PROMOTING EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA FROM BRITAIN 1829 – c1850: The importance of newspapers and other literature to the South Australian Colonisation Project

by

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Abstract

South Australia was envisioned as an experiment in colonisation. That it was a unique venture in colonial empire building is undeniable. Edward Gibbon Wakefield's (1796-1862) place in its history is also recognised. His colonisation principles inspired the hopes and dreams of collaborators, colonists and labouring emigrants. Far from a haphazard aggregation of Britain's indigent or unwanted people however, South Australia's supporters and colonisers encouraged capitalist investors and labourers of moral character with the aptitude to succeed.

In the first instance, the untried plan for systematic colonisation required extensive promotion. Once government sanction was forthcoming, in the absence of convict labour and in competition with the existing Australian colonies, further publicity was critical for its success. However, a comprehensive analysis of the specific types of publicity and literature that promoted the colony and of the people who published it and their motivations are lacking in historical treatise. This thesis advances original knowledge in the fields of British imperial expansion, colonial settlement, migration and advertising by identifying and analysing the various ways that South Australia was publicised in print to encourage support and inform potential settlers.

The period covered in this thesis was called the 'age of newspapers'. It was an era when the written word surpassed traditional word-of-mouth communication as the predominant method for spreading news and information. Newspapers were available to more people than previously. South Australia was proposed during an optimum era to take advantage of the emerging print industry. This study identifies who advertised the colony and examines the specific methods that were utilised to encourage both capitalist land purchasers and migrant labourers. It investigates how influential newspapers were for promoting South Australia.

Plagiarism 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.

Signed: Dated: June 2019

Acknowledgements

The decision to undertake a doctoral thesis was not taken lightly. The genesis of this study began in 2011 while researching Dr Richard Arthur's implementation of British youth migration and the New South Wales Dreadnought Scheme (founded in 1909). This revealed how the press influenced public opinion and galvanised communities. Consequently, Associate Professor Andrekos Varnava's suggestion that an opportunity to further migration research was open through the debate between Bernard Porter and John MacKenzie about whether ordinary British people knew about the Empire piqued my interest.

A discussion with Dr Ralph Shlomowitz where he intimated that a gap existed in the study of unassisted migration to South Australia was also thought provoking. Dr Shlomowitz pointed out that much is written about Great Men, and, more recently, that interest in the history from below has prevailed. These discussions encouraged a desire to explore how ordinary people found out about migration opportunities.

My gratitude must go firstly to my primary supervisor, Associate Professor Andrekos Varnava whose unwavering support and guidance has been invaluable throughout my candidature and instrumental in keeping me on track for its completion. I also acknowledge the support of my secondary supervisors. Professor Melanie Oppenheimer's valued comments, advice and continuing input were also instrumental and Professor Philip Payton's knowledge and support greatly assisted the completion of this thesis. I am also greatly indebted to Dr Catherine Kevin whose early advice helped to frame my original ideas.

The late Emeritus Professor Eric Richards provided invaluable knowledge and advice for this project. I feel especially fortunate that I had the opportunity to gain from his astute observations and keen insights. Finally, thanks to Dr Romain Fathi and the postgraduate reading group who were unrestrained when reviewing and criticising my writing. Thank you for curtailing my verbosity! I thank the academic and administration staff in the College of Humanities, Arts & Social Sciences and the library staff at Flinders University and other institutions here and in Britain who provided advice and information without which this project would not have come to fruition. I also acknowledge the contribution of a Flinders University Research Scholarship.

Finally, but by no means least, this chapter in my life would not have been achievable without the constant support of my husband Peter who has always believed I would succeed and my wonderful and expanding family, four grandchildren having arrived since I first set out on this endeavour. For their understanding, support and patience I am eternally grateful. I hope I have led by example and shown that through hard work, perseverance and an optimistic, never give up attitude, anything is attainable.

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Introduction

In September 1838, Edward Spicer (1817-1906), a twenty one year old shepherd, arrived at Port Adelaide from London aboard the *Winchester* with 101 other migrants.[1] He later wrote that he decided to come to Australia after reading an article in *The Times* on the successes that artisans had with some capital or the prosperity that agricultural labourers gained in their first decade in the colony.[2] Although *The Times* article promoted New South Wales, he chose South Australia after reading about it in the information distributed by the South Australian Company, which advertised the opportunities available for agriculturalists in this colony.[3] Convinced that his 'betterment' was most likely there, he selected land four miles south of Adelaide and on arrival purchased a flock of sheep.[4]

Spicer exemplified the class of migrant that the early promotors of the colony targeted, hard-working agricultural labourers, pastoralists and men with small amounts of capital to invest in agricultural pursuits. The articles he read in *The Times* were lengthy extracts republished from a book written by John Dunmore Lang, a prominent promoter of migration to New South Wales.[5] This is an example of the influence that newspapers had on people seeking improved conditions through migration. Spicer was convinced to migrate after reading the extracts published in *The Times*. He was also able to differentiate between colonies after reading other information about South Australia. This prompted other questions. For example, how did ordinary people, like Spicer, learn about South Australia and opportunities for migration? What other organisations and people advertised the colony? What differentiated the South Australian Company's promotion and helped him choose this colony as his final destination? How important were newspapers and literature for publicising this colony?

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[1] Rodney Cockburn, *Pastoral pioneers of South Australia,* Vol. 1, Publishers Limited, Adelaide (facsimile Edition), 1925-1927, 130-131; SLSA, Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia *Winchester 1838*, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/fh/passengerlists/1838Winchester.htm, accessed 5 January, 2018.
[2] Cockburn, *Pastoral pioneers,* 130; see also 'Death of Mr. Edward Spicer, A South Australian Pioneer', *The Register*, Vol. LXXI, No. 18,559, Tuesday 8 May 1906, 5.
[3] 'Death of a Venerable Colonist,' *Advertiser*, Vol. XLVIII, No. 14,837, Tuesday 8 May 1906, 6; 'Obituary-Death of Mr. Edward Spicer', *Adelaide Chronicle*, Vol. 48, No. 2,490, Saturday 12 May 1906, 42.
[4] Cockburn, *Pastoral pioneers,* 130-131; 'New South Wales', *The Times*, No. 16,551, 19 October, 1837, 6; Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia, *Winchester 1838.*
[5] The articles referenced were published in *The Times* in the following editions: 'New South Wales–The Convicts,' No. 16,531, Tuesday 26 September 1837, 1; 'New South Wales,' No. 16,548, Monday 16 October 1837, 5; 'New South Wales,' No. 16,551, Thursday 19 October 1837, 6; for the publication see John Dunmore Lang, *An Historical and Statistical Account of New South Wales both as a Penal Settlement and as a British Colony*, A. J. Valpy, London, 1837.

Spicer's story reveals that South Australia competed from first settlement with colonies in Australia, New Zealand and other destinations for migrants. Many of whom also made informed decisions about their destination. Spicer learned about migration opportunities from the available literature and his choice was based on this information. Unlike today's multi-technological age, oral testimony and printed literature were the only methods for disseminating ideas and information. This study has identified a clear link between newspapers, literature and migration. It reveals that from inception, South Australia's promotion was extensive and widespread and that advertising was crucial for influencing potential migrants, like Spicer, to select this colony.

Spicer became an influential 'Pastoral Pioneer,' founding settler of Edwardstown and an active member of the South Australian Wesleyan Methodist community. Spicer Uniting Church in the Adelaide suburb of St Peters still bears his name.[6] His decision to migrate to South Australia rather than New South Wales was advantageous for him and the colony and illustrates that promotional literature which advertised colonial Australia and indeed South Australia, created optimism for advancement among migrants who anticipated improved opportunities in the colonies.

South Australia, unlike the existing colonies of News South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, was not a convict settler colony but established as a private, self-funding venture without the ready-made labour force which convicts provided. It was an experiment for Edward Gibbon Wakefield's Systematic Colonisation Plan. The colony's planners relied on written and word-of-mouth publicity to promote the plan to capitalist land purchasers who funded migration and subsequently encouraged the working classes. Concurrently, the British were exposed to more published literature on migration and were more literate than before.[7] This research does not discount the traditional methods for spreading information. For example, personal letters, and individual testimonies, which many historians acknowledge were important for publicising South Australia.[8] Rather, through an in depth analysis of the available

[6] The *Adelaide Stock and Station Journal* defined migrants who arrived in the colony before December 28, 1846, as 'Pioneers' and those who arrived subsequently, to December 28, 1856, as 'Old Colonists;' see Cockburn, *Pastoral Pioneers,* 130.

[7] This thesis is undertaken with a 'Four Nations' approach. That is: that the term Britain will include the entire United Kingdom of England, Scotland, Ireland and Wales. For further discussion see, for example, Naomi Lloyd-Jones and Margaret Scull (eds), *Four Nations Approaches to Modern 'British' History A (Dis)United Kingdom?*, Palgrave MacMillan, London, England, 2018.

[8] See, for example, Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857*, Longmans, Green & Co., London, 1957; Elizabeth Webby, (ed.) *Colonial Voices: Letters, Diaries, Journalism and other Accounts of Nineteenth-Century Australia*, University of Queensland Press, St. Lucia, 1989; Eric Richards, (ed.) *Poor Australian Immigrants in the Nineteenth Century*, Division of Historical Studies and Centre for

literature, it argues that information in newspapers and other published literature were crucial for South Australia because these mediums were accessible to a much wider audience. As such, they reached more people, were in many instances, more influential, but more importantly, this thesis will argue that they were available to the types of people that South Australia's planners sought for the colony.

Advertising promotions and migration literature encouraged Spicer and thousands of others to relocate to Australia and his was not a unique story. The same types of people and organisations that promoted and advertised South Australia similarly promoted many other colonial destinations. For example, extensive migration to America had occurred for two centuries. The British Colonial Office had agents that managed the selection of emigrants to other Australian colonies and elsewhere. Migration destinations in competition with South Australia were also extensively promoted in literature. What set South Australia apart as a worthy migration destination and how were these differences promoted in the literature?

This thesis seeks to expand on existing scholarship which recognises the increasing influence which newspapers and literature made to British society. Through an exploration of the information published in newspapers and literature which influenced colonists to South Australia this thesis will bridge this gap in migration scholarship. Further, it will argue that advertising and publicity were crucial for enabling the progression of Wakefield's South Australian colonisation project almost a decade before the Victorian era began.

This thesis identifies what inspired publicity about the colony and persuaded potential migrants. From 1815, Britain's expansion extended across the globe and was rapid and pronounced. Industrialisation and increasing population pushed people from traditional communities and created disaffection and malcontent. Hence, successive British governments of various persuasions actively encouraged and developed migration, extending the British Empire to the periphery, including to the Australian colonies.[9] Consequently, debates in Britain about the benefits of colonial migration increased and were facilitated through the expansion of newspapers and literature. These debates are identified and their influence on South Australian migration is explored. Although many scholars acknowledge that migration was promoted, there are no extensive scholarly projects which explore the links between published

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Immigration and Multicultural Studies, ANU, Canberra, 1991; Robert Foster and Paul Sendziuk (eds), *Turning Points, Chapters in South Australian History*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town SA, 2012.

[9] Alexander Murdoch, *British Emigration, 1603-1914*, Palgrave Macmillan, UK and NY, 2004, 9-10.

literature, the role that newspapers played in promoting migration and South Australia. Evidence reveals that South Australia was extensively advertised and this thesis will inquire why, to whom and how was it promoted to potential British settlers? It will analyse the ways that published literature influenced ordinary people and reveal the role that these people played in facilitating South Australian colonisation.

This study of how South Australian promotion is important because it addresses a deficiency in current scholarly research. Historians agree that people were informed about migration opportunities through a variety of sources. These include word-of-mouth, personal correspondence, lectures, pamphlets, posters, advertisements and literature. The colony's unique political situation, Edward Gibbon Wakefield's colonisation plan and the way migrants were assisted are well documented. So too, are Britain's poor and the various migration schemes (for example Earl Grey's Famine Orphan Scheme), but the link between the working class newspapers and the articles, advertisements and literature that was published to advertise South Australia has received only cursory recognition from historians. There is no academic research which evaluates the influence that newspapers and literature made of Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan for South Australia. An examination of the specific ways that the colony was promoted is also lacking in academic treatise.

In a broader context, from the 1820s the expansion of newspapers and their ability to reach communities throughout Britain greatly facilitated migration and assisted in the settlement of Britain's Empire. In addition, newspapers provided communities with an understanding of colonial and other immigration opportunities. Their evolution expedited participatory democracy and empowered ordinary people who demanded a role in immigration planning. Thus, this analysis of South Australian advertising and publicity reveals the breadth and complexity of government and non-government's promotion of migration. The extensive scope of studies into published literature and newspapers identified in this study highlights that much of this information was targeted to the working and lower classes. It was these people who were sought as migrants for South Australia. They were not illiterate beggars, or the dregs of society, as often portrayed but they were able to gain information about migration destinations and make considered judgements about their migration destination.

Historiography

Numerous academic works have advanced pivotal themes in South Australia's history since its foundation. These include political history, the governance and administration of the colony and emigrant networks. In equal measure, scholars have addressed British colonisation and imperialism. Early historians like Edwin Hodder recognised South Australia's differences and his works remain important references. In particular, for using the private papers, diaries and journals of keen supporters of migration and the South Australian colonisation plan like Robert Gouger, and George Fife Angas, some of which are now lost. Few historians however, have made in depth analyses of South Australia's promotion.

Douglas Pike's *Paradise of Dissent* acknowledged that Gouger, Angas and others, keen to promote South Australia, launched a widespread advertising campaign however, his focus remained political and from a traditional 'Great Man' perspective which largely reflected the era of the publication, in 1957.[10] More recently, Alan Atkinson recognised the importance of promotion to the British imperial project in his trilogy of Australian history published between 1997 and 2014. He argued that information dissemination was greatly responsible for early nineteenth century colonial expansion, that 'the pen and publicity' considerably influenced Britain but also the Australian colonies.[11] Atkinson recognised that from this early period, European's displayed an understanding of the written word which was exploited in publicity for Australian colonisation.[12]

Other histories of South Australia which have acknowledged its differences and recognised the importance of its promotion include Ronald Gibbs social history, *Under the Burning Sun,* published in 2013 and Jeff Nicholas's *Behind the Streets of Adelaide* trilogy, published in 2016.[13] Gibbs argued that Wakefield and Gouger significantly influenced South Australia's promotion and Nicholas's exploration of the personalities of other men who promoted the colony, expanded on this. In particular, the radical reformers who supported Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan.

