correspondence: Mr John Rapid Hoare', *Evening Journal,* Friday 11 February 1887, p. 2; 'The First Born Male', *The Advertiser,* Friday 21 June 1901, p. 6; 'South Australia's Oldest Natives', *Daily Herald,* Friday 14 November 1919, p. 4.
[34] 'The first-born South Australia', *Evening Journal,* Thursday 20 April 1876, p. 2; 'The first-born South Australian male', *The Advertiser,* Saturday 22 June 1901, p. 8.

Hoare returned to South Australia and married Martha Webb in 1856. This second marriage produced eight children. James Hoare appears to have returned to South Australia in 1854 with only his second son from his first marriage, fifteen-year-old Henry Hoare, while the other children remained in Victoria with their mother Sarah, who had, in fact, not died. Sarah Hoare also remarried, to Herman Honey in 1857.[35] When Sarah died in the Castlemaine Benevolent Asylum aged 95 years in 1904, her death notice emphasised that she had arrived in Australia in 1836 and had given birth 'to the first white child born in Victoria'.[36] Sarah's death notice avoided mention of her prior marriage and connection to South Australia, though her 'first white child' claim attracted wide publicity and the news story was reprinted in South Australia.[37]

John Rapid Hoare, the son at the centre of this 'first' birth, had relocated to farm in Dunkeld, on Wiradjuri land in New South Wales. In South Australia, his father James Hoare apologised on behalf of his son, as John Rapid Hoare refused to return to South Australia to claim his honour at the colony's jubilee celebrations in December 1886.[38] John Rapid Hoare responded in early 1887, stating that it had been the harvest that had kept him on his property in New South Wales and he could not leave, as his large family were 'entirely dependent upon the produce of the farm'.[39] Of the four sons of James Hoare, John Rapid had been the only son to continue on the land. The other three sons held labouring occupations, contributing to the number of farmers sons who moved into the labouring class (Table 7.7: Sons).

Table 7.7: Occupational class outcomes for children of farmers and fishers.

Children of Farmers and Fishers						
Destination class of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upper Class	0	-	0	-	0	-
Middle Class	9	19 %	2	9 %	7	28 %
Skilled Workers	6	12 %	1	4 %	5	20 %
Farmers & Fishers	22	45 %	12	50 %	10	40 %
Labouring Class	12	24 %	9	37 %	3	12 %
Total	N = 49	100 %	N = 24	100 %	N = 25	100 %

[35] 'Husband and Wife', *Weekly Times,* Saturday 18 November 1893, p. 20; 'Castlemaine Police Court: Maintenance', *Mount Alexander Mail,* Saturday 9 December 1893, p. 2.
[36] 'About People', *The Age,* Monday 25 April 1904, p. 4.
[37] 'Personal', *The Advertiser*, Wednesday 27 April 1904, p. 4.
[38] 'Correspondence', *South Australian Register,* Thursday 30 December 1886, p. 4.
[39] 'Correspondence', *Evening Journal,* Friday 11 February 1887, p. 2.

The daughters of James Hoare were amongst the upwardly mobile daughters of farmers and fishers. The Hoare daughters had married men with a trade: a butcher, a carpenter, a watchmaker and a blacksmith. Only one daughter married a labourer and one a gardener. The youngest sister, Agnes Emma Hoare, became a Salvation Army Officer and was married in Perth, Western Australia in 1895, to fellow Officer William Ballard. By 1913 the couple and their two children had relocated to Dee Why in New South Wales where they were living at the Salvation Army's 'Home of Rest'. Another daughter, Elisabeth Mary Subritzky (née Hoare) relocated to New Zealand in 1868, with her husband and nine children. In New Zealand her husband, Johannes Subritzky, was a ship's captain and traded along the coast of the North Island.[40] These daughters of James who married skilled artisans or who crossed the manual divide represent the outcomes for the daughters of farmers, who were more likely to be upwardly mobile than to marry into the labouring class (Table 7.7: Daughters).

The majority of children of farmers and fishers were not geographically mobile, with eighty-six per cent remaining in the colony of their birth (Table 7.8: Percent of Total). The Hoare sisters who moved to other colonies or overseas were examples of the very few 'movers' amongst the children of the fishers and farmers. Within this generation, the beginning of the late nineteenth century population shift into rural Western Australia could be seen. William Simpson Russell, youngest son of fisherman Robert Fraser Russell, was a married carpenter with four children when he departed on a mining excursion into Western Australia in 1899. He failed to return, and his wife waited the required seven years before remarrying in Fremantle in 1906. Another venturer into rural Western Australia was Joseph Robert Jones, third son of Clarendon farmer Joseph Jones. Joseph Robert was a station hand at the remote Murrin Murrin Station, on the border of Kuwarra and Wangkathaa land, deep in Western Australia's Goldfields-Esperance region.

While it is apparent that those children of farmers and fishers who moved away from the colony of their birth experienced a higher rate of upward mobility, there were very few individuals in this population (Table 7.8: 'Movers'). All three of these upwardly mobile 'movers' were the daughters of market-gardener James Hoare. Those children of the farming and fishing occupational class who remained in their colony of their birth, all within South Australian, had a greater rate of persistence than those who moved (Table 7.8: Persistent). The second generation who persisted with farming within South Australia either maintained a connection to the farming region of their parents or moved into the

[40] 'Obituary: Captain John A Subritzky', *Auckland Star,* 10 October 1912.

newly surveyed agricultural lands, demonstrating the success of this strategy in keeping the next generation of farmers within the colony.

Table 7.8: Geographic relocation of children of farmers and fishers.

Children of Farmers and Fishers						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**'Movers'**		**'Stayers'**		**Percent of Total**	
Upward	3	44 %	12	28 %	15	31 %
Persistent	2	28 %	20	48 %	22	45 %
Downward	2	28 %	10	24 %	12	24 %
Total	N = 7	100 %	N = 42	100 %	N = 49	100 %
Percent of total	N = 7	14 %	N = 42	**86 %**	N = 49	100 %

Children of Skilled-Worker Parents

The skilled workers of the first expedition were the sought-after artisans who brought trade skills needed to construct the new settler-colony. These people could build, bake, cobble and construct and, despite a detour for some into hospitality, they were generally persistent in their occupations after arrival in the colony. After considering mortality and attrition, there were fifty-nine children of skilled workers for whom a mid-career occupation could be compared to that of their parents. These were thirty-two sons and twenty-seven daughters (Table 7.9).

Table 7.9: Occupational class mobility for children of skilled workers.

Children of Skilled Workers						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	17	29 %	5	15 %	12	44 %
Persistence	20	34 %	10	31 %	10	37 %
Downward	22	37 %	17	53 %	5	19 %
Total	N = 59	100 %	N = 32	100 %	N = 27	100 %

Like the children of farmers and fishers, the daughters of skilled workers experienced a rate of upward mobility which was almost three times that of the sons (Table 7.9: Upward). The sons, in contrast, were almost three time more likely that daughters to be downwardly mobile (Table 7.9: Downward). Sons of rural skilled workers were particularly susceptible to becoming labourers, as was the case for the sons of shoemaker John Corney and his second wife Mary (née Price). John's first wife, Eliza Perrin, had died in 1839, three months after their wedding, at the age of seventeen years. Five of the Corney sons were rural labourers, while the youngest of the brothers moved to Broken Hill and was a mill foreman by his mid-career.

The sons and daughters of South Australia's skilled workers were not successful in their attempts to take up farming. The five sons and one daughter who had the occupational outcome of farmer or fisher were each from families based in either New Zealand or Victoria (Table 7.10: Farmers & Fishers). Two of the Corney brothers were amongst the children of skilled labourers who attempted to transition into farming. After a decade of mining in Western Australia, Thomas Corney moved in 1916 with his wife Christina (née Allen) and three daughters, to take up Meru land in Renmark at the age of fifty-three. At the time of their move, Thomas and Christina's only son was serving in the First World War, but he was killed in action in Belgium in July 1917. Thomas Corney died of sunstroke five months later, aged fifty-four years.[41] Another of the Corney brothers, James, had been listed as a farmer in Boolcunda on Barngarla land in South Australia's Flinders Ranges in 1883 but died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-six years.

There was an overall rate of persistence for the children of skilled workers was thirty-four per cent, which was similar for sons and for daughters (Table 7.10: Skilled Workers). Trades tended to run in families, such as the family of cabinet maker Thomas Bell, who had journeyed on the *Cygnet* with his wife Margaret (née Sayers) and their two children, two-year-old Margaret Sayers and infant George Nelson. Thomas and Margaret Bell had expanded their family to eight children by the time they relocated to the Melbourne suburb of Richmond in the early 1850s. George Nelson and three of his brothers took up the family trade of cabinetmaking, eldest sister Margaret Sayers married a cabinet maker and these siblings all remained settled in suburban Melbourne.

Table 7.10: Occupational class outcomes for children of skilled workers.

Children of Skilled Workers						
Destination class of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upper Class	9	15 %	2	6 %	7	26 %
Middle Class	8	14 %	3	9 %	5	18 %
Skilled Workers	20	34 %	10	31 %	10	37 %
Farmers & Fishers	6	10 %	5	16 %	1	4 %
Labouring Class	16	27 %	12	38 %	4	15 %
Total	N = 59	100 %	N = 32	100 %	N = 27	100 %

The seven surviving children of North Adelaide bootmaker William Tuckey and his wife Agnes (née Henderson) represent the spectrum of persistence and mobility for sons and daughters of skilled workers. William Tuckey immigrated as one of the crew of the *Rapid* who followed Colonel William Light out to South Australia, and Tuckey had resigned from

[41] 'The Late Mr. Thomas Corney', *Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record,* Friday 21 December 1917, p. 8.

the survey department in support of Light in 1838.[42] William Light had resigned, with all but two of his staff, after his request for additional staff and resources had been refused by the Colonisation Commissioners.[43] William Tuckey continued to work as a sailor in South Australia, but retrained as a bootmaker after an accident involving a falling tree resulted in the amputation of his leg. He settled with his wife and seven children in Sussex Street, North Adelaide where he continued this profession until his death in 1864, aged fifty-one years.[44] Of William and Agnes's nine children, four were persistent in their occupational class, as they continued in skilled trades. Upwardly mobile daughter Sarah Jane Tuckey, married a well-known publican, Charles Henry Ferors, who held the licenses for the Jetty and Pier Hotel in Glenelg, the Terminus Hotel opposite the Railway Station on North Terrace, the Globe Hotel in Moonta and the Gresham Hotel in Norwood, amongst others.[45] One son, Alfred, crossed the manual divide and became a salesperson. Eldest son William Tuckey Jnr was a long-serving and well-known council gardener in North Adelaide.[46]

Unlike the labouring and the farming and fishing classes, sons and daughters of skilled workers were able to access upper-class occupations (Table 7.10: Upper Class). The daughters of urban skilled workers experienced a high rate of upward mobility. These urban daughters married professionals such as solicitors or accountants, or business proprietors, or they married, or were themselves, heads of schools. The upward mobility experience by skilled workers' daughters is epitomised by the family of Adelaide cabinet maker Samuel Chapman and his wife Charlotte (née Green). Of their five daughters, one married a solicitor, another an accountant, while single daughters Marion and Caroline were headmistresses of a private school, 'Halifax House' on Halifax Street in Adelaide. The husband of the youngest Chapman daughters, Ada Lee, was blind musician Carl Julius Hans Bertram, who was listed as a Professor of Music on their marriage registration. These were daughters of the kind of ambitious tradesmen Priscilla Wakefield disparaged in *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex*, who brought up their daughters in a 'genteel manner', learning music, dancing, drawing and foreign languages when their attention should be focussed on skills 'useful in their station'.[47]

In the second generation the children of skilled workers were the most geographically settled of the occupational classes, with ninety per cent remaining in the colony of their

[42] 'Early Australia and Before: Interesting Reminiscences (By an Octogenarian)', *Mail,* Saturday 19 April 1924, p. 5.
[43] Dutton, *Founder of a City*, 1984, p. 73.
[44] 'Family Notices: Died', *South Australian Advertiser*, Friday 2 December 1864, p. 2.
[45] 'Obituary', *The Register,* Thursday 25 August 1927, p. 8; 'Before the Public', *News,* Wednesday 24 August 1927, p. 1.
[46] 'Obituary: Mr. William Tuckey', *The Advertiser,* Wednesday 27 July 1927, p. 11.
[47] Wakefield, Priscilla. *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex: With Suggestions for Its Improvement* (1798). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015, pp. 58-59.

birth. Skilled artisans predominantly remained in urban areas, in Adelaide, Melbourne or Wellington in New Zealand. All of those who relocated moved within the colonies of Australia, and these were five males and one female. The female was Mary Ann Webb (née Sladden), eldest daughter of miller and baker Isaac Sladden who married miller Henry Webb in Mount Barker in 1865. The couple moved with their nine children to Sale in Victoria, where Henry worked as a baker. In a sign of the movement which would become more prevalent in the third generations, two of the sons of skilled workers moved to mine, one in Kalgoorlie in rural Western Australia and the other in Broken Hill in rural New South Wales.

Table 7.11: Geographic relocation of children of skilled workers.

Children of Skilled Workers						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**'Movers'**		**'Stayers'**		**Percent of Total**	
Upward	0	-	17	32%	17	29 %
Persistent	3	50%	17	32%	20	34 %
Downward	3	50%	19	36%	22	37 %
Total	N = 6	100 %	N = 53	100 %	N = 59	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 6	10 %	N = 53	**90 %**	N = 59	100 %

Children of Middle-Class Parents

There were 149 children in the second generation who were born to middle-class parents. After accounting for attrition, the occupational class of ninety-four of these children could be compared to that of their parents, fifty sons and forty-four daughters. The rate of middle-class persistence for these children was thirty-eight per cent, with daughters being more persistent and less likely to be downwardly mobile than sons (Table 7.12). The overall rate that children of the middle class transitioned into upper-class occupations was twelve per cent, with a slightly higher rate for daughters than sons (Table 7.12: Upward). This twelve per cent rate conceals a disparity between the children of those who had immigrated to South Australia with middle-class occupations, and those who were upwardly mobile into the middle class during their own careers.

Table 7.12: Occupational class mobility for children of the middle class.

Children of the Middle Class						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	11	12 %	5	10 %	6	14 %
Persistent	36	38 %	16	32 %	20	46 %
Downward	47	50 %	29	58 %	18	40 %
Total	N = 94	100 %	N = 50	100 %	N = 44	100 %

Owing to the occupational mobility experienced by the first generation of this research, those who were in the middle class at their mid-career can be delineated into two groups: passage-assisted labourers who had been upwardly mobile into the middle class, and those who had immigrated in 1836 with middle-class occupations. The persistent middle class had immigrated to South Australia as employees of either the Commissioners or the Company, as clerks, administrators, supervisors, or surveyors. Those who had been upwardly mobile into the middle class had immigrated as passage-assisted labourers and crossed the manual divide to take up middle-class occupations after arrival in South Australia, predominantly as publicans, storekeepers, or station overseers.

Table 7.13: Children of the persistent middle class.

Children of the Persistent Middle Class						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	10	24 %	5	24 %	5	24 %
Persistent	14	33 %	6	28 %	8	38 %
Downward	18	43 %	10	48 %	8	38 %
Total	N = 42	100 %	N = 21	100 %	N = 21	100 %

Table 7.14: Children of the manual-origin middle class.

Children of the Manual Origin Middle Class						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	1	2 %	0	-	1	4 %
Persistent	22	42 %	10	34 %	12	52 %
Downward	29	56 %	19	66 %	10	44 %
Total	N = 52	100 %	N = 29	100 %	N = 23	100 %

Those who had been persistently middle class over their careers had forty-two children in the second generation. Those who had been upwardly mobile, from the labouring to the middle class, had fifty-two children. By comparing the children of these two types groups, the persistent middle class and those who had been upwardly mobile into the middle class, a difference in their rate of mobility into the upper-class could be observed. For those who had been persistently middle class, a quarter of their children were in upper-class occupations at their mid-career (Table 7.13: Upward). In contrast, the children of those with a manual-class origin rarely held upper-class occupations (Table 7.14: Upward). The sons of those with a manual origin were more inclined to be downwardly mobile (Table 7.14: Downward). This supports the perception that labourers who became small

proprietors, particularly hotel and shop keepers, were in an insecure position, as their ventures lacked capital investment and longevity.[48]

These upwardly mobile children of the middle class became company managers, schoolmasters, engineers, an architect, and a journalist. Marriages into the upper class were available to daughters of the persistent middle class. Amy Bowyer Hocking (née Mildred), eldest daughter of customs collector Hiram Mildred and his second wife Susanna Cheetham, married journalist Martin Hocking in 1883, who became the sports editor of *The Advertiser* in 1887 and wrote under the name 'Tatiara'.[49] Of those who had risen from the ranks of the assisted labourers, only one daughter married into the upper class. This was Mary Ann Bayfield, the eleventh child of publican Edwin Bayfield, who married thirty-two-year-old engineer Alexander Clarkson Jobson in Wilcannia in rural New South Wales in 1894, when she was fifteen years old. After Alexander's death in a road accident at the age of fifty-seven, Mary Ann was left with nine children aged between two and twenty-one years. Mary Ann Jobson married machinist Charles Edward Applebee in 1921, two years after the death of her first husband.

The daughters of the upwardly mobile middle class had a high rate of occupational class persistence (Table 7.14: Persistent). These daughters married salesmen, clerks, publicans, an overseer and a police officer. Several families continued as publicans in the second and third generations. William Williams had immigrated on the *Cygnet* as a twenty-one-year-old servant to deputy-surveyor George Strickland Kingston, but after arrival in South Australia he held the licence for the City Bridge Hotel, located opposite the Holy Trinity Anglican Church on North Terrace. He married Maria Wickham in 1839 and while two of his younger daughters married merchants, his eldest daughter Eliza continued the publican tradition with her husband James Campbell. The couple were the proprietors of the London Inn on Flinders Street in Adelaide, and after their deaths, their two daughters took the family trade into a third generation. The youngest daughter of publican Edwin Bayfield also followed this tradition, as she and her first husband William White were publicans in Willunga, in the Fleurieu Peninsula's wine-growing region.

While the daughters of the middle class maintained this occupational class through marriage, their sons who did not persist were more likely than daughters to become either skilled workers or labourers (Table 7.15: Sons). Two sons of Edwin Bayfield also continued the family tradition and became publicans, but younger sons were a harness-marker in Nairne, an Adelaide mason, and a labourer in Kilburn. In this way the occupational mobility

[48] Sutterby, 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide', 1988, p. 412
[49] 'Sporting Journalist: Death of Mr. Martin Hocking', *News,* Friday 7 January 1927, p. 1.

pattern of the middle class followed that of the skilled workers and the farming and fishing classes; sons were more inclined than daughters to be downwardly mobile.

Table 7.15: Occupational class outcome for children of the middle class.

Children of the Middle Class						
Destination class of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upper Class	11	12 %	5	10 %	6	14 %
Middle Class	36	38 %	16	32 %	20	46 %
Skilled Workers	17	18 %	12	24 %	5	11 %
Farmers & Fishers	9	10 %	5	10 %	4	9 %
Labouring Class	21	22 %	12	24 %	9	20 %
Total	N = 94	100 %	N = 50	100 %	N = 44	100 %

The children of those above the manual divide had children who were more mobile than the manual classes. Twenty-seven per cent of the children of middle-class parents moved to another colony or overseas (Table 7.16: Percent of total). Almost three-quarters of 'movers' were descended from a parent who had immigrated to South Australia with a middle-class occupation. Those who relocated were upwardly mobile into upper-class occupations at more than three times the rate of those who remained in the colony of their birth (Table 7.16: Upward).

Table 7.16: Geographic relocation of children of the middle class.

Children of the Middle Class						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**'Movers'**		**'Stayers'**		**Percent of Total**	
Upward	6	24 %	5	7 %	11	12 %
Persistent	8	32 %	28	41 %	36	38 %
Downward	11	44 %	36	52 %	47	50 %
Total	N = 25	100 %	N = 69	100 %	N = 94	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 25	27 %	N = 69	**73 %**	N = 94	100 %

Five of these six individuals were sons and daughters of Port Adelaide harbour master, Captain Hugh Quin, who had married twice and had eighteen children, with thirteen living to adulthood. The profession of engineering was a frequent occupational path for the Quin children, and all six of these movers were engineers, or married to engineers, who resided in Sydney, Melbourne, Brisbane, Kalgoorlie in Western Australia and Chelsea in the United Kingdom. Civil engineering had been a professional role that arrived in South Australia in

1836 with the surveyors. Roads and bridges were planned alongside the survey of sections, and public works were initiated in the first five years of colonisation.[50]

Children of Upper-Class Parents

There were eighty-two children born in the second generation who had been born to parents in upper-class occupations. After considering attrition there were fifty-two children, twenty-five daughters and twenty-seven sons, for whom their mid-careers could be compared to that of their parents (Table 7.17). The rate of occupational class persistence for the children of upper-class parents was fifty-two per cent. When considering sons and daughters separately, the persistence rate of upper-class daughters was sixty per cent (Table 7.17: Daughters). This rate of persistence was second only to the persistence rate of labouring sons, which was marginally higher, at sixty-three per cent.

Table 7.17: Occupational class mobility for children of the upper class.

Children of Upper Class						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Stable	27	52 %	12	44 %	15	60 %
Downward	25	48 %	15	56 %	10	40 %
Total	N = 52	100 %	N = 27	100 %	N = 25	100 %

At the 1834 Exeter Hall public meeting, a 'Mr Lovett' who had spoken against emigration from England, had argued that those who proposed the South Australian colonial endeavour should not 'have the power of sending out their sons and dependents, with the intent of making them governors, lieutenant-governors, legislators, bishops, rectors, parsons, excisemen, custom-house officers'.[51] The extent to which South Australia's population revolted from this notion, can be seen through their reaction to John Morphett's proposal for hereditary positions in parliament. In December 1849 the Legislative Council debated John Morphett's resolution, which proposed, 'that one branch of the Legislature should consist of hereditary members'.[52] A public meeting of protest was held on Friday 21 December 1849 in the Exchange Hall, which was 'thronged to excess' with at least 1200 persons present.[53] The notion of a hereditary position in the South Australian parliament was shouted down by the speakers with the support of the crowd, who railed

[50] Hays, W. Bennett. *Engineering in South Australia: Being an Account of the Principal Public Works Now Executed, Preceded by a Historical Sketch of the Colony, from Its Foundation to the Present Time*. Facsimile ed. Of 1856 printing, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1965, p. 18.
[51] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, Appendix II: Report of a Public Meeting Held at Exeter Hall, 1834, p. 215.
[52] 'Legislative Council: Mr Morphett's Resolution', *Adelaide Times*, Thursday 13 December 1849, p. 3.
[53] 'Public Meeting on the New Constitution', *South Australian*, Tuesday 25 December 1849, p. 3.

against those who sought to 'fill every office it can occupy with its sons and nephews'.[54] The resolution was defeated and John Morphett expressed his regret that 'the hereditary principle' had been abandoned, stating that he still wanted to see a 'colonial house of Peers'.[55] In 1849 John and Elizabeth Morphett (née Fisher) had only six of their eleven children; the couple would eventually produce six daughters and five sons. If Morphett's hereditary principle had passed, one or more of these sons may have taken his place in South Australia's Legislative Council.

The Morphett daughters, Mary, Amy, Ada, Adelaide, Violet and Marion, all married appropriately, to an accountant, a school master, a land agent, a stock agent, a merchant and a company manager. The eldest surviving son of John and Elizabeth Morphett, John Cummins, was a librarian and clerk with the South Australian Parliament. Second and third sons, Charles Edward and James Hurtle were Justices of the Peace in Queensland and Melbourne, while youngest son Hurtle Willoughby was a land developer who settled on property on the banks of the River Murray. Members of the Morphett family all maintained occupations above the manual line, a trend which continued into the third generation.

A remarkably persistent upper-class family was that of Company Superintendent Thomas Hudson Beare. Beare journeyed on the Company ship *Duke of York* with his wife Lucy Ann (nee Loose) and their four children, William Loose, Lucy Ann, Arabella Charlotte and Elizabeth. The couple had left the graves of their two eldest children in London. Their eldest son Thomas Gilbert had died at fourteen years, almost a year before they set out for South Australia, and their eldest daughter, their first Lucy Ann, had died at fifteen months. Thomas Hudson's wife Lucy Ann may have given birth during the voyage, but the child did not survive, and Lucy Ann remained very unwell on their arrival at Kangaroo Island in July 1836.[56] The couple produced another daughter the following year, but the mother did not recover from this birth and Lucy Ann Beare died at Kingscote, Kangaroo Island in September 1837 aged thirty-four years, leaving five children between newborn and eleven years.

Forty-eight-year-old Thomas Hudson Beare remarried to twenty-one-year-old Lucy Ball in 1840, and this marriage produced nine children, with five surviving to adulthood. Of the nine surviving children of Thomas Hudson Beare, seven held upper-class positions by their mid-career. The five daughters of the Beare family married a solicitor, a civil engineer, a

[54] 'Responsible Government: Great Public Meeting', *South Australian Register*, Saturday 22 December 1849, p. 3.
[55] 'The North Terrace 'Clackocracy' on our proposed new constitution', *Adelaide Times*, Monday 17 December 1849, p. 2.
[56] History Trust of South Australia, 'Captain Robert Morgan Journal Thursday, 5 May 1836', *Bound for South Australia*, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/thursday-5-may-1836.html>; 'Samuel Stephens Diary, Monday 8 August 1836', *Bound for South Australia*, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/monday-8-august-1836.html>

prison superintendent, a headmaster and a surveyor. Two Beare sons were rural solicitors, practicing law in the colony's 'Little Cornwall', in Moonta and Kadina. Eldest surviving son William Loose Beare was a station manager at Bungaree, north of Clare. Youngest son Thomas Hudson Beare Jnr was an engineering professor at Edinburgh University who was knighted in 1926 for his contributions to the field of education.[57]

Table 7.18: Occupational class outcome for children of the upper class.

Children of Upper Class						
Destination class of second generation	**All Children**		**Sons**		**Daughters**	
Upper Class	27	52 %	12	44 %	15	60 %
Middle Class	21	40 %	11	41 %	10	40 %
Skilled Workers	0	-	0	-	0	-
Farmers & Fishers	4	8 %	4	15 %	0	-
Labouring Class	0	-	0	-	0	-
Total	N = 52	100 %	N = 27	100 %	N = 25	100 %

A breakdown of the downward occupational mobility of the children of the upper class shows that there was minimal movement below the manual divide, other than four sons who took up farming (Table7.18). The three of these four farmers were sons of physician Dr Edward Wright and his wife Elizabeth, who took up farming in Dry Creek and Yankalilla. The eldest of the sons, Charles Charleton Wright, recalled later in life that he had intended to follow his father into a medical practice, but that leaving London for South Australia at the age of seventeen had ended his ambitions.[58] Once in South Australia Charles administered treatments on his father's behalf, a practice for which he was admonished.[59] After a trip to the Victorian goldfields, Charles Wright, along with his brother Robert, settled on a farm near Yankalilla in 1854, where Charles' 'knowledge of medicine was a great boon to the neighbourhood in the early days'.[60]A third brother, Thomas Wright, was a farmer in Dry Creek, but died at the age of thirty-nine leaving a wife and five young children. The youngest brother, Septimus Wright, leased land in Waikerie when he was in his twenties but could not be found at his mid-career.[61]

[57] 'Adelaide Boy Who Became Fine Engineer', *News*, Saturday 3 August 1940, p. 2; 'Obituary: Sir Thomas Hudson Beare, 1859-1940', *Journal of the Institute of Civil Engineers,* Vol. 15, No. 1, November 1940, p. 70.
[58] 'Old-Time Memories, Interview with Pioneers: The Brothers Wright, of Yankalilla', *South Australian Register,* Wednesday 10 January 1894, p. 6.
[59] 'Coroner's Inquest', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* Saturday 22 September 1838, p. 4; 'Dr Wright's Case', *South Australian Register,* Wednesday 19 March 1845, p. 2.
[60] 'Old-time memories. Interview with Pioneers: The Brothers Wright of Yankalilla', *South Australian Register,* Wednesday 10 January 1894, p. 6.
[61] 'The Occupancy of Waikerie', *Murray Pioneer and Australian River Record*, Thursday, 17 December 936, p. 30.

The fourth of the farmers was Thomas Hardy Lipson, youngest son of South Australia's harbour master and naval officer, Thomas Lipson and his wife Elizabeth Emma (nee Fooks). Thomas Hardy was farming at Light River before he died at forty-one years of an epileptic fit, leaving four young sons, with the youngest born seven months after the death of his father. Another of the Lipson children would have been listed in the farming occupational class, but she died young, and therefore was not alive at her mid-career to be included in this analysis. This was third daughter, Eliza Anne Allan (nee Lipson) who had left South Australia in 1842 with her husband John Allan to farm on Djab Wurrung land in Victoria's Wimmera District, where she died at the age of twenty-seven years, leaving two young sons.[62]

Table 7.19: Geographic relocation of children of the upper class.

Children of Upper Class						
Occupational class mobility of second generation	**'Movers'**		**'Stayers'**		**Percent of Total**	
Upward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Persistent	8	**62 %**	19	49 %	27	52 %
Downward	5	38 %	20	51 %	25	48 %
Total	N = 13	100 %	N = 39	100 %	N = 52	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 13	25 %	N = 39	**75 %**	N = 52	100 %

When the occupational outcomes of 'movers' is compared to that of 'stayers' amongst the children of the upper class, it can be seen that those who moved away from the colony of their birth had a higher rate of occupational persistence (Table 7.19: Persistent). The sons of some upper-class families pursued their education and their professional practice overseas or in another Australian colony, such as two sons of Adelaide Superintending Surveyor, Alfred Hardy and his wife Mary Louise (née Newenham). Alfred Hardy travelled to South Australia on the *Cygnet* as a twenty-three-year-old assistant surveyor and married Mary Newenham in 1839. The couple had seven children with five surviving to adulthood, although their first son Thomas died of tuberculosis at the age of twenty-four in 1864. Their two elder surviving children remained in Adelaide, with eldest daughter married to Adelaide surgeon Thomas Wilson Corbin and second surviving son Charles Burton, an Adelaide solicitor and barrister. The two younger sons established themselves further afield. James Arthur Hardy was sent to London to study medicine, and worked as a surgeon

[62] Poholke, Rhonda. *First She Lived: The Journey of Eliza Lipson Allan, 'the First White Woman to Die in the District'*. Ararat, Vic.: Rebus Press, 2008.

in Hobart, Tasmania and Sydney, New South Wales, while youngest son George Newenham Hardy became a solicitor in Perth, Western Australia.

Through the careers of their husbands, six daughters of the upper class left the colony of their birth. Lilian Ann McLaren (née Simpson) relocated with her husband to New South Wales, where her husband Leslie McLaren managed the Sydney branch of her father's company. Her father had been Henry Simpson, second mate of the Company ship *John Pirie*, who had established himself as a coal merchant and the owner of a substantial collier fleet. Another of the Simpson daughters to relocate was Alice Mary O'Halloran (née Simpson) who lived in London with her husband Joseph Sylvestor O'Halloran, Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute.

Table 7.20: Mid-career outcomes of second generation.

		Mid-Career Occupational Class of the First Expedition to South Australia					
		Upper Class	**Middle Class**	**Skilled Workers**	**Farming & Fishing**	**Labouring Class**	
Mid-Career Occupational Class of their Children	**Upper Class**	52% (27)	12% (11)	15% (9)	0	0	
	Middle Class	40% (21)	38% (36)	14% (8)	18% (9)	19% (10)	
	Skilled Workers	0	18% (17)	34% (20)	12% (6)	11% (6)	
	Farming & Fishing	8% (4)	10% (9)	12% (7)	45% (22)	33% (18)	
	Labouring Class	0	22% (21)	25% (15)	24% (12)	37% (20)	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total	N = 52	N = 94	N = 59	N = 49	N = 54	**N = 308**
	% of N	17%	30%	19%	16%	18%	100%
						Persistent:	**41 %**
						Upwardly Mobile:	**25 %**
						Downwardly Mobile:	**34 %**

Summary

By summarising the comparative occupational mobility of the second generation into a mobility table (Table 7.20), the rates of occupational class persistence can be observed in the diagonal cells. The occupational class with the highest rate of persistence is the upper class (fifty-two per cent), followed by the farming and fishing class (forty-five per cent). This table demonstrates the limited downward movement of those with upper-class parents, who predominantly remain above the manual divide (ninety-two percent). The lack of upward mobility into upper-class occupations for those with labouring or farming and fishing parents is also observable. The second-generation downward movement into labouring occupations is highlighted, with approximately a fifth to a quarter of the children of middle-class, skilled-worker, and farming and fishing parentage found in the labouring class row.

When the mobility table including all children (Table 7.20) is compared to a mobility table including only daughters (Table 7.21), it can be seen that the downward movement into the labouring class is no longer present. Instead, upward occupational movement is highlighted, with almost half of the daughters of labouring parents moving into the farming and fishing occupational class; over a quarter of daughters of farming and fishing parents crossing the manual divide into the middle class; and over a quarter of daughters of skilled workers entering the upper class. The highest rate of occupational persistence in second-generation daughters was found in those of upper-class parentage, with a persistence rate of sixty per cent. The daughters of the labouring class experienced the lowest rate of occupational persistence, with only twenty-three per cent remaining in this class.