In addition to published works, doctoral theses have also informed this dissertation. For example, Jean Booth explores how South Australian advertising

[10] The 'Great Man' analyses originated with Thomas Carlyle in 1840; see Thomas Carlyle*, Heroes and Hero-worship,* Henry Altemus, Philadelphia, 1899, 6-7.
[11] Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia a History*, *Vol. II Democracy*, Oxford University Press, South Melbourne, 2004, 24, xv.
[12] Ibid, 24.
[13] R. M. Gibbs, *Under the Burning Sun, a History of Colonial South Australia, 1836–1900*, Southern Heritage, South Australia, 2013; Jeff Nicholas, *Behind the Streets of Adelaide, the Unrevealed History of the Roads and Pavements of a Modern City, Vol. 1: Born of Reform, Vol. 2: From Rundle to Morphett, Vol. 3: From Wellington to Mann*, Torrens Press, Adelaide, 2016.

represented the land and impacted the indigenous population in her 2004 thesis.[14] She argues that the portrayal of the colony in Britain to potential migrants was instrumental for realising the targeted population but that the advertising was generally 'strident and overblown'.[15] Booth concludes that this was necessary to encourage migration to the new colony and away from competing destinations, particularly within Australia.[16]

In addition to Booth's research, Jennifer A. Jones 2010 dissertation also informed this research. Jones, who explores the visual aids which assisted South Australia's promotion, argues that 'image-makers' and 'image-shapers' advertised the colony as a 'veritable Arcady' which encouraged public interest and furthered migration.[17] She argues that the working classes were 'consumers of image' and that positive portrayals of South Australia favourably influenced working class emigrants' decision making.[18] This coincided with a similar finding by Patricia Ann Thomas who explored migration advertising posters for New Zealand.[19]

Michael Radzevicius expands on Jones theme of a paradise in South Australia in his study concerning Wakefield's utopianism. Emphasising the idealistic representation of the colony through Wakefield's writings, Radzevicius submits evidence of his widespread utopian views and argues they influenced South Australia and subsequent colonisation of New Zealand.[20] He concludes that Wakefield was a visionary utopian who planned, promoted and achieved a representation of British society in the Antipodes. Radzevicius also provides a compelling argument that life in South Australia for many migrants was not utopian and did not mirror British society, it was merely 'better'.[21]

The achievement of betterment is a recurring theme throughout this thesis and is analysed with relation to Wakefield's and others utopian language. This research has increased our knowledge of South Australian colonisation during its foundation years and the broad promotion of the colony is acknowledged. However, the link

[14] Jean Booth, 'Rethinking South Australia 1829-1841: Aspects of Governance and Empire,' PhD., University of South Australia, 2004; in particular see Chapter 3: A Whirlpool of Enchantment.
[15] Ibid, 112-113, 121.
[16] Ibid, 121.
[17] Jennifer A. Jones, 'Old Age in a Young Colony: Image and Experience in South Australia in the Nineteenth Century,' PhD., University of Adelaide, 2010, 67, 72.
[18] Ibid, 68.
[19] Patricia Ann Thomas, ''Large letter'd as with thundering shout' An Analysis of Typographic Posters Advertising Emigration to New Zealand 1839-1875', PhD., Massey University, Wellington, New Zealand, 2014.
[20] Michael Radzevicius, 'England Elsewhere, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and an Imperial Utopian Dream', PhD., University of Adelaide, 2011, See, for example 128.
[21] Ibid, See, for example 169.

between the expansion, acceptance and availability of newspapers and published literature and the promotion of migration to South Australia during its foundation years, from 1829 until c. 1850, are sparse. This research will expand current scholarship by exploring this link and arguing that newspaper advertising, publicity and literature were crucial for enabling the South Australian colonisation project.

Theories

This thesis brings together theories relating to British imperial expansion, migration factors, and promotion and advertising. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines imperialism as 'the principle or policy of empire.'[22] During the nineteenth century imperialism stimulated British government polices of expansion across the globe through colonisation and imposed economic, military and cultural domination upon subservient regions.[23] The settlement of Australia was an imperial project, for it claimed land and settlement rights from the existing people.

Imperial rationales are complex and fluid and their explanation varies during historical periods, regions and systems of attainment. Imperialism occurs for economic, political, social and cultural reasons.[24] There is no question that British imperial policy intensified after 1815, upon the conclusion of the Napoleonic Wars. Early writers, who rationalised and explained its expansionism, conceptualised British imperialism in economic terms and many inform twenty-first century discourse. For example, the classical economist Adam Smith argued that free trade and mercantilism, early capitalism, were advantageous but criticised the cost of Britain's expansion and its control over other societies.[25] Thomas Malthus agreed that Britain benefited by a *laissez faire*, free trade regimen and that this encouraged Britain's expansion.[26] Karl Marx proposed that capitalism was responsible for imperialistic

[22] 'imperialism, n', *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/92285, accessed 7 August 2018.
[23] Patrick Wolfe, 'A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism', *The American Historical Review*, 102(2), April 1997, 388-420.
[24] A. Josan and C. Voicu, 'Informal Imperialism and Global Political Economy: Developments in Economic Theories of Imperialism', *Cogito*, 7(1), 2015, 63–7; for nineteenth century imperialism, emigration and immigration see also Marjory Harper and Stephen Constantine, *Migration and Empire*, OUP, Oxford, 2010, chapters three, A Land of Perpetual Summer: Australian Experiences, seven, Immigration and the Heart of Empire and chapter ten, The Emigration Business, in particular have informed this study.
[25] See David Williams, 'Adam Smith and Colonialism', *Journal of International Political Theory*, 10(3), 2014, 283–301; and Christopher J. Coyne and Abigail R. Hall, 'The Empire Strikes Back: Adam Smith, John Stuart Mill, and the Robust Political Economy of Empire', *Review of Austrian Economics*, 27(4), December 2014, 359-385.
[26] Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: the British Case, 1750-1900*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2018, 248-258; Alan Macfarlane, *Thomas Malthus and the Making of the Modern World*, Nimble Books, Ann Arbor, Michigan, 2011, 12-13; see also Richard Peet and Elaine

policy and supported it as a progression towards socialism.[27] However, John Hobson, who is credited with influencing many twentieth-century scholars about imperialism, was critical of British motivations. He argued that the decision to expand, to become imperialist, was a choice made by government not the result of capitalism.[28]

Other early theorists, for example Rudolf Hilferding, Joseph Schumpeter and Vladimir Lenin have broadly agreed that economics motivated imperialism and that capitalism encouraged expansion into foreign markets.[29] They too, are not in complete agreement about every facet of British imperialism. Hilferding argued that European expansion motivated British imperialism and that a desire for security explained its rapid development.[30] Lenin agreed that security was a principal motivation.[31] In contrast, Schumpeter argued that nineteenth century Britain's domestic, rather than its foreign policy encouraged imperialism, that economic development motivated British expansion.[32]

Twenty and twenty first century imperialist discourse continues to compare, contrast and expand on these ideas and their relevance to present-day analyses. These include Ronald Robinson and John Gallagher, who emphasised Britain's strategic impulse for the expansion of empire and Patrick Wolfe, who differentiated between European and colonial, core and peripheral and cultural and economic motivations.[33] John Darwin suggested that British imperialism was executed through shared values, customs, institutions and laws and this concurs with Webster's moralistic viewpoint, that the effectiveness of emigration and the supplantation of British 'economic and political' doctrines define its imperialism.[34] However, Antoinette Burton argues that explanations for British nineteenth century imperialism have until recently, focussed

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Hartwick, *Theories of Development, Contentions, Arguments, Alternatives*, Third Edition, The Guilford Press, New York, London, 2015, 36-37.

[27] Wolfe, 'A Century of Theory, from Marx to Postcolonialism'.

[28] Wm. Roger Louis, 'Introduction', in Judith Brown and Wm. Roger Louis (eds), *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Vol. IV: The Twentieth Century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1999, 1-31.

[29] Matthew Stephen, 'Imperialism', in Helmut Anheier, Mark Juergensmeyer, and Victor Faessel (eds), *The Encyclopaedia of Global Studies*, Sage, Los Angeles, 2012, 884-886.

[30] John Hans Kautsky, *Karl Kautsky: Marxism, Revolution, and Democracy*, Transaction Publishers, New Brunswick and London, 1994, 144-145.

[31] K W Deutsch, 'Joseph Schumpeter as an Analyst of Sociology and Economic History', in John Cunningham Wood (ed.) *Joseph A. Schumpeter: Critical Assessments, Vol. II*, Routledge, London and New York, 1991, 106-121.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Scholars generally agree that Robinson and Gallagher are the foremost advocates of Britain's informal empire. These include, Anthony Webster, Andrew Thompson and A.G. Hopkins, for example see Anthony Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of British Imperialism*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, New York, 2006, 68-92; Andrew Thompson, 'Afterward: Informal Empire: Past, Present and Future,' *Bulletin of Latin American Research*, 27(1), March 2008, 229–241; A.G. Hopkins, 'British Imperialism, a Review and a Revision,' *Refresh*, 7, Autumn 1988, 5-8; see also Wolfe, 'History and Imperialism.'

[34] John Darwin, *The Empire Project: The Rise and Fall of the British World-System, 1830-1970,* CUP, Cambridge, UK, 2009, Introduction 1-23; Webster, *The Debate on the Rise of British Imperialism*, 68-92.

upon 'home' and 'empire' as separate entitles and that this was a failing of imperial historians.[35] Burton also argues that the periphery greatly influenced British imperialism and that 'imperial culture' was a crucial motivation for continued domestic social reform.[36]

The relationship between the metropole and the periphery has influenced other contemporary imperialist studies. For example, Lorenzo Verancini argued that colonialism resulted from population 'displacement' which created 'unequal relations' between the colonisers, in the metropole and the colonised, in the periphery but he conceded that colonisers and settler colonisers differed.[37] Whereas colonialism emphasises the differences between the colony and the metropole, settler colonialism seeks to extinguish representations of the homeland in the new location.[38] Ultimately, settler colonisers' procure territory in the periphery and create nations autonomously of the metropole.[39] This interpretation explains many facets of South Australian colonisation which Tony Ballantyne expands upon.

Wakefield's systematic colonisation was a 'powerful theory', according to Ballantyne.[40] It was a singularly unique type of colonialism that capitalised on the land and resources of existing populations and established ''new' societies of 'settlers' or colonists'.[41] South Australia was promoted as an independent colony which would attain self-government when a population of 50,000 people was achieved and was represented to colonisers' as a destination offering the potential of increased wealth and status, unattainable in Britain.[42] South Australian colonisation blurred the demarcations between colonisation and settler colonialism as colonists attempted to replicate their interpretation of an ideal British society through targeted migration to the new colony.[43]

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[35] Antoinette Burton, *Empire in Question: Reading, Writing, and Teaching British Imperialism*, Duke University Press E-Book, 2011, 28–29, https://doi-org.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/10.1215/9780822393566.
[36] Ibid, 30–31.
[37] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British Saw their Empire,* The Penguin Press, London, 2001, 4-5, 14; Lorenzo Veracini, 'Introducing Settler Colonial Studies', *Settler Colonial Studies,* 1(1), 2011, 1-12.
[38] Veracini, 'Introducing Settler Colonial Studies'.
[39] Ibid.
[40] Tony Ballantyne, 'The Theory and Practice of Empire Building, Edward Gibbon Wakefield and Systematic Colonisation', in Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (eds), *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, Routledge, London and New York, 2014, 89-101.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Brian Dickey and Peter Howell, (eds), *South Australia's Foundation Select Documents*, Wakefield Press, South Australia, 3-50; see in particular part XXIII, 'A Constitution to be established when there shall be Fifty thousand Inhabitants'.
[43] On South Australian utopianism see Richard C. S. Trahair, *Utopias and Utopians: An Historical Dictionary*, Routledge, London and New York, 1999, in particular 4, and also Radzevicius, 'England Elsewhere'.

Migration

Migration, in this case a result of imperialism, is a complex phenomenon for which a theoretical understanding is essential for rationalising population movement and recognising the '*diversity of migration*'.[44] A study of international migration in 2004 found that no singular theory of migration explains why people move.[45] Rather, that multiple and diverse forces motivate individuals and groups to migrate. Consequently, the theories devised to explain migratory tendencies reflect the varied circumstances in Britain during the nineteenth century, which encouraged population movements.

Increasingly, migration theorists have utilised scientific formulas for determining population movements and today are able to gather more specific population information to determine their results. In recent decades migration theory has been subsumed into diverse fields including geography, demography, globalisation, international relations and sociology.[46] In fact, 'Re-Making Migration Theory', headlined a 2009 geography conference which expanded existing migration theory.[47]

Contemporary theorists including Stephen Castles, Hein de Haas, Mark Miller, and Christopher Bayly, have re-evaluated the relevance of migration studies to twenty-first century scholars.[48] Their studies concur that migration and imperialism are linked and that migration is a direct result of imperialism but may occur to differing degrees over varying times. These scholars have traced global patterns of population movement over vast centuries.[49] However, some argue that a 'lack of a coherent paradigm' between migration histories and studies in imperialism, has

[44] Timothy J. Hatton and Jeffrey G. Williamson, 'What Drove the Mass Migrations from Europe in the Late Nineteenth Century'? Population and Development Review, 20(3), September 1994, 533-559
[45] Alejandro Portes and Josh DeWind. 'A Cross-Atlantic Dialogue: The Progress of Research and Theory in the Study of International Migration', *The International Migration Review*, 38(3), 2004, 828-851.
[46] Darren P. Smith and Russell King's paper entitled 'Editorial Introduction: Re-Making Migration Theory' and published in *Population, Space, and Place,* Wiley Online Library, on 2 August 2011, 127-224; see also Ian Whyte, 'Migration and Settlement' in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Blackwell Publishing, USA, UK, Australia, 2004, 273-286.
[47] Smith and King's paper entitled 'Editorial Introduction: Re-Making Migration Theory' states that 'a population geography conference on Re-Making Migration Theory, held in Brighton, UK, in 2009, 'form[ed] the basis for the special-theme issue of *Population, Space, and Place* in 2011'.
[48] Russell King, 'Migration Comes of Age', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(13), March 2015, 2366-2373. The first edition, published in 1993, has been republished and updated for the fifth time in 2013 and includes the research by Hein de Haas. It is considered by migration scholars as the authoritative work on twenty-first century migratory trends; see Ronald Skeldon 'What's in a title? The fifth edition of The Age of Migration', *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(13), 2356-2361; Christopher Bayly, *The Birth of the Modern World, 1780-1914*, *Global Connections and Comparisons*, Blackwell Publications, Massachusetts, 2004.
[49] Dirk Hoeder, *Cultures in Contact, World Migrations in the Second Millenium*, Duke University Press, Durham & London, 2002; Patrick Manning, (with Tiffany Trimmer) *Migration in World History*, second edition, Routledge, Oxon, 2013.

resulted in biases and imbalances that obscure our understanding of population movements and their motivations.[50]

Current migration theories do not always explain migration tendencies from previous eras. Consequently, historians still find early migration theorists' findings provide valid reasons for migration from the period it was hypothesised in. For example, in 1837 John Ramsay McCulloch related that migration occurred with no predetermined plan, that emigrants' decisions were haphazard and random.[51] Some historians concur with this finding. Eric Richards for example, wrote that migration and the recruitment process could be arbitrary and unpredictable.[52] Other methodologies advance that economic migration was discriminate and indiscriminate, dependent on perceived benefits and cost to the migrant.[53] Essentially, one theory cannot explain nineteenth century British migration. It varied at different times, for different cohorts and as a result of varied selection methods.

One early theoriser of particular relevance to this research is Ernest Ravenstein, who published the *Laws of Migration* in 1885. Ravenstein developed the first comprehensive theory of migration, utilising statistical analyses to determine population movements.[54] He hypothesised that increased industrialisation and overpopulation encouraged rural and outlying populations to relocate into urban centres.[55] Ravenstein argued that settlement happened 'from the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respects'.[56]

Today, migration experts acknowledge that although Ravenstein's theory was accurate, other factors also encouraged colonial migration.[57] The 'theory of betterment' was merely one explanation reflected in the general disposition of Britain's population during the nineteenth century. Contemporary scholars who concur

[50] Leo Lucassen, 'Migration and World History: Reaching a New Frontier', *International Review of Social History*, 52, April 2007, 89-96.
[51] John Ramsay McCulloch, *Statistical Account of the British Empire*, *Exhibiting its Extent, Physical Capacities, Population, Industry, and Civil and Religious Institutions, Vols. 1 & 2,* C. Knight and Company, London, 1837.
[52] Eric Richards, *Destination Australia*, University of New South Wales Press Ltd., Sydney, NSW, 2008, 4, 352-353.
[53] Fernando A. Lozano and Michael D. Steinberger, 'Empirical Methods in the Economics of International Immigration', in Carlos Vargas-Silva (ed.) *Handbook of Research Methods in Migration*, Edward Elgar, UK, Northampton, Massachusetts, USA, 2012, 163-185.
[54] Ernest. G. Ravenstein, 'The Laws of Migration', *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, 48(2), June 1885, 167-235.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid, 286.
[57] James Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld*, OUP, Oxford, 2009, 128-129; Eric Richards, *Britannia's children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600*, Hambledon, London, 2004, 65; Brad K. Blitz, *Migration and Freedom: Mobility Citizenship and Exclusion*, Edward Elgar Publishing Limited, UK and USA, 2014, 28-29.

with Ravenstein's betterment theory include Hassam for example, who studied emigrant ship-board diaries and found that these emigrants were not 'keen travellers…explorers… missionaries…[or] holiday-makers' seeking adventure but motivated as Ravenstein suggested, by the expectation for betterment.[58] Hassam's sources reflected 'reluctant travellers', who emigrated for necessity rather than choice.[59]

Other scholars support the antithesis to Ravenstein's betterment theory, a spirit of adventure mentality.[60] Donald Rutherford asserted that migration occurred in two waves and that the first emigrants to a location *were* buoyed by a 'spirit of adventure'.[61] Robin Haines and Richards concurred; although Haines found that advertising encouraged the migration of 'adventurous spirits', she also concluded that many emigrants were not 'reluctant travellers' but anticipated a new and prosperous life.[62] Richards asserted that ubiquitous emigration information encouraged 'the thirst of gain, the spirit of adventure and religious enthusiasm' among emigrants.[63] They were both adventurous and in search of Ravenstein's betterment.

Rutherford, Haines and Richards found that increased advertising which stimulated families and friends to follow encouraged subsequent waves of migration.[64] They concur that irrespective of the motivation, information dissemination was crucial for emigration. The exchange of information and advertising, which developed between migrants and their homeland made migration sustainable over time.[65] A momentum developed which supported continued migration even after economic motives diminished or ended.[66] Thus, as Richards points out, initial population and capital movements were followed by 'the usual paraphernalia', which included the chain migration that correspondence and advertising perpetuated and the booster literature, discussed later, that James Belich references.[67]

Advertising

[58] Andrew Hassam, *Sailing to Australia, Shipboard Diaries by Nineteenth-Century British Emigrants*, Manchester University Press, UK, 1994, 2.
[59] Ibid, 3.
[60] Arthur Prinz, 'International Migration Movements', *The Journal of Educational Sociology*, 21(8), April 1948, 485-496.
[61] Donald Rutherford, *Economics: The Key Concepts*, Routledge, Abingdon, Oxon, 2007, 139.
[62] Cited in Robin Haines, ''Shovelling Out Paupers'? Parish-assisted Emigration from England to Australia, 1834-1847', in Eric Richards (ed.) *Poor Australian Immigrants in the Nineteenth Century*, Visible Immigrants, Vol. 2, ANU, Canberra, 1991, 33-67, in particular 32.
[63] Richards, *Britannia's Children,* 114, 133.
[64] Ibid, 141; Rutherford, *Economics: The Key Concepts*, 139; Haines, ''Shovelling Out Paupers'? 32.
[65] Portes and DeWind. 'A Cross-Atlantic Dialogue'.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Richards, *The Genesis of Migration*, 24, 83.

Contemporary advertising scholars state that the nineteenth century periodical press was 'an instrument of imperialist enterprises'.[68] In other words, it was realised during this era that the general population were impressionable; they could be inspired and persuaded.[69] The desire to understand consumer behaviour has encouraged scholarly studies to explain the principles of advertising and its influences. They seek to demonstrate why advertising is effective. To be considered advertising, information must promote an idea, product or place and seek to persuade an audience.[70] Advertising is 'an age-old' method of communication however, modern advertising recognisable today, can be traced to the 1700s when a 'trade of advertising' emerged and methodologies were emplaced to influence consumers through 'substance, content, technique and direction'.[71] While word-of mouth and personal correspondence are acknowledged as significant advertising tools for promoting migration, this thesis argues that published advertising and promotions, especially in newspapers, were crucial for the colonisation of South Australia.

Theoretical paradigms utilised in advertising research are typically based upon three specific models, 'modernisation, Americanisation and semiotics'.[72] Modernisation references the approaches to advertising history undertaken since the 1980s which recognises advertising as a 'force through which the manipulative and consumerist identity of the modern age crafted itself onto world history'.[73] This perspective enables academics to compose a 'grand narrative' which justifies advertising history as a legitimate convention.[74] The Americanisation theory contends that modern advertising began in the United States and was transmitted globally through cultural imperialism.[75] However, this theory discounts critical historical methodologies,

[68] Judith Johnson and Monica Anderson, 'Introduction', in Judith Johnson, Monica Anderson (eds), *Australia Imagined Views from the British Periodical Press 1800-1900*, UWA Press, Crawley, WA., 2005, 1-16.
[69] Adam J. Berinsky, 'Introduction', in Adam J. Berinsky (ed.) *New Directions in Public Opinion*, Second Edition, Routledge, Oxon, 2016, 1-18.
[70] Esther Thorsen and Shelly Rodgers, 'What does "Theories of Advertising" Mean'? in Esther Thorsen and Shelly Rodgers (eds), *Advertising Theory*, Routledge, UK, 2012, 3–4; see also S.A. Chunawalla, and K. C. Sethia. *Foundations of Advertising: Theory and Practice*, Global Media, 2007, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral-proquest-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/lib/flinders/detail.action?docID=3011176.
[71] Stefan Schwarzkopf, 'The Subsiding Sizzle of Advertising History', *Journal of Historical Research in Marketing*, 3(4), 2011, 528-548.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid; three seminal works include Terrence Nevett's, *Advertising in Britain: A History*, Harper and Collins, New York, 1982; Daniel Pope, *The Making of Modern Advertising*, Basic Books Inc., New York, 1983 and Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators*, University of Illinois Press, USA, 1984.
[74] Schwarzkopf, 'The Subsiding Sizzle of Advertising History'.
[75] This is discussed in V. de Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance through Twentieth-Century Europe*, Belknap Press, Cambridge, 2005.

including comparison, questionability and the broad use of primary and secondary sources.[76]

Lastly, the semiotic model proposes that advertisements create a 'modern consciousness' whereby consumer conduct, perspective and beliefs are altered through cultural and economic stimuli.[77] It elaborates that information received visually, that which is read, is perceived more favourably than verbal rhetoric, that which is heard.[78] The disadvantage of this model is that it does not consider established standards and discourses, industry frameworks or the complicated interplay between the advertisement and the consumer.[79] Critically, semiotic analyses do not consider how historical consumers read and interpreted the advertisements and information they were exposed to.[80]

This thesis argues that South Australia was promoted through two distinctly different advertising methods. The first, specific advertising promotions which provided distinct information were marketed to a particular audience or consumer and in a manner we recognise today as advertising. Qualitative advertising analyses contend that consumers of advertising construct their own interpretation and are affected differently depending on the context of their exposure and their awareness of the product or service.[81] These advertisements employ various tactics, for example bold text, highlighting or placement to 'reduce consumer defences and encourage positive responses'.[82] Most importantly, consumers recognised these promotions as advertising.

The second submits that communications which inform, instruct, or guide discussion, for example newspaper editorials, book reviews and published literature also target particular audiences and can be considered forms of advertising promotions. They elicit specific emotions and enable consumers to identify with and respond to certain perspectives.[83] Analytical studies interpret how these forms of advertising promotions affect consumers and what this discloses about people and

[76] Schwarzkopf, 'The Subsiding Sizzle of Advertising History'.
[77] Ibid.
[78] Nabil Mzoughi and Samar Abdelhak, 'The Impact of Visual and Verbal Rhetoric in Advertising on Mental Imagery and Recall', *International Journal of Business and Social Science*, 2(9), May 2011, 257–267.
[79] Schwarzkopf, 'The Subsiding Sizzle of Advertising History'.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Russell W. Belk, 'Qualitative Research in Advertising', *Journal of Advertising*, 46(1), 36–37.
[82] Ibid.
[83] Ibid.

society.[84] These theories contend that writing is 'a social and communicative engagement between reader and writer' which interests the consumer and discloses the writer's perspective.[85] Importantly, that text conveys the writers' personality and integrity and represents the 'norms and expectations of particular cultural and professional communities'.[86] In other words, this discourse seeks to explain how writers manipulate text and how ideas are advertised to influence readers.

The MacKenzie/Porter Debate

The intention to influence and the comprehension of ordinary people in Britain instigated the debate between John MacKenzie and Bernard Porter. MacKenzie argued that the British were inundated with information and paraphernalia about the empire and that it greatly influenced ordinary people. In conjunction with his pioneering series *Studies in Imperialism*, founded in 1985, he revolutionised British imperial historical studies and ignited debate about the 'influence of imperialism upon metropolitan cultures and societies…and the role of empire in forming aspects of national character and public self-image'.[87] These studies re-shaped traditional perspectives of empire which concentrated on the influence Britain made to its empire and instead, focused on how information about the empire influenced ordinary British people.

MacKenzie argued that education, literature and commodities which promoted the empire were pervasive in Britain from the late Victorian era. The result of his refocus on British imperialism is evident by the fact that the *Studies in Imperialism* series have exceeded 150 books to date. MacKenzie also asserted that the myriad of migration schemes and colonial ventures which encouraged possibly ten million migrants to relocate from Britain during the nineteenth century, including the South Australian project, were a result of the empire's influence in Britain.[88]

Regardless of the general acceptance of MacKenzie's work, Bernard Porter ignited a lively debate which challenged his assertions that the British public were aware of the empire. Porter claimed to address the rudimentary and overstated

[84] See, for example Judith Williamson, *Decoding Advertising: Ideology and Meaning in Advertising*, Marion Boyers Publishers, London, 1978; also Stuart Hall, 'The Spectacle of the 'Other', in Stuart Hall (ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Sage, London, 1997, 223–290.
[85] Ken Hyland, 'Persuasion and context: The Pragmatics of Academic Metadiscourse', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 30(4), October 1998, 437-455.
[86] Ibid.
[87] John M. MacKenzie, The 'Studies in Imperialism' Series, MUP, http://iias.asia/iiasn/iiasn5/mup.html; accessed 18 May, 2016.
[88] John MacKenzie, 'Another Little Patch of Red', *History Today*, 55(8), August, 2005, 20-26.

assertions of historians about the consequences of imperialism on Britain in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[89] While he conceded that the empire indelibly influenced the British, he questioned how widespread this influence really was on British culture and society.[90] In contrast to MacKenzie, he stated that there was 'no empirical evidence' in popular culture which celebrated Britain's expansive empire.[91]

MacKenzie responded to Porter's criticisms. He acknowledged that while he and Porter shared parallel convictions and placed confidence in 'history from below', his thorough review of manuscripts and primary sources displayed racial and imperial themes which he argued exhibited their broad 'social and cultural occurrence'.[92] MacKenzie emphasised that Britain's grasp on empire was far-reaching and ubiquitous, particularly within the elite and upper classes and this forced a British reassessment of the working and lower classes.[93] He believed that his and Porter's actual point of difference was slight but this did not deter other scholars from entering the debate. Other than Porter, few scholars challenged MacKenzie's findings. Antoinette Burton, Catherine Hall, Sonja O. Rose and Andrew Thompson all concurred with MacKenzie that evidence of the empire in nineteenth century British society was comprehensive.

This thesis also supports MacKenzie's findings. Impressions and representations of Britain's colonies occurred in all classes as a consequence of the expansive information channels available in Britain. Published migration information in newspapers and literature were significant conduits for spreading imperial knowledge throughout British society. However, the debate between MacKenzie and Porter focusses on the era from 1880 until 1960. This thesis will add to current scholarship by shifting the debate earlier to the period from 1829 until c. 1850 and argue that published information and advertising greatly influenced migration choices for people from this era.

Eldorado and Utopia

[89] Richard Toye, 'A Decade of 'Imperial Absent-Mindedness': A New Talking Empire Podcast', *Imperial and Global Forum*, February 26, 2014, http://imperialglobalexeter.com/2014/02/26/a-decade-of-imperial-absent-mindedness-a-new-talking-empire-podcast/, accessed 31 October, 2015; Bernard Porter 'DEBATE: Further Thoughts on Imperial Absent-Mindedness', *Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36(1), 2008, 101-107.
[90] Bernard Porter, 'What did they Know of Empire'? *History Today*, 54(10), October, 2004, 42-48; Bernard Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*, OUP, Oxford, New York, 2006, 24.
[91] Porter, 'What did they Know of Empire'?
[92] John M. MacKenzie, ''Comfort' and Conviction: A Response to Bernard Porter', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36(4), 2008, 659-668.
[93] MacKenzie, 'Another Little Patch of Red'; Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists,* 228.