A comparison of daughters and sons clearly displays the increased upward mobility experienced by the daughters of South Australia's first expedition, who were almost three times more upwardly mobile than sons (Table 7.21 & 7.22: Upward Mobility). Sons were twice as downwardly mobile than daughters (Table 7.21 & 7.22: Downward Mobility). It was sons who moved into the labouring class in the second generation, rather than daughters. Labourers' sons rarely became farmers, contrasting with the labourers' daughters. It was the sons of urban labourers who were able to cross the manual divide and entering the middle class as shop keepers. Children of the upper class rarely crossed below the manual divide, and those who did were farmers.

Table 7.21: Mid-career outcomes for the daughters.

Daughters		Mid-Career Occupational Class of the First Expedition to South Australia					
		Upper Class	**Middle Class**	**Skilled Workers**	**Farming & Fishing**	**Labouring Class**	
Mid-Career Class of the Daughters	**Upper Class**	60% (15)	14% (6)	26% (7)	0	0	
	Middle Class	40% (10)	45% (20)	18% (5)	28% (7)	14% (5)	
	Skilled Workers	0	11% (5)	37% (10)	20% (5)	17% (6)	
	Farming & Fishing	0	9% (4)	4% (1)	40% (10)	46% (16)	
	Labouring Class	0	20% (9)	15% (4)	12% (3)	23% (8)	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total	N = 25	N = 44	N = 27	N = 25	N = 35	**N = 156**
						Persistent:	**40 %**
						Upwardly Mobile:	**37 %**
						Downwardly Mobile:	**23 %**

Table 7.22: Mid-career outcomes for the sons.

Sons		Mid-Career Occupational Class of the First Expedition to South Australia					
		Upper Class	Middle Class	Skilled Workers	Farming & Fishing	Labouring Class	
Mid-Career Class of the Sons	Upper Class	44% (12)	10% (5)	6% (2)	0	0	
	Middle Class	41% (11)	32% (16)	9% (3)	8% (2)	26% (5)	
	Skilled Workers	0	24% (12)	31% (10)	4% (1)	0	
	Farming & Fishing	15% (4)	10% (5)	19% (6)	50% (12)	11% (2)	
	Labouring Class	0	24% (12)	34% (11)	38% (9)	**63% (12)**	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total	N = 27	N = 50	N = 32	N = 24	N = 19	**N = 152**
						Persistent:	**41 %**
						Upwardly Mobile:	**13 %**
						Downwardly Mobile:	**46 %**

Rates of Occupational Class Inheritance

The overall rate of occupational class persistence for the second generation was forty-one per cent (Table 7.23), but this ranged widely from a high of sixty-three per cent for labourers' sons to a low of twenty-three per cent for labourers' daughters. The sons and the daughters of immigrants of South Australia's first expedition experienced differing occupational class outcomes. Sons were more likely than daughters to be downwardly mobile, or persistent as labourers, especially in rural areas. It was the daughters who benefitted in the second generation, with high rates of marital mobility. In particular, rural daughters married farmers and urban daughters married skilled workers.

Table 7.23: Rates of second-generation occupational class persistence.

Occupational Class Persistence (µ1850 - µ1891)	Total	Persistent	%
Labourers' Sons	19	12	63 %
Upper Class's Daughters	25	15	60 %
Farmers' Sons	24	12	50 %
Middle Class's Daughters	44	20	45 %
Upper Class's Sons	27	12	44 %
Farmers' Daughters	25	10	40 %
Skilled Workers' Daughters	27	10	37 %
Middle Class's Sons	50	16	32 %
Skilled Workers' Sons	32	10	31 %
Labourers' Daughters	35	8	23 %
Total	N = 308	N = 125	**41 %**

It had been predominantly the manual classes who had moved into rural areas in the first generation, to work as persistent labourers or to take up farming. These were the farmers, overseers, publicans, storekeepers and shepherds, sawyers and miners who relocated to rural environments as land was appropriated and made available to settler-colonists. Very few of the upper or middle class of South Australia's first expedition relocated to a rural area in the first generation. While rural farmers, publicans, storekeepers and artisans could be seen passing their vocation on to one or more of their sons, those rural sons who didn't continue a family business or tradition were more likely to become labourers, as they lacked the marital opportunities available to their sisters.

Conclusion

Upper-class occupations were out of reach for the children of labourers or farmers and fishers. Access to the upper class was also minimal for children of middle-class parents who had a manual background, as children of passage-assisted labourers who had crossed the manual divide were not able to maintain this upward trajectory. In contrast, upper-class occupations were attained by the children whose parents had immigrated to South Australia as clerks, administrators, and skilled professionals. In the first generation, thirty-five per cent of those who had immigrated in middle class occupations undertook upper-class roles in the new settler-colony.

Wakefield had advised the 'uneasy' middle class of England to immigrate to South Australia as a new settler-colonial society in order to maintain their position in society, and to avoid watching their sons fall or daughters marry 'into a circle much inferior to his own'.[63] In the second generation, a quarter of the sons and daughters of the persistent middle-class accessed upper-class occupations. This reflects well on the promises of promoters of colonial South Australia, who predicted opportunities for those of Britain's middle class who immigrated to South Australia. While the sons of all occupational classes were more likely to be downwardly mobile than daughters, this was particularly conspicuous in the manual classes. The sons of labourers had a high rate of persistence as labourers, employed in the colony's rural districts. Both marital and occupational upward mobility were available to the daughters of South Australia's first expedition, meeting that first priority of immigrants to not see their daughters marry down.

Relocation did not impact on rates of occupational persistent for labourers, who moved and continued to work as labourers to the same degree. The skilled workers' sons who moved were occupational persistent or downwardly mobile, in contrast to the children of the non-manual classes, who were more likely to persist or be upwardly mobile when they relocated. The children of the middle class entered the upper class at three times the rate

[63] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 1834, p. 123; Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, 'The Uneasiness of the Middle Class', p. 100.

for movers compared to stayers. Children of the upper class relocated to another colony or overseas and persisted in their occupational class to a greater degree. These observations need to be considered against the low overall number of 'movers' in this generation, at nineteen per cent of the second-generation population. The population of this research would need to be expanded to see if these patterns persist, before any conclusions could be drawn.

The next two chapters will consider the locations and occupations of the third generation, the grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition. Their rate of occupational class persistence will be considered against that of their parents. These chapters reveal changes in destinations for those who relocated, and a societal shift in urban and rural movement. The third generation came to maturity in a newly federate Australia and their geographic movement was between states and territories rather than colonies. The following chapters disclose correlations between relocation and occupational class persistence and discuss changing rates of persistence from the second to the third generation.

Chapter Eight: Locating the Grandchildren

The third generation, the grandchildren of the participants in South Australia's first expedition, experienced expanding and constricting geographic frontiers. Mineral exploitation, agricultural expansion, droughts and depressions dictated their migration. These grandsons and granddaughters continued to be geographically and occupationally mobile and this chapter places their movements in a historical context. There were demographic changes visible in this generation. The percentage of women who remained single doubled between the second and third generation, and it was the daughters of the upper class who were most inclined to remain single, with forty per cent not marrying. Women with visible occupations grew from five per cent in the second generation to twenty-one per cent in the third. The occupation titles for women were predominantly clustered in a narrow band: clerical, sales, service and textile, but the women who held these occupations were draw from all occupational classes.

Three quarters of the third generation remained in the colony of their birth. For those who moved, Western Australia overtook Victoria as the destination which attracted the most migrants. It was the children of the upper class who held the highest rate of overseas relocation. New Zealand and Great Britain remained the most popular of the international destinations, but others spread further afield, to the African subcontinent and to continental Europe. This generation saw a return to urban areas, as the grandchildren of the first expedition were almost twice as likely to relocate from country to city, rather than the reverse. The exception to this trend were the upper class, who maintained a strong proportion of those relocating into rural areas, often taking employment as regional managers and professionals. The next chapter will assess the degree of correlation between these geographic movements and the rate of persistence in each occupational class and will compare the occupational outcomes of the grandsons and granddaughters.

Table 8.1: Second and third-generational birth year, mid-career year and age.

	Second Generation	Third Generation
Birth Year	μ **1848** (σ 12)	μ **1878** (σ 14)
Mid-Career Age	μ **43 years** (σ 6)	μ **42 years** (σ 6)
Mid-Career Year	μ **1891** (σ 15)	μ **1920** (σ 15)

Demographic of the third generation

The third generation of this research consists of 1660 individuals, the grandchildren of those who participated in South Australia's first expedition. There were 849 male children, 810 female and one child of undisclosed sex. The average year of birth for this generation was 1878 with a standard deviation of fourteen years (Table 8.1). As such, the third generation were born in the latter half of the nineteenth century, between 1864 and 1892, and reached maturity, not in colonies of the British Empire, but the state and territories of the Australian Commonwealth.[1]

The average family size found for this generation was 5.8 births per family (Table 8.2). This was a lower rate than the average for the colony, which was at this time was 6.9 births per marriage.[2] Chapter six of this thesis found that the family size found for the second generation of 6.6 births per family had also been lower than the average (see pages 160-161). The observed decrease between generations was a facet of the declining fertility rate which saw family sizes halve, from an average of eight births per family in the mid-nineteenth century to four births per family at the turn of the new century.[3]

Table 8.2: Average number of children per second-generation couple.

Average children per second-generation couple (birth year μ 1878, σ 14)				
Occupational Class	**Couples**	**Children**	**Third-Generation Average**	**Second-Generation Average****
Upper Class	40	201	5.0	6.5
Middle Class	75	401	5.3	5.3
Skilled Workers	45	253	5.6	8.5
Farming & Fishing	53	417	7.9	8.0
Labouring	63	336	5.3	6.9
Total	**276**	**1608***	**5.8**	**6.6**

* For fifty-two of the 1660 births, a parental mid-career was not known, or their parent had died before the mid-career stage of their life, leaving 1608 births to be compared to parents' occupational class.
** See Chapter Six, page 137

The number of children per family had decreased for all occupational classes from the second to the third generation, but only marginally for farming and fishing families (Table 8.2). The decrease in the number of children was most pronounced for the families of skilled workers, who went from well above the average number of children in the second

[1] Bannon, John. 'Adjustment to statehood: South Australia from the Boer War to the Great War', in Oppenheimer, Melanie, Margaret Anderson, and Mandy Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War.* Mile End, South Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2017, p. 17.
[2] Anderson, Margaret. 'No sex please, we're demographers' in Damousi and Ellinghaus, eds. *Citizenship, Women and Social Justice,* 1999, p. 252.
[3] Anderson, Margaret and MacKinnon, Alison. 'New women and the modern family: continuity and change in pre-war domestic life', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, pp. 41-42.

generation to below the average. Those of the middle class had the smallest families in the second generation and this was maintained in the third. As Anderson and MacKinnon demonstrated, smaller families were more achievable for those with wealth.[4] However, within this research, those families with breadwinners in the labouring class also had low birth rates in both the second and the third generations.

Mortality and Attrition

In this generation there were 112 infants who were recorded as having died under the age of one year (Table 8.3: Infant mortality). When compared against the total births, this provides a very low figure of 67 infant deaths per mille. As discussed in chapter six, those births for whom no further record could be found, can be considered potential infant deaths. There were thirty-nine births in this generation (Table 8.5: Missing from infancy), for whom no evidence could be found of their childhood, marriage, residence, occupation, or death, and they were not mentioned in their parents' or siblings' death notices. When those missing from infancy are combined with known infant deaths, the infant mortality rate for the third generation was 91 infant deaths per mille. Since the infant mortality rate for Australia in 1876 was 121 per 1000 mille, the rate found for this generation was still relatively low.[5] The lowest rate for the Australasian area for that time was the New Zealand infant mortality rate of 96 per mille.[6] A comparative rate for England and Wales in 1876 was 146 per mille.[7]

Table 8.3: Mortality rates in the third-generation population.

Total third-generation births (μ 1878)		**N = 1660**	**Third generation mortality per mille**	**Second generation mortality per mille**
Mortality	Infant mortality (under 1 year)	112	67	97
	Child mortality (1 to 15 years)	135	87	105
	Died prior to mid-career	90	59	86
Adults alive at mid-career (μ 1920)		**N = 1323**		

When differentiated by sex, the male infant mortality rate in South Australia in 1881 was 145.7 per mille and 130.5 per mille for female births.[8] This was known to be artificially high in South Australia, as children who had died at the age of one year were mistakenly

[4] Anderson and MacKinnon, 'New women and the modern family.' in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 46
[5] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 509
[6] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 509
[7] Mitchell, B. R. *Abstract of British Historical Statistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962, p. 36.
[8] Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 178.

included with statistics for infant deaths.[9] This study also found that more male infants died than females within this research, at a rate of 124 male infants for every 100 females.

By the third generation the childhood mortality rate, those children who had died between the ages of one and sixteen years, decreased from 105 per mille to 87 per mille (Table 8.3: Child Mortality). The overall chance of a child dying before the age of sixteen years was 14.8 per cent in the third generation, lower that that experience by the second generation, which had been 19.2 per cent. This meant that in the second generation, a family with five children might expect one child to die before their sixteenth birthday, but in the third generation this had reduced to one child from a family of seven. In reality, tragedy is not so evenly distributed. When examining rates of infant mortality by the occupational class of their parents, highly disparate rates are observed (Table 8.4). In both the second and third generation the rate of infant mortality in upper-class families were considerably lower than the average for the generation. Farming and fishing families also experienced low rates of infant mortality.

Table 8.4: Mortality rates for the third generation by occupational class.

Childhood Mortality (birth year μ 1878, σ 14)					
Parents' Class	**Total Births**	**Infant Mortality**	**Per Mille**	**Child Mortality**	**Per Mille**
Upper Class	207	8	39	21	105
Middle Class	401	31	77	44	119
Skilled Workers	253	22	87	13	56
Farming & Fishing	417	18	43	28	70
Labouring	336	26	77	27	87
Total	**N = 1608***	**N = 105**	**65**	**N = 133**	**88**

* For fifty-two of the 1660 births, a parental mid-career was not known, or their parent had died before the mid-career stage of their life, leaving 1608 births to be compared to parents' occupational class.

Another ninety individuals died before reaching the age of thirty-five, the age after which mid-career occupations were observed for the purposes of intergenerational comparison (Table 8.3: Died prior to mid-career). These were fifty young men and forty young females. There were more deaths in rural areas than urban, with fractionally more men dying in both rural and urban locations. Of the ninety deaths, nineteen were from tuberculosis, representing just over a fifth of the deaths of these young adults. Some families were particularly hard-hit by this infliction, such as the children and grandchildren of North Adelaide shoemaker William Tuckey, who had immigrated with Colonel William Light on the *Rapid*. One son and one daughter of William Tuckey died of tuberculosis in their forties,

[9] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 509

leaving behind thirteen living children between them. Of these Tuckey grandchildren, three died of tuberculosis. Tuberculosis also impacted on the children and grandchildren of the Gandy families, brothers of Light's housekeeper and companion Maria Gandy, who also died of tuberculosis at the age of thirty-six years. A study of the familial and geographic networks of tuberculosis in early settler colonial South Australia may elicit connections to the surveying ships of the first expedition.

Table 8.5: Rate of attrition in the third-generation population.

Total third-generation births (μ 1878)		**N = 1660**	**Third generation attrition per mille**	**Second generation attrition per mille**
Attrition	Missing from infancy	39	23	32
	Missing at mid-career	4	2	6
	Missing mid-career (μ 1920)	134	102	53
Adults with mid-career occupations		**N = 1146**		

In the third generation there were four individuals who were missing at that the mid-career stage of their life (Table 8.5: Missing at mid-career). These were one female and three males who could only be located in their young adulthood. Jennie Clare Thomson, the youngest daughter of stonemason William Gandy Jnr, was born in Maidstone, Victoria in 1894. William Gandy Snr, brother of Maria Gandy, had been a brickmaker and pound-keeper in Thebarton, before he and his wife Mary Ann (née Turner) relocated to Victoria in the early 1850s with their four children. The youngest of their twenty-two grandchildren, Jennie Clare Thomson, was listed as a factory worker in Deer Park in 1919 when she was twenty-five-years-old, but no further evidence of her life was found after his point. It is likely that Jennie married and changed her name, but her married name could not be identified using the available resources.

One of the three missing males in the third generation was Fred Mortimer, grandson of Dulwich market-gardeners John and Hannah Grant (née Garforth). Emily Grant married gardener John Mortimer in 1877, and their son Fred enlisted in the First World War in 1915 as a seventeen-year-old labourer. After returning from service, Fred was twenty-two-years-old and an electrician when he married Dorothy Firth in 1920. Dorothy advertised her husband as missing in 1933, providing the last evidence to be found for Fred Mortimer. The other missing male of the third generation was Henry Inman junior, grandson of harbour master Thomas Lipson and his wife Elizabeth. Their daughter Mary had married police inspector Henry Inman in Adelaide, but the family relocated to Lincolnshire, England in the 1840s, where Henry served as a rector. Their son Henry Inman Jnr may have returned to Australia, as a twenty-four-year-old seaman of that name was found in Port Phillip in 1863.

A Henry Inman was identified living in Tasmania at the turn of the century, but this individual could not be linked to the Inman family with enough certainty to be included in this research.

The third missing male was William Howard Brealey, grandson of Clarendon farmers Joseph and Harriet Jones, whose daughter Emily had married Clarendon sawyer William Robert Brealey in 1868. William Brealey Jnr was a twenty-two-year-old gardener when he married Violet Pearce in 1895. His mother Emily died two years later. There was no further evidence for William Brealey Jnr after his marriage, and when his wife died, she was described as a widow with no children. A 'W.H. Brealey' was found working at the Red Hill gold mine in Coolgardie in 1897, but this individual could not be conclusively linked to the South Australian Brealey family.

From the second to the third generation, the number of individuals with missing mid-career occupations almost doubled (Table 8.5: Missing mid-career). Of these 134 individuals, ninety-four were single, of which eighty-one were females and thirteen were males. The largest proportion of the people with missing occupations at mid-career were single women. As single people did not marry, and usually did not have children, they did not generate the marriage and birth records which were the main source of occupations within this research. The doubling of the number of missing mid-career occupations was exacerbated by the increasing proportion of women who remained unmarried in the early twentieth century.

Bachelors and Spinsters

The average year of marriage for the third-generation population was 1904. The male to female population at that time approached parity, as from the 1901 census, females at that time were 49.5 per cent of the South Australian population.[10] Even though his equivalence was not evenly distributed in urban and rural areas, at the turn of the century, South Australia had a higher proportion of women in rural regions than any other Australian colony.[11] The 1901 census revealed that in urban Adelaide, single adult females only slightly outnumbered single adult males, while in South Australia's rural hundreds these females were outnumbered by men to a ratio of five to four. For the unsurveyed pastoral districts,

[10] Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 172.
[11] Howell, *South Australia and Federation*, 2002, p. 31.

which were by the 1901 census in the remotest regions of the state, there resided only one single adult female for every eleven single men.[12]

The third generation of this research were of marrying age as a decade of prosperity began in South Australia. The global depression of the 1890s and the early years of the new century, had passed in South Australia by 1905.[13] South Australia 'enjoyed a surge of prosperity which continued almost until the eve of war'.[14] The turn of the century saw an increase in the number of women who remained unmarried.[15] There had been an increasing number of what was referred to as 'surplus women' in Adelaide and surrounding districts from the late 1880s, leading a newspaper columnist in 1892 to declare, 'What shall we do with our girls?'.[16]

Table 8.6: Rate of third-generation males and females who remained single.

Parent's Occupational Class	Adult Grandchildren*				Single Grandsons		Single Granddaughters	
	Males	Females	Single	%	#	%	#	%
Upper Class	90	83	50	28.9 %	16	17.7 %	34	40.9 %
Middle Class	162	152	76	24.2 %	32	19.8 %	44	28.9 %
Skilled Workers	99	116	46	21.4 %	25	25.3 %	21	18.1 %
Farming & Fishing	189	175	66	18.1 %	29	15.3 %	37	21.1 %
Labouring	132	139	56	20.7 %	30	22.7 %	26	18.7 %
Total	N = 672	N = 665	N = 294	22.0 %	N = 132	19.6 %	N = 162	24.4 %

* Not include those who died before the age of 16 years. Those counted as single were listed as single on their death registration.

In the second generation it had been sons, particularly rural sons, who had been most likely to remain single. In the third generation it was urban females who did not marry, as historian John Hirst described, 'Adelaide was well off for maiden aunts'.[17] The single people in the third generation were almost all urban: eighty-eight per cent of single women and eighty per cent of single men lived in a city. The overall rate of remaining single was twenty per cent for males and twenty-four per cent for females (Table 8.6), however a noticeable high statistic appears in the children of the upper-class, as forty per cent of their daughters

[12] South Australia. Census, 1901, Part I. Summary Tables, 'Table IX: Summary showing the Conjugal Condition of the Population in the undermentioned Divisions of the State'.
[13] Oppenheimer, Melanie and Margrette Kleinig. 'Progressive conservatism and boundless optimism', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 3.
[14] Bannon, 'Adjustment to statehood: South Australia from the Boer War to the Great War', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 33.
[15] Bacchi, 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia' in Richards, *Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, Table 15.2, p.428.
[16] Bacchi, 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia' in Richards, *Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p.406; 'The Fleeting Hour', *The Mount Barker Courier and Onkaparinga and Gumeracha Advertiser*, Friday 11 March 1892, p. 3.
[17] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 7.

remained single. Many of these daughters of the upper-class could be seen living with siblings in inherited homes. As will be explored in this chapter, more than half of these single women from upper-class backgrounds held visible occupations and many pursued these occupations interstate and abroad.

There was a tendency for single brothers and sisters to live with each other or with their married siblings. The ability to inherit a family home, which enabled single siblings to live together over long lives, was particularly evident in the upper class. On the present-day site of the Queen Elizabeth Hospital was 'Silveracre', located on Woodville Road in Woodville South. This vast estate was the home of the Connor family, grandchildren of Henry Simpson, second mate of the *John Pirie*, and his wife Anne (née Liddon). Henry Simpson had worked as a wharfinger in Port Adelaide, before launching a fleet of collier ships to trade in coal. Henry and Anne Simpson had a family of nine children, and their eldest surviving daughter, Jessie, married bank manager George Alexander Connor in 1865. George Alexander and Jessie Connor lived luxuriously at their property on Woodville Road, named 'Silveracre' after a family estate in Ireland. At Silveracre, George and Jessie raised a large family of eleven children, five of whom lived to an advanced age and did not marry. These unmarried siblings lived together at their substantial property, joined at times by nieces, nephews and cousins.

Figure 8.1: Chapman residence, Dequetteville Terrace, c1890.[18]

[18] State Library of South Australia, *Residence of A.S. Chapman, Dequetteville Terrace, now site of Royal Coach Motel,* c1890, B32601.

Examples of single siblings living together were found in other families, such as the grandchildren of cabinet maker Samuel Chapman and his wife Charlotte (née Standley). Their only surviving son, accountant Alfred Chapman married Annie Horsley in 1865, and the couple settled in Kent Town and raised eight children. Their eldest daughter, Annie May, died of epilepsy at eighteen years of age and another daughter, Ada Horsley, died of tubercular meningitis aged fourteen years. The family's other two daughters and one of their sons remained single and these siblings lived together at 24 Dequetteville Terrace in Kent Town, a property abutting Prince Alfred College (Figure 8.1). Another example of co-residing single siblings is found in the Paterson family, grandchildren of physician George Mayo and his wife Maria (née Gandy). Three children of colonial surgeon Alexander Paterson and his wife Kate (née Mayo) lived together at 378 South Terrace, in a home which still stands.

The tendency of single siblings to cohabitate can be seen in other occupational classes. Three single O'Donahoo sisters, granddaughters of auctioneer William Neale and his wife Mary (née Young) lived with their widowed mother on Neale Street in Bendigo during the First World War. In Wellington, New Zealand, two single granddaughters of boat builder George Allen and Jane (née Paul), and daughters of customs officer William Seed and Mary Anne (née Allen) lived together at various addresses, sometimes with their widowed mother, or their single brother before his marriage. In the manual classes single siblings cohabitated, but the configurations of their households were vulnerable, and their residential addresses were susceptible to change. Six Webb sisters, granddaughters of baker Isaac Sladden and his wife Elizabeth (née Manton), were milliners who lived together at 'Granton House', a substantial boarding house at 82 Nicholson Street, Fitzroy, along with their eldest brother. Over the course of their long lives, the sisters, four of whom remained single, could be found living together at various addresses, along with members of their extended family.

When the single female daughters of the manual classes cohabitated, their occupations were more likely to be visible than daughters of the non-manual classes. Five single Grenville sisters, granddaughters of carrier Joseph Finch and his 'infamous' wife Fanny, lived together on Cemetery Road, St Arnaud. Their mother was Frances Jnr, eldest daughter of Joseph and Fanny, and their father was a miner and church sexton. The Grenville sisters were listed with many occupations over the course of their careers. Oldest surviving daughter Rebecca Kate Grenville was a sewing mistress and a nurse, while younger sisters were dressmakers, a teacher, a dental assistant, and a hospital sister.

Women with Visible Occupations

The professions of the Grenville sisters are typical of the narrow band of occupations which were increasingly undertaken by women from the turn of the century.[19] The visibility of women in the workforce had increased from five per cent in the second generation to twenty-one per cent in the third generation (Table 8.7), with the highest rate of participation seen in the daughters of the upper class. The daughters of this occupational class had the highest rate of remaining single and those who remained single participated in the workforce to the same degree as the labourers' daughters. Over half of the labourers' single daughters and the single daughters of the upper class held independent occupations (Table 8.7: Single granddaughters with occupations).

Table 8.7: Third-generation women with visible occupations.

Occupational class of the second generation (parents)	Grand-daughters*	with occupations		Single grand-daughters*	with occupations	
Upper Class	82	24	29 %	33	19	58 %
Middle Class	152	34	22 %	44	19	44 %
Skilled Workers	116	30	26 %	21	8	38 %
Farming & Fishing	175	21	12 %	37	10	27 %
Labouring	139	32	23 %	26	15	58 %
Total	664	141	21 %	161	71	44 %

* Granddaughters aged sixteen years or over.

Despite equivalent rates, the occupational distribution of the daughters of labourers and the daughters of the upper class were divergent. As presented in the mobility table below, daughters of the upper class were found entirely above the manual divide (Table 8.8: Upper Class (column)). Nursing, together with teaching, were the most common professional roles undertaken by women in the early twentieth century.[20] Nursing was considered an acceptable professional for women, particularly women from respectable middle- and upper-class backgrounds.

Nurses were frequently found in the third generation of medical families. Nora Vera Woodforde, granddaughter of surgeon John Woodforde and his wife Caroline (née Carter), worked as a nurse, as did three Corbin sisters, daughters of surgeon Thomas Wilson Corbin and granddaughters of surveyor Alfred Hardy and his wife Mary (née Newenham). While granddaughters of these medical families were often nurses, they were rarely qualified practitioners of medicine. Dr Helen Mayo, daughter of civil engineer George Mayo and granddaughter of surgeon George Mayo and his wife Maria (née Gandy), was the only

[19] Bacchi, 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia' in Richards, *Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 426-427.
[20] Bacchi, 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia' in Richards, *Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 408.

female physician in the third generation of this research. Neither did the granddaughters and daughters of solicitors follow their predecessors into law. Despite legislation passed in 1911 which enabled women to practice law as a profession in South Australia, and many legal families within this research, there were no female lawyers amongst the third-generation population.[21]

Table 8.8: Occupational mobility for women with visible occupations.

		Occupational Class of Parents (Second Generation)					
		Upper Class	**Middle Class**	**Skilled Workers**	**Farming & Fishing**	**Labouring Class**	
Occupational Class of Granddaughters*	**Upper Class**	46 % (11)	20 % (7)	17 % (5)	9 % (2)	19 % (6)	
	Middle Class	54 % (13)	59 % (20)	33 % (10)	48 % (10)	34 % (11)	
	Skilled Workers	0	12 % (4)	40 % (12)	19 % (4)	28 % (9)	
	Farming & Fishing	0	3 % (1)	0	5 % (1)	0	
	Labouring Class	0	6 % (2)	10 % (3)	19 % (4)	19 % (6)	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total N	24	34	30	21	32	**141**

* Not always at mid-career.

Persistent: **36 %**

Upwardly Mobile: **45 %**

Downwardly Mobile: **19 %**

The mobility table of third-generation women with occupations depicts women moving into middle-class occupations (Table 8.8: Middle Class (Row)). This concentration of female employment in white-collar, middle-class roles reflects the concentration of women in clerical, sales, or service occupations.[22] Labourers' daughters who crossed the manual divide into the middle class were employed in low paid white-collar roles, as typists and shop assistants. Women also entered newly emerging white-collar clerical professions such as telephonists and typists, fields in which women could be employed at a cheaper rate than men.[23] As well as single women who held careers, women were seen with listed occupations on their marriage registrations, or after the deaths of their husbands. The two women included as farmers were both acknowledged as farming the family property, in their own right, following their husbands' deaths (Table 8.8: Farming & Fishing (Row)). In

[21] Oppenheimer, Melanie and Margrette Kleinig. 'Progressive conservatism and boundless optimism', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 8.
[22] Bacchi, 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia' in Richards, *Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 426-427.
[23] Anderson and MacKinnon, 'New women and the modern family.' in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 55.

the early decades of the twentieth century it was unconventional to continue to work after marriage and this was actively discouraged or prohibited.[24]

It was not only medical families who passed down their profession. Two daughters of publicans who continued the family trade were the Campbell sisters, Laura and Annie, who managed the London Inn on Flinders Street in Adelaide. These sisters were third generation publicans, as their grandfather was William Williams, operator of the City Bridge Hotel on Morphett Street in Adelaide in the 1840s. The mother Eliza, eldest daughter of William Williams and his wife Maria (née Wickham), married sheep farmer James Campbell, but by 1870 the couple had moved with two young daughters onto the Barossa Goldfields, where their two-year-old daughter Edith Maria accidently drowned in an abandoned mine. Three months later the couple had their youngest daughter, Anne Maria. By the 1880s James Campbell was a publican in Adelaide, first in Gouger Street then as licensee of the London Inn on Flinders Street in 1888. The London Inn remained in the hands of the Campbell family for over fifty years, with management passing from James Campbell to his wife Eliza, elder daughter Laura and then younger daughter Annie.

The daughters of the manual classes who moved into the upper class were predominantly teachers. As the HISCLASS classification scheme allocates the position of teacher as an upper-class occupation, this was the means by which the daughters of manual classes accessed the upper-class under this classification system. Of the thirteen females from manual backgrounds who held upper-class occupations, ten were teachers (Table 8.8: Upper Class (Row)). The three other women were an accountant, an elocutionist, and a manager of a private hospital.

Evelyn Alice May Thompson, daughter and granddaughter of Happy Valley vignerons, was listed as a single woman and an accountant when she died of carcinoma at the age of forty-two years in 1922. Evelyn Thompson was an early participant in this profession, as in 1919 there had been eight female accountants professionally recognised in Australia.[25] Another female professional was Gwendoline Morris Isobel Hone, granddaughter of Alberton fisherman Israel Mazey and youngest daughter of ostler, miller and caretaker William Hone and his wife Sarah (née Mazey). Gwendoline Hone had been a thirty-year-old elocutionist when she married Unley merchant Reginal McLeay in 1924. The profession of speech therapist was not as new to women as accounting, as it had been expanding since the turn

[24] Anderson and MacKinnon, 'New women and the modern family.' in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 58.
[25] CPA Australia, *The History of the Female Accountant in Australia: a history in numbers*, 2020 <https://www.cpaaustralia.com.au/about-us/our-history/female-accountants-in-australia>

of the century and included women as participants.[26] Alice Winifred Tapper (née Wood), the granddaughter of sawyer Joseph Lyne, married labourer Fergus Tapper in 1875 in Naracoorte, when she was twenty-one years old. The couple had five children, with two surviving to adulthood. By 1906 Alice was managing 'Nurse Tapper's Private Hospital' in Horsham in Victoria, and when her husband died in 1920, Fergus Tapper was referred to as the 'husband of Nurse Tapper'.[27]

The women who were in the skilled worker occupational class were almost entirely in the textile industry, working as dressmakers or milliners. (Table 8.8: Skilled Workers (Row)). An exceptional career as a tailoress and designer was that of Dulcie Quin, granddaughter of Port Adelaide harbour master Captain Hugh Quin. Dulcie had been born in Queensland to Engineer Joseph Quin and Lily (née Wright), but after her husband's death Lily and three of her four daughters had relocated to Drummoyne, Sydney where they lived together, overlooking Sydney Harbour. Dulcie was known as a tailoress and wedding dress designer in Sydney, but she became director of the clothing company Osti Pty Ltd and died in 2011, aged 106 years.[28]

Geographic Mobility

The children of the upper class were the most geographically mobile, with thirty-two percent moving interstate or overseas (Table 8.9: Upper Class). Half of the daughters of the upper class with visible occupations pursued their occupations interstate or overseas, such as Dorothy Kingston who was secretary to a bank manager in Japan between 1931 and 1940.[29] Eva Maberley McLaren, granddaughter of Port Adelaide collier fleet proprietor Henry Simpson, was living in Cheltenham, Gloucestershire when she was listed as a 'Professor of Music' in the 1911 English census. Mary Lucy and Ellen Maud Archer, granddaughters of Thomas Hudson Beare, had been born in Agra, Bengal in India, but returned to South Australia when young. These sisters continued to move as adults, as Mary Lucy relocated interstate to take a position as head teacher in Hamilton, Victoria and Ellen Maud was a telephonist in Alameda, San Francisco in the United States. These were the examples of the 'new women' set, who entered professions, taught and 'urged young women to expand their horizons'.[30]

---

[26] Anderson, Margaret and MacKinnon, Alison. 'New women and the modern family: continuity and change in pre-war domestic life', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 41.
[27] 'Obituary', *The Horsham Times,* Friday 9 November 1906, p. 3; 'Obituary', *The Horsham Times,* Tuesday 11 January 1910, p. 4; 'Obituary', *The Horsham Times,* Friday 5 July 1918, p. 5; 'Obituary', *The Horsham Times,* Tuesday 30 March 1920, p. 4.
[28]'New Registrations', *Sydney Morning Herald,* Thursday 18 May 1939, p. 7; 'Weddings', *Glen Innes Examiner*, Wednesday 27 December 1950, p. 3; 'Dulcie Eileen Quin', *Sydney Morning Herald*, 14 December 2011.
[29] 'Adelaide Women Tells of Life in Yokohama', *The Mail,* Saturday 21 December 1940, p. 4.
[30] Anderson and MacKinnon, 'New women and the modern family.' in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, pp. 41-42.