There is much scholarship that supports the idea that many imperial ventures sought an Eldorado or a utopian society.[94] A rich, 'promised land' like South America's mythical lost 'city of gold' where dreams became reality or a society like Thomas More's *Utopia*, (1516) unshackled by religion, class or wealth.[95] Utopian theory is interpreted as a plan for the future which manifests when those in the present experience discontent and develop radical alternatives for organising people's lives through political and social doctrines and experiments like the South Australian Colonisation project.[96] Such ideals are entrenched in the 'origin and destination myth', of Eldorado.[97]

Two specific concepts have polarised utopian theory. The first highlights the significance of hope in utopian visions for societal improvement but the second argues that all utopias must fail because a 'perfect world' cannot exist.[98] Indeed, the concept of an ideal society, one without fault, implies that every person holds the same ideals, without variance.[99] Certainly, economic profit, security and the search for betterment are arguments which explain why dreams of an ideal society manifested in imperialism and colonial expansion however they do not explain cognitive processes.[100] How is utopian thought rationalised? What convinces people that a 'promised land' exists?

One argument which resonates from the early utopian socialists like Robert Owen, to Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels and contemporary scholars like James Belich is that 'propaganda' or 'booster literature' facilitated colonial settlement.[101] Published

[94] Andrekos Varnava, 'El Dorados Utopias and Dystopias in Imperialism and Colonial Settlement', in Andrekos Varnava (ed.) *Imperial Expectations and Realities: El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, Manchester University Press, Manchester, 2015, 1–25.
[95] Ibid; on El Dorado see John Silver, 'The Myth of El Dorado', *History Workshop Journal*, 34(1), 1992, 1–15; on Utopia see Quentin Skinner, 'Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* and the Language of Renaissance Humanism', in Anthony Pagden (ed.) *The Languages of Political Theory in Early-Modern Europe*, CUP, Cambridge, 1990, 123–158.
[96] See Lucy Sargisson and Tony Burns, 'Research: Utopianism, Realism, and Ideal Theory', *Concept*, The Nottingham Centre for Normative Political Theory, https://www.nottingham.ac.uk/concept/research/utopianismrealismidealtheory.aspx, accessed 10 July 2018. Other examples are given in John M. MacKenzie's *The Partition of Africa 1880–1900 and European Imperialism in the Nineteenth Century*, Methuen, UK, 1983 and by A.S. Kanya-Forstner, *The Conquest of the Western Sahara: A Study in French Military Imperialism,* CUP, Cambridge, UK, 1969.
[97] Ruth Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, Peter Lang AG, Internationaler Verlag der Wissenschaften, 2010, eBook Collection, EBSCOhost, accessed 16 August 2018; an extensive analysis of hope can be found in Deborah J. MacInnis & Hae Eun, Chun *Understanding Hope and its Implications for Consumer Behavior: I Hope, Therefore I Consume*, Now Publishers Inc., US & The Netherlands, 2006, see in particular chapter 1, What is Hope?
[98] See Marit Boker, 'The Concept of Realistic Utopia: Ideal Theory as Critique', *Constellations*, 24(1), 2017, 89–100; Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 1–2; Robert Nozick, *Anarchy, State and Utopia*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., UK, 1974, 297–298; Barbara Goodwin and Keith Taylor, *The Politics of Utopia: A Study in Theory and Practice*, Peter Lang, Bern, 2009, 3-5.
[99] Boker, 'The Concept of Realistic Utopia.'
[100] Varnava, 'El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias in Imperialism and Colonial Settlement'.
[101] Levitas, *The Concept of Utopia*, 42; Belich, *Replenishing the Earth*, 153–165;

literature including books, newspapers and pamphlets advertised, idealised and exaggerated migration destinations and although many scholars acknowledge the influence of this literature, its overwhelming affect is often undervalued.[102] Published emigration literature was ubiquitous, abundant and largely responsible for perpetuating utopianism and the myth of Eldorado by coupling emigration choices to a dubious yet compelling optimism for the future.[103] While Belich argued that 'informal booster literature' propelled colonial settlement, this study reveals that newspapers and migration literature were greatly responsible for representing South Australia as a 'land of promise'.[104]

Methodology

This research concurs with those scholars, already discussed, that migration was largely facilitated through advertising and promotion and that South Australia's planners understood this. Consequently, published works form the majority of resources for this thesis. They include all types of advertising and information available to the public from books, journals, diaries, pamphlets, and letters but most importantly, those published in newspapers.

The British Newspaper Archive was the primary search vehicle. An exploration of advertising and information about the South Australian colonisation project was undertaken using this resource. Using the search term 'South Australia' and specific date ranges, publications across England, Scotland and Ireland were included. This information was collated in a spreadsheet and it demonstrated that the period before the first emigrant ships landed in 1836, did not record the highest incidence of publicity.[105] There was a discernible increase in information about South Australia later in the decade and these results form an important platform for discussion in this thesis.

Research has considered wide-ranging publications, regardless of their publication longevity. For example, *The Charter* (1839-40), *Chartist Circular* (1839-41) and *The Chartist* (1839) were three short-lived publications that began during the first chapter of the Chartist movement, the first national working-class protest

[102] For example, Belich argues that Eric Richards has undervalued the influence of 'booster literature'; see Belich *Replenishing the Earth*, 153.
[103] Belich *Replenishing the Earth*, 154.
[104] The 'land of promise' is reference to John Stephens's *Land of Promise* (1839) and is discussed in chapter five.
[105] Publicity in this context refers to any published information about South Australia including advertisements, articles, debates and information about the colony and letters to the editor.

movement.[106] Without the luxury of extensive media outlets, the working and lower classes relied almost entirely on cheap publications for their information. The motivation for publishing some of these materials, particularly the transitory newspapers, was frequently a contentious issue or debate concerning a particular region, a group of people or an extreme event, as in the case of the Chartist papers. Ultimately, many of these situations influenced migration and are explored in this research. The inclusion of research from small, rural newspapers supports the argument that news about South Australia was widespread in communities across Britain. The circulation of these publications in provincial regions reveals how influential they were among ordinary people.

This thesis also argues that advanced literacy was not crucial for a potential emigrant's comprehension and understanding of migration information and in fact, that many publications targeted classes with limited literacy. Hence, all available newspapers were utilised in this research. This enabled an in-depth study into the infiltration of newspapers and their relevance in influencing particular populations. The results add weight to MacKenzie's original premise, that ordinary people were cognizant of the empire but also strengthen the argument that this occurred from an earlier generation. However, inherent problems with the manner of data collection were identified.

While statistical data which provided reading and writing enumerations give some indication of likely comprehension of written material, this data does not indicate the intellectual acumen of its subjects nor their ability to comprehend information. For example, the number and type of publications found during data collection in individual dwellings was collated and assumptions were made about the literacy of entire family groups based on this information.[107] Populations with limited or newly acquired literacy may have been underrated or inaccurately recorded in the data and it did not consider a person's ability to comprehend and act on information. Although literacy statistical enumerations for reading and writing, particularly by the working and middle classes were important indicators for this thesis, literacy statistics were not always reliable representations of a population's actual literacy, comprehension of migration literature or their ability to access it. In order to show

[106] Thomas William Heyck, *A History of the Peoples of the British Isles, from 1688 to 1914*, Routledge, London, 2002, 276; Eric Evans, 'Chartism Revisited', *History Review* 33 March 1999; Expanded Academic ASAP. Web. 26 Feb. 2014.
[107] 'Report of a Committee of the Manchester Statistical Society on the State of Education in the Township of Pendleton, 1838' in The Statistical Society of Great Britain, *Journal of the Statistical Society of London*, Vol. I, Charles Knight & Co., London, 1838, 65-83.

that those in the working and lower classes sought as emigrants for South Australia were cognisant of published literature, other statistical data has been utilised. For example, where available, sales figures, the number of publications issued and with respect to newspapers, their stamp or distribution numbers.

It is unlikely that this research will be able to provide specific data as proof that those who read newspapers or were informed about the information published in them actually acted on this information and migrated to South Australia. However, by analysing the way language was used, exploring the types of newspapers which published certain advertisements or articles and providing circulation statistics for these publications, this thesis will argue that the proprietors and editors of newspapers and indeed, those who advertised in them, would not have done so if their targeted audience were not influenced. Certainly the quantity of published information implies that newspaper advertising was a successful way for promoting the colony.

Another issue identified as problematic for this study was the lack of data revealing the people who purchased these publications, stamp return statistics merely show that they were sold.[108] Stamp return data provided enumerations for legitimate newspapers that paid the taxes. For example, it is estimated that between 1830 and 1836 there were 562 unstamped newspapers published in Britain and most targeted the working classes.[109] They did not pay the taxes; therefore, their circulation numbers were unrecorded. However, the fact that they targeted the classes that South Australia required makes them a valuable data source.

Written communications and correspondence were equally important for information dissemination and are a crucial resource for this thesis. However, the limitations of this primary source are acknowledged. Personal communiques, similarly to published books and newspapers, could also be biased. Letters were frequently the precursor to chain migration for families and communities and information was spread through word-of-mouth. It is argued however, that correspondence published in newspapers and literature which reached a far wider audience and was often exploited as proof of facts because of first-hand experience, greatly influenced emigration for South Australia. Further, that the language used by editors and authors to reinforce or

[108] This issue is discussed by Scott Bennett in 'Revolutions in Thought: Serial Publication and the Mass Market for Reading', in Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester University Press, UK and University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1982, 225-260.
[109] Aled Jones, 'The Press and the Printed Word', in Chris Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Britain*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., USA, UK, Australia, 2004, 369-380, see in particular 370.

accentuate published correspondence was also highly influential. Published correspondence is a significant primary resource for this thesis and its language usage is analysed. However, the motivations for the publication of these sources are rarely revealed. This creates ambiguity for the intention of correspondent and the motivation of the publisher. For example, newspaper editors revealed that letters had come to their attention but who forwarded the correspondence and why were suppressed. Therefore, in the absence of definitive reasons, several likely hypotheses are suggested.

The accuracy of correspondence is difficult to determine as it was solely reliant on the veracity of the author. Adam McKeown suggested that often the first emigrant from a family or community maintained a vested interest in 'controlling and limiting information and opportunities' in order to profit from increased labour or capital demand.[110] In other words, correspondence could be biased for or against further migration, dependant on the experiences and fulfilled or unfulfilled expectations of initial emigrants. Personal reminiscences, diaries and journals were also accessed and may be more reliable as accurate representations of a person's thoughts at the time. However, when written with the intention of publication, these resources could be equally misrepresentative as statements intended to promote a specific viewpoint or generate profit, influenced migration outcomes. Published migration literature was widespread and an important conduit in the migrant decision-making process; therefore this research has closely examined a wide range of published resources. It has identified specific emigration texts and explored the motivations of those who authored them to determine a reason for encouraging, or discouraging migration to South Australia.

This thesis therefore, fills a gap in current migration and South Australian scholarship. Through an in-depth analysis of published literature in Britain it argues that newspapers and published emigration literature were not scarce or random but available in communities across Britain and to the types of people that South Australia sought as settlers. Furthermore, that published literature was targeted to particular people and intended to influence, inform, advocate or prevent migration. In the following six chapters, this thesis will outline the people and identify the events which were crucial for furthering Wakefield's colonisation plan for South Australia and in so doing, reveal the complexity of migration publicity.

[110] Adam McKeown, 'Global Migration, 1846-1940', Project Muse, *Journal of World History*, 15(2), June 2004, 155-189.

Chapter one situates the period of this thesis within its historical context. It discusses relevant themes such as the push and pull factors which stimulated migration from Britain. The significance of newspapers and literature are revealed with relation to their influence on society, including reform movements, religion, literature and class. The social constructs of Eldorado and utopia are also considered. An overview of the Australian colonies and particularly South Australia is provided, including population composition and dispersal, society, culture, education and literacy and religion.

Chapter two argues that the emerging newspaper and publishing industries which developed during the same period that South Australian colonisation was proposed, greatly advantaged migration. Discussions regarding the advantages and disadvantages of colonisation and emigration, which were polarised in newspaper columns from the 1820s, helped to inform communities and prepared them for Wakefield's Systematic Colonisation Plan for South Australia. Hence, this chapter shows that newspapers and literature gave ordinary people the information they required to make migration decisions. Chapter three introduces the men who proposed colonisation and emigration and outlines their ideas. It argues that they were adept at publicity and that this was instrumental for the success of Wakefield's colonisation plan. Their methods for spreading news about the plan are revealed, including the importance of the newspaper for communicating ideas.

Chapters four and five reveal the extent that newspapers and literature influenced South Australian colonisation. Chapter four outlines the types of 'official' advertising which promoted South Australia. It provides specific examples of the types of advertisements that government and colonial officials published to promote migration. These are analysed and conclusions are drawn to explain how migration was promoted among specific communities. It is argued that advertisements were targeted to particular cohorts; at specific times and that newspapers were instrumental for this publicity. Chapter five outlines the 'unofficial' publicity, which includes correspondence and 'letters to the editor' published in newspapers, and literature in the form of emigration journals and travel books. This chapter reveals the extent of interest among ordinary people about migration opportunities and argues that these types of publicity far outweighed the 'official' promotions. As such, they significantly influenced potential migrants' decisions.

The final chapter explores important themes, revealed in South Australian publicity and discussed in previous chapters. These include its convict free status,

colonial competition and its promotion as an Eldorado or utopia. It argues that the advertising, debates and information published in newspapers and literature, greatly influenced migrants' expectations and experiences. This chapter also explores how the mining boom of the 1840s impacted the literature and how it influenced migrant expectations and realities. In conclusion, this chapter confirms that once settled in South Australia, it was ordinary people, rather than government, who promoted the colony among communities at home and that newspapers and literature were greatly responsible for elevating and lowering migrant expectations.

Chapter One

British emigration to South Australia: setting the scene

In order to establish the significance of emigration publicity during the period, an historical outline of early nineteenth century Britain and South Australia is important, including an overview of society in colonial Australia until c 1850. During this period, the British were more mobile, more literate and more involved in community life than previously. This chapter outlines the principle factors which led to these circumstances, including the repercussions of agricultural and population distress, the Reform Act and increased literacy. It argues that these factors helped to facilitate the profusion of literature, particularly newspapers, in Britain during this era. A statistical breakdown of British settlement in Australia is also provided with specific focus on South Australia. This overview reveals South Australia's situation in relation to the existing Australian colonies. This is important because it reveals how quickly the colony advanced, a testament to its organisation and widespread publicity. Furthermore, it highlights the differences which South Australia's supporters exploited and which elicited competition between the colonies, discussed later.

Early Nineteenth Century Britain, an outline

South Australian colonisation was proposed during a period of great change in Britain. Social, political and religious reforms began in the late eighteenth century and continued to the 1850s and beyond.[1] An unrivalled population growth, which occurred from early in the nineteenth century, mobilised communities and heralded unprecedented migratory movements.[2] The population of England, Scotland and Wales exceeded 24 million in 1831.[3] Added to this was Ireland's population of 7.8 million in 1831, an increase of 1 million from the previous decade.[4] People who were

[1] Arthur Burns and Joanna Innes (eds), *Rethinking the Age of Reform Britain 1780-1850*, CUP, UK, reprint 2004; timelines for the reforms occurring in Britain during this period can be found in Chris Cook, *The Routledge Companion to Britain in the Nineteenth Century, 1815-1914*, Routledge, London & New York, 2005.
[2] Kathrin Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census, Envisioning the Multitude in the Nineteenth Century*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2011, 49 Eric Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration: The British Case, 1750-1900*, MUP, UK, 2018, 38.
[3] A Vision of Britain through Time, Enumeration Abstract Summary, http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk/census/; accessed 21 November 2018. Enumerations for Scotland in 1831 are reported from McCord, *British History 1815-1906*, 78.
[4] Historical Population Reports, Enumeration Abstract, Ireland, 1821, http://www.histpop.org/ohpr/servlet/Show?page=Home; accessed 21 November 2018.

concentrated in sparsely populated rural villages at the turn of the nineteenth century migrated towards urban centres by mid-century in search of employment.[5] Yet, one-third of Britain's population was employed in agriculture in 1831, a rise of 15% from 1801 and this number continued to grow steadily until 1851.[6]

Industry and agriculture changed rapidly which also encouraged economic growth. From 1831 economic estimates indicated that only 10% of employment was generated in manufacturing occupations, whereas 30% were occupied in other industries, particularly agriculture, which increased production to meet the needs of the expanding population.[7] Industrialisation fuelled the transportation networks of rail, road and shipping and the industries which supported them, including iron and coal.[8] Thus, increased population pressures and industrialisation stimulated the broad-scale movement of people throughout Britain and around the globe.

In conjunction with an increasing population and its gradual urbanisation, long-established, small, close-knit communities and family groups were collapsing.[9] In their place, provincial centres emerged. These were crowded with transient populations and trades where 'enterprise and industry' were required.[10] People seeking independence and betterment agitated for changes to society. Existing methods of communication through word-of-mouth and personal correspondence among family and friends, which was essential for spreading news and information, gradually became more difficult. Increasingly, written publications, in particular newspapers, whose publishers exploited these changes in society became more widespread and more accessible. Most importantly, however, newspapers provided a voice and an opportunity to influence society for people that government, and the upper classes had previously ignored.[11] This, in part, explains the mass increase of literature, especially working-

[5] See Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, in particular, 120–135.
[6] McCord, *British History 1815-1906*, 222; Roderick Floud and Donald McCloskey, (eds), *The Economic History of Britain Since 1700, 1700-1860,* Vol. I, CUP, Cambridge, 1994, 46, 108.
[7] Michael Winstanley, 'Agriculture and Rural Society', in Williams (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth-Century Britain*, Blackwell Publishing, Oxford, Melbourne, 2004, 205–222.
[8] For economic growth tables during this period see 'Productivity Growth in Transport by Mode (% per annum)', in Simon Ville, 'Transport,' Roderick Floud and Paul Johnson, (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain*, *Industrialisation*, Vol. I, CUP, Cambridge, 2004, 321-322; 'Textile Production in Britain by Steam and Water, 1838 and 1870', in Rex Pope (ed.) *Atlas of British Social and Economic History Since c. 1700,* Routledge, London, 1989, 35; Anthony Slaven, 'Shipbuilding Employment in England and Scotland, 1831-1911', in John Langton and R. J. Morris (eds), *Atlas of Industrialising Britain, 1780-1914*, Methuen & Co., 1986, New York, 133; on economic industrialisation generally see Robert C. Allen, 'The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective: How Commerce Created the Industrial Revolution and Modern Economic Growth', Oxford University, 2006, https://www.nuffield.ox.ac.uk/users/allen/unpublished/econinvent-3.pdf; accessed 21 November, 2018.
[9] Allen, 'The British Industrial Revolution in Global Perspective'.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Martin Hewitt 'The Press and the Law', in Joanne Shattock, (ed.) *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, CUP, UK, 2017, 147–164.

class newspapers, which evolved in conjunction with the population increase and which was crucial for publicising the South Australian colonisation plan.

People were now more informed than at previous times. Thus, the factors which encouraged migratory movements, especially from agricultural regions, including cyclical unemployment and modernising agrarian practices, created changes in demand for traditional occupations, pulled people away from established communities and were catalysts for the increase in working-class publications.[12] The chance for betterment in another region encouraged more migration and, as Eric Richards points out, 'became a key expression of accelerating modernity'.[13] The accumulation of people in urban regions also created a new cohort of middle-class merchants and large enclaves of working poor.[14] These 'new' middle classes aspired to effect social and economic improvements resulting, for example, in the Great Reform Act of 1832 and the New Poor Law of 1834.[15]

Increasingly from the 1820s and throughout the 1830s, moral reform was a prevailing political issue. The immorality of existing government policies of slavery and convict transportation, for example, energised reform movements.[16] Newspapers were a primary source for this information exchange. They enabled popular debate and involvement in issues which were previously confined to the upper classes and parliamentary debates. In many instances the newspapers were established specifically to provide alienated communities an outlet for protest. This was particularly evident with the establishment of the Chartist newspapers. Despite these measures for the amelioration of disaffected people, however, Britain suffered an enduring economic depression in the decade from 1840 which saw increasing revolt among despondent populations. Bernard Bailyn suggested that although the types and levels of destitution or prosperity that influenced migrants' decisions were diverse, it

[12] Humphries, 'Standard of Living, Quality of Life', 287–384.
[13] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 38.
[14] Humphries, 'Standard of Living, Quality of Life', 287–384.
[15] Richard Brown, *Society and Economy in Modern Britain 1700-1850*, Routledge, London, 1991, 172; on the Reform Act See, for example, Eric J. Evans, *The Great Reform Act 0f 1832*, Routledge, London and New York, 2000, Thomas Ertman, 'The Great Reform Act of 1832 and British Democratization', *Comparative Political Studies*, August 2010,43(8-9), 1000–1022; for an overview of the New Poor Law before and after 1834 and the consistently dynamic approach towards destitution see Lynn Hollen Lees, *The solidarities of strangers : the English poor laws and the people, 1700-1948*, CUP, Cambridge, New York, in particular parts I and II; on the 1834 Poor Law See, for example, David Englander, *Poverty and Poor Law Reform in Britain: From Chadwick to Booth, 1834–1914*, Routledge, London and New York, 2013, in particular 5–23, 80–90; also Timothy Besley, Stephen Coate and Timothy W. Guinnane, 'Incentives, Information, and Welfare: England's New Poor Law and the Workhouse Test', *History Matters*, 2004, 245-270.
[16] Angela Woollacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture*, OUP, UK, 2015, 40.

was improved economic prospects that drove emigration.[17] This premise remains a valid explanation for migration as Richards attests. A desire for economic advantage was 'the universal driver of emigration'.[18] These factors facilitated an expansion in the newspaper and literature industries specifically targeted to these readers.[19] The promoters of the South Australian colonisation plan were in an optimum position to exploit this age of reform.

The Newspaper Press

In conjunction with, or perhaps because of the mass movement of people and their push for betterment, traditional principles of British society were challenged. Developing moral and liberal views encouraged reforms. These views shaped the middle and working classes. They encouraged collaboration for societal improvement and the pursuit of political and religious change. They were evident in almost every facet of society, including government, religion, working conditions and education. Newspapers were a major contributor for these changes. Most importantly, they were considered a reliable source of information that 'directed and reflected' their readership.[20] The newspaper press was instrumental in enabling wholesale change in British society during the early nineteenth century.

It is not coincidental that this occurred during relative European peace from 1815 to 1850. Industrialisation propelled Britain's unprecedented population growth, unlike Europe, and encouraged public confidence and nationalist endeavours.[21] British energies, previously utilised in conflict, sought other ways for national advancement. This inspired independent thinking and innovation. People demanded social inclusion and the newspaper press fulfilled this need. The extensive government duties or 'taxes on knowledge' which restricted the number of newspapers and their circulation prior to 1800 were gradually eroded.[22] This constituted perhaps the first major and

[17] Bernard Bailyn *Voyagers to the West, a passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of Revolution*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1986, 193.
[18] Richards, *The Genesis of International Mass Migration*, 5;
[19] Peter Roger Mountjoy, 'The Working-class Press and Working-Class Conservatism, in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate, (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, SAGE Publications, GB & USA, 1978, 265–281.
[20] E. M. Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press in Nineteenth-century British Periodicals: A Bibliography*, Anthem Press, UK and USA, 2012, 2.
[21] Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census,* 71.
[22] Dennis Griffiths, (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press, 1422-1992*, Macmillan Press, Basingstoke UK, 1992, 24. On the 'taxes on knowledge' See, for example Robert Justin Goldstein, *Political Censorship of the Arts and the Press in Nineteenth-Century Europe*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 1989, 26–71; and Graham Law, 'Wilkie Collins and the Discovery of an 'Unknown Public'', in Shattock (ed.) *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain*, 328–340.

prolonged working and lower class upheaval in British society.[23] From the early 1830s, according to F. David Roberts, most provincial towns supported at least one newspaper.[24] Thus, the role of the newspaper during this era cannot be underestimated.

In a relatively short period, the newspaper press became the most profound and influential way of disseminating information among the middle, working and lower classes.[25] Moreover, newspaper editors and proprietors were esteemed members of communities.[26] As such, the position of editor was accorded an elite status and while newspaper mastheads were anonymous, townspeople knew and respected the editors.[27] As a consequence, news and information published in provincial newspapers received a legitimacy that word-of-mouth sources lacked.[28] This also encouraged radical reformers who actively promoted the expansion of inexpensive and unstamped publications, those which avoided the taxes, because they were popular among ordinary people and encouraged grassroots support of revolutionary ideas.[29] 'The humblest provincial newspaper', Christian Johnstone, editor of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* stated in 1848 'is as much an educational institution as Lord Brougham's London University'.[30]

Within a limited timeframe, newspapers also became a profitable commercial venture which identified and exploited public interest.[31] An example of this is outlined in the colonisation and emigration discussion in Chapter Two. The debates which raged throughout the English and Irish newspapers were lacking in Scottish newspapers. It is argued that Scottish newspaper editors did not perceive a strong community interest in these debates at this time and this disinterest was reflected in their

[23] F. David Roberts, *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians*, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, 176.
[24] F. David Roberts, 'Still More Early Victorian Newspaper Editors', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 18(5/4), December 1972, 12–26.
[25] Hannah Barker, *Newspapers and English Society 1695-1855*, Routledge, Oxon & New York, 2000, 21; this is also reiterated by Richard Scully in *Eminent Victorian Cartoonists*, Political Cartoon Society, Britain, 2018, see the three volume box synopsis.
[26] Roberts, 'Still More Early Victorian Newspaper Editors'.
[27] Ibid.
[28] Patrick Brantlinger, *The Spirit of Reform, British Literature and Politics, 1832-1867*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge, London, 1977, 11, 12, 13; Robert L. Patten, 'The New Cultural Marketplace, Victorian Publishing and Reading Practices,' in Juliet John (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Victorian Literary Culture*, *Part III, Ways of Communicating and Other Cultures,* OUP, Oxford, 2016, 481-506.
[29] Barker, *Newspapers and English Society 1695-1855*, 21.
[30] 'Taxes on Knowledge and the Newspaper Press', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, June 1848, 351-356; on London University, now University College London (UCL) and Lord Brougham see *Opinions of Lord Brougham,* Vol. I, Lea & Blanchard, Philadelphia, 1839, 20-21.
[31] See Rachel Matthews, *The History of the Provincial Press in England*, Bloomsbury Publishing, USA & UK, 2017, 5-6; an example is discussed in Ivon Asquith, 'Advertising and the Press in the Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries: James Perry and the *Morning Chronicle* 1790-1821', *The Historical Journal*, 18(4), 1975, 703–724.

publications. Their production provided employment in the emerging industry for reporters, journalists, editors and printers.[32] Many scholars and influential people became associated with newspapers or authored columns. Editors assumed the role of superintendents of truth, published controversial opinions and blurred the lines between fact and fallacy. Concurrently, targeted advertisements, similar to those we recognise today, fulfilled a growing demand for information, funded newspaper production and helped to influence consumer decision making.[33]

The years from 1830 until 1836, when the South Australian colonisation plan developed from innovation to reality, coincided with these significant changes in newspapers. Edward Gibbon Wakefield and members of the South Australian Association supported them.[34] In June 1836, after the first emigrant vessels had departed for South Australia, parliament passed legislation to reduce the cost of an average London daily newspaper.[35] At this time, there were 350 legitimately stamped newspapers, those who paid the taxes, and in excess of 550 unstamped newspapers that evaded the taxes.[36] The relevance and extent of Britain's newspapers from this period is highlighted from the revenue that the payment for advertising stamps generated. In 1836, for example, £87, 032 was paid for newspaper advertisements. Allowing for inflation, this is equivalent to approximately £10 million today.[37] However, only £2, 810 was generated for those published in pamphlets.[38] By 1840, merely four years after South Australia's colonisation, London's newspaper circulation had increased by 47%.[39] Provincial newspapers were circulated in regional Britain among the classes sought as South Australian migrants and their scope was also immense. An estimated 36 million newspapers were distributed annually and the newspaper press was considered crucial for the development of democracy.[40]

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[32] Matthews, *The History of the Provincial Press in England*, 99; On the influence of the British press during this era, see David Vincent, *Literacy and Popular Culture England 1750-1914*, CUP, Cambridge, 1989, 241-258.
[33] Fred K. Beard, 'The Ancient History of Advertising: Insights and Implications for Practitioners: What Today's Advertisers and Marketers Can Learn from Their Predecessors', *Journal of Advertising Research*, 57(3), September 2017, 239–244.
[34] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *Popular Politics*, Charles Knight, London, 1837, 65-66.
[35] The cost reduced from 7d. to 5d, see 'Newspapers', in *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, Vol. XVI, Charles Knight & Co., London, 1839, 193-197.
[36] *The Newspaper Stamp and the Duty on Paper, Viewed in Relation to their Effects upon the Diffusion of Knowledge, by the Author of the Results of Machinery*, London, 1836, 6, 14.
[37] See 'Table I-Gross Produce of the Advertisement Duty in Great Britain', in Arthur Aspinall, 'Statistical Accounts of the London Newspapers, 1800-36', *The English Historical Review*, 65(255), April 1950, 222-234; CPI Inflation Calculator, https://www.officialdata.org/uk/inflation/1836?amount=87032, accessed 10 June 2019.
[38] 'Table I-Gross Produce of the Advertisement Duty in Great Britain'.
[39] 'The Newspaper Press', *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier*, No. 2,211, Tuesday 18 August 1840, 3.
[40] Ibid; Matthews, *The History of the Provincial Press in England*, 33.