Table 8.9: Geographic relocation of third generation.

Geographic Relocation of Third Generation (Grandchildren)								
Occupational Class of the Third Generation (μ1920)	Moved Interstate		Moved Overseas		Remained in Colony/State		Total	
Upper Class	28	22 %	15	12 %	86	**66 %**	129	100 %
Middle Class	67	21 %	13	4 %	244	**75 %**	324	100 %
Skilled Workers	33	17 %	4	2 %	153	**80 %**	190	100 %
Farmers & Fishers	45	22 %	5	2 %	155	**76 %**	205	100 %
Labouring Class	55	19 %	7	2 %	227	**79 %**	289	100 %
Percent of Total	228	20 %	44	4 %	865	**76 %**	1137	100 %

The sons of the upper class were also widely dispersed. The United Kingdom and New Zealand were the more usual overseas destination for the third generation, but some were found further afield (Table 8.10). William Morphett Cobb, grandson of John and Bessie Morphett (née Fisher) was a wine merchant based in Porto, Portugal, while his older brother Reginald Frederick Cobb was a wine importer based in London. It was the children of the non-manual classes who were the majority of those who moved overseas, nevertheless a small percentage of the manual classes relocated internationally (Table 8.9: Moved Overseas). There were seven people in the third generation who relocated to the United States (Table 8.10: United States). These were people who held a range of occupations. Duncan MacDonald, grandson of bullock driver and gardener Samuel Neville and Harriett (née Masters), worked as a gardener and servant to homes on Long Island in New York from 1908 until his death in 1955. He died at the Bowery Mission men's shelter in Lower Manhattan, at the age of seventy-seven years.

Table 8.10: Locations of the third generation 'movers' at their mid-career.

Location of third generation 'movers' at mid-career		
Western Australia	79	**26.9 %**
Victoria	76	**25.9 %**
New South Wales	64	**21.8 %**
Queensland	19	**6.5 %**
New Zealand	15	**5.1 %**
England	11	**3.7 %**
South Australia	9	**3.1 %**
United States	7	**2.4 %**
South Africa	5	**1.7 %**
Australian Capital Territory	3	**1.0 %**
Zimbabwe	2	**0.7 %**
Northern Territory	1	**0.3 %**
Portugal	1	**0.3 %**
Scotland	1	**0.3 %**
Percent of Total	N = 293	100 %

In this generation, a westward-looking quest for gold saw Western Australia overtake Victoria as the interstate destination of choice (Table 8.10). After the discovery of gold on Wongi land in Coolgardie and Kalgoorlie in 1892 and 1893, Western Australia provided an attractive destination for those suffering the impact of recession in the eastern colonies, with many drawn from South Australia and Victoria.[31] By the turn of the century, forty-two per cent of the population of Western Australia had been born in another state of Australia.[32] The western coast of Australia had attracted European attention, but not interest, since the sixteenth century.[33] The British established a settlement on the Swan River on Nyungar land in Western Australia in 1829, but by the time of the Wakefieldian colonial experiment, the difficulties faced by this fledgling society were used as a cautionary tale by South Australia's promoters.[34] The settlement in Western Australia became a destination for convicts in 1850 which provided a workforce and financial investment; however, by the colony's semicentennial in 1879 the population and economy had made limited progress.[35]

Like the Victorian goldrush for the first generation, the lure of gold caused temporary relocation. A grandchild of John and Elizabeth Morphett (née Fisher), Claude Graham Morphett Henderson was on western goldfields from 1893 to 1898 before proceeding to Queensland where he enlisted for the Boer War. As well as temporary gold-seekers, mines provided employment for professionals such as engineer Hugh Barton Corbin, who was employed by the Bank of England Mine in Kalgoorlie after graduating from Adelaide University in the early 1890s.[36] Hugh was joined temporarily by his younger brother John, who sojourned to the goldfields between his secondary education in Adelaide and his medical education at St Bartholomew Hospital in London, where his father Thomas Wilson Corbin had also trained.[37] It cannot be known if Francis William Powell, son of Wilpena Station overseer Charles Powell and Mary Anne (née Ward) had intended his excursion to the western goldfields to be temporary or permanent, as he died at Kalgoorlie in 1898 of typhoid fever at twenty-six years of age.

Young South Australian adults were observed moving to Australia's western frontier, where they married, established families and created the youthful Western Australian society of

[31] Bolton, Geoffrey. *Land of Vision and Mirage: Western Australia since 1826*. Crawley, W.A.: UWA Press, 2008, p. 62
[32] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 546.
[33] Bolton, *Land of Vision and Mirage,* 2008, p. 5
[34] Wakefield, 'The Art of Colonization', *England and America,* 1833, Vol II, Note XII, pp. 145-156.
[35] Bolton, *Land of Vision and Mirage,* 2008, pp. 25, 40; Coghlan, *Labour and Industry,* 1969, p. 1238
[36] 'Adelaide University', *Adelaide Observer,* Saturday 3 December 1892, p. 35.
[37] 'Obituary. Distinguished Career: Death of Dr. John Corbin', *Chronicle,* Thursday 6 February 1930, p. 55.

the first decades of the twentieth century.[38] Three sisters, granddaughters of Clarendon farmer Joseph Jones and his wife Harriet (née Wallace, formerly Lewis), established lives for themselves in Western Australia. The eldest of ten children, Lillian Brealey married miner Henry Foubister in 1898 Boulder, Western Australia and the couple were storekeepers on Kalgoorlie's main street. Second daughter Marion Brealey also married in Boulder in 1902, to machinist Charles Wilson Pratt. This couple had moved away from the goldfields and into Fremantle by the 1930s. The third daughter of the family, Amy Brealey, was a nun at the Wooroloo Tuberculosis Sanatorium on the outskirts of Perth.[39] Their brother, William Howard Brealey, married in Adelaide in 1895, but could not be located after his marriage. A 'W.H. Brealey' was listed as a miner with the Red Hill Gold Mine in Coolgardie in 1897, so William Howard Brealey was possibly on the western goldfields with his sisters, but this could not be verified with certainty.[40]

Other grandchildren of Joseph and Harriet Jones, cousins to the Brealey siblings, were also found in Western Australia. Ellen Ramage (née Jones, formerly Steer) had remarried stonemason George Ramage in 1895 after her first husband's death in Clarendon in 1893. The couple relocated to Western Australia at the turn of the century where they were lighthouse keepers on Rottnest Island off the coast of Perth, and also in Bunbury south of Perth, before settling in Geraldton, 400 kilometres north of Perth in 1912.[41] Another cousin, Thomas Wycliffe Dix, was a railway repairman in near Geraldton in Western Australia in 1917. Branches of families moved collectively to Western Australia, providing an influx of arrivals into this new Australian frontier.

South Africa was also a destination introduced in the third generation (Table 8.10: South Africa). By the turn of the century, South Africa was competing with Western Australia as a destination for miners.[42] South Africa was a destination for three grandsons and two granddaughters within this research, one of these being Thomas Lipson Inman, grandson of Thomas and Elizabeth Lipson (née Fooks), who forged his career from the 1880s as a mining engineer and assayer in Johannesburg, South Africa. The connection with South Africa was strengthened when South Australia, along with the other Australian colonies, agreed to raise volunteer contingents to support the British in the Boer War of 1899 to 1902.[43] At

[38] Bolton, *Land of Vision and Mirage,* 2008, p. 90; Vanden Driesen, I. H. *Essays on Immigration Policy and Population in Western Australia 1850-1901*. Nedlands, W.A.: University of Western Australia Press, 1986, pp. 171.
[39] 'Wooroloo Sanatorium', *The Daily News*, Saturday 11 January 1919, p. 8.
[40] 'Action for wages: Coolgardie', *Inquirer and Commercial News,* Friday 17 December 1897, p. 7.
[41] 'Death of Mrs. Ellen Ramage', *Geraldton Guardian and Express,* Tuesday 25 August 1936, p. 2.
[42] Nugent, Anthony. 'Cornish Miners in Western Australia 1850-1896', in Payton and Varnava, eds. *Australia, Migration and Empire,* 2019, pp. 181, 189.
[43] Bannon, 'Adjustment to statehood: South Australia from the Boer War to the Great War', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 34.

least six men of the third generation served in the Boer War. South Australia's first Boer War contingent was farewelled in Adelaide on 2 November 1899, and the colony contributed over 1000 men to the South African War, with forty-six dying in South Africa.[44]

Along with the rise in population in Western Australia's goldfields, the urban centre of Perth experienced a fourfold increase in population from 1891 to 1901.[45] Despite this boom, Perth was still dwarfed by Australia's urban centres of Sydney and Melbourne, which were both rapidly approaching populations of half a million people in 1901.[46] Those who moved to urban Melbourne and Sydney in this third generation were predominantly above the manual divide; these were middle- and upper-class professionals, managers, clerical and sales moving to access opportunities in Australia's largest urban centres. An example is Max Afford, son of grocer Robert Afford and Mary Ann (née Crundell) and grandson of Hindley Street water carter John Afford and Rosina (née Taylor). Max began his career as an Adelaide based journalist but relocated to Sydney as a playwright for the Australian Broadcasting Commission.[47] This is also an example of the association between urban relocation and upward mobility, to be explored in the next chapter.

A cousin of Sydney playwright Max Afford was Herbert Charles Afford, who worked as a dentist in Port Pirie and represented the transformation of this region in South Australia's mid-north. Approximately a third of those who moved to New South Wales in the third generation had moved to Wilyakali land at Broken Hill in the decades around the turn of the century. These people were part of a wave of workers attracted to this new mining district, fifty kilometres across the border which South Australia shared with New South Wales.[48] Broken Hill had been identified as a source of lead in 1883 and this find was promptly utilized.[49] The Broken Hill Proprietary Company was registered in August 1885 and men from the drought-ravaged regions in South Australia's mid- and far- north trekked across the border into New South Wales to gain employment.[50] The Silverton Tramway connected Port Pirie in South Australia to Broken Hill in January 1888 and thousands of unemployed South Australian workers brought cheap labour to the district.[51]

---

[44] Bannon, 'Adjustment to statehood: South Australia from the Boer War to the Great War', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, pp. 36-37.
[45] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 543.
[46] Coghlan, *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia,* 1902, p. 543.
[47] Tolley, Michael, J. 'Afford, Malcolm (Max) (1906–1954)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, National Centre of Biography, Australian National University, vol. 13, 1993, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/afford-malcolm-max-9315/text16349>
[48] Coghlan, *Labour and Industry in Australia,* 1969, p. 1553; Payton, *The Cornish Overseas,* 2020, p. 324-336.
[49] Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended,* 2003, pp. 142-145.
[50] Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended,* 2003, pp. 154-156.
[51] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, p. 214; Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 177; Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended,* 2003, pp. 154-156.

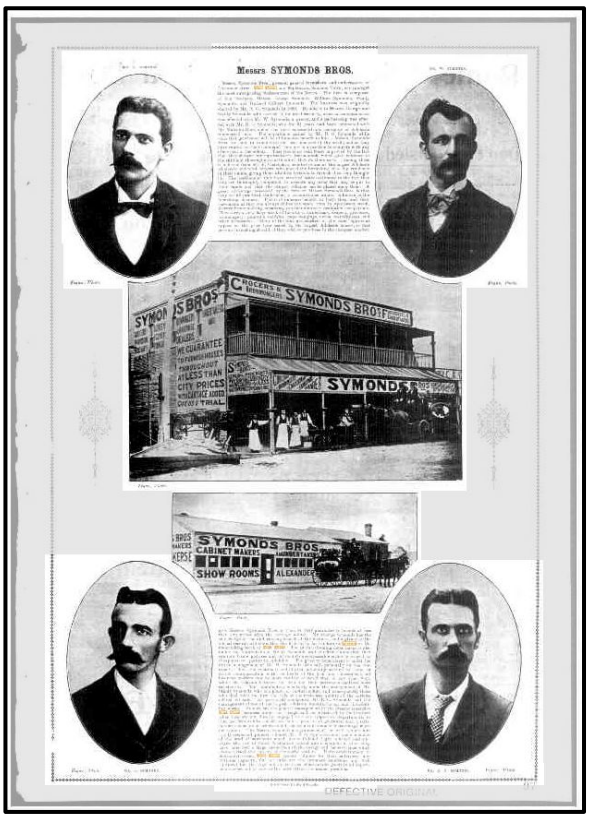


Figure 8.2: Messrs Symonds Brothers Department Store, Port Pirie, 1900.[52]

Located on Nukunu land on South Australia's Spencer Gulf, Port Pire was transformed through the creation of processing plants for the smelting of iron ore and a wharf for the exporting of processed metals.[53] In the third generation of this research, an equivalent number of labourers moved to Port Pirie as those who relocated to the Broken Hill mining district. As with all developing rural centres, a wide range of occupational classes were required to service the expanding population. Along with dentist Herbert Afford, within the third-generation population a solicitor, a reporter and a Methodist minister were also found residing in Port Pirie. Robert Symonds, grandson of *Cygnet* surveyor and land agent Richard Gilbert Symonds and Harriet (née Single) was a twenty-one-year-old cabinet maker when he moved to Port Pirie in 1883. As a young man, Robert Symonds had worked in the Kapunda bakehouse of Thomas Dean Afford, father of Port Pirie dentist Herbert Afford.[54] Robert, together with his three younger brothers Stanley, William and George, (Figure 8.2) established the Symonds Brothers department store in a prominent two storey building on the main street of Port Pirie, a substantial business which operated on the site until 1940.[55]

[52] 'Messrs Symonds Bros.' *Petersburg Times,* Friday 8 June 1900, p. 2.
[53] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, p. 214; Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 177; Blainey, *The Rush That Never Ended,* 2003, p. 175.
[54] 'Passing of a good Pirie citizen: All walks of life pay last tribute to Mr. R. G. Symonds, man who had unbounded faith in his town', *Recorder,* Wednesday 5 August 1942, p. 2.
[55] 'Messrs Symonds Bros.', *Petersburg Times,* Friday 8 June 1900, p. 2; 'Symonds Bros. Jubilee', *Recorder,* Thursday 10 May 1934, p. 2; 'Public Announcement!' *Recorder,* Saturday 5 October 1940, p. 1.

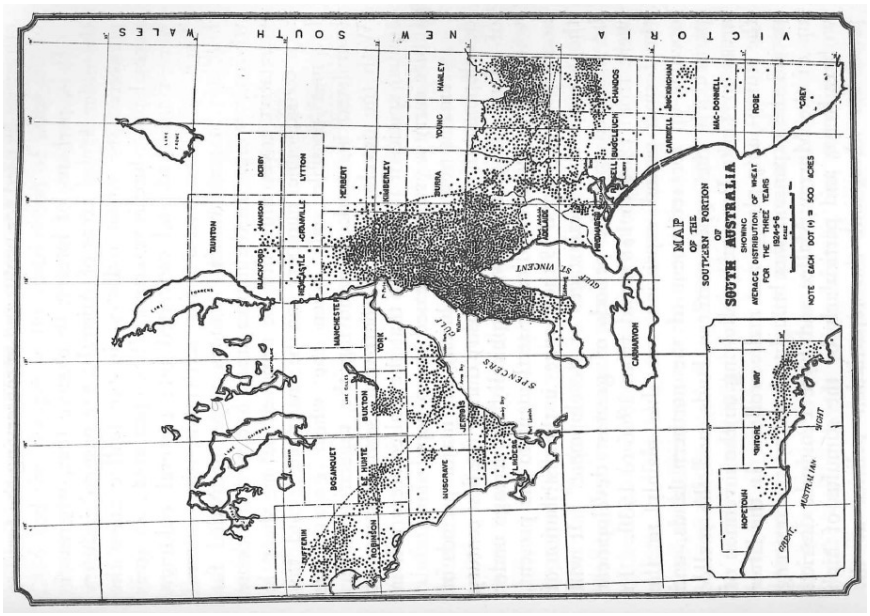


Figure 8.5: Distribution of wheat acreage in South Australia, 1924-26.[58]

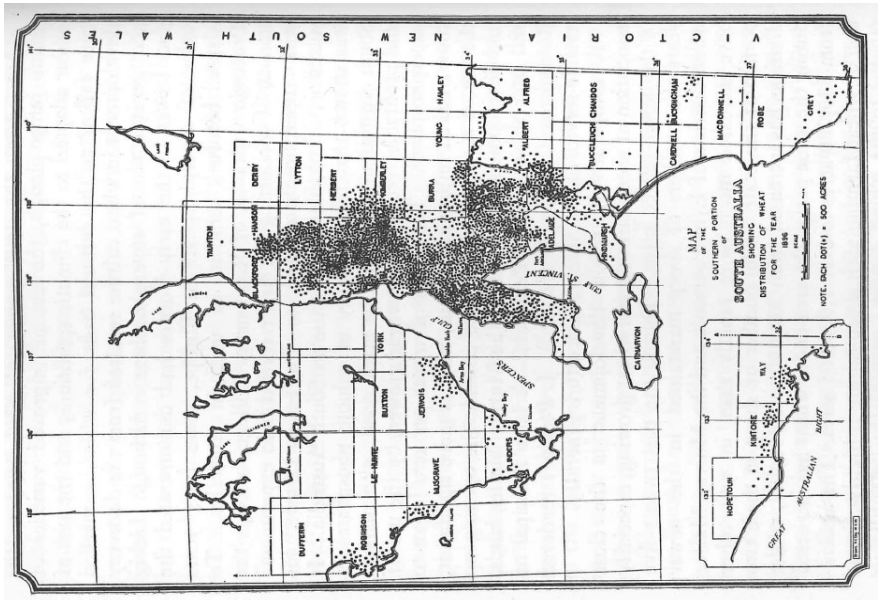


Figure 8.4: Distribution of wheat acreage in South Australia, 1896.[57]

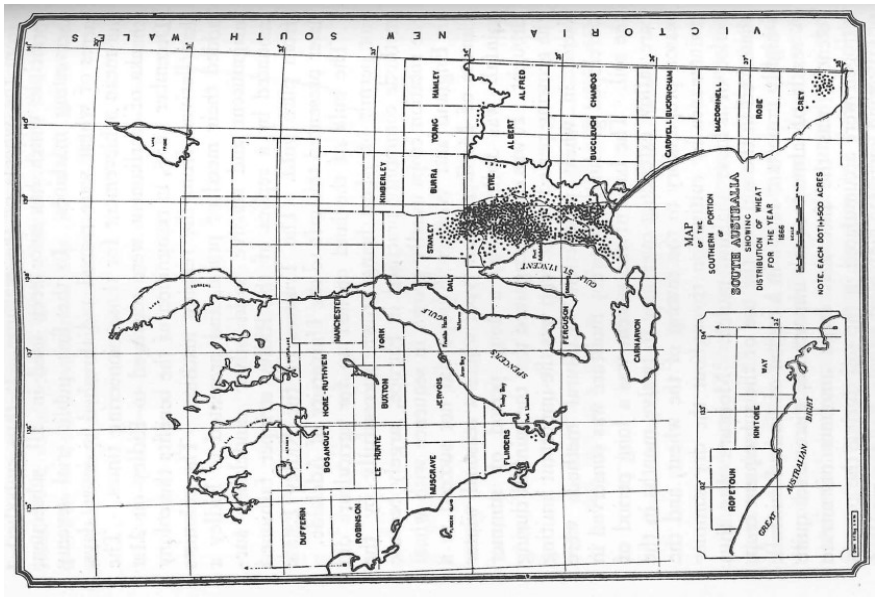


Figure 8.3: Distribution of wheat acreage in South Australia, 1866.[56]

[56] Royal Geographical Society, *The Centenary History of South Australia*, 1936, p. 152
[57] Royal Geographical Society, *The Centenary History of South Australia*, 1936, p. 156
[58] Royal Geographical Society, *The Centenary History of South Australia*, 1936, p. 157

Agricultural areas were expanding in rural districts of South Australia at the turn of the century. In the last two decades of the nineteenth century, South Australia initiated agricultural developments which allowed farmers to improve their yield and spread into marginal lands; these were superphosphate farming, mullenising and the invention of the stump-jump plough.[59] These advances in farming practice led to the expansion agricultural areas into Barngarla land on the Eyre Peninsula and the Ngarkat mallee scrub lands east of the Murray River.[60] Superphosphate farming tackled the issue of nutrient exhaustion which occurred after South Australian farmers cropped and harvested grain repeatedly on the same land.[61] The introduction of superphosphate fertiliser allowed marginal land, such as that on the Eyre Peninsula, to be utilised for crop production and as improved grazing land.[62] Turning mallee country into land suitable for European agriculture had been formidable, as mallee which had been felled continued to grow from its deeply buried root stock. [63] Techniques to conquer the mallee scrub, such as mullenising and the stump-jump plough, were developed in the 1870s, and reduced the obstacles to farming on mallee lands.[64] These agricultural developments, combined with the return of economic confidence in South Australia in 1905, saw the expansion of rural settlements into the Eyre Peninsula, the Murray Mallee and the Riverland.[65]

Branches of South Australian farming families moved into these expanding agricultural districts. Granddaughters of the Bull Creek farming family of James and Harriet Stone (née Evans) moved onto the Eyre Peninsula. Martha Allan married blacksmith George Andrew Nicolson in Strathalbyn in 1898 and the couple first settled in Cowell on the Eyre Peninsula, before establishing themselves as graziers at Roopena Station near Whyalla in 1919.[66] The family maintained an association with this property until 2013.[67] Fanny Celia Stone, a cousin of Martha Nicholson (née Allan), married Cleve farmer Philip George Fitzgerald in Meadows in 1911 and the couple settled on the Eyre Peninsula where Philip Fitzgerald was

[59] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, pp. 210-211.
[60] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, p. 211; Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 535.
[61] Reuter, Doug. 'The South Australian Superphosphate Story - Part I.' *Agricultural Science,* vol. 24, no. 2, 2012, p. 23; Williams, *The Making of the South Australian Landscape*, 1974, pp. 50-55, 280-285.
[62] Boeree, Robert. 'Land Settlement on the Eyre Peninsula, South Australia', PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Adelaide, 1963, pp. 114-117.
[63] Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 517.
[64] Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 531.
[65] Oppenheimer and Kleinig. 'Progressive conservatism and boundless optimism', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, pp. 3-4.
[66] Mayfield, Louis. 'Life on Roopena Station', *Whyalla News,* 13 June 2017, <https://www.whyallanewsonline.com.au/story/4727602/colourful-history-in-family-tale/>
[67] Dean, Daniela, 'The End of an Era', *Whyalla News*, 13 May 2013, <https://www.whyallanewsonline.com.au/story/1497989/the-end-of-an-era/>

a District Clerk and Overseer for the Cleve District Council.[68] Grandsons of Clarendon farmer Joseph Jones and his wife Harriet (née Wallace, formerly Lewis), relocated beyond the Eyre Peninsula to farm on Wirangu land on the Great Australian Bight. Brothers William Angelo, Leonard Ellis and Victor Reginald Hardy were farmers and graziers at Coorabie and Wookata, in the remote rural region around Fowlers Bay.

Table 8.11: Urban/rural geographic movement of third generation.

Geographic Movement of the Third Generation (Grandchildren)										
Occupational Class of the Third Generation	**Rural / Rural**		**Rural / Urban**		**Urban / Rural**		**Urban / Urban**		**Total**	
Upper Class	23	18 %	27	21 %	21	16 %	59	45 %	130	100 %
Middle Class	81	25 %	71	22 %	36	11 %	137	42 %	325	100 %
Skilled Workers	44	23 %	65	34 %	15	8 %	66	35 %	190	100 %
Farmers & Fishers	157	**77 %**	6	3 %	34	16 %	8	4 %	205	100 %
Labouring Class	104	36 %	68	24 %	29	10 %	86	30 %	287	100 %
Percent of Total	N=409	36 %	N=237	21 %	N=135	12 %	N=356	31 %	1137	100 %

In most cases these expansions of agricultural areas were included amongst the 'Rural / Rural' movement in the third generation (Table 8.11). In this generation, the general trend was movement away from rural areas and into urban environments. Children of rural farmers and labourers were relocating into cities. The retreat from the northern frontiers, which had begun with the 1880s drought, continued after the turn of the century (Figure 8.5). The use of powered machinery on farms brought new efficiencies, changes in farm size, and decreased numbers of labourers employed in rural areas, contributing to this move of population out of the country.[69] The proportion of population residing in South Australia's capital adjusted. Adelaide had held one third of South Australia's population in the 1870s, but this had increased to one-half by 1921.[70] This increase was caused not only by movement from the country to the city, but also a flow of immigrants from interstate and overseas who settled in Adelaide.[71]

The trend toward removal into the city was not as pronounced for the upper class, who relocated from the city to rural areas at the same rate as those who were taking up farming (Table 8.11). Many of these individuals were moving into country towns for employment as regional managers and professionals, such as George Woodforde Cussen, son of North Adelaide merchant and agent Robert Cussen and his wife Meliora (née Woodforde).

[68] 'Obituary: Death of Mr. P. G. Fitzgerald, Prominent Citizen of Cleve', *Eyre Peninsula Tribune,* Thursday 14 May 1942, p. 3.
[69] Meinig, *On the Margins of the Good Earth*, 1962, p. 212.
[70] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 1.
[71] Bannon, 'Adjustment to statehood: South Australia from the Boer War to the Great War', in Oppenheimer, Anderson and Paul, eds. *South Australia on the Eve of War*, 2017, p. 33.

Meliora was a recurring name within the family of surgeon John Woodforde (Figure 8.7) who, a week after arrival at Kangaroo Island on the *Rapid* in August 1836, recorded in this diary that he had failed in his search for butterflies for 'dear Melliora [sic]', possibly a reference to his younger sister.[72] George Woodforde Cussen married Annie Priscilla Mines in Perth in 1908 where he was a clerk with the Bank of New South Wales. Over the course of his career George Cussen was a regional bank manager in Katanning, Western Australia and in Wagga Wagga and Leeton in regional New South Wales, before returning to Adelaide in retirement.

Figure 8.6: John Woodford, c1855.[73]

Conclusion

In the first generation of this research it was farmers, pastoralists, overseers and labourers who moved out into rural areas, expanding onto the lands of southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples. The skilled workers, as well as the middle and upper classes of the first expedition remained predominantly urban. In the second generation, all occupational classes participated in the move into rural areas, as agricultural land was appropriated, defined and surveyed. The sons and daughters of the first expedition were drawn to the farming and mining communities and the service towns which arose in Western Victoria,

[72] History Trust of South Australia, 'Dairy of John Woodford¸ Sunday 28 August 1836', *Bound for South Australia,* 2011, <http://boundforsouthaustralia.com.au/sunday-28-august-1836-4.html>

[73] State Library of South Australia, *John Woodforde, M.D. c1855*, B7008 [Inscribed on back of photograph: John Woodforde, M.D. / Medical advisor to Colonel Light. Arrived in South Australia on the 'Rapid' in 1836 / presented by Miss Meliora O'Halloran]

South Australia's Yorke Peninsula, mid and far northern regions. In the third generation the growth of agricultural and mining districts continued, moving west onto the Eyre Peninsula, across Nullarbor Plains and into Western Australia, and east into the Riverland and Mallee country. Despite this rural expansion, the overall population shift was away from the country and into cities and suburbs, as almost twice as many people moved from rural to urban areas than the reverse.

Approximately three quarters of the third-generation population were persistent in the colony, later state, of their birth. Of those who relocated in this generation, Western Australia became the destination which attracted the most movers, narrowly overtaking Victoria. The middle class and skilled workers were more likely to relocate to urban areas interstate, while the upper class moved overseas to the greatest degree. It was the daughter of the upper class who experience the highest rate of remaining single, at forty per cent compared to the twenty-four per cent population average for third-generation females. Single daughters of the upper class and labourers held the highest rate of visible occupations, but their occupations differed, with daughters of the upper class remaining persistently above the manual divide. The next chapter continues this investigation of occupational persistence, by accessing the degree of correlation between geographic movements and the occupational class outcomes experienced by the grandsons and granddaughters of South Australia's first expedition.

Chapter Nine: Occupational Outcomes of the Grandchildren

The third generation, the grandchildren of those who participated in South Australia's first expedition, were born in the latter half of the nineteenth century and matured in a newly federated Australia. The mean mid-career occupation for this generation was observed in 1920, which is compared to the mid-career of the second generation of 1891 (Table 9.1: Mid-Career Year). The average age for the third-generation population was forty-two years, compared to a similar mid-career age of their parents (Table 9.1: Mid-Career Age). The rates of intergenerational occupational class persistence observed between these generations are investigated in this chapter.

The geographic movement within Australia for this generation was between states and territories rather than colonies. This chapter compares the urban, rural, intercolonial and international relocations of the third generation to their occupational class. The overall rate of occupational class inheritance from their parents was forty per cent, with thirty-two per cent experiencing upward mobility, and twenty-eight per cent moving into a lower occupational class. When the individuals of the third generation are considered from the perspective of their occupational class origin, their varying outcomes are uncovered.

Table 9.1: Second and third generational birth year, mid-career year and age.

	Second Generation	Third Generation
Birth Year	μ **1848** (σ 12)	μ **1878** (σ 14)
Mid-Career Age	μ **43 years** (σ 6)	μ **42 years** (σ 6)
Mid-Career Year	μ **1891** (σ 15)	μ **1920** (σ 15)

This chapter argues that the advantage of marital mobility available to daughters in the second generation had dissipated by the third generation, as grandsons and granddaughters were occupational persistent to the same degree. Instead, women were upwardly mobile through their own independent occupations. The visibility of female occupations, which came to the fore in this era, tended to be in skilled trades or the white-collar middle-class, and this was an avenue of upward mobility available to labourers' daughters.

Validating Wakefieldian promises to the ambitious middle class, this generation continued to experience substantial persistence above the manual divide. The sons and daughters of the middle and upper classes predominantly held non-manual occupations, but not all opportunities for upward mobility were found within the colony or state of their birth. The children of the middle class were more likely to be in upper-class occupations if they had

moved interstate or overseas. In contrast, this chapter argues that the children of labourers, farmers and fishers were not upwardly mobile after relocation. When comparing those who moved with those who stayed, these children of the manual classes remained occupationally persistent to the same degree, as farmers moved to access land and labourers continued to labour.

This generation was part of a population shift into urban areas. A quarter of the children of labourers and a fifth of the children of farmers and fishers left the country and moved into cities. These manual rural to urban 'movers' experienced an increased rate of upward mobility and were more able to cross the manual divide into the middle class. Despite this upward mobility, children of labourers, farmers and fishers in this generation continued to have limited access to upper-class occupations.

Children of skilled workers were the most occupationally mobile. In a muted reflection of the second-generation findings, the sons of skilled workers experienced downward mobility while their daughters were upwardly mobile, but this discrepancy was not as marked as in the previous generation. Urban daughters were able to pursue both occupations and husbands above the manual divide to a greater degree than rural daughters, while sons of rural skilled workers were more likely to become farmers or labourers. More of the children of skilled workers who moved interstate or overseas held upper-class occupations than those who remained in the region of their birth.

Table 9.2: Occupational class origin of the third-generation population.

Number of children of the third generation				
Occupational Class of the second generation (parents)	**Third Generation**		**Grand-sons**	**Grand-daughters**
Upper Class	129	11 %	70	59
Middle Class	325	29 %	166	159
Skilled Workers	190	17 %	95	95
Farming & Fishing	205	18 %	115	90
Labouring Class	288	25 %	160	128
Total	N = 1137	100 %	N = 606	N = 531

The most populous occupational class in the third generation were the children of the middle-class, followed by the labouring class (Table 9.2). This reflects the composition of those who participated in South Australia's first expedition. Chapter five of this thesis examined the careers of those who comprised the first expedition, while chapter seven revealed the occupational class persistence and mobility from the first to the second generation. This chapter follows the rates of occupational persistence into a third generation.