Literacy and literature

It is undeniable that this was a revolutionary era in Britain which challenged established norms. Class boundaries were blurred and support for education for the working and lower classes increased.[41] However, although facilitators of education promoted moral, social and religious instruction, these were also predominantly measures for community control to stem the increasing lawlessness which the accelerated urban development had induced.[42] Notwithstanding this, standard of living indices reported that more than half of all adults were literate in 1820 and this increased to over 60% by 1850.[43] Although these statistics reflect that a growing number of people were literate, they do not support the notion that published ideas were comprehended adequately to enable the cognisance of or the differentiation between specific ideas. However, the quantity of newspapers published and the fact that many targeted the working and lower classes during the period when South Australia was colonised suggests that they were popularly received.

One result of increased literacy was a growing demand for informative literature. In conjunction with newspapers, books, journals and pamphlets were also sought after. In particular voyages of discovery, tales from other countries, and reports about emigration destinations were very popular.[44] From the 1830s opportunities for individual travellers also expedited the prevalence of entertaining travel monologues, colonial settler accounts, and adventure books.[45] This literature perpetuated the notion that diligent and conscientious people could start afresh in the colonies.[46] It also influenced others to write and publish works about their experiences. As emigration increased, published colonial narratives amassed in the British literature market.[47] This was the 'booster literature' that Belich referred to and it was immensely popular.[48] Hence, reporting in 1830, the *Edinburgh Review* stated

[41] Nassau William Senior, *Poor Law Commissioners' Report of 1834. Copy of the Report made in 1834 by the Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws*, Darling and Son, London, 1905, Part II, Section 3. For a contemporary debate about education see, for example, Patrick Brantlinger, *The Reading Lesson, the threat of mass literacy in nineteenth-century British fiction*, Indiana University Press, Indiana, USA, 1998.
[42] David Mitch, 'The Economic History of Education', in Robert Whaples and Randall E. Parker (eds), *Routledge Handbook of Modern Economic History*, Routledge, London and NY, 2013, 247–264; James Jupp (ed.) *The Australian People*, Angas & Robinson, NSW, NZ, UK, 1988, 367-368.
[43] Humphries, 'Standard of Living, Quality of Life', 300. The data reported that 54.2% of the adult population were literate in 1820 and 61.5 % were literate in 1850.
[44] Nigel Leask, *Curiosity and the Aesthetics of Travel Writing, 1770-1840*, OUP, New York, 2002, 3.
[45] Ibid.
[46] Maurice Saxby, *Books in the Life of a Child: Bridges to Literature and Learning*, Macmillan Publishers Australia Pty. Ltd., South Yarra, 1997, 91.
[47] Ibid; see also Paul Fussell, (ed.), *The Norton Book of Travel*, W.W. Norton & Company, NY, London, 1987, 129.
[48] See Introduction

that people from all vocations with the slightest writing ability authored books and that publishers profited greatly from texts which 'caught the passing fancy of the public'.[49]

The literature which directly influenced emigration to South Australia comprised travellers' accounts, emigration books, journals and pamphlets. However, similar to the information published in newspapers, their content was not verified as factual. These publications promoted or denigrated colonial settlement destinations with impulsive enthusiasm and without accountability. But, perhaps most importantly, neither government nor colonial officials were able to control or influence these publications. The lack of official regulatory constraints on published migration information and its influence on South Australian migration comprises a major theme in later chapters.

Early Nineteenth Century Australia, an overview

From the first white settlement in 1788 until 1850, more than 162,000 convicts were transported to Australia and every colony except South Australia received transported felons.[50] However, convict transportation varied between individual colonies. New South Wales was principally a convict settlement, receiving convicts from 1788 until 1840.[51] They were transported to Van Diemen's Land from 1803 until 1853 but Western Australia did not receive transported convicts until 1850 with the last ship arriving in 1868.[52] This constituted a major difference between New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land and South Australia, whose convict-free status was promoted widely as an advantage for potential migrants.

By 1829, when the idea for colonisation in southern Australia was first proposed, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land were established colonies.[53] Although they contained large convict populations, thriving, free settler communities were also entrenched. The chance for land ownership, free labour which convicts

[49] Quoted from '*The King's Own*, by the Author of 'The Naval Officer', Vol. 3, London: 1830', *The Edinburgh Review,* October 1830–January 1831, 119-137.
[50] Cathy Dunn and Marion McCreadie, 'The Founders of a Nation, Australia's First Fleet–1788', IFHAA, http://www.historyaustralia.org.au/ifhaa/ships/1stfleet.htm, accessed 20 September 2018.
[51] Hamish Maxwell-Stewart and Deborah Oxley, Convicts and the Colonisation of Australia, 1788-1868, https://www.digitalpanopticon.org/Convicts_and_the_Colonisation_of_Australia,_1788-1868, accessed 21 September, 2018.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Convict transportations to New South Wales between 1788 and 1840 numbered 80,000; to Van Diemen's Land between 1803 and 1853, 72,000; to Port Phillip from 1846 until 1850 3,000 and Western Australia did not receive convicts until 1850; see Hamish Maxwell-Stewart, 'Convict Labour Extraction and Transportation from Britain and Ireland 1615-1870', in Christian Giuseppe De Vito and Alex Lichtenstein (eds), *Global Convict Labour*, Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2015, 169.

indenture labour schemes enabled and social advancement encouraged almost 11,000 free settlers to New South Wales and more than 12,000 to Van Diemen's Land in 1836 alone.[54] Of its total population in 1836 of 77,000, New South Wales contained almost 28,000 convicts.[55] Van Diemen's Land recorded more than 17,660 convict arrivals during the same year.[56]

Convicts were used to build government infrastructure and to provide cheap labour for colonists. However, migration schemes also encouraged labourers who competed with convict labourers for work. Many felons transported to the Australian colonies were also tradesmen, artisans and skilled labourers. Their expertise was greatly utilised in the colonies as free labour during servitude. By the 1830s the prospect of land ownership, wealth and prosperity were offered to those with ambition, and these tempted many pardoned convicts.[57] The realisation that transportation was not a death sentence but the possibility of a new and prosperous life placated those in Britain who deplored transportation. In fact, Wakefield reported that convicts sentenced to transportation in the Australian penal colonies anticipated prosperity unattainable for them in Britain.[58]

From 1831 migrants with specific trades and skills were assisted as free settlers with loans from Britain, repayable in the colonies.[59] Schemes which operated after 1836 included the bounty system, which provided assisted passage to selected emigrants, and between 1843 and 1845 land purchasers in New South Wales could nominate three emigrants per £100 land purchase.[60] According to Robin Haines, there was no period when the London Emigration Committee employed migrant recruiters or encouraged migrants to the Australian colonies, including South Australia.[61] Rather, government appointed agents advertised, reviewed and processed applicants on

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[54] Angela Woollacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture*, OUP, Oxford, 2015, 1; for immigration statistics see Robin Haines and Ralph Shlomowitz, 'Nineteenth Century Government-Assisted and total immigration from the United Kingdom to Australia: Quinquennial estimates by colony', *Journal of the Australian Population Association*, May 1991, 8(1), 50–61.
[55] HCCDA Document NSW-1836-census, ADA Historical, 83, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/pages/NSW-1836-census-01_83; accessed 24 November, 2018.
[56] Stefan Petrow, 'After Arthur: Policing in Van Diemen's Land 1837-1846', History of Crime, Policing and Punishment Conference, Australian Institute of Criminology, Charles Sturt University, December, 1999, http://fliphtml5.com/ffxp/sise/basic/; accessed 24 November 2018.
[57] Robert Hughes, *The fatal shore a history of the transportation of convicts to Australia 1787-1868*, Pan Books, London, 1988, 25; James Bischoff, *A Sketch of the History of Van Diemen's Land*, John Richardson, London, 1832, 69.
[58] Bischoff, *A Sketch of the History of Van Diemen's Land*, 69.
[59] Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia, Schemes, Regulations and Arrivals, 1831-1900 and some Vital Statistics 1834-1860*, Flinders University Occasional Papers in Economic History, Adelaide, SA, 1995, 14.
[60] Ibid, 14, 20, 31, 33.
[61] Ibid, 8.

behalf of the government and from 1840 the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners (CLEC) managed all emigration operations.[62]

In contrast to New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land, Australia's third settlement in Western Australia was freely settled. Captain James Stirling established the Swan River colony in 1829 and speculators who agreed to settle emigrant labourers in the colony acquired land from the British government.[63] Stirling envisioned a free and profitable settlement with minimal capital outlay.[64] This was the first coordinated attempt to transplant British society to Australia. Capitalists were granted freehold land in return for transporting labourers, stock and equipment.[65] They hoped for an easy profit and their labourers were promised increased freedom and prosperity.[66] History reflects that this system was not initially successful. It caused population dispersion, distress and, in some cases, the death of pioneering colonists.[67] The Swan River example also influenced Wakefield and his idea for population concentration, the opposite of dispersion, became a significant pillar of the systematic colonisation plan for South Australia.

In contrast, Port Phillip, an area between the existing colony of New South Wales and the envisioned new colony of Southern Australia, was established for profit. Enterprising graziers from Van Diemen's Land established the Port Phillip Association in 1834 in order to gain arable farming land in the territory.[68] Co-founder John Batman alleged that he brokered a 'treaty' with the Aboriginals in exchange for 600,000 acres of land. [69] The treaty was proven fraudulent. Concern for and conflict with the Aboriginal inhabitants and apprehension from the New South Wales government saw Governor Bourke subsume Port Phillip into New South Wales in 1835.[70]

Before South Australia's settlement the Australian colonies were also valuable to Britain for import commodities. These included whale and seal by-products and, from

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[62] Ibid, 8-12.
[63] S.F. Burke, P. Di Marco & S. J. Meath, 'The land 'flow[ing] ... with milk and honey': Cultural landscape', *Australasian Historical Archaeology*, 28(5), December, 2010, 574–578.
[64] Alan Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia: A History,* Vol. I*,* OUP, Australia and NZ, 1998, 95; see also Ruth Morgan, 'Salubrity and the survival of the Swan River Colony: health, climate and settlement in colonial Western Australia', in Varnava, (ed.) *Imperial expectations and realities, El Dorados, Utopias and Dystopias*, 95, 89-104.
[65] Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia*, 99.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Burke, Marco, Meath, 'The land 'flow[ing]…with milk and honey'.
[68] Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia,* 146, 158-161; on the Port Phillip Association see J. C. H. Gill, 'Notes on the Port Phillip Association', University of Queensland digital repository, August 1973, 153-171.
[69] Gill, 'Notes on the Port Phillip Association'.
[70] Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia,* 161.

the 1830s, wool production.[71] Australian whaling ports, particularly in Van Diemen's Land, also provisioned and repaired British and foreign ships.[72] The potential for profit from sheep farming encouraged land sales and investment in the local economies. This was reflected in the advertising which promoted rural land for capitalists and ample employment for agricultural labourers.[73] Regardless of, or perhaps because of, their convict populations and its advantage for cheap labour, from the mid-1830s New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land gained a reputation in Britain for flourishing economies and infrastructure. Colonists and investors were encouraged to these regions. Australia's agricultural production and the role of private investment is considered a significant contributing factor for the establishment of commercial enterprises which promoted the colonies, advertised for migrants, provided their transportation and as a result, influenced British government migration policy.[74]

These factors were also significant for the establishment of South Australia. Reports that the Australian colonies endured a 'scarcity of labour' and that migration 'produced the greatest benefits' to those who migrated, were regularly published from the 1830s.[75] These reports were greatly beneficial for preparing the British public for the opportunities available to South Australian colonists. Long-standing and newly elevated middle-class capitalists were encouraged to invest in the Australian colonies.[76] Consequently, investment and exploitation without settlement encouraged entrepreneurial ventures in emigrant transportation and the provision of colonial requirements. In order to promote their ventures, many of these people penned migration manuals or books about the Australian colonies, engaged in the emigration debates and advertised in newspapers to encourage business and trade.

South Australia

An Act of British Parliament established South Australia on 15 August 1834. The decree 'empower[ed] His Majesty to erect *South Australia* into a *British* Province or

[71] Michael Pearson, 'The Technology of Whaling in Australian Waters in the 19th Century', *Australian Historical Archaeology*, 1, 1983, 40-54; Susan Marsden, 'A short history of Kangaroo Island', http://www.sahistorians.org.au/175/bm.doc/susan-marsden-a-short-history-of-kangaroo-island.doc, accessed 24 November 2018.
[72] Michael Quinlan, 'Making Labour Laws Fit for the Colonies: The Introduction of Laws Regulating Whalers in Three Australian Colonies 1835-1855', *Labour History*, 62, May, 1992, 19-37.
[73] P. J. Cain, Antony G. Hopkins, *British Imperialism, 1688-2000*, Third Edition, Routledge, London and NY, 2013, 217; on wool production during the 1820s and 1830s See, for example Ian W. McLean, 'Australian Economic Growth in Historical Perspective', *The Economic Record*, 80 (250), September, 2004, 330-345.
[74] See, for example, Frank J.A. Broeze, 'Private Enterprise and the Peopling of Australia, 1831-1850', *The Economic History Review*, 35(2), May 1982, 235-253.
[75] 'Emigration,' *The Morning Post*, No. 18,784, Wednesday 23 February, 1831, 2.
[76] Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia A History, Vol. II,* 96; on class mobility See, for example, Cain and Hopkins, *British Imperialism: 1688-2000*, 38-56.