Overall, forty percent of the third generation remained in the same occupational class as their parents (Table 9.3: Persistent). Thirty-two per cent of the third generation moved into a 'higher' occupational class and twenty-eight per cent moved into a 'lower' occupational class. From the mid-career of the second generation (µ1891) to the mid-career of the third generation (µ1920), the granddaughters of South Australia's first expedition were marginally more inclined to experience upward mobility and the grandsons to experience downward mobility from their parent's occupational class, but the variation between male and female outcomes was slight. This is in contrast with the results found in inheritance from the mid-career of the first generation (µ1850) to the second generation (µ1891) as outlined in chapter seven, which demonstrated stark differences in outcomes between daughters and sons.

Table 9.3: Occupational class movement of the third-generation population.

Third Generation Children						
Occupational Class Mobility of Third Generation.	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upward	361	32 %	174	30 %	187	36 %
Persistent	439	40 %	239	41 %	200	38 %
Downward	308	28 %	172	29 %	136	26 %
Total	N = 1108	100 %	N = 585	100 %	N = 523	100 %

Considered mobility in terms of 'upward' and 'downward', hides rates of transfer between occupational classes. Details emerge when a five-class perspective is implemented, revealing differences in the percentage of males and females who moved across the manual divide. In this chapter each occupational class is considered both in terms of their direction of mobility and their class outcomes. Their occupational change is correlated with rural, urban, interstate and international relocation to reveal rates of mobility for 'movers' compared to 'stayers'.

Children of Labouring Parents

There are 336 grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition whose parents were of the labouring class. After considering the attrition for this population, as discussed in the previous chapter, there were 231 children of labourers for whom a mid-career occupational class could be compared to that of their parents. Of these 231 adult grandchildren, 112 were grandsons and 119 were granddaughters.

The overall rate of labouring persistence for the children of labourers was forty-five per cent (Table 9.4). In contrast to the previous generation, the rate of labouring upward

mobility was equivalent for the third-generation males and females (Table 9.4: Upward). In the second-generation population of this research, the daughters had left the labouring class at twice the rate of the sons. This had been through marriage, as the visibility of women's occupations in the second generation was insignificant. By this third generation the visibility of female employment increased, and a quarter of these granddaughters held independent occupations, although approximately a third of these held visible occupations only prior to their marriage. As shown in the previous chapter, women's employment tended to be in the skilled worker or middle class, and the most frequent occupations for these labourers' daughters was dressmaker or nurse.

Table 9.4: Occupational class movement of children of labourers.

Third-Generation Children of Labouring Parents						
Occupational Class Mobility of Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upward	127	55 %	60	54 %	67	56 %
Persistent	104	45 %	52	46 %	52	44 %
Downward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	N = 231	100 %	N = 112	100 %	N = 119	100 %

Almost a quarter of the third generation of the labouring parents became skilled workers (Table 9.5: Skilled Workers) who tended to be found in urban areas. As can been seen in the table below, more upwardly-mobile males entered the skilled-worker occupational class than females in the third generation. Of the twenty-four labourer's daughters who moved into the skilled workers occupational class, nine were women who held visible skilled occupations, predominantly working as dressmakers, while the males were found in a myriad of occupations.

Table 9.5: Occupational class outcomes of children of labourers.

Third-Generation Children of Labouring Parents						
Destination Class of the Third Generation.	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughter**	
Upper Class	11	5 %	5	5 %	6	5 %
Middle Class	38	16 %	15	13 %	23	19 %
Skilled Workers	55	24 %	31	28 %	24	20 %
Farmers & Fishers	23	10 %	9	8 %	14	12 %
Labouring Class	104	45 %	52	46 %	52	44 %
Total	N = 231	100 %	N = 112	100 %	N = 119	100 %

As previously observed in the second generation, third-generation daughters of labourers married farmers more often than sons of labourers were able to become farmers (Table 9.5: Farmers & Fishers). While in the second generation four-times as many daughters of labourers become farmers than sons of labourers, in this third generation the difference was not as pronounced. There was though, a difference in their ability to access farming land in their local area. Labourers' daughters were able to marry local farmers, while labourers' sons moved to access land. This could be seen in the grandchildren of Yorke Peninsula shepherd and fisherman Charles and Mary Pallington (née Pallant). While their eldest daughter Sophy married a local Yorketown farmer and remained in the Yorke Peninsula, younger brother Charles William married and moved across the border to farm in Coleraine, Victoria. The cost associated with land in South Australia remained a barrier for the sons of labourers.

Women were more able to cross the manual divide into the middle class. This was partially a result of the women who held their own visible occupations. Of the twenty-three labourer's daughters who entered the middle class, a little more than a third could be seen with their own independent occupations. These were five nurses, two secretaries and a shop assistant. Labourers' sons in the third generation did not start small businesses to the degree that they had in the second generation. This supports the finding by Sutterby in his study of the occupational mobility of South Australian manual labourers between the 1880s to 1921. Sutterby found that ambition labourers were hindered in their attempts to become proprietors or self-employed, as they lacked the capital for entrepreneurial endeavours.[1] As Davison asserted, 'as enterprises grew larger, the costs of entry higher and the grip of large capital tighter, the real chances of mobility could be argued to have diminished'.[2] Labourers' sons in the third generation were more likely to enter white-collar occupations by becoming clerks, agents and sales assistants.

There were eleven people from a labouring background who moved to upper-class occupations: six females and five males. These individuals represented a mere five per cent of labourers' children in the third generation. Four of these eleven were schoolteachers. As the HISCLASS system categorises the occupation of teacher as upper class, this was the avenue through which those of manual backgrounds accessed the upper-class occupational

[1] Sutterby, 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide', 1988, p. iv.
[2] Davison, 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia.' 1979, p. 11.

category. This categorisation was disputed by Clyde and Sally Griffen in their study of societal structure in mid-nineteenth century Poughkeepsie in the United States, as they highlighted the low prestige and income of teachers compared to other professional callings.[3]

Other avenues into upper-class occupations for these labourers' children were as company managers, ministers of religion and an engineer. Amongst these were the grandchildren of assistant surveyor and storekeeper William Teasdale and his wife Sarah (née Jaques). William and Sarah's second son Robert had moved to remote Bourke in New South Wales, where he married eighteen-year-old inn-keeper's daughter Winnifred Dickinson when he was twenty-eight years old. The couple had seven children in Bourke, while Robert was a wool-comber and drover. Later in life the couple moved to coastal New South Wales, where Robert worked into his advanced years as a sulky driver to a local doctor in the seaside town of Scarborough.[4] All four of the children of Robert and Winnifred Teasdale were remarkably mobile. Their eldest daughter Martha Maude was a nursing matron when she married timber-mill manager and real estate agent William Fleming-Robin.[5] Eldest son Richard Kemp became an Anglican Vicar in England.[6] Younger son Victor George was manager of the Oxford Picture Theatre in Paddington, Sydney before he died at thirty-six of influenza in 1919.[7] The couples' youngest daughter Blanche married a managing clerk Neville Simpson, who became a regional manager with the Australian Gas Light Company.[8]

Almost a quarter of labourers' children in the third generation of this research moved interstate or overseas. Despite these relocations, their rate of persistence as labourers remained consistent, at forty-four and forty-five per cent for movers and stayers respectively (Table 9.5: Labouring Class). Only four labourers' children moved overseas, and three of these remained in the labouring occupational class. Duncan McDonald, grandchild of bullock driver and gardener Samuel Neville and his wife Harriet (née Masters), was a third-generation gardener. Duncan moved to New York in the United States and where he was a servant and gardener at substantial residential addresses on Long Island. Brother and sister Alice & Ernest Keeble, grandchildren of Victorian sawyer George Heath and his wife

[3] Griffen and Griffen. *Natives and Newcomers*, 1978, pp. 239-242
[4] 'Scarbourgh-Clifton: Mr Robert Teasdale', *South Coast Times and Woollongong Argus,* Friday 5 July 1929, p. 11.
[5] 'Mr W. Fleming-Robin', *Daily Examiner*, Monday 11 February 1935, p. 4.
[6] 'Family Notices: Teasdale – Pennington', *The Sydney Morning Herald,* Saturday 7 December 1912, p. 22
[7] 'Victor's Valentine', *Truth*, Sunday 12 January 1913, p. 7
[8] 'The Gas Case', *The Advertiser,* Saturday 17 October 1914, p. 18.

Mary (née Clarke) relocated to New Zealand where Alice McKay (née Keeble) was married to a carter in Wellington and Ernest Keeble was a teamster in Geraldine on New Zealand's South Island. The one case of overseas upward mobility was Richard Kemp Teasdale, eldest son of drover and sulky driver Robert Teasdale, who was an Anglican Vicar in England as previously discussed. Those who relocated interstate were approximately equal numbers of sons and daughters, with rural Western Australia and Broken Hill in New South Wales predominant destinations for those who persisted as labourers, drawn by job opportunities provided by mineral exploitation.

Those labourers' sons and daughters who moved interstate to take up land were all found in Victoria, apart from two Teasdale grandsons who relocated to New South Wales. These were Arthur Stewart and George Daly, who farmed land at Boree Creek, in the Riverina district. Their father, William Teasdale Jnr had been listed as a farmer when he married Ann Jane Niblock in Truro, South Australia in 1864, but on the birth records of their nine children he was consistently described as a labourer. By his late career William and Ann Teasdale were farmers at Oak Farm in Florieton (now Maude) on Danggali saltbush country, land which lay over Goyder's Line in South Australia's mid-north. Five of the couple's nine children went on to be farmers. Eldest son William Teasdale III continued to farm in the mid-north, while two sisters married and farmed at Farrell Flat and Kooringa (Burra) in South Australia. These are examples of generations of labourers who relocated into South Australia's remote frontiers in order to farm but found land inhospitable to their farming methods.

Table 9.6: Occupational class outcomes of labouring origin 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Labouring Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upper Class	2	4 %	9	5 %	11
Middle Class	11	21 %	27	15 %	38
Skilled Workers	9	17 %	46	26 %	55
Farmers & Fishers	7	13 %	16	9 %	23
Labouring Class	23	44 %	81	45 %	104
Total	N = 52	100 %	N = 179	100 %	231
Percent of Total	N = 52	23 %	N = 179	**77 %**	N = 231

Labourers' children who took up or married into a skilled trade were predominantly geographically persistent and urban, most likely to be found in Adelaide, Perth or Sydney (Table 9.6: Skilled Workers). In contrast, those who crossed the manual divide into the middle class were widely dispersed, men and women who were in rural and urban areas around Australia, ranging from a clerk's wife in Perth, a police constable in Kalgoorlie, a nurse in rural Queensland and an assayer's wife in Broken Hill (Table 9.6: Middle Class). Despite these differences in destinations and pursuits, the rate of upward mobility for 'movers' and 'stayers' amongst labourers' children was consistent (Table 9.7: Upward). Irrespective of relocation, their persistence and upward mobility remained the same.

Table 9.7: Occupational class movement of labouring 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Labouring Parents						
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**	
Upward	30	57 %	97	54 %	127	55 %
Persistent	23	43 %	81	46 %	104	45 %
Downward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	N = 53	100 %	N = 178	100 %	N = 231	100 %
Percent of Total	N = 53	23 %	N = 178	**77 %**	N = 231	100 %

When examining this upward mobility in terms of rural and urban movement, it can be seen that those children of labourers who moved from a rural area to a city were more likely to be upwardly mobile than those who moved to the country (Table 9.8: Upward). Those who moved to the city were more likely to become, or marry, skilled workers. The highest rate of labouring persistence was found in those who moved from the city into the country. In this generation labourers' children left rural areas for the city at over three times the rate of those who did the reverse, as they retreated from effects of drought and depression in the 1880s and 90s (Table 9.8: Percent of total).

Table 9.8: Urban/rural geographic movement of children of labourers.

Third-Generation Children of Labouring Parents									
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Remained Rural**		**Relocated Rural to Urban**		**Relocated Urban to Rural**		**Remained Urban**		
Upward	54	58 %	37	61 %	8	42 %	28	48 %	127
Persistent	39	42 %	24	39 %	11	58 %	30	52 %	104
Downward	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	N = 93	100 %	N = 61	100 %	N = 19	100 %	N = 58	100 %	231
Percent of Total	R/R	40 %	R/U	26 %	U/R	8 %	U/U	25 %	231

Children of Farming and Fishing Parents.

There were 417 grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition whose parents were of the farming and fishing occupational class. After accounting for attrition, 311 individuals, 172 sons and 139 daughters, held visible mid-career occupations which could be compared to that of their parents. As with the third-generation children of the labouring class, there was little difference in outcomes between the male and female children in this generation (Table 9.9). This contrasts with the second generation, which saw an upward mobility rate for daughters which was three times that experienced by sons, who were three times more likely to be downwardly mobile into the labouring class. The average of rate of occupational class persistence of forty-two per cent of third generation children of farming and fishing parents was reflective of the experience of both males and females, with sons marginally more persistent (Table 9.9: Persistent).

Table 9.9: Occupational class movement of children of farmers and fishers.

Third-Generation Children of Farming and Fishing Parents						
Occupational Class Mobility of Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upward	112	36 %	58	33 %	54	38 %
Persistent	132	42 %	77	45 %	55	40 %
Downward	67	22 %	37	22 %	30	22 %
Total	N = 311	100 %	N = 172	100 %	N = 139	100 %

As with the labouring class, access to upper-class occupations was very limited, at only two per cent of children of farmers and fishers (Table 9.10: Upper Class). Of these seven individuals, two were schoolteachers and two were regional bank managers. There were examples of remarkable mobility. Evelyn Alice May Thompson, granddaughter of Happy Valley vignerons Henry and Lydia Douglas (née Blunt), became one of South Australia's early female accountants. John Ernest Hoare, son of South Australia's proclaimed, 'first white male birth after colonisation' John Rapid Hoare, was a government land inspector and valuer in New South Wales. In an example of 'Horatio Alger' level mobility, youngest son of Mount Bryan farmers Henry and Louisa Wilkins (née Smith) was internationally celebrated explorer, photographer, climatologist and author, Sir George Hubert Wilkins. These moves into the upper class were rare, demonstrating the limited Alger-style experience for this population.

Table 9.10: Occupational class outcomes of children of farmers and fishers.

Third-Generation Children of Farming and Fishing Parents						
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upper Class	7	2 %	4	2 %	3	2 %
Middle Class	55	18 %	31	18 %	24	17 %
Skilled Workers	50	16 %	23	13 %	27	19 %
Farmers & Fishers	132	42 %	77	45 %	55	40 %
Labouring Class	67	22 %	37	22 %	30	22 %
Total	N = 311	100 %	N = 172	100 %	N = 139	100 %

It was more likely that the upwardly-mobile children of farmers and fishers would be in the 'middling orders', occupying positions as skilled workers or in the lower middle-class. This upward mobility was also aligned with a geographic shift away from the farm and into the city. Farmers' and fishers' children who made a rural to urban relocation were more likely to be upwardly mobile (Table 9.11: Upward). Examples of this rural to urban move were found in the children and grandchildren of the Barnett family. John Barnett had immigrated on the Company ship *Emma* and worked as a sawyer in the 'Company Tiers'. John married Mary Scutchings in 1846 and the couple established themselves as market-gardeners in the region of Third Creek, near Norton Summit. When Mary Barnett died of jaundice in 1868 aged thirty-nine, she left seven children between eighteen months and twenty-one years of age. Children and grandchildren of this family continued as market-gardeners in Ashton, Uraidla and Deep Creek in South Australia, but several shifted into Adelaide, where they worked as electricians, a telephone mechanic, a greengrocer and a Salvation Army officer.

Table 9.11: Urban/rural geographic movement of children of farmers and fishers.

Third-Generation Children of Farming and Fishing Parents									
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Remained Rural**		**Relocated Rural to Urban**		**Relocated Urban to Rural**		**Remained Urban**		
Upward	51	24 %	44	**70 %**	6	43 %	11	44 %	112
Persistent	119	57 %	4	6 %	7	50 %	2	8 %	132
Downward	39	19 %	15	24 %	1	7 %	12	48 %	67
Total	N = 209	100 %	N = 63	100 %	N = 14	100 %	N = 25	100 %	N = 311
Percent of Total	R/R	**67 %**	R/U	21 %	U/R	4 %	U/U	8 %	100 %

Other rural to urban shifts were made by the grandchildren of publicans Robert and Janet Bristow (née Marshall). This couple had ended their career as farmers on Kangaroo Island, and their son George Bristow and his wife Susan (née Sims) continued to farm at Penneshaw. George and Susan had nine children who reached adulthood and by the early 1890s the family had left Kangaroo Island and established themselves at Glenelg, where

their children became, or married, carpenters, a bootmaker, a blacksmith, and a greengrocer. Participating in Australia's western migration, by the turn of the century George and Susan Bristow had taken up land at Cartmeticup in rural Western Australia, and several branches of this family followed them over the border.

Those children of urban farmers who moved away from a city (Table 9.8: Relocated Urban to Rural) were from the families who had established themselves as farmers on the Adelaide plains in the early days of the colony. These people had taken advantage of early arrival to claim farming land within reach of the city, such as sawyer John Grant. John and his wife Hannah were market gardeners on land in Dulwich from the 1860s. Theirs was a persistent farming family, with children and grandchildren operating as market-gardeners or farmers in Grunthal (now Verdun) in the Adelaide Hills, Karcultaby on the Eyre Peninsula, Yahl in South Australia's South East, and Pinnaroo in the Murray Mallee region. This family could be seen moving further afield from the Adelaide plains in order to persist as farmers or market-gardeners.

The farmers' and fishers' children who became labourers represent twenty-two per cent of this third-generation population (Table 9.10: Labouring Class). These were predominantly found in South Australia, and the highest rate of downward mobility was experienced by those children of urban farmers and fishers who remained in the city (Table 9.11: Downward). Amongst these were the grandchildren of Alberton fishers Israel & Hannah Mazey. Israel Mazey had been a crew member with the South Australian Company ship *Duke of York* and had absconded from his contract in order to remain in the colony. Few of the grandchildren of Israel and Hannah moved away from Adelaide, and many remained in the Port Adelaide area.

A sizable proportion of the third-generation children of farmers and fishers continued to farm after relocating overseas or interstate (Table 9.12: Persistent). Those farmers' children who moved interstate were persistent as farmers at a higher rate than those who remained in the place of their birth. Farmers' children who relocated and continued to farm were equally likely to be sons or daughters, and their favoured destinations were Victoria (50%) and Western Australia (32%), and to a lesser degree, New South Wales (11%) and Queensland (7%). The grandchildren of Happy Valley vignerons Henry and Lydia Douglas were amongst these interstate farmers. In the second generation, two of Henry and Lydia's sons had moved within South Australia to continue farming, first to the mid-north and then onto the Yorke Peninsula. In the third-generation, members of the Douglas family

continued to relocate onto fresh farming land, and grandchildren of Henry and Lydia Douglas were farmers in Western Australia and the western district of Victoria.

Two assisted-labourers whose grandchildren moved far afield to access agricultural land were shepherd and Chandlers Hill farmer Charles Chandler and 'Company Tiers' sawyer Joseph Lyne. The daughters of Charles and Elizabeth Chandler had relocated onto land in the Fleurieu and Yorke Peninsulas in the second generation, but in the third generation were found farming in western Victoria and north-eastern New South Wales. Several daughters of sawyer Joseph Lyne and his wife Rebecca journeyed down to Naracoorte in South Australia's south east and had continued across into Victoria by the early 1880s. By the third generation, grandchildren of Joseph and Rebecca were located as farmers on the wheatbelt regions of Western Australia and Victoria, in Victoria's north-eastern Gippsland and the Riverina district of New South Wales. These examples demonstrate the willingness of descendants of farming families to relocate to remain on the land.

Table 9.12: Occupational class movement of farming and fishing 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Farming and Fishing Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upward	20	33 %	92	37 %	112
Persistent	28	47 %	104	41 %	132
Downward	12	20 %	55	22 %	67
Total	N = 60	100 %	N = 251	100 %	311
Percent of Total	N = 60	19 %	N = 251	**81 %**	311

Moves overseas for the third-generation children of farming and fishing parents were rare. Only three in this generation were located abroad. An exceptional case was Sir George Hubert Wilkins, grandson of publicans William and Mary Wilkins. William and Mary had travelled to South Australia as gardeners, sponsored by landowner Henry Douglas. After many moves, George Hubert Wilkins' parents took up land in South Australia's mid-north, but the impact of drought and depression took its toll, and the family retreated into Adelaide. Their youngest son George Hubert Wilkins became first a photographer in Sydney, and then a world-renown explorer, climatologist and science communicator who died in Massachusetts in the United States in 1958.

Two farmer's daughters, Dulcie and Christina Corney, moved away from the horticultural blocks of Renmark and pursued nursing. While younger sister Christina worked as an x-ray technician in Adelaide in the 1930s, Dulcie Corney nursed in Durban, South Africa and in Salisbury, (now Harare, Zimbabwe). The third individual who moved abroad was Thomas

Gascoyne Bloxom, the son of Victorian farmers James and Mary Bloxom (née Bell) and grandson of Melbourne cabinet-maker Thomas Bell and his wife Margaret (née Sayers). Thomas was thirty-two years old and working as a surveyor's assistant in the Gisborne Region of New Zealand's North Island, when he enlisted in the First World War. He was killed in France in November 1917.

Table 9.13: Occupational class outcomes of farming and fishing 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Farming and Fishing Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upper Class	2	3 %	6	2 %	8
Middle Class	10	17 %	44	17 %	54
Skilled Workers	8	13 %	42	18 %	50
Farmers & Fishers	28	47 %	104	41 %	132
Labouring Class	12	20 %	55	22 %	67
Total	N = 60	100 %	N = 251	100 %	311
Percent of Total	N = 60	19 %	N = 251	**81 %**	311

Moving interstate or overseas had little impact on the rate of occupational mobility of the third-generation children of farmers and fishers (Table 9.13). Access to upper-class occupations remained rare and those who moved took up middle class occupations at the same rate as those who remained in the colony of their birth. 'Movers' were somewhat less likely to enter a trade or the labouring class, but more likely to persist as farmers.

Children of Skilled-Worker Parents

There are 247 grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition whose parents were of the skilled workers occupational class. After accounting for attrition through infant, childhood and young adult mortality, missing individuals and missing mid-career occupations, there were 177 individuals, 85 sons and 92 daughters, whose mid-career occupational class could be compared to that of their skilled-worker parents. From the first to the second generation, thirty-four per cent of the children were persistent in skilled manual work, but from the second to the third generation this rate dropped to twenty-eight per cent (Table 9.14: Persistent).

An example of a family who followed a trade across three generations were the descendants of cabinet maker Thomas Bell and his wife Margaret (née Sayers). Thomas and Margaret Bell had spent several years in Hobart, Tasmania after their arrival in South Australia, but had returned to Adelaide by 1846. They were next found in Richmond, Melbourne in 1852, where the couple settled and raised their family of twelve children. In

the 1930s grandchildren of Thomas and Margaret Bell could still be found in suburban Melbourne, employed as carpenters and cabinet makers, such as brothers Henry Stewart and Arthur James Bell who still resided in Richmond, where they worked as cabinet makers. Their eldest brother had moved a few suburbs away and was a joiner residing in Middle Park on Port Phillip Bay in Melbourne. Two grandchildren of this family did venture further afield, but still in the building industry, with a grandson working as a builder in Salisbury, Southern Rhodesia (Harare, Zimbabwe) and a granddaughter married to an architect in Cape Town, South Africa.

Table 9.14: Occupational class movement of children of skilled workers.

Third-Generation Children of Skilled-Worker Parents						
Occupational Class Mobility of Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upward	66	37 %	25	29 %	41	45 %
Persistent	49	28 %	23	27 %	26	28 %
Downward	62	35 %	37	44 %	25	27 %
Total	N = 177	100 %	N = 85	100 %	N = 92	100 %

In the third generation, the occupational mobility of the children of skilled workers was reminiscent of the mobility patterns experienced in the second generation. While in the second generation the upward mobility of daughters had been almost threefold that of sons, in the third generation, the contrasting mobility of daughters and sons was apparent, but less substantial (Table 9.14: Upward). Similarly, the downward mobility of second-generation sons of skilled workers had approached three times that of daughters, but in the third generation this disparity between sons and daughters was less pronounced (Table 9.14: Downward).

A substantial proportion of third-generation daughters of the skilled workers married or were employed across the manual divide (Table 9.14: Upward). Examples of this can be seen amongst the daughters of North Adelaide plasterer Thomas Tuckey and his wife Martha (née Hewitt). When Thomas's wife Martha died of pneumonia in 1882 at the age of thirty-six years, she had left behind eight surviving daughters, aged between two and sixteen years. In an interview conducted with Thomas Tuckey when he was eighty-one years old, Thomas stated that his father William Tuckey had been educated as a boy on a Portsmouth training ship and had been amongst Colonel William Light's crew in Egypt, before following him to South Australia on the *Rapid* in 1836.[9] After arrival in South Australian William Tuckey had trained as a shoemaker, married and settled in North

[9] 'Early Adelaide and Before: Interesting Reminiscences', *Mail*, Saturday 19 April 1924, p. 5.

Adelaide, and Thomas Tuckey had been one of the seven surviving children of William and his wife Agnes (née Henderson). In his retirement years, Thomas Tuckey was said to rarely miss a cricket match played at Adelaide Oval and could be found at every game at the same place in the members' stand.[10] When asked in the interview about his daughters, it was reported that his, 'face lights up with pride when he speaks of them'.[11]

These urban daughters who grew up in North Adelaide were part of those third-generation females who crossed the manual divide. They married merchants, storekeepers, a salesman, a warehouse manager and an accountant. Fourth surviving daughter Emily Tuckey was the manager of the glove department at Marshall's department store in Rundle Street in 1920, before it was taken over by the Myer Emporium in 1928.[12] Their father had been one of seven children, and these Tuckey sisters had many cousins in North Adelaide. Two of their female cousins married publicans, and another two married sharebrokers and settled in Unley. These are examples of the marital mobility available to the urban daughters of skilled workers.

Third generation sons of skilled workers were more likely than daughters to become either farmers or labourers (Table 9.15). These labouring sons of the skilled workers tended to be urban labourers or located in Broken Hill in New South Wales or rural Western Australia. Skilled workers' sons also dispersed widely to access land. This is demonstrated by the sons of Adelaide carpenter James and Flora McPherson (née Neville). Flora was the daughter of gardener and bullock driver Samuel Neville and his wife Harriet (née Masters). Samuel and Harriet had been married in Whitechapel, London the year before immigrating to South Australia on the *John Pirie* in 1836. This newly married couple, acting as ideal passage-assisted labourers, had seven children after arrival in the colony, with Flora their youngest child. Flora married James McPherson in 1870 and they raised ten children in Tomsey Street, Adelaide. Three of their sons became farmers: Spencer Oliver McPherson in Ceduna on the edge of the Nullarbor Plain; Ira Masters McPherson was an orchardist at Waikerie in South Australia's Riverland; and Eustace Oswald McPherson farmed at Minnipa on the Eyre Peninsula.

[10] 'Obituary: Mr. Thomas Tuckey', *Observer,* Saturday 14 April 1928, p. 41
[11] 'Early Adelaide and Before: Interesting Reminiscences', *Mail*, Saturday 19 April 1924, p. 5.
[12] 'Department Managers Examined', *Observer,* Saturday 10 July 1920, p. 19; 'Over £3,000 for old employees: Partner in Marshall's', *Mail,* Saturday 20 May 1939, p. 1.

Table 9.15: Occupational class outcomes of children of skilled workers.

Third-Generation Children of Skilled-Worker Parents						
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upper Class	15	8 %	7	8 %	8	9 %
Middle Class	51	29 %	18	21 %	33	36 %
Skilled Workers	49	28 %	23	27 %	26	28 %
Farmers & Fishers	14	8 %	10	12 %	4	4 %
Labouring Class	48	27 %	27	32 %	21	23 %
Total	N = 177	100 %	N = 85	100 %	N = 92	100 %

The rate at which the third generation persisted as skilled workers was consistent for those who moved interstate or overseas, and those who remained in the state of their birth (Table 9.16: Persistent). These were people who moved far yet remained skilled artisans, not necessarily working in their parents' trade, but continuing as skilled manual workers. When the youngest daughter of Unley butcher James McGowan and his wife Mary Anne (née Parsons) died in Johannesburg, South Africa in 1919 at thirty-six years, she was married to a bookbinder and left behind four children between seven and thirteen years. Mary Anne's elder sister Emily had married a butcher in Unley in 1885, but the couple relocated to Melbourne where her husband carried on his trade. After his death Emily married a saddler in 1901 and they lived in Prahran, Melbourne. These were cases of occupational class persistence, but those who moved away did experience a higher degree of upward mobility (Table 9.16: Upward).

Table 9.16: Occupational class movement of skilled-worker 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Skilled-Worker Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upward	16	44 %	50	35 %	66
Persistent	10	28 %	39	28 %	49
Downward	10	28 %	52	37 %	62
Total	N = 36	100 %	N = 141	100 %	177
Percent of Total	N = 36	20 %	N = 141	**80 %**	177

A path to upward mobility for the children of skilled workers was to become, or marry, urban salespeople. Mina Jane Webb, daughter and granddaughter of bakers, was a milliner living with her siblings at Grantown House, a lodging house in Fitzroy, Melbourne in 1903. She married salesman Arthur William Imray in 1915 and they settled in Camberwell, Melbourne. Brothers, Herbert and Henry Enos Webb Jnr were both listed as photographers while living at Grantown House, but Henry Enos married Isabella Harding in 1909, and

became a travelling salesman. A cousin to these Webb siblings, Alma Florence Barlow, was the daughter of a photographer, painter and picture framer William Barlow and his wife Emily (née Sladden). Alma Florence Humphrey (née Barlow) lived apart from her husband and working as a draper, dressmaker and saleswomen in various suburbs of Melbourne. These are examples of skilled workers who were flexible both in terms of their locations and occupations, moving frequently between trade and sales positions, taking advantage of employment opportunities available in urban environments.

These occupational transitions into sales also occurred overseas. Frederick John Afford, grandson of Hindley Street water-carrier John Afford and his wife Rosina, had started his career as a baker in Kapunda, with his father Thomas Afford, but had relocated first to Adelaide and then to Johannesburg, South Africa where he had worked as a sales agent. Geoffrey Quin, grandson of Port Adelaide Harbour Master Hugh Quin and son of Port Adelaide sailmaker Robert Quin and Isabella (née Christie), had immigrated to the United States by 1909. After serving in the First World War and briefly returning to Australia, Geoffrey had a career as a salesman and real-estate agent in California and passed away in the United States in 1972, aged 84 years.

The third-generation children of skilled workers were less inclined to be downwardly mobile when they moved interstate or overseas (9.16: Downward). When their occupational mobility is broken down by occupational class, it can be observed those who remained in the state of their birth took up farming to a greater degree. As previously discussed, the children of skilled workers moved to take up land, but they remained within the state of their birth (Table 9.17: Farmers & Fishers). The one individual who moved interstate to take up agricultural pursuits was Sydney Arthur Henry Mullins, son of Kapunda wheelwright Arthur Mullins and Julia Blunt (née Douglas), daughter of Happy Valley vignerons Henry and Lydia Douglas. Sydney was a hairdresser in Adelaide when he married Margaret Williams in 1901, but the couple relocated to Bayswater in Melbourne, and later to Glenorchy in Victoria's Wimmera district, where they were orchardists.

Table 9.17: Occupational class outcomes of skilled-worker 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Skilled-Worker Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upper Class	5	14 %	10	7 %	15
Middle Class	11	30 %	40	28 %	51
Skilled Workers	10	28 %	39	28 %	49
Farmers & Fishers	1	3 %	13	9 %	14
Labouring Class	9	25 %	39	28 %	48
Total	N = 36	100 %	N = 141	100 %	177
Percent of Total	N = 36	20 %	N = 141	**80 %**	177

Though small in number, those who moved accessed upper-class occupations to a greater degree than 'stayers' (Table 9.17: Upper Class). These individuals were widely dispersed: an architect's wife in Cape Town in South Africa; the wife of a newspaper production manager in Canberra, a marine engineer in Brisbane, Queensland and a governess in Shepton Mallet, Somerset, England. However, one of these individuals was not so far afield. Cleve Edward Gandy, grandson of Maria Gandy's youngest brother Edward Gandy and his second wife Marie (née Bailey, formerly Addison), had been raised in Perth, Western Australia and returned to work as an engineer in Woodville, South Australia.

As with the previous generations, skilled workers were attracted to urban areas. Those in the third generation who were persistent in a trade were almost all urban or had moved from a rural to an urban environment (Table 9.18: Persistent). There was a discrepancy in outcomes for those males and females who shifted from a city to a country district (Table 9.18: Relocated Urban to Rural). Those who relocated from the city to a rural area and were downwardly mobile were almost entirely males who became farmers or station hands. In contrast, those in this category who were upwardly mobile were almost entirely female, married to rural managers and professionals or employed as teachers. For those who remained rural, it was the skilled workers' daughters who married farmers while the sons became miners and farm labourers.

Table 9.18: Urban/rural geographic movement of children of skilled workers.

Third-Generation Children of Skilled-Worker Parents									
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Remained Rural**		**Relocated Rural to Urban**		**Relocated Urban to Rural**		**Remained Urban**		
Upward	7	39 %	9	26 %	8	29 %	42	44 %	66
Persistent	3	17 %	12	34 %	4	14 %	30	31 %	49
Downward	8	44 %	14	40 %	16	57 %	24	25 %	62
Total	N = 18	100 %	N = 35	100 %	N = 28	100 %	N = 96	100 %	177
Percent of Total	R	10 %	R/U	20 %	U/R	16 %	U	54 %	100 %

Those upwardly mobile urban children of skilled labourers consisted of more females than males, assisted by the rise of women with visible, middle-class occupations (Table 9.18: Remained Urban). This group included the female teachers and sales assistants as well as the male urban clerks and salesmen which were part of the white-collar shift in the occupational structure of society. The movement of population from rural to urban districts that was prevalent in this generation was not as pronounced in these children of the skilled workers (Table 9.15: Percent of Total). A higher rate of this population moved from the country to the city, but only marginally, at twenty per cent compared to the sixteen per cent who moved from a city to a regional community.

Children of Middle-Class Parents

There were 395 grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition whose parents were middle class. After considering attrition, there were 259 people, 144 sons and 115 daughters, with identifiable mid-career occupations which would be compared to that of their parents. The children of the second-generation middle class experienced a persistence rate of forty-four per cent, consistent for sons and daughters (Table 9.19: Persistent). There was a tendency for the children of the middle class to remain above the manual divide, with almost two-thirds of this population remaining in non-manual occupations, and just over a third moving into manual occupations (Table 9.19: Downward).

Table 9.19: Occupational class movement of children of the middle class.

Third-Generation Children of Middle-Class Parents						
Occupational Class Mobility of Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upward	54	21 %	29	20 %	25	22 %
Persistent	116	44 %	67	46 %	49	43 %
Downward	90	35 %	49	34 %	41	35 %
Total	N = 260	100 %	N = 145	100 %	N = 115	100 %

For both males and females, approximately a fifth acquired upper-class occupations (Table 9.20: Upper Class). These were high-skilled professionals and managers, such as solicitors, physicians, bank managers, teachers, and engineers, predominantly urban, but with almost a third in rural areas. The move from middle to upper class was prevalent in particular families, such as the children and grandchildren of gardener, publican and dairyman Charles Bendin Powell and his wife Jane (née Gillard). Charles had arrived in South Australia as a twenty-five-year-old passage-assisted gardener on board the Company ship *Duke of York*. He married twenty-five-year-old Jane Gillard in 1838, and the couple had two sons and two

daughters. In 1839 Charles held a publican's licence for *The Saracen's Head* on William Street, Walkerville, but was declared insolvent in February 1846.[13] Charles experienced difficulties with mental health in 1847 and again in 1852, threatening to kill both his wife and himself. [14] It appears Charles recovered, as he and Jane lived long lives together. He died aged eighty-seven in 1898, eighteen months after the death of his wife, and was said to have 'retained full possession of his faculties' and 'could give interesting accounts of the arrival of all the earlier vessels'.[15]

After his insolvency, Charles Bendin Powell was listed as a bricklayer and a dairyman but was described as a gentleman at his death. The children and grandchildren of this family experienced remarkable upward mobility. The eldest of their four children was Charles Bendin Power Jnr, a station manager at Wilpena Station, in the colony's far north. Their eldest daughter Alicia married a solicitor in Walkerville, Richard Baxter Cox. Second son William was a police trooper and a publican who married Jessie Hugall, and the couple had eight children while moving frequently from the south east to the far-north of South Australia. Only three of their children lived to adulthood. The youngest of Charles and Jane's four children was Grace, who married butcher Charles Robert Thorpe; the couple settled in Hackney and had twelve children, although three died in infancy and one son died of tuberculosis aged fifteen years. Of the twenty-five adult grandchildren of Charles Bendin and Jane Powell, eighteen held occupations above the manual divide and eight were in upper-class occupations.

Children of the middle class predominantly remained above the manual divide. Those who crossed below were spread between the three manual classes (Table 9.20). Males had a marginally higher rate of transitioning from the middle to the labouring class (Table 9.20: Labouring Class). Several grandsons of Port Adelaide fisherman Israel and Hannah Mazey moved into the labouring class, as did grandsons of shoemaker William and Agnes Tuckey and water-carter John and Rosina Afford. These moves are reflective of the tenuous hold the second generation had on their position in the middle-class, and the difficulties faced by sons who did not have the marital and occupational mobility available to their sisters.

[13] 'List of persons who have taken out general publican's licences', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register,* Saturday 15 June 1839, p. 1; 'Audit of insolvent accounts', *Adelaide Observer,* Saturday 21 February 1846, p. 4.
[14] 'Law and Police Courts', *South Australian Register,* Friday 30 April 1852, p. 3.
[15] 'Death of a pioneer', *The Express and Telegraph,* Wednesday 12 January 1898, p. 2.

Table 9.20: Occupational class outcomes of children of the middle class.

Third-Generation Children of Middle-Class Parents						
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upper Class	54	21 %	29	20 %	25	22 %
Middle Class	116	44 %	67	46 %	49	43 %
Skilled Workers	23	9 %	11	8 %	12	10 %
Farmers & Fishers	24	9 %	11	7 %	13	11 %
Labouring Class	43	17 %	27	19 %	16	14 %
Total	N = 260	100 %	N = 145	100 %	N = 115	100 %

The third-generation children of the middle class who moved away from the state of their birth were more successful in transitioning to upper-class occupations than those who remained (Table 9.21: Upward). These twenty-two 'movers' who were in the upper class were eleven women and eleven men. None of the women held visible independent occupations but were married to high-skilled professionals and managers who moved interstate or overseas. Alice Barker, daughter of stock agent Alfred 'Joker' and Elizabeth Barker (née Bowman) and granddaughter of publican and sheep farmer Alfred and Priscilla Barker (née Chambers), was twenty-one when she married twenty-six-year-old physician Harry Wyatt Wunderly in Mount Barker in 1919. In 1947 the couple relocated to Australia's national capital, Canberra, where Dr Harry Wunderly was the first Director of Tuberculosis Treatment in the Commonwealth Department of Health.[16]

Margaret Amy Gall, granddaughter of servant, publican and stockkeeper William and Maria Williams (née Wickham) and daughter of merchant William Lawrence and Caroline Gall (née Williams), married James John Rule in Adelaide in 1915. The couple relocated to Melbourne where James Rule was managing director of a manufacturing company, which held offices in both Adelaide and Melbourne.[17] Within the family of comptroller and commission agent James Hawker and his wife Louisa (née Lipson), three children were geographically and occupationally mobile. Their son James Clarence Hawker began his military career with the Permanent Artillery at Fort Largs in South Australia and continued his career in South Africa and New South Wales. He retired to Victoria as a Brigadier-General.[18] Their daughter Louisa Clarissa married engineer William Clarkson, who also had a military career in China, Victoria and New South Wales and died at Darling Point as a knighted Engineer Vice-Admiral.[19] The family's youngest daughter also relocated to Victoria

[16] 'Wunderly, Harry Wyatt (1892-1971)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*, Australian National University, vol. 16, 2002.
[17] 'Obituary: Mr James Rule', *The Advertiser,* Monday 12 June 1933, p. 10.
[18] 'General Dead at 93', *Barrier Miner,* Saturday 17 November 1951, p. 2; 'Big Estates', *The Age,* Saturday 12 April 1952, p. 11.
[19] 'Impressive Naval Funeral: Sir William Clarkson Cremated', *The Advertiser,* Tuesday 23 January 1934, p. 10.

where she was the wife of insurance company manager John MacKenzie Henry. The ambitious middle class, who were made visible through this research, took advantage of overseas and interstate opportunities for advancement.

Table 9.21: Occupational class movement of middle-class 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Middle-Class Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upward	22	30 %	32	17 %	54
Persistent	29	40 %	87	47 %	116
Downward	22	30 %	68	36 %	90
Total	N = 73	100 %	N = 187	100 %	N = 260
Percent of Total	N = 73	28 %	N = 187	**72 %**	N = 260

Those children of the middle class who were 'movers', took up land to farm to a slightly greater degree than those who remained in the colony of their birth (Table 9.22: Farmers & Fishers). For these nine individuals who became interstate farmers, Western Australia and Victoria were the favoured destinations. Two were grandsons of the Morphett family, sons of Mary Mair (née Morphett) and Adelaide Henderson (née Morphett). Cousins Leo Morphett Henderson and Hurtle William Morphett Mair both began their agricultural careers as station overseers. Leo was overseer of Gunnindaddy Station in Queensland near the border with New South Wales, before moving to Western Australia where he farmed at Serpentine, fifty-five kilometres south-east of Perth.[20]

Hurtle William Morphett Mair spent three years in the British Royal Navy before returning to Australia as a station manager in Surat, Queensland.[21] He married Kathleen Dowling in 1900 and the couple relocated to a farm at a property in West Swan, on the outskirts of Perth in Western Australia. Hurtle Mair later returned to his work as station manager, managing properties in South Australia and New South Wales.[22] The difference in rates of movement below the manual divide between those who moved and those who stayed was not strong. Those who remained in the state of their birth were marginally more likely to cross the manual divide to be employed in a trade or as labourers (Table 9.22: Skilled Workers, Labouring Class).

[20] 'Comment on rural matters', *Western Mail,* Thursday 4 March 1948, p. 57.
[21] 'Obituary: Mr H. M. Mair', *The North Western Courier,* Thursday 2 January 1941, p. 2.
[22] 'Obituary: Mr H. M. Mair', *The North Western Courier,* Thursday 2 January 1941, p. 2.

Table 9.22: Occupational class outcomes of middle-class 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Middle-Class Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upper Class	22	30 %	32	17 %	54
Middle Class	29	40 %	87	47 %	116
Skilled Workers	3	4 %	20	11 %	23
Farmers & Fishers	9	12 %	15	8 %	24
Labouring Class	10	14 %	33	18 %	43
Total	N = 73	100 %	N = 187	100 %	260
Percent of Total	N = 73	28 %	N = 187	**72 %**	100 %

The overall rate of upward mobility for the third-generation children of the middle class had been twenty-one per cent. This rate was substantially lower for those who remained in a rural area (Table 9.23: Remained Rural). Those few who were upwardly mobile in the rural districts held one of the common upper-class positions of solicitor, bank managers, teacher, or cleric. The rate of downward mobility was higher than average for those who remained in rural areas, and those who relocated from an urban to a rural area (Table 9.23: Downward).

As the rate at which this population entered the labouring class remained consistent at approximately seventeen per cent, this downward mobility was predominantly facilitated by the third-generation children of middle-class parents who became farmers. Almost a fifth of this population who remained in the country became farmers, and a quarter of those who moved from the city to the country entered the farming class. This is complicated by the difficulty in classifying farmers. Within this study it was occupational titles which were used to differentiate between farmers and managers. Those who were listed as graziers, pastoralists or farm managers were included in the managerial class. Within the confines of the resources used in this research it is not possible to differentiate between farmers and managers in terms of the number of full-time employees.

Table 9.23: Urban/rural geographic movement of children of the middle class.

Third-Generation Children of Middle-Class Parents										
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Remained Rural**		**Relocated Rural to Urban**		**Relocated Urban to Rural**		**Remained Urban**		**Total**	
Upward	6	10 %	14	24 %	10	23 %	24	24 %	54	21 %
Persistent	27	46 %	29	50 %	16	37 %	44	43 %	116	44 %
Downward	25	43 %	15	26 %	17	40 %	33	33 %	90	35 %
Total	N=58	100 %	N=58	100 %	N=43	100 %	N=101	100 %	260	100 %
Percent of Total	R/R	22 %	R/U	22 %	U/R	17 %	U/U	39 %	260	100 %

The movement of population from rural to urban districts that was prevalent in this generation was not as pronounced in these third-generation children of the middle class (Table 9.23: Percent of Total). A higher rate of this population moved from the country to the city, but only marginally, at twenty-two per cent compared to the seventeen per cent who moved from a city to a regional community.

Children of Upper-Class Parents

There are 207 grandchildren of South Australia's first expedition whose parents were of the upper class. After accounting for attrition, there were 130 individuals, 72 sons and 58 daughters whose mid-career occupational class could be compared to that of their upper-class parents. There was an overall rate of upper-class persistence of thirty-one per cent, with similar outcomes for third-generation daughters and sons (Table 9.24: Persistent). Upper class persistence is part of South Australia's foundational mythology. Publications in the early sixties claimed that control of South Australian companies was dominated by a restricted number of identified families.[23] This group 'appeared in the popular mind and in the work of many sociologists the most rigid upper class in Australia'.[24]

The eighteen daughters who were persistent in the upper-class were entirely from families who had emigrated in the first generation as 'superior-class' colonists, with none descended from passage-assisted labourers. These were the granddaughters of settler-colonists such as Company Superintendent Thomas Beare, from surgeon John Woodforde, land-owner John Morphett, or surveyor and politician George Kingston. Four of these third-generation upper-class females were the granddaughters of Colonial William Light's housekeeper and companion, Maria Gandy, who after Light's death from tuberculosis, married Adelaide surgeon Dr George Mayo. The women in the upper class who held their own independent occupations included three teachers as well as two granddaughters of George and Maria Mayo (née Gandy), author Mary Penelope Mayo and surgeon Dr Helen Mary Mayo.

In contrast, the persistent upper-class males in the third generation were from a more varied background. A third of these males were the grandsons of passage-assisted labourers, whose mothers had been upwardly mobile into the upper class in the second generation. Brothers Alfred Bayfield Jobson and Edwin Henry Jobson, were the sons of Mary Jobson (née Bayfield), who had been the daughter of Gilles Plains wheelwright and

[23] Campbell, E. W. *The 60 Rich Families Who Own Australia*. Sydney: Current Book Distributors, 1963 [find quote special collections]; Moss, J. *Monopoly Owns South Australia*. Newtown, N.S.W.: D.B. Young, 1961.
[24] Van Dissel, 'Adelaide Gentry', p. 3; McGregor, Craig. *Profile of Australia*, Hodder & Stoughton: London, 1966, pp. 119, 337-8.

publican Edwin Bayfield and his wife Mary (née Hood). Mary Bayfield had married engineer Alexander Clark Jobson and sons Alfred and Edwin continued in the field of engineering. Other examples were Perth solicitor Charles Baxter Cox, who was the grandson of gardener, publican and dairyman Charles Benin and Jane Powell, and engineer John Caddawallader Griffin who was the grandson of *Rapid* seaman and Lefevre Peninsula mariner Robert Buck Snr and his wife Maria (née Robertson).

Table 9.24: Occupational class movement of children of the upper class.

Third-Generation Children of Upper-Class Parents						
Occupational Class Mobility of Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upward	-	-	-	-	-	-
Persistent	41	31 %	23	32 %	18	29 %
Downward	89	**69 %**	49	**68 %**	40	**71 %**
Total	N = 130	100 %	N = 72	100 %	N = 58	100 %

The sixty-nine per cent downward mobility of this population was dominated by movement into the middle class for both males and females (Table 9.25: Middle Class). The third-generation sons of the upper class were predominantly clerks, land agents and merchants. Two such merchants were brothers Reginald and William Cobb, grandsons of John Morphett and his wife Bessie (née Fisher). These brothers had been born in New Zealand during their mother's first marriage to Reginal Cobb Snr, who was listed as a Justice of the Peace in Christchurch when he died at thirty-four years of age. Their mother, Violet Cobb (née Morphett) remarried in New Zealand, to Robert Alfred Stock and the couple settled in Adelaide, where Robert Stock was a managing director of the South Australia Malting and Brewing Company. Her two sons from her first marriage did not settle back in South Australia, instead elder son Reginal Frederick Cobb became a London merchant, and younger son William Morphett Cobb was a wine exporter based in Portugal. The third-generation females who moved into the middle class were married to clerks and graziers, but also included women who were themselves secretaries, nurses, and a nun.

Table 9.25: Occupational class outcomes of children of the upper class.

Third-Generation Children of Upper-Class Parents						
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Third Generation**		**Grandsons**		**Granddaughters**	
Upper Class	41	31 %	23	32 %	18	31 %
Middle Class	60	46 %	32	44 %	28	48 %
Skilled Workers	10	8 %	5	7 %	5	9 %
Farmers & Fishers	5	4 %	3	4 %	2	3 %
Labouring Class	14	11 %	9	13 %	5	9 %
Total	N = 130	100 %	N = 72	100 %	N = 58	100 %

The occupational outcomes were generally consistent for the third-generation males and females. There was limited movement below the manual divide and numbers were small in each category. The males who became skilled workers were three carpenters, a telephone mechanic and a jeweller. The women were a tailoress, and wives of a watchmaker, a coachbuilder, a fettler and a blacksmith. Similarly, few of the third-generation children of the upper class became farmers. Three of the five were horticulturalists, which could be classified as managers rather than farmers.

The children who become labourers represent eleven per cent of the third generation of upper-class parents. These were nine males and five females, with six of these individual descendent from grandparents who were passage-assisted labourers, whose daughters had been upwardly mobile in the second generation. Downward mobility for those who were descendent from upper-class grandparents was associated with a rural lifestyle. An example of this is found with the children of solicitor George and Arabella Williams (née Beare), who practiced law in Auburn in the Clare Valley before settling in Quorn in South Australia's Flinders Ranges. Three of their children remained in the Quorn area and were in the labouring occupational class at their mid-career. Those upper-class families who remained rural experienced a lower than average persistence in the upper class (Table 9.25). Six of the children of these rural upper-class families were identified as labourers at their mid-career, representing a quarter of those in this population who were persistently rural.

Table 9.26: Urban/rural geographic movement of children of the upper class.

Third-Generation Children of Upper-Class Parents									
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Remained Rural**		**Relocated Rural to Urban**		**Relocated Urban to Rural**		**Remained Urban**		**Total**
Upward	-		-		-		-		-
Persistent	5	24 %	4	36 %	7	30 %	24	32 %	40
Downward	17	**76 %**	7	**64 %**	16	**70 %**	51	**68 %**	90
Total	N = 22	100 %	N = 11	100 %	N = 23	100 %	N = 74	100 %	130
Percent of Total	RR	17 %	RU	8 %	UR	18 %	UU	57 %	N = 130

The third-generation children of upper-class parents remained predominantly urban, but there was a shift in this generation into rural areas. In an opposing trend to that of the third-generation children of labourers and the farming and fishing occupational classes, children of the upper class moved out of cities at more than twice the rate of those moving back into cities (Table 9.26: Percent of Total). These children of the upper class took on professional roles, working as solicitors, managers, nurses or teachers in country towns,

and a few took up farming. Some of the children of the upper class retreated to the fringe of South Australia's urban area, into the hills surrounding Adelaide.

Grandchildren of surveyor Alfred Hardy and his wife Mary (née Newenham) demonstrate these trends. Their third son, Charles Hardy, had been an Adelaide solicitor when he married Ellen MacDowell in 1873 and the couple had a family of five children, with four surviving to adulthood. Their eldest daughter Edith Burton Hardy married stock and station agent Walter Grenfell Thomas in 1900 and the couple settled in Kapunda, where Walter Grenfell was a regional manager.[25] Eldest son, Alfred Burton Hardy was a solicitor when he married Adeline Timcke in 1911 and they resided at Mount Lofty in the Adelaide Hills. Second daughter Beatrice Burton Hardy married horticulturalist William Robert Woodham, and they raised their two daughters on their property in Renmark. Only youngest son Thomas Burton Hardy remained in Adelaide, where he lived with his wife and two daughters in St Peters and worked as a civil servant.

Thomas Barton Hardy had been a single, twenty-seven-year-old shipping clerk when he enlisted in the First World War on 24 August 1914. He served as a gunner with the First Field Artillery Brigade. His elder brother, solicitor Alfred Burton Hardy, was married and forty years old when he enlisted on 7 March 1917. Fortunately, both Hardy brothers returned to South Australia after their service. The age range of these brothers are representative of the ages of the third generation of this research at the time of the First World War. The majority of the third generation were born between 1864 and 1892, therefore with the commencement of the First World War in 1914, this generation were between twenty-two and fifty years of age. With a mean and median birth year of 1878, the majority of this generation were in their mid-thirties at the time of outbreak of war, and less likely to enlist. Even so, there were eighty-nine soldiers in the third generation of this research, eighty-six servicemen and three servicewomen. Seventeen men within this study died in the First World War and four women lost their husbands. Tragically, amongst those who died were three sets of brothers.

The third-generation children of the upper class were the most geographically mobile of the third-generation population, with a third moving away from the country or state of their birth (Table 9.27: Percent of total). The average rate of 'movers' for the entire third generation population was twenty-four per cent. The children of farmers and fishers were the most geographically persistent, with a rate of nineteen per cent of these being 'movers'

[25] 'Death of Mr. W. G. Thomas', *Chronicle,* Thursday 5 August 1948, p. 39.

in the third generation. Almost a third of John and Bessie Morphett's thirty-five grandchildren moved interstate or overseas, and many who lived in South Australia could be seen travelling widely. John Morphett had married Elizabeth 'Bessie' Fisher, daughter of South Australia's first Resident Commissioner, and the couple had eleven children who lived into adulthood. Longevity ran in this family, as it did in the Fisher family. Bessie Morphett (née Fisher) lived to be ninety years old and four of her children also lived into their nineties. Only one son died young, George Cooper, who died of epilepsy in his twentieth year. John Morphett died of pneumonia at the age of eighty-three at his home 'Cummins' in Novar Gardens. Almost half of their grandchildren lived into their 80s and 90s, and these grandchildren were spread as far afield as South Africa, Portugal, United States, United Kingdom, and most states of Australia.

Table 9.27: Occupational class movement of upper-class 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Upper-Class Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upward	-	-	-	-	-
Persistent	12	28 %	29	33 %	40
Downward	31	**72 %**	58	**67 %**	90
Total	N = 43	100 %	N = 87	100 %	130
Percent of Total	N = 43	33 %	N = 87	**67 %**	130

The children of the upper class who moved away were marginally less persistent in their occupational class, with a higher rate of downward mobility for 'movers' than 'stayers' (Table 9.27: Downward). The differing downward mobility from those who moved was caused by an increased frequency of those who were found in skilled trades (Table 9.28). Eight of those who moved and took up skilled trades had originated with grandparents who were passage-assisted labourers. These were the children of those who had been upwardly mobile in the second generation. Their parents had been school teachers and engineers and their children moved to pursue a trade in another state of Australia.

Table 9.28: Occupational class outcomes of upper-class 'movers' and 'stayers'.

Third-Generation Children of Upper-Class Parents					
Destination Class of the Third Generation	**Movers**		**Stayers**		**Total**
Upper Class	12	28 %	29	33 %	41
Middle Class	20	47 %	40	46 %	60
Skilled Workers	6	14 %	4	5 %	10
Farmers & Fishers	1	2 %	4	5 %	5
Labouring Class	4	9 %	10	11 %	14
Total	N = 43	100 %	N = 87	100 %	130
Percent of Total	MI	33 %	Rem	**67 %**	100 %

Summary

While the children of the upper class had a lower than average rate of persistence at thirty-one per cent, over three quarters of these children held occupations above the manual divide (Table 9.29). True to the Wakefieldian promotion of colonial South Australia, the children of both the upper and middle classes continued to pursue predominantly non-manual occupations. In contrast, upper class occupations remained largely out of reach for children of the manual classes, although the children of skilled workers were the most likely to bridge the manual divide.

From the second to the third generation, forty-five per cent of labourers' children remained in the labouring class. This rate remained for both males and females. The disparity between daughters and sons which was observed from the first to the second generation was no longer present. The advantage of early arrival, experienced through marriage opportunities for the daughters of the South Australia's first expedition, was not available to their granddaughters. While females continued to be more upwardly mobile than males, at thirty-six compared to twenty-nine per cent, a comparison of mobility of sons and daughters in third generation demonstrates their similarity in the occupational outcomes (Table 9.30 and Table 9.31).

Table 9.29: Mid-career outcomes for the third generation.

		Mid-Career Occupational Class of the Second Generation					
		Upper Class	**Middle Class**	**Skilled Workers**	**Farming & Fishing**	**Labouring Class**	
Occupational Outcomes of the Third Generation	**Upper Class**	31% (40)	21% (54)	8% (15)	3% (8)	5% (11)	
	Middle Class	46% (60)	44% (115)	29% (51)	17% (54)	16% (38)	
	Skilled Workers	8% (11)	9% (23)	28% (49)	16% (50)	24% (55)	
	Farming & Fishing	4% (5)	9% (24)	8% (14)	42% (132)	10% (23)	
	Labouring Class	11% (14)	17% (43)	27% (48)	22% (67)	45% (104)	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total N	130	259	177	311	231	**1108**
						Persistent:	**40 %**
						Upwardly Mobile:	**32 %**
						Downwardly Mobile:	**28 %**

Table 9.30: Mid-career outcomes for the third-generation sons.

Sons		Mid-Career Occupational Class of the Second Generation					
		Upper Class	Middle Class	Skilled Workers	Farming & Fishing	Labouring Class	
Occupation of Third Generation Sons	Upper Class	32% (23)	20% (29)	8% (7)	3% (5)	4% (5)	
	Middle Class	44% (32)	46% (66)	21% (18)	17% (30)	13% (15)	
	Skilled Workers	7% (5)	8% (11)	27% (23)	13% (23)	28% (31)	
	Farming & Fishing	4% (3)	8% (11)	12% (10)	45% (77)	8% (9)	
	Labouring Class	13% (9)	19% (27)	32% (27)	22% (37)	46% (52)	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total N	72	144	85	172	112	**585**

Persistent: **41 %**

Upwardly Mobile: **29 %**

Downwardly Mobile: **29 %**

Table 9.31: Mid-career outcomes for the third-generation daughters.

Daughters		Mid-Career Occupational Class of the Second Generation					
		Upper Class	Middle Class	Skilled Workers	Farming & Fishing	Labouring Class	
Occupation of Third Generation Daughters	Upper Class	29% (17)	22% (25)	9% (8)	2% (3)	5% (6)	
	Middle Class	48% (28)	43% (49)	36% (33)	17% (24)	19% (23)	
	Skilled Workers	10% (6)	10% (12)	28% (26)	19% (27)	20% (24)	
	Farming & Fishing	3% (2)	11% (13)	4% (4)	40% (55)	12% (14)	
	Labouring Class	9% (5)	14% (16)	23% (21)	22% (30)	44% (52)	
	Total %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	100 %	
	Total N	58	115	92	139	119	**523**

Persistent: **38 %**

Upwardly Mobile: **36 %**

Downwardly Mobile: **26 %**

Rates of Occupational Class Inheritance

In contrast to the second generation, the range of occupational persistence in the third generation had narrowed (Table 9.32). The general rate of occupational class persistence had not changed from the second to the third generation, moving only from an overall of forty-one per cent persistence in the second generation to forty per cent in the third (Table 9.28: Total Persistence). The difference was found though, in the range of rates experienced by the five occupational classes and the differing outcome for males and females. In the second generation the two highest rates of persistence had been labourers' sons at sixty-three per cent, and the daughters of the upper class at sixty per cent. The lowest rate in the second-generation persistence had been labourers' daughters at twenty-three per cent.

Table: 9.32: Rates of third-generation occupational class persistence.

Occupational Class & Sex	Total	Persistent	%
Labourers' Sons	112	52	**46 %**
Middle Class's Sons	144	66	**46 %**
Farmers' Sons	172	77	**45 %**
Labourers' Daughters	119	52	**44 %**
Middle Class's Daughters	115	49	**43 %**
Farmers' Daughters	139	55	**40 %**
Upper Class's Sons	72	23	**32 %**
Upper Class's Daughters	58	17	**29 %**
Skilled Workers' Daughters	92	26	**28 %**
Skilled Workers' Sons	85	23	**27 %**
Total Persistence	N =1108	N = 440	**40 %**

In this third generation, the disparate range of occupational persistence seen in the second generation had narrowed and outcomes were similar for males and females. The lowest rates of occupational persistence were experienced by the sons and daughters of skilled workers, who moved into all occupational classes from labouring to upper class. The highest rates of persistence were the sons of labourers and the middle class at forty-six per cent, so labourers' sons in this generation still held the highest rate of persistence, although it was a shared position.

Conclusion

While the previous chapter found an overall rate of movement into cities of twenty-one per cent, this chapter demonstrated that it was predominantly the children of the labourers and the farming and fishing class who participated in this urban return. This was a reversal of the urban to rural movement of the second generation, when farmers and labourers had moved out into the Australian frontier. The labourers' and farmers' sons and daughters who relocated to the city experience the highest rate of upward occupational mobility. Farmers' children were three times more likely to be upwardly mobile into skilled work and middle-class roles than those who remained in the country. Yet the children of these manual classes had minimal access to upper class occupations, regardless of their geographic location. The children of skilled labourers were the most attached to cities and were the least occupationally persistent, with the full spectrum of occupational outcomes open to them.

Contrasting with the rural to urban migration undertaken by the manual classes, the children of the upper class were more inclined to move out into the country in this generation. These sons and daughters took work as, or married, rural managers or professional, or retreated into South Australia's urban fringe in the Adelaide Hills. While the upper class had a relatively low rate of occupational persistence at thirty-one per cent, their children were persistent above the manual divide, at seventy-seven per cent. This rate had decreased from ninety-two per cent non-manual persistence in the first to second generation, with the remaining eight per cent all occupied in farming.

The act of international or interstate migration made minimal impact on rates of occupational inheritance, apart from the children of the middle class. The children of labourers and skilled workers moved to pursue employment, the children of farmers moved to access land, and the children of the upper class moved to preserve their occupational class. Relocation was necessary to maintain access to work, land or opportunities. In contrast, the children of skilled workers and the middle class who moved interstate or overseas held upper class occupations at almost twice the rate of those who did not relocate. Just as their grandparents of the uneasy middling orders had moved to prosper, so did their ambitious grandchildren.

Chapter Ten: Conclusion

Operating out of the British Coffee House in Cockspur Street, London, a newly formed 'National Colonisation Society' designated Australia's southern coast as a potential site for their colonial endeavours in early 1831, inspired by Captain Charles Sturt's journey along the Murray River to its mouth on Ngarrindjeri land.[1] Promoting Wakefieldian ideas of systematic colonisation, various associations pushed forward plans for a settler-colony to be established on Australia's Gulf St. Vincent.[2] These manoeuvres led to the enactment of the Province of South Australia by the British Parliament on 15 August 1834.[3]

The commencement of colonisation in South Australia was conditional, dependent on the sale of advanced land orders, with the raised funds to pay the cost of passage of the colony's labourers.[4] In order to raise sufficient capital to initiate the endeavour, the element of the colony which was to be 'advertised most widely and consistently' was that it would be 'a paradise for land-jobbing' which 'promised rich rewards to speculators who were willing to risk their money at the start of the venture'.[5] The colony was also promoted as a philanthropic endeavour, designed to provide an outlet for Great Britain's surplus of distressed but respectable working poor.[6] Thus, South Australia was promoted to be at once a safety valve and a speculative society, as it aimed to provide occupational opportunities for Britain's surplus labourers, as well as opportunities of profit for investors.[7]

Colonial South Australia was initiated prior to the commencement of the Age of Mass Migration (1850–1914), a mass movement of populations enabled by the seizure of land from Indigenous Peoples and the global expansion of frontier societies.[8] This thesis has provided an overview of how the lands of South Australia's Aboriginal Peoples were appropriated to provide the foundation for the proposed settler-colonial society. It is

---

[1] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, pp. 52-55.
[2] South Australian Land Company, *Proposal to His Majesty's Government for Founding a Colony on the Southern Coast of Australia*, London, 1831; South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony to be founded on the South Coast of Australia, 1834*, 1978; Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834.
[3] Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834* (UK). London.
[4] Great Britain, Parliament. *Foundation Act 1834* (UK). London.
[5] Howell, 'South Australian Act' in Jaensch, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History*, 1986, p. 46.
[6] Arnold, 'Promoting Emigration to South Australia from Britain', 2019, pp. 49 & 57; Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia,* Appendix, No. II: Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall 1834, p. 159.
[7] Richards, Eric. 'Malthus and the uses of British emigration', in Fedorowich, Kent, and Andrew S. Thompson (eds). *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013, pp 54-56; Richards, Eric. 'How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?'. *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1993, p. 259; Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia,* Appendix, No. II: Report of a Public Meeting held at Exeter Hall 1834, pp. 158-159, 164 & 219.
[8] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, pp. 82-84, 276; Belich, *Replenishing the Earth,* 2009, pp. 87, 126-133, 551-554.

argued that a three-year delay in installing a permanent, full-time 'Protector' assisted colonial administrators to avoid recognition of Aboriginal occupation of their land, as stipulated in the Letters Patent. Administrators instead referred to the Foundation Act of 1834, which authorised that all lands within the demarcated boundaries of South Australia be available for survey and sale.