Provinces, and to provide for the Colonization and Government thereof'.[77] The Act of 1834 presumed the region of South Australia was 'vacant territory…recognise[d] the dominion of the Crown [and] the proprietary right to the soil…of those who shall purchase lands'.[78] The Colonial Office appointed a Colonisation Commission to administer the colony and on 19 February 1836 the Letters Patent was enacted.[79]

An initial group of 546 emigrants travelled to the colony in 1836.[80] This induced 441 labourers who were funded entirely through land sales or the assistance of individual settlers.[81] The total population was estimated at 839 people and already included arrivals from adjacent colonies.[82] The private South Australian Company organised four emigrant ships which left England before the British government-commissioned *Buffalo* sailed.[83] Four ships arrived in the colony before the *Buffalo*.[84] Twenty-four families and 38 single emigrants journeyed on the *Buffalo* with Governor Sir John Hindmarsh.[85] The first ships arrived in Nepean Bay, Kangaroo Island before travelling to Holdfast Bay (Glenelg) on the mainland.[86] The *Buffalo* landed at Port Lincoln on route to Holdfast Bay.[87]

The departure of the first ships to South Australia meant three bodies were invested in the success of the colony. The South Australian Association, which Robert Gouger, who would become South Australia's first colonial secretary, promoted was comprised of influential members of British society, including patrons of migration and

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[77] See Brian Dickey and Peter Howell (eds),, *South Australia's Foundation Select Documents*, Wakefield Press, Netley, SA, 1986, 43-50. A transcript of the Act is available online at National Archives of Australia, Founding Documents, http://www.foundingdocs.gov.au/resources/transcripts/sa1_doc_1834.pdf, accessed 24 November 2018. The italics are in the original document.
[78] Quote cited in Bain Attwood, 'Returning to the Past: The South Australian Colonisation Commission, the Colonial Office and Aboriginal Title', *The Journal of Legal History*, 34(1), 50-82.
[79] Attwood, 'Returning to the Past'; The first Colonisation Commissioners were Wolyrche W. Whitmore, chairman, Rowland Hill, secretary, J. W. Childers, William Clay, George Grote, George Ward Norman, and Colonel Robert Torrens. In May 1835, the newly appointed Secretary of State for the Colony, Lord Glenelg, gazetted the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia as Colonel Torrens, chairman, Rowland Hill, secretary, E. Barnard, Agent-General for the Australian colonies, William Hutt, John Shaw Lefevre, late Under Secretary of State, George Fife Angas, W.A. Mackinnon, P.S. Mills, Jacob Montefiore, G. Palmer, jun., and J. Wright, see Colonial Office to Lt Colonel Robert Torrens, 27 April 1835, CO 396/1.
[80] B.T. Finniss, *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 & Co., London, 1886, 2-3.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Diane Cummings, Bound for South Australia, Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia, SLSA, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/BSA/BeginningYourJourney.htm, accessed 24 November 2018.
[83] Diary of John Brown SLSA, PRG 1002/2, 106, 107, 109, 113, 114. The *John Pirie* and the *Duke of York* departed in February and the *Rapid* and the *Cygnet* in March 1836.
[84] These were the *Lady Mary Pelham, Emma, Africaine* and *Tam O'Shanter*, see Cummings, Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia.
[85] Cummings, Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia; see also Diary of John Brown, 142.
[86] Cummings, Pioneers and Settlers Bound for South Australia.
[87] Ibid.

the poor, philosophers and entrepreneurs.[88] There also was George Fife Angas's private South Australian Company, which re-formed on 22 January 1836, and the British government's Colonisation Commissioners who were gazetted on 5 May 1835.[89] Each of these bodies played a role in the dissemination of information about the colony. For the remainder of this decade and the beginning of the next, men from each of these groups encouraged migration to South Australia. While their motivations differed, the need to encourage migrants to the colony remained pre-eminent as the venture transitioned from theorists and planners to capitalists and land purchasers, and with the necessity for specific labouring classes.

In December 1837 South Australia's estimated population was 3, 273 people.[90] Of these 1, 614 were British and the remainder of 1,659 arrived from the Australian colonies or elsewhere.[91] Unfortunately, the records of emigrant arrivals prior to 1845 are lost.[92] However, considering that the agents who were tasked with recruiting migrants were largely from England (13 in England, 4 in Scotland and 1 in Ireland), it is likely that the population mirrored these ratios.[93] This is important because it indicates that settlers and ex-convicts travelled between the colonies and that people arrived from locations outside Australia, Germany, for example. In fact, in 1837 it was reported that 'squatters, runaway convicts, and deserters' were already common.[94] While South Australia's proclamation stated that no convicts would be transported from Britain, its planners could not restrict arrivals from the existing colonies or elsewhere. Perhaps as a legacy of the lengthy journey, settler populations in Australia were fluid.[95] Movements to outlying regions and between the colonies were regular and ongoing and created particular problems for the colony. These issues are discussed in later chapters.

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[88] Edwin Hodder, (ed.) *The Founding of South Australia as Recorded in the Journals of Mr Robert Gouger, First Colonial Secretary*, Sampson, Low, Marston, and Company, London, 1898, 64-77.
[89] On the South Australian Company, see Douglas Pike, *Paradise of Dissent: South Australia 1829-1857,* Melbourne University Press, Melbourne, 1967, 124. The first directors of the Company were George Fife Angas, Raikes Currie, Charles Hindley, James Hyde, Henry Kingscote, John Pirie, John Rundle, Thomas Smith, James Ruddall Todd and Henry Waymouth; on the Colonisation Commissioners see Hodder, *The History of South Australia from its Foundation to the Year of its Jubilee, Vol. I*, Sampson Low, Marston & Company Ltd., London, 1893. 32. The first Commissioners were George Fife Angas, E. Barnard, W. Hutt, John Shaw Lefevre, W. A. Mackinnon, S. Mills, Jacob Montefiore, G. Palmer, jun., J. Wright, Colonel Torrens, chairman, and Rowland Hill, secretary.
[90] Wray Vamplew, Eric Richards, Dean Jaensch and Joan Hancock, *South Australian Historical Statistics Monograph No. 3*, History Project Incorporated, University of NSW, NSW, 1984, 14.
[91] Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom*, 47; Hodder, *The history of South Australia,* 61-106.
[92] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 180.
[93] Agents are discussed further in Chapter Four.
[94] 'Sessions of Gaol Deliver', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Vol. I, No. 2, Saturday 3 June, 1837, 12-13.
[95] Settler mobility is discussed in Angela Woollacott's introduction in *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-government and Imperial Culture*, OUP, Oxford, 2015. See, in particular, 2-3.

Wakefield considered population dispersal (that is, the willingness to settle across vast areas) as a major flaw in existing colonisation. His theory of concentration (the relationship between population density and a prosperous, thriving settlement) was formulated to remedy the problems associated with population dispersal and formed a central pillar of his colonisation plan.[96] Wakefield also proposed that land sales would fund emigration.[97] This was opposed to the free allocation of land or 'squatting'. During the early years of Australian settlement, squatters who settled on freehold land were perceived as men of substance or gentlemen.[98] They were not regarded as indigent travellers like those who traversed America and settled on land without payment or permission.[99] After much colonial debate, they gained formal leases or licences.[100] While this was tolerated in the early years of the convict colonies, it was untenable for South Australia because the sale of land was required to fund migrant labourers.

Meanwhile, migrants who arrived in South Australia, many of whom were funded through colonial land sales, also travelled to the existing colonies, creating ongoing issues for colonial administrators and inciting competition from those colonies for suitable migrants.[101] South Australian free migration was comparable to New South Wales and exceeded Van Diemen's Land arrivals until 1840. Although in 1839 arrivals in South Australia of approximately 5000 migrants were half those of New South Wales, in 1840 South Australian arrivals remained the same while New South Wales fell by more than 3000.[102] As a result of financial and administration difficulties in the colony, migration virtually ceased from 1841 and remained at insignificant levels until 1846, when 803 migrants arrived in South Australia.[103]

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[96] Atkinson, *The Europeans in Australia,* 103; on Wakefield's theory of concentration see Philip Steer, 'On Systematic Colonization and the Culture of Settler Colonialism: Edward Gibbon Wakefield's A Letter from Sydney (1829)', *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History,* March, 2017, http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=philip-steer-on-systematic-colonization-and-the-culture-of-settler-colonialism-edward-gibbon-wakefields-a-letter-from-sydney-1829, accessed 11 November 2018.
[97] Wakefield first proposed this idea in Robert Gouger (ed.), *A Letter from Sydney the Principal Town of Australasia*, Joseph Cross, 1829, Appendix iv-xxiv; for a contemporary discussion see, for example, Steer, 'On Systematic Colonization and the Culture of Settler Colonialism'.
[98] Gerhard Leitner, *Australia's Many Voices, Australian English–The National Language*, Mouton de Gruyter Berlin, New York, 2004, 127.
[99] Ibid; on the comparison between perceptions of Australian and American squatters see John C. Weaver, 'Beyond the Fatal Shore: Pastoral Squatting and the Occupation of Australia, 1826 to 1852', *The American Historical Review*, 101(4), October 1996, 981-1007.
[100] Sumner J. La Croix, 'Sheep, Squatters, and the Evolution of Land Rights in Australia: 1787-1847', University of Hawaii-Manoa, paper presented at "Inequality and the Commons", 3rd annual conference of the International Association for the Study of Common Property, Washington DC, USA, 18–20 September 1992.
[101] 'State of the Labouring Population,' *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Saturday 3 June, 1837, 12.
[102] Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom*, 47.
[103] Ibid.

Between 1836 and 1850, a total of 37,856 migrants travelled to South Australia and of this number, 28,061 were assisted financially.[104] Between 1836 and 1839, land purchasers nominated labouring migrants.[105] The assistance comprised a free steerage passage for adults, whom colonial land sales funded, but travel to the departure point and necessaries for the voyage were a migrant's responsibility.[106] English Poor Law Unions also funded some migrants; these totalled 1353 between 1836 and 1847.[107] In June 1840 assisted migration to South Australia was suspended due to a lack of funds, no assisted migration occurred in 1841 or 1842 and only a limited number of migrants were assisted between 1843 and 1845.[108] Total migration from Britain to South Australia was greatly limited between 1841 and 1844 with a total of 594 arrivals.[109]

Table 1.1: South Australian population statistics 1840–1851[110]

Year	Children 0-13	Adult Males	Adult Females	Total	Married Males	Single Males	Married Females	Single Females
1840		8,252	6,358	**14,610**				
1844	7,180	5,855	4,161	**17,196**	3,026	6,500	3,032	4,638
1846	9,282	7,902	4,253	**21,437**	3,847	8,823	3,811	5,839
1851	22,884	23,297	16,388	**62,569**	10,616	24,359	10,799	16,865

As a direct result of the need to manage migration numbers in South Australia and the expansion of data collections in Britain, the colony's first official census was taken in 1841, (see Table 1.1). In the absence of convict labourers, labour management was crucial for the success of the colony. Indeed, James Hurtle Fisher, South Australian Resident Commissioner acknowledged the importance of statistical enumerations when he wrote that population data would put 'the public in England in possession of a faithful statement of its [South Australia's] real situation and prospects'.[111] The first census reported that 14,610 people resided in the colony.[112] Comparing census data from subsequent years is difficult, however, as occupations were combined or expanded (see Table 1.2).

[104] Ibid; see also Haines and Shlomowitz, 'A Statistical Approach to the Peopling of South Australia,' 108-118.
[105] Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia*, 22.
[106] Ibid, 1, 47, 51.
[107] Ibid, 149.
[108] Ibid, 51.
[109] Ibid, 47, migrant arrivals were as follows. For 1841: 175, 1842: 145, 1843: 154, 1844: 120.
[110] 'Agricultural and Population Returns for 1840', *South Australian Register,* Vol. IV, No. 187, Saturday 21 August 1841, 2; Graham Jaunay, '1841 South Australian Census, what you will and won't find,' 2004, http://www.jaunay.com/1841census.pdf, accessed 27 November 2018. Jaunay states that the figure for 1841 underestimated the true population.
[111] 'Statistical Society,' *Southern Australian*, Vol. IV, No. 204, Tuesday 4 May, 1841, 4; on Hurtle Fisher see Nicholas, *Behind the Streets of Adelaide, Born of Reform: A Pantheon of Dissent,* Vol. I, Torrens Press, Malvern, Victoria, 2016, 6.
[112] Jaunay, '1841 South Australian Census, what you will and won't find'.

Notwithstanding occupation data provides valuable information about the variety of settlers who lived in South Australia. In particular, that people with the types of trades required in the colony were arriving. For example, there were significant numbers of those in the mechanical trades recorded in 1844. However, in 1846 this number was greatly reduced. This prompts questions which are explored in subsequent chapters. For instance, how potential migrants were informed about colonial requirements and what type of information was available to them.

Table 1.2: Census table of South Australian occupations [113]

Occupation	1844	1846	1851
Land proprietors, merchants, bankers and stockholders	990	1152	670
Farmers			2,821
Clerks and overseers		243	391
Professional persons, including doctors, lawyers, engineers and surveyors		109	641
Brewers, publicans and licensed victualers, millers		82	444
Ministers of religion			85
Shopkeepers, retailers and employees	319	498	767
Mechanics, and artificers, viz. — Brickmakers	986	77	267
Bricklayers		83	177
Smiths		152	420
Builders			148
Carpenters and joiners		362	968
Masons		92	350
Shoemakers			225
Cabinetmakers		24	145
Plasterers		38	108
Saddle and harness makers		19	102
Tailors		62	195
Shoemakers		225	586
Tanners		19	74
Miners		269	1333
Sawyers and splitters		240	401
Shepherds and others in charge of sheep	763	1120	1266
Stockmen and others in charge of cattle	298	215	280
Carriers and their assistants		134	430
Gardeners, farm servants and agriculturalists	1838	1492	
Mariners and fishermen		85	342
Domestic servants	742	818	2889
Gardeners			261
Labourers not included in the above definitions		726	
All other persons not included in the above	11,260	13993	46,078

Censuses were taken regularly from 1844 and the information they provided was expanded with each collection. For example, religion was added as a requirement

[113] HCCDA Australian Data Archive, South Australia, Census 1844, 1846, 1851, http://hccda.ada.edu.au/regions/SA, accessed 27 November 2018.

in 1844 (see Table 1.3) and the dwelling was recorded.[114] These statistics reveal that South Australia's migrant population expanded by almost 3,000 inhabitants in 1844, almost 6000 in 1846 and, encouraged by mineral discoveries which are discussed in Chapter Six, a further 17,278 by 1850. These increases in population were significant, especially during the latter 1840s and suggest that migrants were informed about colonisation opportunities in South Australia. However, this data also raises further questions. If the hypothesis that South Australia was extensively promoted in Britain to encourage settlers is proven, then how was it promoted and by whom?

Census data was an important tool for visualising and controlling colonial populations. Colonists increasingly demanded influence over the selection of migrants in the colony. However, this information was underutilised or inadequate. Furthermore, as the colony progressed, an understanding of South Australia's ethnic composition became an important issue for settlers who demanded migration in equal proportions from England, Scotland and Ireland and to a lesser extent, Cornwall and Wales. Religious denomination also played a role in this debate as it provided settlers with the numeric tools to justify their demands.

Another recurrent theme throughout the primary literature was the demand for migrants who were pious and moral. The religious diversification indicated in this data (Table 1.3) reflects Britain's emerging reformist ideologies.[115] However, statistical data cannot measure religious beliefs, piety or morality.[116] Newspapers played an important role in disseminating information among particular religious affiliations. Denomination became less important and ecclesiastical differences among South Australia's planners encouraged free religious expression. Consequently, various Congregational groups, including Dissenters, Protestant nonconformists and Anglicans, were evident in the data.[117] Key promoters of the colony were instrumental in its religious proselytism, including the South Australian Company's chairman and Baptist, George Fife Angas ,and the colony's first emigration officer, John Brown who, as the Honorary secretary of a dissenting society, encouraged the spread of 'moral and religious people' throughout the world.[118]

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[114] Levitan, *A Cultural History of the British Census, Envisioning the Multitude in the Nineteenth Century*, 57; HCCDA Document 'SA-1844-census.'
[115] See, in particular, John Belchem, *Popular radicalism in nineteenth-century Britain*, St. Martin's Press, NY, 1996, 51-73.
[116] David Hilliard, 'Religion', in Wray Vamplew, Eric Richards, Dean Jaensch and Joan Hancock (eds),, *South Australian Historical Statistics*, University of NSW., Kensington, 1988, 137-143.
[117] Dickey and Howell (eds),, *South Australia's Foundation Select Documents*, 7.
[118] Ibid, 29-31.