Access to land was foundational to the development of colonial endeavours and frontier expansion.[9] The promoters of South Australian systematic colonisation aimed to emulate the land speculation observed in North America.[10] For most of the nineteenth century real estate, particularly Western, was 'the principal form of American investment'.[11] The United States was experiencing its first real craze of speculation in the 1820s, while colonial South Australia was in its conceptual stage, and the North American wave of land speculation reached its peak in 1836, the year that South Australia's first expedition of settler-colonists set sail.[12] Agricultural expansion in South Australia had parallels in North America, where immigrants spread into seized frontier lands and established communities which offered opportunities for profit and social mobility.[13] Agricultural frontiers presented great economic opportunities for those who were in a position to take up an early advantage. New settler-colonial societies provided locations where early arrivals accumulated wealth and experienced the 'high economic return' gained from moving onto newly appropriated land.[14]

A 'Civilised Society'

Promotional material for Wakefield's systematic colonisation stated that the scheme addressed issues observed in North America, and elsewhere in Australia, of a sparsely scattered population who had limited access to labour.[15] Wakefield's proposals sought to

---

[9] Grandin, Greg. *The End of the Myth: From the frontier to the border wall in the mind of America,* New York: Metropolitan Books, 2019, pp. 1-5.
[10] Torrens, Robert. *Substance of a Speech Delivered by Colonel Torrens in the House of Commons, 15th February, 1827*, 2nd ed. Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962, pp.53-54; Wakefield, *England and America,* vol. 2, Appendix II: Proofs of the rapidity with which waste land rises in value, wherever people congregate, in new colonies, pp. 287-290.
[11] Swierenga, Robert P. *Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1968, p. 210.
[12] Swierenga, *Pioneers and Profits,* 1968, p. 4.
[13] Hall and Ruggles. '"Restless in the Midst of Their Prosperity", 2004, pp. 829-830.
[14] Pope, Clyne. 'Inequality in the Nineteenth Century' in Engerman, Stanley L., and Robert E. Gallman. (Eds) *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States.* Cambridge [England]; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996, pp. 121 & 137; Gregson, Mary Eschelbach. 'Wealth Accumulation and Distribution in the Midwest in the Late Nineteenth Century.' *Explorations in Economic History,* vol. 33, no. 4, 1996, pp. 536-537; Galenson, David W., and Clayne L. Pope. 'Economic and Geographic Mobility on the Farming Frontier: Evidence from Appanoose County, Iowa, 1850–1870.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1989, p. 655; Stewart, 'Economic Opportunity or Hardship?', 2009, pp. 238 & 264.
[15] Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 1834, pp. 99-100, 113-115, 123, 134-136

increase the appeal of South Australia as a destination by presenting it as a respectable, systematically planned and profitable colonial endeavour.[16] This was to be accomplished primarily by transplanting a full spectrum of English society to a concentrated settlement, designed to be the commercial and cultural capital of the colony, and by providing a labour force of young free-settler labourers, who were to be male and female in equal numbers.[17] Thus, South Australia was established first as an urban centre and second as an agricultural frontier. These plans attracted derision as well as praise, as Lady Franklin, wife of the Governor of Van Diemen's Land, pointed out in 1840: 'if South Australia has not yet started ready armed and in full stature like Minerva, it is because her head has risen first into life before she has legs to stand on'.[18]

This populated centre was to support cultural, scientific and literary efforts as well as commercial, governmental and legal institutions to provide occupational opportunities for 'talent of every class'.[19] In South Australia, those of the Britain's distressed middle classes were to be able to access 'paths to distinction' which would be 'open and unencumbered' instead of 'crowded with competitors', as was the case in Britain.[20] As summarised by historian Eric Richards:

> *South Australia offered a social framework designed specifically to satisfy the cravings of the middling orders of society for security and respectability. They themselves would become a modest gentry, an instant elite in a new society*.[21]

A society designed in this way was intended to appeal to two types of potential emigrants in particular: 'the man of small fortune and large family' who had 'a good deal of refinement, and no little ambition for his children', and also 'young men of good fortune' but of 'mean birth' who aspired to the highest ranks'.[22]

Labourers were to be induced to emigrate through the provision of a subsidised passage to the remote colonial destination, the promise of high wages, and the possibility of becoming

---

[16] Richards, 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins and Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions,* 2018, p. 33; Main, 'Social foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*. 1986, pp. 96-97; Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 1834, pp. 83, 106, 121-122, 140.
[17] Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, pp. 115-116, 127-129; Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 1967, pp. 52-55, 74.
[18] *Diary of Lady Franklin*, 1840, pp. 107-08, cited in Nance, 'Making a Better Society', 1984, p. 107; for an overview of criticism, see Richards, 'South Australia observed, 1836-1986', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*. 1986, pp. 1-32.
[19] Hanson, *The South Australian Literary Association,* 1978, pp. 3-7.
[20] Hanson, *The South Australian Literary Association,* 1978, p 3
[21] Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*. 1986, p. 123.
[22] Wakefield, 'Inducements to Emigrate', in *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, pp. 122-126.

either landowners or capitalists within 'a few years' of arriving in the colony.[23] The cost of land was to be maintained at a 'sufficient price' to restrict labourers from being able to purchase land 'too soon' and thus depleting the numbers of the labouring class.[24] The 'sufficient price' attached to land meant that South Australia lacked the prospects for labouring advancement presented by Turner's frontier thesis, which stated that 'free lands meant free opportunity'.[25] Though it was conceded that 'opportunities for upward mobility on any frontier are restricted to the small segment of the population already having substantial capital resources', nevertheless, the availability of free or subsidised land allowed relatively poor and landless people to use the minimal funds at their disposal to cover the costs associated with the move.[26] The policy of 'sufficient price' in South Australia was designed to delay access to land until those who had received assisted passage had contributed their labour to the colony's economy.

South Australia's First Expedition

Between February and May of 1836 South Australia's first expedition, comprising six ships carrying 230 passengers and crew, left England for South Australia.[27] Those on board were intended to be the colony's advanced party, selected to carry out the preparatory work ahead of an initial body of settler-colonists, who were to arrive with the second expedition.[28] Despite Wakefield's expectation that the first colonial expedition would consist of 'an expedition of mere surveyors', on board these ships were colonial managers and administrators, clerical staff, surgeons, skilled artisans, gardeners, labourers and surveyors as well as several independent investors.[29] The formation of the South Australian Company in the months before embarkation necessitated the inclusion of two whaling vessels and two supply ships, which sailed with the two survey ships sent by South Australia's Colonisation Commissioners.[30] The adults on board these six ships constitute the first generation of this study and their geographic movements and careers were followed after arrival.

---

[23] South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony*, 1978, p. 15.
[24] Sendziuk and Foster. *A History of South Australia,* 2018, p. 39; Wakefield, *Art of Colonization*, 1847, Letters LIII to LVIII: From the Colonist, pp. 107-112.
[25] Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History,* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1962, pp. 259-60.
[26] Pope, 'Inequality in the Nineteenth Century' in Engerman and Gallman (eds) *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States*, 1996, p. 111; Sewastynowicz, James. 'Two-Step Migration and Upward Mobility on the Frontier: The Safety Valve Effect in Pejibaye, Costa Rica.' *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* vol. 34, no. 4, 1986, p. 732.
[27] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11; Passenger numbers discussed in Chapter Three: South Australia's First Expedition.
[28] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 12-13.
[29] Wakefield, *The New British Province of South Australia*, 1834, p. 140.
[30] South Australian Company, *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1836, pp 9, 13.

The first annual report submitted by the Commissioners to the British House of Commons describes the participants in South Australia's first expedition as being either 'persons of a superior class' (colonists) or 'emigrants of the labouring class' (labourers).[31] The crew of four of the six ships were included as labourers, as it was asserted that they would settle in the colony at the completion of their contracts.[32] Four-fifths of the crew could not be located beyond their expedition to South Australia, and this thesis proposed that crew members, particularly those of the Company whaling vessels, were not expected to settle in South Australia, despite the cost of their passage having been paid through the colony's emigration fund. Those members of the crew who could be located after arriving in the colony in 1836 displayed remarkable loyalty to South Australia and the Port Adelaide district.

This study identified all 'persons of a superior class' and followed them after their participation in South Australia's first expedition. These 'superior' settler-colonists had invested in the colony, were highly visible in the public records and took pride in their social position as 'pioneers'. Of those who immigrated as labourers (excluding the crew), one quarter could not be located or linked with confidence to arrival in South Australia in 1836. Those who immigrated to South Australia as labourers were not under obligation to remain in the colony, and the Victorian goldfields were a feasible destination for those who could not be located. For the purposes of this study, those who relocated out of South Australia on a permanent basis were categorised as 'movers'. The most prevalent destination for 'movers' in the first generation was Victoria, followed by the United Kingdom and New Zealand.

In order to test promises made to potential emigrants who were attracted to the proposed colony, this thesis investigated the careers of those who participated in South Australia's first expedition, revealing rates of occupational class mobility. Departing from the binary presentation of these participants as merely 'labourers' or 'colonists', their identified occupations were coded and categorised according to international standards.[33] On arrival, almost half of those on board these six ships were of the labouring class, one fifth were skilled workers, a quarter held middle class occupations and a tenth were in the upper class.[34] The average age of the passengers was twenty-six years, positioning these

[31] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 11.
[32] South Australian Company. *Report of the Directors,* 1838, pp. 14-15.
[33] Leeuwen, Maas and Miles, *HISCO,* 2002; Leeuwen and Maas, *HISCLASS,* 2011.
[34] Upper Class (HISCLASS 1 & 2), Middle Class (HISCLASS 3, 4, & 5), Skilled Workers (HISCLASS 6 & 7), Farmers and Fishers (HISCLASS 8), Labouring Class (9, 10, 11, & 12).

individuals in their early career.[35] This research found that by their mid-career the occupational class demographics of these immigrants had altered: only a quarter remained in the labouring class and a sixth were skilled workers. The middle and upper-class proportions had swelled through upward mobility, becoming almost a third and a fifth, respectively. A tenth of South Australia's first expedition were farmers or fishers at their mid-career.[36]

Middling Orders

This thesis has found that promises to early-arriving emigrants of the ambitious 'middling orders' were fulfilled in South Australia, as the colony presented opportunities for class stability and advancement. Just over half of those who emigrated with middle-class occupations were persistent in that class, while a third rose into upper-class management and political roles in the new settler-colonial society. The remaining few became rural farmers. The vast majority of the middle class remained in the urban district of Adelaide or within its reach on the Adelaide plains. The colony's concentrated settlement was intended to provide a fresh field of occupational opportunities, and those who immigrated as middle class rose to fill managerial and political positions, as envisioned by promoters.

Promotion of South Australia was particularly targeted to those of Britain's middling orders who feared for the future of their children. Wakefield argued that immigration would be advantageous for the 'uneasy classes' who desired 'to establish children in the world'.[37] He had asked, 'What is to become of the sons and the daughters? No man likes that his son should fall, or his daughter marry, into a circle much inferior to his own'.[38] For those who immigrated with South Australia's first expedition in positions above the manual divide, South Australia did indeed prove advantageous for their sons and daughters. Their children and their grandchildren were predominantly persistent in the middle and upper classes. Ninety-two per cent of the children of the upper class were in either upper or middle-class occupations, with the remainder listed as farmers. In the third generation, over three quarters of the children of the upper class were in non-manual occupations.

Opportunities to access upper-class occupations could require relocation, however. A comparison of those who moved away from the colony or country of their birth (movers) with those who remained (stayers), found that those who gained greatest benefit from

[35] Early-Career: aged fifteen to thirty-four years; Mid-Career: aged thirty-five to fifty-four years; Late-Career: aged fifty-five to seventy-five years.
[36] Detailed in Chapter Five: Career Mobility of the First Expedition.
[37] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, pp. 93-94.
[38] Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, p. 100.

relocation were the children of the middle class. In the second generation, the children of the middle class who were 'movers' accessed upper-class occupations at three times the rate of 'stayers'. This finding remained for the third generation, as middle-class children who moved in this generation were almost twice as likely to hold upper-class occupations as those who stayed. It was not possible, within the confines of this thesis, to determine whether the success experienced by middle-class movers was because of improved opportunities at their destination of choice, or because those who moved would have had enhanced chances of experiencing success regardless of their location.[39]

Advantage of Early Arrival

South Australia's initial settler-colonists, particularly those who arrived with accumulated capital or pre-purchased land orders, held first-mover advantage.[40] The anticipated advantages of early arrival were made explicit in promotional material at the planning stages, and motivated participation in South Australia's first expedition.[41] A promoted intention of the planned concentrated settlement was to manufacture demand for land and amplify prices.[42] In this way land speculators, defined as being those 'who bought more land than they could personally use' or 'purchased large quantities of wild land for resale after the inevitable price rise', were encouraged to invest in South Australia.[43] The cost of land in Adelaide and its immediate surrounds increased exorbitantly in the initial years, providing particular advantage to those who purchased preliminary land orders from London and those who arrived prior to the auction of town acres held on 27 March 1837.[44]

The speed at which land in the concentrated settlement of Adelaide rose in value, quickly locked out those who immigrated without accumulated resources. For these early arrivals though, the relatively low initial cost of newly surveyed land in central Adelaide made it accessible to labourers who had either immigrated with resources, or were able to accumulate funds through paid work during the voyage or after arrival.[45] This thesis

---

[39] Conley, Timothy G., and David W. Galenson. 'Nativity and Wealth in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cities.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 58, no. 2, 1998, pp. 489-490.
[40] Pope, 'Inequality in the Nineteenth Century' in Engerman and Gallman, (eds) *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States,* 1996, pp. 121 & 137; Sánchez-Alonso, Blanca. 'The Age of Mass Migration in Latin America.' *The Economic History Review*, vol. 72, no. 1, 2019, pp. 21-22.
[41] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 1967, p. 55; Howell, 'South Australian Act' in Jaensch, (ed) *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History*, 1986, p. 46.
[42] Morphett, *Reasons for the Purchase of Land in South Australia*, 1835 p. 1; Wakefield, *England and America,* vol. 2, 1833, Appendix II: Proofs of the rapidity with which waste land rises in value, wherever people congregate, in new colonies, pp. 287-290.
[43] Swierenga, *Pioneers and Profits,* 1968, p. 5.
[44] Gouger, *South Australia in 1837,* 1962, p 21.
[45] Pike, 'Introduction to the Real Property Act in South Australia', 1961, p. 171; Cashen, 'Social Foundations of South Australia: Owners of Labour', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, p. 107.

identified seventeen passage-assisted labourers from the first-expedition who purchased town-acres at the first land auction.[46] The subsequent subdivision of land in and surrounding Adelaide provided another avenue to land ownership for early-arriving manual labourers.[47] This thesis supports the finding of Douglas Pike that those few labourers who accumulated land and wealth in the colony's initial decade did so by operating as carters, shopkeepers, licenced victuallers and small-time speculators.[48]

The ability to purchase land, even small subdivided sections in advantageous locations, enable those who immigrated as labourers or artisans to enter into proprietary activities. This thesis presented examples of the 'location-specific human capital' provided by early-arrival.[49] Early-arrivals were well positioned to serve the hospitality needs of the influx of immigrants, and those who immigrated as manual labourers were visible as publicans and storekeepers in the colony's early years.[50] In this way entrepreneurial families made the best of their early-arrival advantage to provide for the needs of those who came later.

Although publicans and shopkeepers were included in the middle class as small business proprietors, without substantial capital investment, these entrepreneurial endeavours were precarious.[51] In terms of social status, publicans and shopkeepers were more likely to be aligned with the manual classes rather than the 'respectable' middle class.[52] This is demonstrated in this thesis by the lack of access to upper-class occupations for the children of those who had been upwardly mobile from labourers to small business proprietors. For those who immigrated to South Australia in middle-class occupations, such as the surveyors, officers, land agents and those in clerical roles, a quarter of their children moved into upper-class occupations. This is contrasted by the children of those who were upwardly mobile into the middle class, of whom only one daughter, that of a publican, married into the upper class.

In contrast to the number of labourers visible as proprietors, and contrary to the colony's promoted intention, a small number of those who immigrated as agricultural labourers became farmers in the first generation. Six labourers successfully purchased farming land of

---

[46] 'Account of the Sale of Public Lands', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, 3 June 1837, p. 2; Opie, E. A. D. 'Early Adelaide: Survey and Land Grants', *The Register,* Saturday 27 December 1913, p. 18.
[47] Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 128.
[48] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 1967, p. 182; Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia' in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 128.
[49] Gregson, Mary Eschelbach. 'Wealth Accumulation and Distribution in the Midwest in the Late Nineteenth Century.' *Explorations in Economic History,* vol. 33, no. 4, 1996, p. 524.
[50] Hoad, *South Australian Hotel Records Prior to 21 February 1839*, 1988.
[51] Benson, *The Penny Capitalists,* 1983, pp. 129-130.
[52] Crossick, Geoffrey. 'The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain: a discussion', in *The Lower middle class in Britain, 1870-1914,* Croon Helm, London, 1977, pp. 13-14, 35, 49.

sufficient quality and quantity in the initial years of colonisation to originate persistent farming families, with a large proportion of their grandchildren continuing as farmers. Despite these examples, the 'sufficient price' assigned to land effectively restricted access to farming land for those of the labouring class. Relatively few labourers became farmers in the first generation, and in the second-generation access was particularly limited for labourers' sons. In contrast, almost half of labourers' daughters entered the farming class through marriage. These daughters, predominantly daughters of rural labourers, married either local farmers or agricultural labourers who would go on to become land holders.

The restricted access to land for labourers' sons is made especially apparent when compared to mobility experienced in the Americas during this era. By utilising the flexibility of the HISCO and HISCLASS occupational class categories, the population of first-generation unskilled labourers within this study can be identified and isolated for comparative purposes.[53] The current thesis combined semi-skilled and unskilled labourers into a labouring class for the purposes of analysis.[54] However, the research of Joseph Ferrie and Jason Long, which compared rates of intergenerational occupational mobility in the United States and Britain, separated semi-skilled from unskilled, and classified their populations into four occupational classes: white collar, farmer, skilled/semi-skilled, and unskilled.[55] A precedent has been set for comparisons with the intergenerational findings of Long and Ferrie for the eras 1850/51 to 1880/81 (see Appendix 4).[56]

For the current research, the average mid-career observation for the first generation occurred in 1851, which was compared to the mid-career of the second generation in 1891. This can be compared to the 1850 to 1880 father-to-son intergenerational comparisons conducted using the United States census returns, which found that between twenty-seven and thirty-one per cent of unskilled labourers' sons were able to establish themselves as farmers (see Appendix 4: United States).[57] Santiago Perez examined the occupational mobility experienced in Argentina in an overlapping timeframe (1869-1895).[58] Like Australia and the United States, Argentina experienced rapid population growth during the nineteenth century and the appropriation of large expanses of agricultural land from

[53] Unskilled Labourers = HISCLASS 10, 11 & 12.
[54] Labouring Class = HISCLASS 9, 10, 11 & 12.
[55] Long and Ferrie. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States since 1850.' 2013; Long and Ferrie. 'Grandfathers Matter(Ed), 2018.
[56] Baskerville et. al 'Mining Microdata', 2014; Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents', 2019.
[57] Long and Ferrie. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States since 1850.' 2013, p. 1121; Baskerville et. al 'Mining Microdata', 2014 p. 10; Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents', 2019, p. 394.
[58] Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents', 2019, p. 394.

indigenous populations. Perez found that mobility levels were similar for Argentina and the United States, with thirty-one per cent of the sons of unskilled labourers in Argentina becoming farmers (see Appendix 4: Argentina).[59]

For South Australia's first expedition, the rate of upward mobility out of the labouring class in the first generation left a small population of thirteen persistent, unskilled labourers. Descending from these individuals were thirty-six second generation children, with nineteen reaching adulthood: seven sons and twelve daughters. Of the seven sons, all based in rural South Australia or Victoria, six were agricultural labours and one was a semi-skilled worker. While none of the sons of unskilled labourers became farmers, nine of the twelve daughters of unskilled labourers married into the farming class, representing a rate of intergenerational movement from unskilled labourer to farmer of seventy-five per cent. Only one daughter married an unskilled labourer (see Appendix 4: South Australia). This thesis found that the cost of land in South Australia prohibited the sons of labourers from accessing the farming class, but it did not prevent their daughters.

South Australia had aimed to maintain a balance of males and females in the colonial population, and while in urban areas this was achieved, in rural districts males predominated.[60] In addition to a sex imbalance, this research found that for those of the first expedition, it was almost entirely those who had immigrated as labourers who moved into Australia's remote regions. As a result, when agricultural expansion in the 1870s produced a population shift into rural areas, the daughters of rural labourers were well positioned to choose advantageous marriages. Expansion into South Australia's remote frontiers in the 1830s to 1850s had been dominated by pastoralists, their overseers, shepherds and labourers.[61] Farms in this period were concentrated within a region stretching from the Fleurieu Peninsula south of Adelaide, to the Barossa Valley and hill country running up towards Clare in the north.[62]

This thesis found that all occupational classes participated in the rural shift and expansion of South Australia's agricultural areas after the passing of Strangways Act in 1869. Those who aspired to farm were drawn away from competing land in the neighbouring colony of

[59] Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents', 2019, p. 384.
[60] South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report,* 1836, p. 10; Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 172-173; Boothby, *Statistical Sketch of South Australia*. 1876, p. 15.
[61] Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History,* 1986, pp. 515-517, 535-540; Richards, 'Yorke's Peninsula and the British Diaspora.' 2011, pp. 50-51; Krichauff, 'York Peninsula' in Brock and Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath,* 2017, pp. 177-179.
[62] Williams and Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 515.

Victoria.[63] As the second generation of this research reached their maturity, rural townships were established to service South Australian's newly surveyed agricultural areas.[64] The progressive opening up of agricultural lands encouraged 'two-step migration', where early arrivals could sell land originally purchased and 'move onto more distant frontiers'.[65] Purchasers included land speculators, as observed by Richard Wade, who found that amongst those who initially migrated west into the North American frontier were investors looking for profitable land in towns as well as in rural areas.[66] This was evident in South Australia as land in service townships was sold at auction and coveted areas were purchased by Adelaide investors.[67] These newly surveyed rural communities sought businesses, professionals and cultural institutions to support life and society in these developing areas, and members of all occupational classes participated in this rural relocation. Consequently, the second generation of this research also gained first-mover advantage, as they purchased homes, land and farms in newly surveyed rural townships and agricultural areas.

The overall rate of occupational persistence in the second generation was forty-one per cent, but this was varied greatly by occupational class and by sex. The highest degree of persistence was experienced by labourers' sons and upper-class daughters, at sixty-three and sixty per cent respectively. Opportunities for marital mobility meant that the lowest rate of persistence was found for labourers' daughters, with only twenty-three per cent married to labourers. By the third generation the degree of occupational mobility experienced by males and females had levelled. The overall percentage of occupational persistence was forty per cent with males and females of each occupational class experiencing similar rates of mobility, with the exception of the children of skilled workers. The sons and daughters of skilled workers were the least persistent in their occupational class, with sons more inclined to be downwardly mobile into farming and labouring positions and daughters found in middle class roles either independently or through marriage. The degree of persistence of the daughters of the upper class almost halved, from sixty per cent in the second generation to thirty-one per cent in the third. This was impacted by their own independent occupations in the middle class, as they were found working in nursing and clerical roles.

[63] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. 81-82.
[64] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 13.
[65] Sewastynowicz, 'Two-Step Migration and Upward Mobility on the Frontier', 1986, p. 748
[66] Wade, Richard C. *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959. pp. 30-35.
[67] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, p. 28.

The third generation examined by Long and Ferrie held mid-career occupations at a similar timeframe to that of this research.[68] Long and Ferrie found that between 1880 and 1910, 24% of unskilled labourers' sons became farmers in the United States (see Appendix 5: United States).[69] When comparing the second to third generations of this research, who held mid-career occupations in 1891 and 1921 respectively, it was identified that twelve per cent of unskilled labourers' sons and fifteen per cent of their daughters were found in the farming occupational class (see Appendix 5: South Australia). Despite the closure of the frontier, the United States in this time period still provided access to agricultural land for those of the labouring class.

Movers and Stayers

It has been questioned whether labourers who relocated experienced an advantage or disadvantage from their move. Were they Stephan Thernstrom's anxious 'floating proletariat' or were they 'shrewd operators', as identified by Robin Haines?[70] This research found that in both the second and the third generation, the children of labourers experienced similar rates of occupational persistence and mobility if they relocated out of the colony of their birth than if they remained. In the second generation, approximately a third of both stayers and movers were occupationally persistent in the labouring class. In both groups, it was the daughters who were more inclined to be upwardly mobile, whether they relocated or whether they remained close to home. For the third generation, approximately forty-five per cent of labourers were occupationally persistent, regardless of their geographic mobility.

In both the second and the third generation, amongst those who moved or those who stayed, upper-class occupations were generally out of reach for the children of labourers, farmers and fishers. Amongst the sons and daughters of the persistent labourers of South Australia's first expedition, none were identified in upper-class occupations. In the third generation, five per cent of labourers' sons and five per cent of labourers' daughters were in the upper class. Where this occurred, the most common profession was teacher, as under HISCLASS categorisation, teachers were classified as upper-class occupations, although this categorisation has been disputed.[71] Similarly, none of the second-generation

[68] Long and Ferrie. 'Grandfathers Matter(Ed)', 2018, F428.
[69] Long and Ferrie 'Grandfathers Matter(ed)', 2018, p. F438.
[70] Haines, Kleinig, Oxley, and Richards, 'Migration and Opportunity', 1998, pp. 235-63; Haines, 'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There', 1997, pp. 1-21; Thernstrom, *Poverty and Progress,* 1964, pp. 87, 97.
[71] Griffen and Griffen. *Natives and Newcomers*, 1978, pp. 239-242

children of farmers or fishers held upper-class occupations, and the rate was a mere two per cent in the third generation.

The droughts experienced in South Australia in the 1880s, which were then followed by the impact of an international recession in the 1890s, saw a movement of people returning from rural areas into cities. During the careers of the third generation, individuals made a rural to urban move at almost twice the rate as the reverse. This was applicable to all the occupational classes and their children, with the exception of the children of the upper class. In the third generation the children of the upper class were more inclined to move away from the city. An examination of their professions and occupations reveals that these children of the upper-class moved onto rural land, or into country towns to work a local managers or professionals, and some moved off the Adelaide plain and into the Mount Lofty Ranges. This shift coincided with a change in the structure of South Australian politics. Historian John Hirst observed that after the turn of the century, South Australia was governed from the country, as electorates were represented by country members and absentee members became a rarity in the South Australian parliament.[72]

The fate of persistently transitory populations is difficult to determine, particularly in the past. The research conducted to support this thesis confronted the challenge of following immigrants on the wing. Through methodical family reconstitution and a prosopographical approach, daughters and sons, granddaughters and grandsons were linked to their immigrant forebears, allowing the construction of a longitudinal database of occupational and geographic intergenerational mobility. The time-consuming nature of linking historical records has necessitated a restricted first-generation population for this dissertation project. However, this population were of heightened interest as the earliest settler-colonial arrivals in the newly proclaimed Province of South Australia. This thesis contributes a detailed understanding of the identity and outcomes for a population of early-arriving settler-colonists, their children and grandchildren.

The career mobility of participants in South Australia's first expedition revealed that promises of occupational opportunities by the colony's promoters were realised by those of the middle and labouring classes. South Australia proved itself to be a 'middle class paradise' for these initial immigrants. While few labourers established themselves on the land, this thesis uncovered labouring progenitors of persistent farming families, particularly through daughters. The inclusion of females in the second and third generation of this

[72] Hirst, *Adelaide and the Country*, 1973, pp. 219-220.

analysis facilitated the finding that the advantage of early arrival was inherited by the daughters of the manual classes, rather than their sons. The commonplace exclusion of daughters in studies of intergenerational occupational mobility inhibits discoveries of this kind.

This examination of ongoing geographic mobility revealed that in the third generation, the children of labourers, skilled workers, farmers and the upper class were all persistent in their occupational class to the same degree whether they were 'stayers' or 'movers'. The children of the middle class who moved interstate or overseas were three times more likely to be found in upper-class occupations in the second generation, and almost twice as likely in the third, than those who remained in the location of their birth. The ambitious middling orders of South Australia's first expedition had moved to access opportunities in a newly formed settler-colonial society, and their children and grandchildren continued this tradition.

The first-generation population of this thesis was relatively small, dictated by the time consuming and meticulous nature of cradle-to-grave family reconstitution over three generations, yet demonstrated the benefits of incorporating geographically mobile daughters, sons, granddaughters and grandsons, into studies of intergenerational occupational mobility. The implemented research methodology was purposely confined to an examination of social class through occupational title and did not broach the fiscal-based quantification preferred by economic historians. This limited focus provides scope for future substantiation of social class, particularly that of labourers, farmers and land-holders, through an investigation of the monetary value of wages, property and probate.

By unveiling the careers of South Australia's first expedition and revealing the locations and occupations of their descendants, this thesis uncovered the outcomes experienced by these initial participants in 'systematic colonisation'. This 'test of the Wakefieldian system' was undertaken through an examination of 'the lives of individual immigrants', revealing South Australia as a planned settler-colony, placed on the appropriated lands of southern Australia's Aboriginal Peoples, which provided first-mover advantage for these early-arriving immigrants, particularly those of the ambitious 'uneasy class' who feared for the future of their sons and daughters.[73]

[73] Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia', in Richards, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, 1986, p. 118; Wakefield, *The New British Province*, 1834, p. 123; Wakefield, *England and America*, 1833, 'The Uneasiness of the Middle Class', pp. 80-106.

Bibliography

Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, and Katherine Eriksson. 'A Nation of Immigrants: Assimilation and Economic Outcomes in the Age of Mass Migration.' *Journal of Political Economy* vol. 122, no. 3, 2014.

Abramitzky, Ran, Leah Platt Boustan, Katherine Eriksson, James J. Feigenbaum, and Santiago Pérez. 'Automated Linking of Historical Data'. *National Bureau of Economic Research Working Paper Series*, no. 25825, Cambridge, 2019.

Adair, Daryl, "'Respectable, Sober and Industrious': A Social History of Public Houses and Alcohol in Early Colonial Adelaide, 1836 – c1870", Honours Thesis, History Department, Flinders University, 1989.

Akerman, Sune. 'An evaluation of the Family Reconstitutional Technique', *Scandinavian Economic History Review,* vol. 25, 1977.

Allingham, John Douglas. 'Occupational mobility in Australia: a career and generational study based on birth and marriage records of New South Wales', PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1965.

Allingham, John Douglas. 'Class Regression: An Aspect of the Social Stratification Process.' *American Sociological Review,* vol. 32, no. 3, 1967.

Amery, Rob, *Warraparna Kaurna! Reclaiming an Aboriginal language*, University of Adelaide Press, Adelaide, 2016.

Anderson, Margaret. 'No sex please, we're demographers: Nineteenth century fertility decline revisited', in Damousi, Joy, and Katherine Ellinghaus, eds. *Citizenship, Women and Social Justice: International Historical Perspectives.* Parkville, Vic.: University of Melbourne and Australian Network for Research in Women's History, 1999.

Anderson, Margaret and MacKinnon, Alison. 'New women and the modern family: continuity and change in pre-war domestic life', in *South Australia on the Eve of War*, Mile End, S. Aust., Wakefield Press, 2017.

Arnold, Marilyn. 'Promoting Emigration to South Australia from Britain 1829 – c1850: The importance of newspapers and other literature to the South Australian Colonisation Project', PhD thesis History, Flinders University, 2019.

Alford, Katrina. 'Colonial Women's Employment as Seen by Nineteenth-Century Statisticians and Twentieth-Century Economic Historians', *Labour History*, vol. 51, 1986.

Alter, George, and Kees Mandemakers. 'The Intermediate Data Structure (IDS) for Longitudinal Historical Microdata, Version 4.' *Historical Life Course Studies*, vol. 1, 2014.

Antonie, Luiza, Kris Inwood, Daniel Lizotte, and J. Andrew Ross. 'Tracking People over Time in 19th Century Canada for Longitudinal Analysis.' *Machine Learning*, vol. 95, no. 1, 2014.

Antonie, Luiza, Kris Inwood, and J. Andrew Ross. 'Dancing with Dirty Data: Problems in the Extraction of Life-Course Evidence from Historical Censuses'. *Population Reconstruction*. Edited by Gerrit Bloothooft, Peter Christen, Kees Mandemakers and Marijn Schraagen. Switzerland, Springer, 2015.

Antonie, Luiza, Kris Inwood, Chris Minns, and Fraser Summerfield. 'Bias, Accuracy and Sample Size in the Systematic Linking of Historical Records.' *International Journal of Population Data Science,* vol. 3, no. 4, 2018.

Attwood, Bain. 'Returning to the Past: The South Australian Colonisation Commission, the Colonial Office and Aboriginal Title.' *The Journal of Legal History*, vol. 34, no. 1, 2013.

Bacchi, Carol. 'The "Woman Question" in South Australia',43 in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Bannon, John. 'Adjustment to statehood: South Australia from the Boer War to the Great War', in *South Australia on the Eve of War*, Wakefield Press, Mile End, S. Aust., 2017.

Barr, Alwyn, 'Occupational and Geographic Mobility in San Antonio, 1870-1900.' *Social Science Quarterly*, September 1970.

Baskerville, Peter, Lisa Dillon, Kris Inwood, Evan Roberts, Steven Ruggles, Kevin Schurer, and John Robert Warren. 'Mining Microdata: Economic Opportunity and Spatial Mobility in Britain and the United States, 1850-1881.' *IEEE International Conference on Big Data*, 2014.

Baskerville, Peter, and Inwood, Kris E. *Lives in Transition: Longitudinal Analysis from Historical Sources*. Carleton Library Series, No. 232, 2015.

Belich, James. *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Anglo-World, 1783-1939*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009.

Beller, Emily. 'Bringing Intergenerational Social Mobility Research into the Twenty-First Century: Why Mothers Matter.' *American Sociological Review,* vol, 74, no. 4, 2009.

Bennett, J. F. *Historical and Descriptive Account of South Australia: Founded on the Experience of a Three Years' Residence in That Colony*. London: Smith Elder, 1843.

Benson, John. *The Penny Capitalists: A Study of Nineteenth Century Working-Class Entrepreneurs,* New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1983.

Biblarz, Timothy J., Vern L. Bengtson, and Alexander Bucur. 'Social Mobility across Three Generations.' *Journal of Marriage and Family,* vol. 58, no. 1, 1996.

Bishop, Catherine. *Minding Her Own Business: Colonial Businesswomen in Sydney.* Sydney, New South Wales, 2015.

Blainey, Geoffrey. 'Essay on Distance, *Historical Studies,* vol. 16, no. 65, 1975.

Blainey, Geoffrey. *The Rush That Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining*. 5th ed.: Melbourne: Melbourne University Publishing, 2003.

Boeree, Robert. 'Land Settlement on the Eyre Peninsula, South Australia', PhD Thesis, Department of Geography, University of Adelaide, 1963.

Bolton, Geoffrey. *Land of Vision and Mirage: Western Australia since 1826*. Crawley, W.A.: UWA Press, 2008

Booth, Jean. *Rethinking South Australia 1829 – 1841: Aspects of Governance and Empire,* Ph.D. Social Sciences, University of South Australia, 2004.

Boothby, Josiah. *Statistical Sketch of South Australia*. London: Low, Marston, Searle and Rivington, 1876.

Borch, Merete. 'Rethinking the Origins of Terra Nullius.' *Australian Historical Studies,* vol. 32, no. 117, 2001.

Boucher, David. 'Law of Nations and the Doctrine of *Terra Nullius*' in Asbach, Olaf, and Schröder, Peter. *War, the State, and International Law in Seventeenth-Century Europe*. Ashgate, 2010.

Bourke, Paul F. 'A note on the study of mobility.' *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 4, May 1980.

Bourke, Paul, and Donald DeBats. 'Individuals and Aggregates: A Note on Historical Data and Assumptions.' *Social Science History*, vol. 4, no. 2, 1980.

Bowes, Keith Russell, 'Land Settlement in South Australia', PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1962.

Bradley, James, Rebecca Kippen, Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Janet McCalman, and Sandra Silcot. 'Research Note: The Founders and Survivors Project.' *The History of the Family*, vol. 15, no. 4, 2010.

Briggs, Asa. 'Middle-Class Consciousness in English Politics, 1780-1846', *Past and Present*, vol. 9, 1956.

Brock, Peggy, and Tom Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath: A History of Aboriginal South Australia*. Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2017.

Brown, John. *Transcript of Diary of John Brown, Emigration Agent, with Index*. Borrow Collection, Flinders University, 1836.

Bull, John Wrathall. *Early Experiences of Life in South Australia and an Extended Colonial History*. Adelaide: E.S. Wigg & Son, 1884.

Button, Pat. *A Free Passage to Paradise?: Passenger Lists of United Kingdom Emigrants Who Applied for Free Passage to South Australia. 1836-1840*. Adelaide: South Australian Genealogy and Heraldry Society Inc., 1992.

Callanan, Janine. 'Giving Birth in the Bush: Colonial Women of Victoria and the Challenges of Childbirth, 1850-1880.' *Provenance: The Journal of Public Record Office Victoria*, no. 17, 2019, p. 15.

Clark, Ian D., Luise Hercus, Laura Kostanski, and Rob Amery. *Indigenous and Minority Place Names: Australian and International Perspectives.* Canberra, ACT: Australian National University Press, 2014.

Clarke, Philip. 'The Aboriginal Presence on Kangaroo Island, South Australia' in *History in Portraits: Biographies of Nineteenth Century South Australian Aboriginal People*, Canberra, Aboriginal History Monograph 6, 1998.

Clendinnen, Inga. *Dancing with Strangers: Europeans and Australians at First Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.

Cockburn, Rodney. *What's in a Name?: Nomenclature of South Australia : Authoritative Derivations of Some 4000 Historically Significant Place Names*. Rev. and enl. ed., Ferguson Publications, 1984.

Coghlan, T. A. *Labour and Industry in Australia: From the First Settlement in 1788 to the Establishment of the Commonwealth in 1901*. Melbourne: Macmillan, 1969.

Coghlan, T. A. *A Statistical Account of the Seven Colonies of Australasia, 1901-1902*. Sydney: William Applegate Gullick, Government Printer, 1902.

Collins, Carolyn and Paul Sendziuk. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History.* Mile End: Wakefield Press, 2018.

Colonial Office, Great Britain. *Register of Emigrant Labourers: Application for a Free Passage*, Records of the Emigration Department, 1836-1838, Australian Joint Copying Project (CO 386).

Conley, Timothy G., and David W. Galenson. 'Nativity and Wealth in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Cities.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 58, no. 2, 1998.

Connell, R. W. and Irving, T. H. *Class Structure in Australian History: Poverty and Progress,* Longman Cheshire, Melbourne, Second Edition, 1992.

Corsini, Carlo A., and Pier Paolo Viazzo. *The Decline of Infant and Child Mortality: The European Experience, 1750-1990.* Cambridge, MA, USA: Kluwer Law International, 1997.

Crompton, Rosemary. *Class and Stratification: An Introduction to Current Debates.* Cambridge, United Kingdom, Polity Press, 1993.

Crossick, Geoffrey. 'The Emergence of the Lower Middle Class in Britain: a discussion', in *The Lower middle class in Britain, 1870-1914,* Croon Helm, London, 1977.

Cummings, Diana. *Pioneers and settlers bound for South Australia: passenger lists*. Fleurieu Peninsula Family History Group, Christies Beach North, South Australia, 2010.

Davison, Graeme. *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1978.

Davison, Graeme. 'The Mobility Theme.' *Australia 1888: A Journal for the study of Australian history centred on the year 1888*, Bulletin no. 1, February 1979.

Davison, Graeme. 'The Dimensions of Mobility in Nineteenth Century Australia', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 2, August 1979.

Davison, Graeme, and Marc Brodie. *Struggle Country: The Rural Ideal in Twentieth Century Australia*. Clayton, Vic.: Monash University, 2005.

Devos, Isabelle, Sofie De Langhe, and Christa Matthys. 'Lost in Registration? Missing Occupations of Single Women in the Bruges Countryside, c1814.' *The History of the Family,* vol. 19, no. 4, 2014.

Dickey, Brian, and Peter Howell. *South Australia's Foundation: Select Documents*. Netley, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Dillon, Lisa, Marilyn Amorevieta-Gentil, Marianne Caron, Cynthia Lewis, Angélique Guay-Giroux, Bertrand Desjardins, and Alain Gagnon. 'The Programme De Recherche En Démographie Historique: Past, Present and Future Developments in Family Reconstitution.' *The History of the Family*, vol. 23, no. 1, 2018.

Dooley, Gillian, and Danielle Clode. *The First Wave: Exploring Early Coastal Contact History in Australia*. Mile End, SA: Wakefield Press, 2019.

Dowling, Peter. '"A Great Deal of Sickness": Introduced Diseases among the Aboriginal People of Colonial Southeast Australia, 1788-1900', PhD Thesis, Australian National University, 1998.

Dupaquier, J. "Obituary: Louis Henry (1911-1991)." *Population Studies,* Vol. 46, No. 3, 1992.

Dutton, Geoffrey, and Elder, David. *Colonel William Light: Founder of a City*. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1991.

Efremova, Julia, *Mining Social Structures from Genealogical Data,* SIKS Dissertation Series No. 2016-19*,* Eindhoven University of Technology, 2016.

Erickson, Charlotte. *Invisible Immigrants: The Adaptation of English and Scottish Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century America*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1972.

Erickson, Charlotte. 'Agrarian Myths of English Immigrants' in *Leaving England: Essays on British Emigration in the Nineteenth Century*, Cornell University Press, Ithaca, 1994.

Favre, Giacomin. B*ias in Social Mobility Estimates with Historical Data: Evidence from Swiss Microdata.* Working Paper Series, Working Paper No. 329, University of Zurich, 2019.

Ferrie, Joseph P. '"We Are Yankeys Now": The Economic Mobility of Two Thousand Antebellum Immigrants to the United States.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 53, no. 2, 1993.

Ferrie, Joseph P. 'Up and out or Down and Out? Immigrant Mobility in the Antebellum United States.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 26, no. 1, 1995

Ferrie, Joseph P. 'A New Sample of Males Linked from the Public Use Microdata Sample of the 1850 U.S. Federal Census of Population to the 1860 U.S. Federal Census Manuscript Schedules.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 29, no. 4, 1996.

Ferrie, Joseph P. 'The Entry into the U.S. Labor Market of Antebellum European Immigrants, 1840–1860.' *Explorations in Economic History*, vol. 34, no. 3, 1997.

Ferrie, Joseph P. *How Ya Gonna Keep 'Em Down on the Farm [When They've Seen Schenectady]?: Rural-to-Urban Migration in 19th Century America, 1850-70*. NBER/DAE Summer Institute, Working Paper, 2005.

Ferrie, Joseph P. 'History Lessons: The End of American Exceptionalism? Mobility in the United States since 1850.' *Journal of Economic Perspectives,* vol. 19, no. 3, 2005.

Finnis, H. J. *Before The 'Buffalo': The Story of South Australia, 1800-1836*. Adelaide, Pioneers' Association of South Australia, 1964.

Finniss, Boyle Travers. *The Constitutional History of South Australia during Twenty-One Years from the Foundation of the Settlement in 1836 to the Inauguration of Responsible Government in 1857*. W.C. Rigby, Simpkin, Marshall, 1886.

Foster, Robert. 'Feasts of the Full-Moon: The Distribution of Rations to Aborigines in South Australia: 1836-1861.', *Aboriginal History,* vol. 13, 1989.

Foster, Robert, Amanda Nettelbeck, and Rick Hosking. *Fatal Collisions: The South Australian Frontier and the Violence of Memory*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2001.

Foster, Robert. 'Coexistence and Colonization on Pastoral Leaseholds in South Australia, 1851-99' in McLaren, J., A. R. Buck and N. E. Write. *Despotic Dominion property rights in British settler societies*, Vancouver: UBC Press, 2004.

Foster, Robert, and Paul Sendziuk, eds. *Turning Points: Chapters in South Australian History*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2012.

Foster, Robert, and Amanda Nettelbeck. *Out of the Silence: The History and Memory of South Australia's Frontier Wars*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2012.

Foster, Robert. 'True Lies: South Australia's Foundation, the Idea of "Difference", and the Rights of Aboriginal People.' In Collins, Carolyn and Paul Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History.* Mile End: Wakefield Press, 2018.

Frisch, Michael. 'Poverty and Progress: A Paradoxical Legacy.' *Social Science History*, vol. 10, no. 1, 1986.

Gagan, David. 'Geographic and Social Mobility in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: A Microstudy', *The Canadian Review of Sociology and* Anthropology, vol. 13, no. 2, 1976.

Galenson, David W., and Clayne L. Pope. 'Economic and Geographic Mobility on the Farming Frontier: Evidence from Appanoose County, Iowa, 1850–1870.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 49, no. 3, 1989.

Gammage, Bill. *The Biggest Estate on Earth: How Aborigines Made Australia*. Allen & Unwin, Crows Nest, NSW, 2011.

Ganzeboom, Harry, Paul De Graaf, and Donald Treiman. 'A Standard International Socio-economic Index of Occupational Status.' *Social Science Research,* vol. 21, no. 1, 1992.

Garnett, R. *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: The Colonization of South Australia and New Zealand,* London, Fisher Unwin, 1898.

Glass, David Victor. *Social Mobility in Britain.* London, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954.

Gregson, Mary Eschelbach. 'Wealth Accumulation and Distribution in the Midwest in the Late Nineteenth Century.' *Explorations in Economic History,* vol. 33, no. 4, 1996.

Godfrey, Barry, Kris Inwood and Hamish Maxwell-Stewart. 'Exploring the life-course and intergenerational impact of convict transportation.' in Eichelsheim, Veroni I., and Steve G. A. van de Weijer, eds. *Intergenerational Continuity of Criminal and Antisocial Behaviour: An International Overview of Studies*. London; New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.

Gollan, Robin. *Radical and Working Class Politics*, Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1960.

Gouger, Robert. *South Australia in 1837: In a Series of Letters; with a Postscript as to 1838*. Edited by Australia Public Library of South. Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962.

Grandin, Greg. *The End of the Myth: From the frontier to the border wall in the mind of America,* Metropolitan Books, 2019.

Griffen, Clyde, and Sally Griffen. N*atives and Newcomers: The Ordering of Opportunity in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Poughkeepsie.* Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1978.

Grusky, David B., and Katherine R. Weisshaar. *Social Stratification: Class, Race, and Gender in Sociological Perspective*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2018.

Haines, Robin. 'Indigent Misfits or Shrewd Operators? Government-Assisted Emigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia, 1831– 1860.' *Population Studies,* vol. 48, no. 2, 1994.

Haines, Robin. 'The Idle and the Drunken Won't Do There': Poverty, the New Poor Law and Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Emigration to Australia from the United Kingdom', *Australian Historical Studies,* Vol. 28, No. 108, 1997.

Haines, Robin, Margrette Kleinig, Deborah Oxley, and Eric Richards, 'Migration and Opportunity: An Antipodean Perspective', *International Review of Social History,* vol. 43, no. 2, 1998.

Hall, Patricia Kelly, and Steven Ruggles. '"Restless in the Midst of Their Prosperity": New Evidence on the Internal Migration of Americans, 1850-2000.' *The Journal of American History,* vol. 91, no. 3, 2004.

Hanson, Richard Davies. *The South Australian Literary Association: Inaugural Address, 5th September 1834*. Adelaide, South Australian Libraries Board, 1978.

Hart, Emma. 'The Middling Order Are Odious Characters: Social Structure and Urban Growth in Colonial Charleston, South Carolina.' *Urban History*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2007.

Hassell, Kathleen, 'The Relations between the settlers and Aborigines in South Australia, 1836-1860', Thesis, University of Adelaide, 1966.

Hatton, T. J and Jeffrey G. Williamson. *The Age of Mass Migration: causes and economic impact*. Oxford University Press, New York, Oxford, 1998.

Hays, W. Bennett. *Engineering in South Australia: Being an Account of the Principal Public Works Now Executed, Preceded by a Historical Sketch of the Colony, from Its Foundation to the Present Time*. Facsimile ed. Of 1856 printing, Libraries Board of South Australia, 1965.

Heinrich, Dorothy, *The Man Who Hunted Whales*: *a tale of Kangaroo Island and a doomed ship*, Highbury, South Aust.: Awoonga, 2011.

Henretta, James. 'The Study of Social Mobility: Ideological Assumption and Conceptual Bias.' *Labor History*, vol. 18, 1977.

Hirst, John. *Adelaide and the Country*, *1870-1917: Their Social and Political Relationship*. Carlton, Vic.: Melbourne University Press, 1973.

Hoad, J. L. *South Australian Hotel Records Prior to 21 February 1839*, Gumeracha, South Australia, Gould Books, 1988.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *Industry and Empire: From 1750 to the Present Day*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1969.

Hobsbawm, E. J. *Labouring Men: Studies in the History of Labour*. London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1965.

Hochstadt, Steve. *Mobility and Modernity: Migration in Germany, 1820-1989,* University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1999.

Howell, Peter. *South Australia and Federation*. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2002.

Hylton, Jane. *South Australia Illustrated: Colonial Painting in the Land of Promise*. Adelaide, S. Aust.: Art Gallery of South Australia, 2012.

Inwood, Kris, Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, Deborah Oxley, and Jim Stankovich. 'Growing Incomes, Growing People in Nineteenth-Century Tasmania.' *Australian Economic History Review,* vol. 55, no. 2, 2015.

Irving, Terence and Connell, R, W. 'Scholars and radicals: writing and re-thinking class structure in Australian history, *Journal of Australian Studies,* vol. 40, no. 1, 2016.

James, T. Horton. *Six Months in South Australia; with Some Account of Port Philip and Portland Bay, in Australia Felix: With Advice to Emigrants*, London: J. Cross, 1838.

Jaensch, Dean, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Political History.* Vol. II. Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Jenkin, Graham. *Conquest of the Ngarrindjeri*. Adelaide: Rigby, 1979.

Johnson, Donald Leslie, and Langmead, Donald. *The Adelaide City Plan: Fiction and Fact*. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Johnson, Paul E. 'Reflections: looking back at Social History.' *Reviews In American History*, vol. 39, no. 2, 2011.

Kasakoff, Alice Bee, and John Adams. 'The Effect of Migration on Ages at Vital Events: A Critique of Family Reconstitution in Historical Demography.' *European Journal of Population*, vol. 11, no. 3, 1995.

Katz, Michael. 'Occupational Classification in History', *Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 3, no 1. 1972.

Katz, Michael. *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1975.

Kaelble, Hartmut, *Historical Research on Social Mobility: Western Europe and the USA in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Century*, Croom Helm, London, 1977.

Kaelble, Hartmut. 'Eras of Social Mobility in 19th and 20th Century Europe.' *Journal of Social History,* vol. 17, no. 3, 1984.

Kippen, Rebecca. 'Death in Tasmania: Using civil death registers to measure nineteenth-century cause-specific mortality'. PhD thesis, Canberra, ACT: The Australian National University, 2002.

Kippen, Rebecca, and Janet McCalman. 'Parental Loss in Young Convicts Transported to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), 1841-53.' *The History of the Family*, vol. 23, no. 4, 2018.

Krichauff, Skye. *Memory, Place and Aboriginal-settler History: Understanding Australians' Consciousness of the Colonial past*. London: Anthem Studies in Australian History, 2017.

Krichauff, Skye. 'York Peninsula: Rethinking Narungga responses to Europeans and colonialism' in Brock, Peggy, and Tom Gara, eds. *Colonialism and Its Aftermath: A History of Aboriginal South Australia*. Mile End, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2017.

Krichauff, Skye. 'Squatter-Cum-Pastoralist or Freeholder? How Differences in Nineteenth-Century Colonists' Experiences Affect Their Descendants' Historical Consciousness', in Payton, Philip, and Andrekos Varnava. *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Kok, Jan, and Henk Delger. 'Success of Selection? The Effect of Migration on Occupational Mobility in a Dutch Province, 1840-1950.' *Histoire & Mesure*, vol. 13, no. 3-4, 1998.

Langmead, Donald. *Accidental Architect*. Darlinghurst: Crossing Press, 1994.

Lefevre, Carol. *Quiet City: Walking in West Terrace Cemetery*. Wakefield Press, 2016.

Levine, David. 'The Reliability of Parochial Registration and the Representativeness of Family Reconstitution.' *Population Studies*, vol. 30, no. 1, 1976.

Light, William. *William Light's Brief Journal and Australian Diaries*. Edited by David Elder. Adelaide: Wakefield Press, 1984.

Long, Jason. *Labor Mobility in Victorian Britain.* PhD Dissertation, Northwestern University, 2003

Long, Jason. 'Rural-Urban Migration and Socioeconomic Mobility in Victorian Britain.' *Journal of Economic History*, vol. 65, no. 1, 2005.

Long, Jason. 'The Surprising Social Mobility of Victorian Britain.' *European Review of Economic History*, vol. 17, no. 1, 2013.

Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'A Tale of Two Labor Markets: Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Britain and the U.S. Since 1850.' *NBER Working Paper Series*, Working Paper 11253, 2005.

Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'The Path to Convergence: Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Britain and the Us in Three Eras.' *Economic Journal*, vol. 117, no. 519, 2007.

Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States since 1850.' *American Economic Review*, vol. 103, no. 4, 2013.

Long, Jason, and Joseph Ferrie. 'Grandfathers matter (ed): occupational mobility across three generations in the US and Britain, 1850–1911.', *The Economic Journal,* vol. 128, no. 612, 2018.

MacGillivray, Leith. *Land and People: European Land Settlement in the South East of South Australia, 1840 – 1940*, PhD, Department of History, University of Adelaide, 1982.

Mandemakers, Kees, and Lisa Dillon. 'Best Practices with Large Databases on Historical Populations.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 37, no. 1, 2004.

Main, J. M. 'Social foundations of South Australia: Men of Capital' in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Mann, Charles. *Report of the speeches delivered at a dinner to Capt. John Hindmarsh*, London, 1835.

Mare, Robert. 'A Multigenerational View of Inequality.' *Demography,* vol. 48, no. 1, 2011.

Mare, Robert D. 'Multigenerational Aspects of Social Stratification: Issues for Further Research.' *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility,* vol. 35, 2014.

Markey, Ray. 'A Century of the Labour Movement in Australia.' Illawarra Unity, vol 3, no. 1, 2004.

Massey, Catherine G. 'Playing with Matches: An Assessment of Accuracy in Linked Historical Data.' *Historical Methods,* vol. 50, no. 3, 2017.

Mattingley, Christobel, and Ken Hampton. *Survival in Our Own Land: Aboriginal Experiences in South Australia since 1836*. Rev. ed. ed. Sydney, N.S.W.: Hodder and Stoughton, 1992.

Maxwell-Stewart, Hamish. 'Founders and Survivors: Tasmanian life course in historical context, Survey of Historical Databases with Longitudinal Micro-Data: The second questionnaire', *European Historical Population Samples Network,* International Institute of Social History.

McCalman, Janet, Sandra Silcot, Rebecca Kippen, and Leonard Smith. 'Building a Life Course Dataset from Australian Convict Records: Founders & Survivors: Australian Life Courses in Historical Context, 1803–1920.' In *Population Reconstruction*, edited by Gerrit Bloothooft, Peter Christen, Kees Mandemakers and Marijn Schraagen, Cham: Springer, 2015.

McCalman, Janet and Rebecca Kippen. 'The Life-Course Demography of Convict Transportation to Van Diemen's Land.' *History of the Family*, (online ahead of print), 2019.

McCarty, J. W., and C. B. Schedvin. *Australian Capital Cities: Historical Essays*. Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978.

McGrath, Ann. *Contested Ground: Australian Aborigines under the British Crown*. St. Leonards, N.S.W.: Allen & Unwin, 1995.

McGreevy, Michael. 'Suburban Growth in Adelaide, South Australia, 1850-1930: Speculation and Economic Opportunity.' *Urban History*, vol. 44, no. 2, 2017.

McLean, Ian W. Why *Australia Prospered: The Shifting Sources of Economic Growth*. The Princeton Economic History of the Western World. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2013.

McLellan, John. *Adelaide's Early Inns and Taverns: Incidents in the Early Settlement of a Country Worth Fighting For.* Edited by Australia Pioneers' Association of South. Adelaide, S Aust.: Pioneers' Association of South Australia, no. 13, 1941.

Meinig, D. W. *On the Margins of the Good Earth: The South Australian Wheat Frontier 1869-1884*. Chicago, Ill.: Rand McNally for the Association of American Geographers, 1962.

Merchant, Emily Klancher, and George Alter. 'IDS Transposer: A Users Guide." *Historical Life Course Studies*, vol. 4, 2017.

Miles, Andrew, and David Vincent. *Building European Society: Occupational Change and Social Mobility in Europe 1840-1940.* New York: Manchester University Press, 1993.

Miles, Andrew. *Social Mobility in Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth-Century England.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1999.

Morphett, George C. *The Life and Letters of Sir John Morphett*. Adelaide: Hassell Press, 1936.

Morphett, George C. *A synopsis of the diary of Dr. John Woodforde, surgeon on board the Rapid, 1836*. Adelaide: Pioneers' Association of South Australia, 1950.

Morphett, John Sir. *Reasons for the Purchase of Land in South Australia, by Persons Resident in Britain*, Adelaide, S. Aust: Flinders University Library, Special Collections., 1835.

Morrison, W. Frederic. *The Aldine History of South Australia, Illustrated*. Volume Two, Adelaide: The Aldine Publishing Company, 1890.

Moyle, Helen. *Australia's Fertility Transition: A study of 19th-century Tasmania*, Canberra, ACT: ANU Press, 2020.

Nance, Christopher. 'The South Australian Social Experiment 1836-71: A Study of Some of the Aspects of South Australia's Early Social Development', MA Thesis, Flinders University, 1978.

Nance, Christopher, 'From Labourer to Capitalist', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 2, August 1979.

Nance, Christopher. 'Making a Better Society: Immigration to South Australia, 1836-1871.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 12, 1984.

Napier, C. J. *Colonization: Particularly in South Australia,* London, 1835.

Nicholas, Jeff. Behind the Streets of Adelaide: The Unrevealed History of the Roads and Pavements of a Modern City. Edited by Margaret McNally and Julian Grenvell. Malvern, Victoria: Torrens Press, 2016.

Nunkuwarrin Yunti. *Aboriginal Missions in South Australia*. Adelaide, S. Aust.: Nunkuwarrin Yunti of South Australia Inc., 2003.

Oppenheimer, Melanie, Margaret Anderson, and Mandy Paul. *South Australia on the Eve of War.* Mile End, South Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2017.

Opie, E. A. D. *South Australian Records Prior to 1841*. Adelaide: Hussey & Gillingham, 1917.

Pascoe, Bruce. *Dark Emu: Aboriginal Australia and the Birth of Agriculture*. Broome, Western Australia, Magabala Books Aboriginal Corporation, 2018.

Pascoe, J. J. *History of Adelaide and Vicinity: With a General Sketch of the Province of South Australia and Biographies of Representative Men.* Adelaide: Hussey & Gillingham, 1901.

Paternoster, Henry. 'Questioning the Legacy of *Class Structure in Australian History:* An Australian "Historical" Class Analysis?', *Labour History*, vol. 111, 2016.

Payton, Philip, and Andrekos Varnava, eds. *Australia, Migration and Empire: Immigrants in a Globalised World.* Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019.

Payton, Philip. *Making Moonta: the invention of Australia's little Cornwal*l, Exeter, University of Exeter Press, 2007.

Payton, Philip. *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's 'Great Emigration'*. 3rd ed. Exeter: Exeter University Press, 2020.

Perez, Santiago. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 79, no. 2, 2019.

Pike, Douglas. 'Introduction to the Real Property Act in South Australia', *Adelaide Law Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 1961.

Pike, Douglas. 'The Smallholder's Place in the Australian Tradition.' *Papers and Proceedings: Tasmanian Historical Research Association*, vol. 10, no. 2, 1962.

Pike, Douglas. *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*. 2nd ed. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 1967.

Pope, Alan. *Resistance and Retaliation: Aboriginal-European Relations in Early Colonial South Australia*, Heritage Action, Bridgewater, 1989.

Pope, Alan, 'Early Colonial South Australia Protectors of Aborigines – but Protecting Whom? South Australia's Protectors of Aborigines 1836-1850', *History Forum*, vol. 11, no. 1, July 1989.

Pope, Clyne. 'Inequality in the Nineteenth Century' in Engerman, Stanley L., and Robert E. Gallman. (eds) *The Cambridge Economic History of the United States.* Cambridge [England] ; New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, 1996

Price, A. Grenfell. *The Foundation and Settlement of South Australia, 1829-1845: A Study of the Colonization Movement, Based on the Records of the South Australian Government and on Other Authoritative Documents*. Adelaide: Libraries Board of South Australia, 1924.

Price, Peter C. 'Labouring Families in Early Colonial South Australia'. Thesis, Flinders University, South Australia, 1988.

Prichard, Lloyd. *The Collected Works of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, Collins, London, 1968.

Reuter, Doug. 'The South Australian Superphosphate Story - Part I.' *Agricultural Science,* vol. 24, no. 2, 2012.

Reynolds, Henry. *The Law of the Land*. 3rd ed. Camberwell, Vic.: Penguin, 2003.

Richards, Eric. 'History from Below.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, vol. 1, 1975.

Richards, Eric. 'Genesis of Secondary Industry in the South Australian Economy to 1876'. *Australian Economic History Review*, vol. 15, no. 2, 1975.

Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Richards, Eric. *Neglected Sources for the History of Australian Immigration*. Edited by Richard E. Reid and David Fitzpatrick Canberra: Dept. of History and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1989.

Richards, Eric. 'How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century?'. *Journal of British Studies*, vol. 32, no. 3, 1993.

Richards, Eric. 'Yorke's Peninsula and the British Diaspora.' *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 39, 2011.

Richards, Eric. 'Malthus and the uses of British emigration', in Fedorowich, Kent, and Andrew S. Thompson (Eds). *Empire, Migration and Identity in the British World*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013.

Richards, Eric. 'Migrants in the Mature Colony: South Australia c1840-c1877', *Journal of the Historical Society of South Australia*, no. 45, 2017.

Richards, Eric. *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750 -1900*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.

Richards, Eric. 'Wakefield Revisited Again.' in Collins, Carolyn and Paul Sendziuk, eds. *Foundational Fictions in South Australian History*, Mile End: Wakefield Press, 2018.

Rickard, John. 'The middle class: what is to be done', *Historical Studies,* vol. 19, no. 76, 1981.

Robert, Hannah. '"Satisfying the Saints": Colonial Entrepreneurs in the 1830s and 1840s and the Elasticity of Language.' in Banivanua Mar, Tracey, and Julie Evans (eds). *Writing Colonial Histories: Comparative Perspectives.* Carlton, Vic.: University of Melbourne, 2002.

Robert, Hannah. *Paved with Good Intentions: Terra Nullius, Aboriginal Land Rights and Settler-colonial Law*, Canberra, ACT: Halstead Press, 2016.

Rowland, D. T. 'Migration between Australian Colonies in the 1880s.' *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888,* Bulletin no. 5, September 1980.

Ruggles, Steven. 'Migration, Marriage, and Mortality: Correcting Sources of Bias in English Family Reconstitutions.' *Population Studies*, vol. 46, no. 3, 1992.

Ruggles, Steven. 'The Limitations of English Family Reconstitution: English Population History from Family Reconstitution 1580-1837.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 14, no. 1, 1999.

Ruggles, Steven, Catherine Fitch and Evan Roberts. 'Historical Census Record Linkage.' Annual Review of Sociology, vol. 44, 2018.

Sánchez-Alonso, Blanca. 'The Age of Mass Migration in Latin America.' *The Economic History Review*, vol. 72, no. 1, 2019.

Savage, Mike, and Andrew Miles. *The Remaking of the British Working Class, 1840-1940*. London: Routledge, 1994.

Sendziuk, Paul, and Robert Foster. *A History of South Australia*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.

Sexton, R. T. *Shipping Arrivals and Departures South Australia 1627-1850: A Guide to Genealogists and Maritime Historians*. Ridgehaven, S. Aust.: Gould Books, 1990.

Sewastynowicz, James. 'Two-Step Migration and Upward Mobility on the Frontier: The Safety Valve Effect in Pejibaye, Costa Rica.' *Economic Development and Cultural Change,* vol. 34, no. 4, 1986.

Sheldrick, Janis M. *Nature's Line*: *George Goyder, Surveyor, Environmentalist, Visionary*. Kent Town, South Australia: Wakefield Press, 2013.

Smith, Tom, and Dennis Klaeser. 'Looking Backwards: A Summary of Findings and Recommendations.' *Historical Methods*, vol. 16, no. 1, 1983.

Sobek, Matthew. 'Work, Status, and Income: Men in the American Occupational Structure since the Late Nineteenth Century.' *Social Science History*, vol. 20, no. 2, 1996.

Song, Xi, and Cameron D. Campbell. 'Genealogical Microdata and Their Significance for Social Science.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 43, 2017.

Sorensen, Annemette. 'Women, Family and Class.' *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 20, no. 1, 1994.

South Australian Association. *Outline of Plan of a Proposed Colony to be founded on the South Coast of Australia*, 1834, Austaprint edition, Hamstead Gardens, South Australia, 1978.

South Australian Colonization Commission. *First Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1836*. Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London, no. 491, 1836.

South Australian Colonization Commission. *Second Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies. 1837.* Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London, no. 64, 1838.

South Australian Colonization Commission. *Third Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to His Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies*. 1838. Great Britain, House of Commons Parliamentary Papers, London, no. 255, 1839.

South Australian Company. *First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1836.

South Australian Company. *Supplement to the First Report of the directors of the South Australian Company*, London, 1837.

South Australian Company. *Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company, Condensed from the First Report, and First and Second Supplements as presented to the First Annual General Meeting*, Southwark, 1838.

South Australian Land Company, *Proposal to His Majesty's Government for Founding a Colony on the Southern Coast of Australia*, London, 1831.

Stephenson, Charles and Robert Asher. *Life and Labor: Dimensions of American Working-Class History*. State University of New York Press, 1986.

Stevens, Gillian. 'Sex- Differentiated Patterns of Intergenerational Occupational Mobility.' *Journal of Marriage and the Family,* vol. 48, no. 1, 1986.

Stevenson, 'Population change since 1836', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Stewart, James I. 'Economic Opportunity or Hardship? The Causes of Geographic Mobility on the Agricultural Frontier, 1860–1880.' *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. 69, no. 1, 2009.

Sumerling, *Patricia. Down at the Local: A History of the Hotels of Kensington, Norwood and Kent Town.* Kent Town, S. Aust.: City of Norwood, Payneham & St. Peters; Wakefield Press, 1998.

Sutherland, George. *The South Australian Company: A Study in Colonisation*. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1898.

Sutterby, John Whitford. 'Social Mobility and Social Classes in Adelaide Circa 1880-1921'. M.A. Thesis, Flinders University, 1988.

Swierenga, Robert P. *Pioneers and Profits: Land Speculation on the Iowa Frontier*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1968.

Talbot, Michael R. 'A Re-Evaluation of the South Australian Literary and Scientific Association Library.' *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, vol. 39, no. 4, 2008, p. 271.

Taylor, Rebe. *Unearthed: The Aboriginal Tasmanians of Kangaroo Island*. Rev. ed. Kent Town, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 2008.

Taylor, Richard, Milton Lewis, and John Powles. 'The Australian Mortality Decline: All-Cause Mortality 1788–1990.' *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Public Health,* vol. 22, no. 1, 1998.

Thernstrom, Stephan. *Poverty and Progress: Social Mobility in a Nineteenth Century City*. Publication of the Joint Center for Urban Studies. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1964.

Thernstrom, Stephan. 'Notes on the Historical Study of Social Mobility.' *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* vol. 10, no. 2, 1968.

Thernstrom, Stephan. *The Other Bostonians: Poverty and Progress in the American Metropolis, 1880-1970*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1973.

Thernstrom, Stephan, and Peter R. Knights. 'Men in Motion: Some Data and Speculations About Urban Population Mobility in Nineteenth-Century America.' *The Journal of Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 1, no. 1, 1970.

Thompson, E. P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968.

Thorvaldsen, Gunnar, Trygve Andersen, and Hilde L. Sommerseth. 'Record Linkage in the Historical Population Register for Norway.' In *Population Reconstruction*, edited by Gerrit Bloothooft, Peter Christen, Kees Mandemakers and Marijn Schraagen, Cham: Springer, 2015.

Tilly, Charles 'Sociology, Meet History' in *As Sociology Meets History*, Academic Press, New York, 1981.

Tilly, Charles, 'What is History' in *History as Social Science*, Prentice-Hall, New Jersey, 1971.

Tindale, Norman 'Results of the Harvard-Adelaide Universities Anthropological Expedition, 1938-1939. Distribution of Australian Aboriginal Tribes: A Field Study', *Transactions of the Royal Society of South Australia*, vol. 64, no. 1, 1940.

Torrens, Robert. *Substance of a Speech Delivered by Colonel Torrens in the House of Commons, 15th February, 1827*, 2nd ed. Adelaide: Public Library of South Australia, 1962.

Turner, Frederick Jackson. *The Frontier in American History,* Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1962.

Turner, Ian. *Industrial Labour and Politics: The Dynamics of the Labour Movement in Eastern Australia, 1900-1921,* Canberra, 1965.

Vamplew, Wray, et al. *South Australian Historical Statistics*. Historical Statistics Monograph, No. 3, History Project Incorporated, Kensington, New South Wales, 1984.

Van Dissel, Dirk. 'The Adelaide Gentry, 1880-1915: A Study of a Colonial Upper Class', M.A. Thesis, University of Melbourne, 1973.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. 'The next generation of historical studies on social mobility: some remarks.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 24, no. 3, 2009.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. 'Social Inequality and Mobility in History: Introduction.' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 24, no. 3, 2009.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. and Ineke Maas. 'Log-Linear Analysis of Changes in Mobility Patterns: Some Models with an Application to the Amsterdam Upper Classes in the Second Half of the Nineteenth Century.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History,* vol. 24, no. 2, 1991

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. and Ineke Maas. 'Long-Term Social Mobility: Research Agenda and a Case Study (Berlin, 1825-1957).' *Continuity and Change,* vol. 11, no. 3, 1996.

Van Leeuwen, Marco HD, and Ineke Maas. 'A short note on HISCLASS.' *History of Work Information System.* International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam, 2005.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H.D. and Ineke Maas. 'Historical Studies of Social Mobility and Stratification.' *Annual Review of Sociology,* vol. 36, 2010.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. and Ineke Maas. *HISCLASS: A Historical International Social Class Scheme*. Leuven: Leuven University Press, 2011.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D., Ineke Maas, and Aandrew Miles. 'Creating a Historical International Standard Classification of Occupations (HISCO): An Exercise in Multi-National, Interdisciplinary Co-Operation.' *Historical Methods: A Journal of Quantitative and Interdisciplinary History*, vol. 37, no. 4, 2004.

Van Leeuwen, Marco H. D. and Richard L. Zijdeman. 'Digital Humanities and the History of Working Women: A Cascade.' *The History of the Family,* vol. 19, no. 4, 2014.

Verboven, K., Carlier, M., & Dumolyn, J., 'A Short Manual to the Art of Prosopography.' in Keats-Rohan, K. S. B., *Prosopography Approaches and Applications: A Handbook,* Prosopographica et Genealogica, vol. 13, Oxford, 2007.

Wade, Richard C. *The Urban Frontier: The Rise of Western Cities, 1790-1830*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1959.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *England and America: A Comparison of the Social and Political State of Both Nations, in Two Volumes*. London: Richard Bentley, 1833.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *The New British Province of South Australia, or, a Description of the Country, Illustrated by Charts and Views: With an Account of the Principles, Objects, Plan, and Prospects of the Colony*. London: Printed for C. Knight, 1834.

Wakefield, Edward Gibbon. *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire: In Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*. London: John W. Parker, 1849.

Wakefield, Priscilla. *Reflections on the Present Condition of the Female Sex: With Suggestions for Its Improvement* (1798). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015.

Wanna, John. 'A Paradigm of Consent: Explanations of Working Class Moderation in South Australia', *Labour History*, vol. 53, 1987.

Wanner, Richard and Bernadette Hayes. 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility Among Men in Canada and Australia', *The Canadian Journal of Sociology*, vol. 21, no. 1, 1996.

Ward, Russel. *The Australian Legend*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1978.

Watson, Irene. *Looking at You Looking at Me --: An Aboriginal History of the South-east*. New ed., Nairne, S. Aust.: I. Watson, 2002.

Watson, Irene, *Aboriginal Peoples, Colonisation and International Law*, Abingdon, Oxon Routledge, 2015.

Williams, Eleanore and Michael Williams, 'Rural South Australia in the Nineteenth Century', in Richards, Eric, ed. *The Flinders History of South Australia: Social History Vol. I.* Cowandilla, S. Aust.: Wakefield Press, 1986.

Williams, Michael. 'The making of Adelaide', in McCarty, J. W., and C. B. Schedvin. *Australian Capital Cities: Historical Essays.* Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1978.

Williams, Michael. *The Making of the South Australian Landscape; a Study in the Historical Geography of Australia*. London, New York: Academic Press, 1974.

Williams, Naomi, and Chris Galley. 'Urban-Rural Differentials in Infant Mortality in Victorian England.' *Population Studies,* vol. 49, no. 3, 1995.

Whitelaw, J. S. 'A note on Geographic Mobility', *Australia 1888: A Journal for the Study of Australian History Centred on the Year 1888*, Bulletin no. 6, November 1980.

Whimpress, A.W.P. 'The Wakefield model of systematic colonisation in South Australia: an examination with particular reference to its economic aspects', University of South Australia, PhD Thesis, 2008.

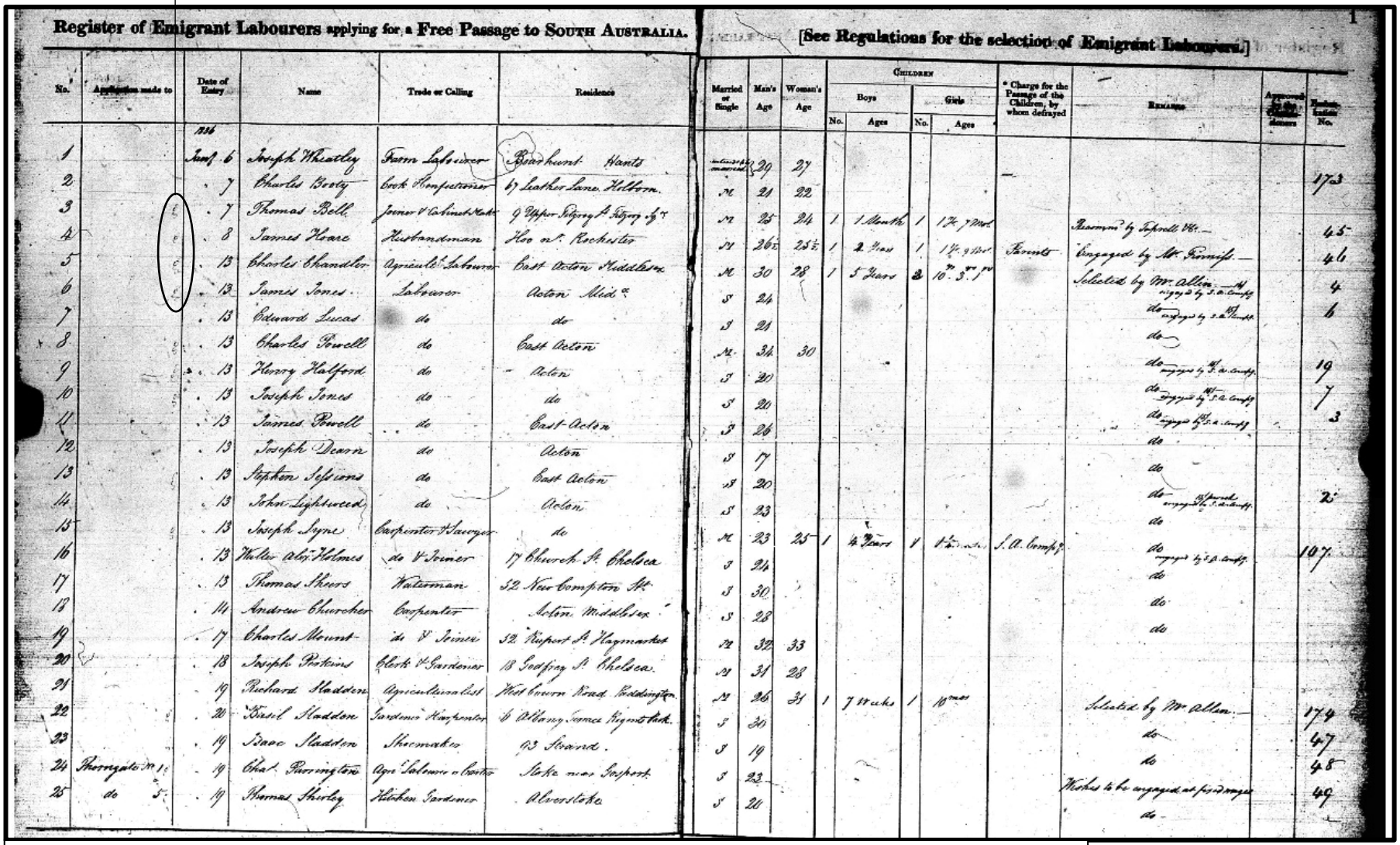
Woollacott, Angela. *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-government and Imperial Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015.

Wrigley, E. A., and R. S. Schofield. 'English Population History from Family Reconstitution: Summary Results 1600–1799.' *Population Studies,* vol. 37, no. 2, 1983.

Wrigley, Edward Anthony, Ros S. Davies, R. S. Schofield, and J. E. Oeppen. *English population history from family reconstitution 1580-1837*. vol. 32. Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Yarwood, A. T. and Knowling, M. J. *Race Relations in Australia: A History*. North Ryde, N.S.W.: Methuen Australia, 1982.

Lower case ‘g’ written lightly



Register of Emigrant Labourers applying for a Free Passage to South Australia.

[See Regulations for the selection of Emigrant Labourers.]

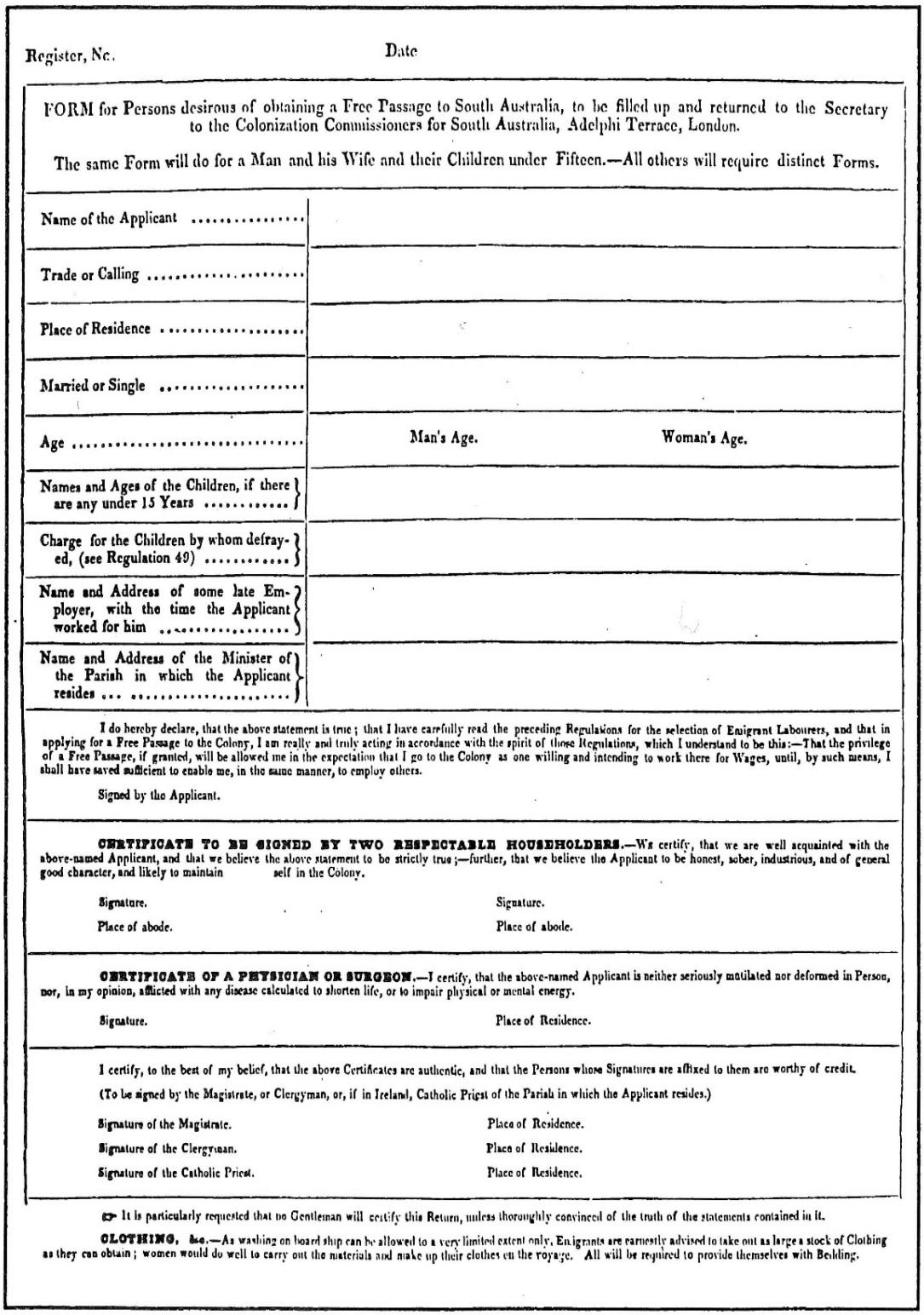
No.	Application made to	Date of Entry	Name	Trade or Calling	Residence	Married or Single	Man's Age	Woman's Age	Children: Boys No.	Children: Boys Ages	Children: Girls No.	Children: Girls Ages	* Charge for the Passage of the Children, by whom defrayed	Remarks	Approved by the Colonial Commissioners	Register Letter No.
1		1836 June 6	Joseph Wheatley	Farm Labourer	Boarhunt Hants		29	27								173
2		" 7	Charles Booty	Cook Confectioner	67 Leather Lane Holborn		21	22								
3		" 7	Thomas Bell	Joiner & Cabinet Maker	9 Upper Stamford St Surrey		25	24	1	1 Months	1	1 Yr 7 Mos		Recommd by Colonel Wm		45
4		" 8	James Hoare	Husbandman	Hoo nr. Rochester		26	25	1	2 Years	1	1 Yr 9 Mos	Farmer	Engaged by Mr Pennifs		46
5		" 13	Charles Chandler	Agricultl Labourer	East Acton Middlesex		30	28	1	5 Years	2	10 Yrs 3 Yrs 1 Yr		Selected by Mr Allen		4
6		" 13	James Jones	Labourer	Acton Midx		24							do		6
7		" 13	Edward Lucas	do	do		21							do		
8		" 13	Charles Powell	do	East Acton		34	30						do		19
9		" 13	Henry Halford	do	Acton		20							do		7
10		" 13	Joseph Jones	do	do		20							do		3
11		" 13	James Powell	do	East Acton		26							do		
12		" 13	Joseph Dearn	do	Acton		17							do		
13		" 13	Stephen Sessions	do	East Acton		20							do		25
14		" 13	John Lightwood	do	Acton		23							do		
15		" 13	Joseph Syms	Carpenter & Sawyer	do		23	25	1	4 Years	1	1 Yr 6 Mos	S.A. Comp.y	do		107
16		" 13	Walter alias Holmes	do & Joiner	17 Church St Chelsea		24							do		
17		" 13	Thomas Skeers	Waterman	32 New Compton St		30							do		
18		" 14	Andrew Churcher	Carpenter	Acton Middlesex		28							do		
19		" 17	Charles Mount-	do & Joiner	32 Rupert St Haymarket		32	33								
20		" 18	Joseph Perkins	Clerk & Gardener	18 Godfrey St Chelsea		31	28								
21		" 19	Richard Maddox	Agricultural Lab.r	West Cowes Road Paddington		26	21	1	7 Weeks	1	10 Mos		Selected by Mr Allen		174
22		" 20	Basil Maddox	Gardener Carpenter	6 Albany Terrace Regents Park		30							do		47
23		" 19	Isaac Maddox	Shoemaker	93 Strand		19							do		48
24	Rivington No 1	" 19	Chas Rivington	Agr.l Labourer & Carter	Stoke near Gosport		23							Wishes to be engaged at 50 Pds wages		49
25	do 5	" 19	Thomas Shirley	Kitchen Gardener	Alverstoke		20							do		

Register of Emigrant Labourers applying for a Free Passage to South Australia, Applicants #1 to #25

Appendices

Appendix 1: Sample of the ‘Register of Emigrant Labourers’

Appendix 2: Application form for 'a Free Passage to South Australia'



Register, No. Date

FORM for Persons desirous of obtaining a Free Passage to South Australia, to be filled up and returned to the Secretary to the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia, Adelphi Terrace, London.

The same Form will do for a Man and his Wife and their Children under Fifteen.—All others will require distinct Forms.

Name of the Applicant		
Trade or Calling		
Place of Residence		
Married or Single		
Age	Man's Age.	Woman's Age.
Names and Ages of the Children, if there are any under 15 Years		
Charge for the Children by whom defrayed, (see Regulation 49)		
Name and Address of some late Employer, with the time the Applicant worked for him		
Name and Address of the Minister of the Parish in which the Applicant resides		

I do hereby declare, that the above statement is true; that I have carefully read the preceding Regulations for the selection of Emigrant Labourers, and that in applying for a Free Passage to the Colony, I am really and truly acting in accordance with the spirit of those Regulations, which I understand to be this:—That the privilege of a Free Passage, if granted, will be allowed me in the expectation that I go to the Colony as one willing and intending to work there for Wages, until, by such means, I shall have saved sufficient to enable me, in the same manner, to employ others.

Signed by the Applicant.

CERTIFICATE TO BE SIGNED BY TWO RESPECTABLE HOUSEHOLDERS.—We certify, that we are well acquainted with the above-named Applicant, and that we believe the above statement to be strictly true;—further, that we believe the Applicant to be honest, sober, industrious, and of general good character, and likely to maintain self in the Colony.

Signature. Signature.

Place of abode. Place of abode.

CERTIFICATE OF A PHYSICIAN OR SURGEON.—I certify, that the above-named Applicant is neither seriously mutilated nor deformed in Person, nor, in my opinion, afflicted with any disease calculated to shorten life, or to impair physical or mental energy.

Signature. Place of Residence.

I certify, to the best of my belief, that the above Certificates are authentic, and that the Persons whose Signatures are affixed to them are worthy of credit.

(To be signed by the Magistrate, or Clergyman, or, if in Ireland, Catholic Priest of the Parish in which the Applicant resides.)

Signature of the Magistrate. Place of Residence.

Signature of the Clergyman. Place of Residence.

Signature of the Catholic Priest. Place of Residence.

☞ It is particularly requested that no Gentleman will certify this Return, unless thoroughly convinced of the truth of the statements contained in it.

CLOTHING, &c.—As washing on board ship can be allowed to a very limited extent only, Emigrants are earnestly advised to take out as large a stock of Clothing as they can obtain; women would do well to carry out the materials and make up their clothes on the voyage. All will be required to provide themselves with Bedding.

Button, Pat. *A Free Passage to Paradise?* South Australia Genealogy and Heraldry Society, Adelaide, 1992, p. 124.

Appendix 3: HISCLASS aggregate table

	HISCLASS12		HISCLASS 5	
Non-Manual	**1**	Higher-skilled managers	**1**	**Upper Class** (1 & 2)
	2	Higher-skilled professionals		
	3	Medium-skilled managers	**2**	**Middle Class** (3, 4 & 5)
	4	Medium-skilled professional, clerical & sales		
	5	Lower-skilled clerical and sales		
Manual	**6**	Foremen & manual supervisors	**3**	**Skilled Workers** (6 & 7)
	7	Skilled workers		
	8	Farmers and fishers	**4**	**Farming & Fishing** (8)
	9	Lower-skilled workers	**5**	**Labouring Class** (9,10, 11 & 12)
	10	Lower-skilled farm workers		
	11	Unskilled workers		
	12	Unskilled farm workers		

Appendix 4: Common occupations under HISCLASS categories

Labouring Class	Farming & Fishing	Skilled Workers	Middle Class	Upper Class
Artisan's assistant	Farmer (owned land)	Baker	Agent	Accountant
Brickmaker	Gardener (owned land)	Bricklayer	Auctioneer	Architect
Carter	Fisher (owned boat)	Blacksmith	Assayer	Author
Driver		Boat Builder	Assistant teacher	Bank Manager
Farm Hand		Butcher	Clerk	Barrister
Fisher (employed)		Cabinetmaker	Contractor	Chemist
Gardener (employed)		Carpenter	Customs Officer	Clergy
Husbandman		Coach Builder	Grazier	Company Manager
Labourer		Dressmaker	Grocer	Dentist
Miner		Foreman	Harbour Master	Engineer
Railway employee		Machinist	Master Mariner	Headmaster
Sawyer		Milliner	Nurse	Journalist
Servant		Millwright	Pastoralist	Justice of the Peace
Shepherd		Mason	Photographer	Lawyer
Splitter		Plasterer	Police Officer	Military Officer
Station Hand		Saddler	Postal Officer	Physician
Storeman		Sailmaker	Proprietor	Politician
Teamster		Shoemaker	Publican	Professor
Thatcher		Shipwright	Retailer	Superintendent
		Wheelwright	Secretary	Teacher
			Station Overseer	
			Storekeeper	

Appendix 5: Comparative mobility for first to second generation

		First Generation Occupational Class (1850)				
		White-Collar	Farming	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	
United States 1850 – 1880 (Long & Ferrie)[1] — Second-Generation Occupational Class (1880)	White-Collar	38% (55)	13% (177)	23% (82)	23% (30)	17% (344)
	Farming	31% (44)	**62% (850)**	25% (92)	27% (35)	51% (1,021)
	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	23% (33)	16% (214)	46% (166)	31% (40)	23% (453)
	Unskilled Labourers	8% (11)	9% (129)	6% (23)	19% (24)	9% (187)
	Total N	7% (143)	68% (1,370)	18% (363)	6% (129)	**(2,005)**
		100%	100%	100%	100%	

		First Generation Occupational Class (1850)				
United States 1850 – 1880 (Baskerville et al)[2] — Second-Generation Occupational Class (1880)	White-Collar	49% (150)	13% (298)	23% (183)	11% (33)	18% (664)
	Farming	23% (71)	**62% (1,439)**	24% (186)	31% (92)	48% (1,788)
	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	21% (66)	15% (358)	41% (323)	31% (90)	23% (837)
	Unskilled Labourers	7% (20)	10% (237)	11% (90)	27% (79)	11% (426)
	Total N	8% (307)	63% (2,332)	21% (782)	8% (294)	**(3,715)**
		100%	100%	100%	100%	

		First Generation Occupational Class (1850)				
United States 1850 – 1880 (Perez)[3] — Second-Generation Occupational Class (1880)	White-Collar	53% (7,798)	13% (15,282)	23% (7,881)	13% (1,601)	18% (32,562)
	Farming	21% (3,094)	**62% (72,296)**	24% (8,374)	29% (3,512)	49% (87,276)
	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	19% (2,792)	13% (15,470)	41% (14,084)	32% (3,903)	20% (36,249)
	Unskilled Labourers	8% (1,129)	12% (13,785)	12% (4,312)	25% (3,067)	13% (22,293)
	Total N	8% (14,813)	66% (116,833)	19% (34,651)	7% (12,083)	**(178,380)**
		100%	100%	100%	100%	

		First Generation Occupational Class (1851)				
Britain 1851 – 1881 (Long & Ferrie)[4] — Second-Generation Occupational Class (1881)	White-Collar	36% (103)	11% (31)	13% (219)	7% (63)	13% (416)
	Farming	3% (8)	41% (114)	3% (39)	2% (21)	6% (182)
	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	50% (143)	32% (90)	**70% (1,155)**	45% (386)	58% (1,774)
	Unskilled Labourers	11% (32)	16% (44)	14% (233)	46% (395)	23% (704)
	Total N	9% (286)	9% (279)	54% (1,646)	28% (865)	**(3,076)**
		100%	100%	100%	100%	

[1] Long and Ferrie, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States.' 2013, p. 1121.
[2] Baskerville et. al, 'Mining Microdata.' 2014, p. 10.
[3] Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' 2019, p. 394.
[4] Long and Ferrie, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility in Great Britain and the United States.' 2013, p. 1121.

			First Generation Occupational Class (1851)				
			White-Collar	Farming	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	
Britain 1851 – 1881 (Baskerville et al.)[5]	Second-Generation Occupational Class (1881)	White-Collar	56% (274)	15% (57)	18% (368)	8% (83)	20% (782)
		Farming	2% (9)	36% (134)	2% (29)	2% (18)	5% (190)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	33% (158)	29% (109)	**71% (1,438)**	46% (472)	55% (2,177)
		Unskilled Labourers	9% (43)	20% (74)	10% (198)	44% (455)	20% (770)
		Total N	12% (484)	9% (374)	52% (2,033)	26% (1,028)	**(3,919)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			First Generation Occupational Class (1851)				
Britain 1851 – 1881 (Perez)[6]	Second-Generation Occupational Class (1881)	White-Collar	46% (151)	19% (53)	17% (180)	12% (102)	19% (486)
		Farming	5% (18)	37% (103)	3% (27)	3% (29)	7% (177)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	39% (127)	25% (68)	**71% (770)**	39% (335)	51% (1,300)
		Unskilled Labourers	10% (33)	19% (53)	10% (103)	45% (384)	23% (573)
		Total N	13% (329)	11% (277)	43% (1,080)	34% (850)	**(2,536)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			First Generation Occupational Class (1869)				
Argentina 1869 – 1895 (Perez)[7]	Second-Generation Occupational Class (1895)	White-Collar	53% (995)	13% (803)	29% (564)	15% (363)	22% (2,725)
		Farming	22% (411)	51% (3,083)	24% (470)	31% (727)	38% (4,691)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	12% (234)	10% (586)	28% (539)	14% (335)	14% (1,694)
		Unskilled Labourers	13% (245)	26% (1,589)	20% (387)	40% (958)	26% (3,188)
		Total N	15% (1,885)	49% (6,070)	16% (1,960)	19% (2,383)	**(12,298)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			First Generation Occupational Class (1865)				
Norway 1865 – 1900 (Perez)[8]	Second-Generation Occupational Class (1900)	White-Collar	**80% (1,455)**	9% (813)	30% (640)	10% (481)	19% (3,389)
		Farming	5% (84)	**62% (5,799)**	6% (129)	24% (1,211)	39% (7,224)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	11% (191)	14% (1,325)	52% (1,116)	30% (1,473)	22% (4,105)
		Unskilled Labourers	5% (84)	15% (1,454)	13% (277)	36% (1,801)	20% (3,616)
		Total N	10% (1,814)	51% (9,391)	12% (2,162)	27% (4,966)	**(18,334)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

[5] Baskerville et. al, 'Mining Microdata.' 2014, p. 10.
[6] Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' 2019, p. 394.
[7] Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' 2019, p. 394.
[8] Perez, 'Intergenerational Occupational Mobility across Three Continents.' 2019, p. 395.

			First Generation Occupational Class (1851)				
			White-Collar	Farming	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	Unskilled Labourers	
South Australia 1851 – 1891 (sons)	Second-Generation Occupational Class (1891)	White-Collar	57 % (44)	8 % (2)	23 % (10)	(0)	37 % (56)
		Farming	12 % (9)	50 % (12)	16 % (7)	(0)	18 % (28)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	21 % (16)	21 % (5)	36 % (16)	14 % (1)	25 % (38)
		Unskilled Labourers	10 % (8)	21 % (5)	25 % (11)	86 % (6)	20 % (30)
		Total N	50 % (77)	16 % (24)	29 % (44)	5 % (7)	**(152)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			First Generation Occupational Class (1851)				
South Australia 1851 – 1891 (daughters)	Second-Generation Occupational Class (1891)	White-Collar	**74 % (51)**	28 % (7)	34 % (17)	(0)	48 % (75)
		Farming	6 % (4)	40 % (10)	16 % (8)	**75 % (9)**	20 % (31)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	16 % (11)	28 % (7)	38 % (19)	17 % (2)	25 % (39)
		Unskilled Labourers	4 % (3)	4 % (1)	12 % (6)	8 % (1)	7 % (11)
		Total N	44 % (69)	16 % (25)	32 % (50)	8 % (12)	**(156)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

Appendix 6: Comparative mobility for second to third generation

			Second Generation Occupational Class (1880)				
			White-Collar	Farming	Skilled & Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	
United States 1880 – 1910 (Long & Ferrie)[1]	Third Generation Occupational-Class (1910)	White-Collar	**64 % (3,651)**	20 % (4,976)	31 % (2,592)	17 % (809)	28% (12,091)
		Farming	9 % (513)	49 % (12,191)	12 % (1,003)	24 % (1,141)	34% (14,701)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	20 % (1,141)	17 % (4,230)	44 % (3,679)	33 % (1,569)	24% (10,650)
		Unskilled Labourers	7 % (399)	14 % (3,483)	13 % (1,087)	26 % (1,237)	14% (6,259)
		Total N	13% (5,704)	57% (24,880)	19% (8,361)	11% (4,756)	**(43,701)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			Second Generation Occupational Class (1881)				
Great Britain 1881 – 1911 (Long & Ferrie)[2]	Third-Generation Occupational Class (1911)	White-Collar	42 % (316)	16 % (50)	16 % (412)	9 % (112)	18% (904)
		Farming	2 % (15)	28 % (88)	2 % (51)	2 % (25)	4% (173)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	45 % (339)	35 % (110)	**64 % (1,649)**	51 % (634)	56% (2,734)
		Unskilled Labourers	11 % (83)	21 % (66)	18 % (464)	38 % (473)	22% (1,076)
		Total N	15% (753)	6% (314)	53% (2,576)	25% (1,244)	**(4,887)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			Second Generation Occupational Class (1891)				
South Australia 1891 – 1920 (sons)	Third-Generation Occupational Class (1920)	White-Collar	**70 % (152)**	20 % (34)	22 % (30)	26 % (15)	40 % (231)
		Farming	6 % (14)	45 % (78)	8 % (11)	12 % (7)	19 % (110)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	11 % (24)	21 % (37)	46 % (63)	33 % (19)	24 % (143)
		Unskilled Labourers	12 % (27)	13 % (23)	25 % (34)	29 % (17)	17 % (101)
		Total N	37 % (217)	29 % (172)	24 % (138)	10 % (58)	**(585)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

			Second Generation Occupational Class (1891)				
South Australia 1891 – 1920 (daughters)	Third-Generation Occupational Class (1920)	White-Collar	**70 % (121)**	19 % (27)	39 % (57)	20 % (13)	42 % (218)
		Farming	9 % (15)	40 % (55)	6 % (9)	15 % (10)	17 % (89)
		Skilled & Semi-Skilled	17 % (30)	27 % (37)	37 % (55)	32 % (21)	27 % (143)
		Unskilled Labourers	4 % (7)	14 % (20)	18 % (26)	32 % (21)	14 % (74)
		Total N	33 % (173)	27 % (139)	28 % (147)	12 % (65)	**(524)**
			100%	100%	100%	100%	

[1] Long and Ferrie, 'Grandfathers Matter(ed)', 2018, p. F438.

[2] Long and Ferrie, 'Grandfathers Matter(ed)', 2018, p. F437.