Table 1.3: Census table of South Australian religions [119]

Religion	1844	1846
Church of England	9,418	11,945
Church of Scotland	1,691	1,958
Lutheran Church	see fn	1,524
Wesleyan Methodists	1,666	2,246
Other Protestant Dissenters	3,309	2,888
Roman Catholics	1,055	1,649
Jews	25	58
Mahomedans and Pagans	32	52

A South Australian Church Society and a Society for Providing Religious Instruction among Dissenter were both formed in England in 1834. Their aim was the provision of faith, morality and Church of England doctrines from the colony's beginning.[120] Census enumerations (Table 1.3) provide an indication of the numbers of people who identified as members of specific religions. They indicate that members of the Church of England, most likely English migrants, predominated but that Protestant Dissenters were also numerous. This was a legacy of men like Brown. [121] It also reveals that the German population who were supported by Angas and, whose religion was not counted in the 1844 census, were notable by 1846. However, the prominence of people who identified as Church of English shows that South Australia's migrant composition became a reflection of English religiosity.[122] By the time the idea for the systematic colonisation of South Australia was promoted the British truly believed that it was God's will that they should bring Christianity and morality to the colonies.[123]

Census data showed that German national migration was notable. South Australia received 615 German migrants between 1836 and 1840.[124] Although a considerably smaller contingent than migrants from Britain who numbered 13,842 during the same period, they were accepted into South Australian society.[125] Ian Harmstorf showed that German market gardeners provided the colony's entire fresh vegetable supply for several years.[126] In the following decade, German migration was

[119] Australian Data Archive, 'Historical Census SA, 1844' and '1846'. Note: No statistical data was collected for religion in the 1851 census. The next year data was collected was 1855, outside the scope of this thesis. See Renae Barker, 'The Changing Relationship Between the State and Religion in Australia: 1788 to Modern Australia. What has changed? What is the same? And what does that tell us?' PhD, University of Western Australia, 2013, 252-57. The 1844 census returns do not list Lutherans.
[120] Ibid, 27-29.
[121] Dickey and Howell (eds),, *South Australia's Foundation Select Documents,* 7.
[122] On Dissenters and their influence in England see Richard D. Floyd, *Church, Chapel and Party: Religious Dissent and Political Modernization in Nineteenth Century England*, Palgrove Macmillan, USA & NY, 2008, 5–7.
[123] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 51.
[124] 'Appendix A, South Australian Migration 1836-1857', in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 517.
[125] Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom*, Table 1, 47.
[126] Ian Harmstorf, 'Germans', SA History Hub, History Trust of South Australia, http://sahistoryhub.com.au/subjects/germans, accessed 27 November 2018.

significant, with 11,856 arrivals to the end of 1850.[127] They settled in South Australia's rural areas, including Klemzig, Hahndorf and, from 1842, the Barossa Valley.[128] Advertising publicity and literature similar to that disseminated in Britain was also published in Germany to inform and encourage potential migrants.[129]

In accordance with Wakefield's plan for population concentration, 'waste land' allotments were sold and colonists settled in Glenelg, Adelaide and North Adelaide. From the 1840s, exploration led to settlement with communities in Port Lincoln, the Adelaide Hills and the southern Fleurieu Peninsula and almost 300,000 acres in land allotments were sold.[130] Within the first five years South Australia was a thriving colony with a permanent central town in Adelaide, an infrastructure indicative of an older, established colony and a large number of 'well-rounded, highly educated people with capital'.[131] This thesis argues that advertising publicity and literature was greatly responsible for the promotion of Wakefield's colonisation plan, its community acceptance and for promoting South Australia's advantages, as defined in the Colonisation Act. Furthermore, that publicity spearheaded exuberance for the colony among settlers. The enthusiasm which enabled such advancement in the fledgling colony, however, also contributed to the financial problems it experienced from 1840.[132]

Greatly resultant from earlier discoveries of copper at Burra Burra, Glen Osmond and Kapunda and gold in Montacute, colonial revenue increased from £19,000 in 1845 to almost £365,500 by 1850 and helped to reinvigorate migration.[133]

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[127] 'Appendix A, South Australian Migration 1836-1857', in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 517.
[128] Hodder, *George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia,* 156-195; see also reference to the German immigrants assisted by Angas in 'The German Refugees in South Australia', *The South Australian Colonist and Settlers' Weekly, Record of British, Foreign, and Colonial Intelligence*, Vol. 1, No. 7, Tuesday, April 21, 1840, 97-100.
[129] Titles include Wilkinson's *Working Man's Handbook for South Australia*, 1849; Rudolf Reimer*, South Australia: A Contribution to the German Emigrant Question,* published in 1851; G.B Listermann, *My Emigration to South Australia and Return to the Fatherland. A Word of Warning and Caution for All Those Keen to Emigrate*, 1851; Ernst Kauvers (ed.), *Voyage to South Australia on 15 August 1848 from Hamburg, undertaken with several hundred of my fellow Germans, along with my return in 1853. Based on a collection of diary entries and with some news about South Australia in general and about the city of Adelaide in particular*, 1853; J.P.D. Dieseldorff, *Guide to South Australia, or South Australia in Its Current State. Based on observations during a stay of several years, made in particular for emigrants*, 1849; and George Doeger, *The Emigrant to South Australia. A Guide to Emigration to South Australia and Australia Felix in relation to voyage, arrival and settlement, together with a description as complete as possible of South Australia and a detailed discussion of issues to be considered in emigrating. Drawn from authentic sources,* 1849.
[130] Hodder, *The History of South Australia*, chapter VI. Hodder reported that total land sales were 299,072 acres.
[131] Nicholas, *Behind the Streets of Adelaide,* Vol. I, 5.
[132] Ibid, 6.
[133] Robert D. Blair, The Pioneers Association of South Australia Inc., Early SA History, 1998, https://www.pioneerssa.org.au/early_sa_history.html, accessed 27 November 2018; G.B. Wilkinson, *The working man's handbook to South Australia, with advice to the farmer, and detailed information for the several class of labourers and artisans*, Murray, London, 1849, 96-97.

Land under cultivation, estimated at 2500 acres in 1840, increased to 64,740 acres by 1850.[134] In 1848, for the first time, the value of exports was almost £120,000 in excess of imports.[135] By mid-century, South Australia's post offices conveyed in excess of 266,500 letters and 393,000 newspapers.[136] The *South Australian Register* was in such demand that it became a daily newspaper.[137] A total of 1867 students attended 64 public schools and the Act for the implementation of representative government was passed in British parliament.[138]

Government

From its foundation, the Colonisation Commission, explained earlier, managed South Australia in conjunction with the Colonial Office. This unique feature in colonial management was referred to as a 'peculiar double government' by Douglas Pike.[139] Almost from the outset, however, administration difficulties, and personal and public divisions resulted in a severe financial depression which circumvented the colony's initial success.[140] South Australia's distinctive system of financial self-sufficiency, the feature which assisted its escalation through British parliament, almost caused its collapse.

Wakefield's system mobilised capital investment in waste land sales to fund an emigrant labour scheme. This negated the requirement for government financial support or a convict labour force. The Colonial Office preferred a Crown colony accountable to the British government. However, its management eventuated as an amalgam between a Crown colony and Wakefield's proposed chartered colony which was managed by the South Australia Association.[141] South Australia's governor and his Legislative Council, who resided in the colony, administered legislation and taxes while the appointed Colonisation Commissioners residing in London with Colonel Robert Torrens as chairman managed land sales, the accrual of revenue, emigrant selection and funding.[142] This created colonial management issues from the beginning which

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[134] Wray Vamplew, *South Australian historical statistics, A Bicentennial History, Historical statistics*, Kensington, N.S.W., 1984.
[135] Ibid, 96-97.
[136] Ibid.
[137] Ibid.
[138] Ibid; on the Constitutional Bill see British Hansard, Victoria Government Bill, HL Deb 10 July 1855, Vol 139, cc652-7.
[139] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 169-172.
[140] Ibid, 169.
[141] Ibid, 64, 66, 68.
[142] *Fourth Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia, to Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for the Colonies, 1839*, 29 July 1840, 22-23. The Crown appointed Commissioners, chaired by Colonel Torrens, were George Fife Angas, William Hutt, Edward Barnard, Samuel Mills, Jacob Montefiore, George Palmer Jnr., John Wright, John George Shaw Lefevre, William Alexander Mackinnon, and Rowland Hill appointed as secretary. See Diary of John Brown, 25.

intensified as more ships arrived in the colony. Administrators of the colonial government were split between those who supported South Australia's Governor Hindmarsh and orders of the Crown and those who supported the commissioners who believed they were upholding the true principles of the South Australia Act.[143]

Contemporary research has concurred with Hodder and Pike that a misguided understanding of the intention of the Act, personal allegiances and personality clashes caused the frictions which led to the economic collapse of 1840 and precipitated the repeal of the 1834 Australia Act.[144] Discord among the people in government administration caused deferments in land surveys which were attributed to a rush on land purchases.[145] Pike stated that this was the result of extensive publicity, which is central to this thesis, and to the exorbitant expenditures which occurred under Governor Gawler's administration.[146] In order to remedy these problems, 'An Act for Regulating the Sale of Waste Lands, belonging to the Crown, in the Australian Colonies', was passed in June 1842 and a subsequent 'Act to provide for the better Government of South Australia'.[147] The first Act aligned land sales and price per acre with the existing Australian colonies.[148] This allegedly created 'a great boon' for South Australia.[149] The second Act consolidated the colony's debt and condensed repayments to the Crown of £4500 annually.[150]

Financial insolvency caused the cessation of assisted migration between 1841 and 1846 and the arrival of only 893 people.[151] Its resumption in 1846 saw migrant arrivals to South Australia outnumber those of every Australian colony, in every year, until 1852.[152] The CLEC managed emigrant arrivals to Australia between 1840 and 1849 and the sale of Crown land in each Australian colony funded assisted

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[143] *Fourth Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia,* 23.
[144] See, for example, Clem MacIntyre, 'Politics', in John Spoehr (ed.), *State of South Australia, Trends and Issues*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, 2005, 117–132; A.W.P. Wimpress, 'The Wakefield Model of Systematic Colonisation in South Australia: an examination with particular reference to its economic aspects', PhD., University of South Australia, 2008, 87, 182-220.
[145] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 169-170.
[146] Ibid.
[147] 'Bankruptcy of South Australia', *South Australian Register,* 22 June 1839, 3; *South Australian News*, No. 5, October 15, 1841, 33; George French Angas*, South Australia, in 1842, by one who lived there nearly four years*, J.C. Hailes, London, 1848, 5; for the Acts see J. Richards, *The Legal Observer, or, Journal of Jurisprudence, May to October, 1842,* Vol. 24, List of Public Acts, 5 & 6 Vict. Sess.2. Cap. 36.- An Act for Regulating the Sale of Waste Lands, belonging to the Crown, in *The Australian Colonies,* and Cap.61, 'An Act to provide for the better Government of South Australia,' Edmund Spettigue, London*,* 300, 363.
[148] Angas, *South Australia, in 1842*, 5.
[149] Ibid, 5.
[150] Ibid, 6.
[151] 'Total immigration from the United Kingdom, 1821-1900', in Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia*, 47.
[152] Ibid.

emigration.[153] In December 1839 South Australia's original, non-remunerated commissioners were devolved of their responsibilities and three salaried commissioners were appointed.[154] Torrens was reinstated with new appointees Edward E. Villiers and Thomas Frederick Elliot.[155] Residing in London, these commissioners were responsible for managing the emigration fund, emigrant selection and contracting migrant vessels.

1840 also marked the establishment of Adelaide's local government. The Corporation of Adelaide City Council was the first local government body established in the Australian colonies. Nineteen councillors, including several founding colonists, were elected and on 30 October 1840 James Hurtle Fisher was proclaimed the colony's first mayor.[156] Councillors were remunerated, staff appointed and monies invested in buildings, city streets and footpaths.[157] However, the colony could not fund the wages or the improvements and the Municipal Act was unmanageable.[158] By 1842 the council was in debt and many council rates unpaid.[159] This worsened the financial problems of the colony and in 1843 the colonial government took control of the council until 1849.[160]

1850 marked scarcely 14 years since the first official settlers arrived in South Australia. By then, land sales, which funded migration, and mineral discoveries brought growth and advancement that rivalled the existing Australian colonies. South Australia was a flourishing, free society whose settlers demanded the responsible government they were promised in the original Act.[161] In 1850 the House of Commons in London passed the Australian Government Bill and the Enabling Act which, in conjunction with the existing Australian colonies (excepting the Swan River Colony),

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[153] Ibid*,* 12.
[154] 'South Australia,' HC Deb 15 March 1841 Vol. 57, cc243-82.
[155] See *South Australia, copies of any Correspondence in the Colonial Department relative to the Establishment of the Settlement of* South Australia*, since the Year 1831, and its present Financial Difficulties,* No. 66, Colonization Commissioners for South Australia to Lord John Russell, 23 December, 1839.
[156] On responsible government and the first city council see Derek Whitelock, *Adelaide: A Sense of Difference*, Australian Scholarly Publishing Pty. Ltd., Third Edition, 2000, 81-85, also 'Corporation of the City of Adelaide Standing Orders', 26 February 2014, 4, 82. https://www.cityofadelaide.com.au/assets/Policies-Papers/docs/STANDING-ORDER.PDF, accessed 27 November 2018. The councillors were Nathaniel Hailes, John Brown, Charles Mann, Abraham Hopkins Davis, George Stevenson, John Hallett, William Blyth, William Gilchrist Lambert, Thomas Wilson, Edward Rowlands, Edward William Andrews, James Frew, William Henry Neale, Samuel East, William Sanders John Yatesby Wakeham, and Henry Watson and Matthew Smillie, whom are discussed in later chapters.
[157] J J Pascoe, *History of Adelaide and Vicinity: with a General Sketch of the Province of South Australia and Biographies of Representative Men*, Hussey & Gillingham, Adelaide, 1901, 72-73.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid, 73.
[160] See Pike *Paradise of Consent*, 238-248.
[161] See part XXIV of 'The South Australian Act,' in Dickey and Howell (eds), *South Australia's Foundation*, 49.

authorised the establishment of a Legislative Council and the inaugural elections for South Australia were held in July 1851.[162]

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined changes in Britain which emerged concurrently with and were great influences on Wakefield's systematic colonisation idea. It has established that population movements from rural to urban regions transformed the framework of society and stimulated migration. Furthermore, it has introduced themes which are dominant and recurring during the period covered in this thesis, including migration, literacy, published literature and the emergence of a newspaper industry. A description of Australia's colonies prior to South Australia's colonisation and of South Australian society once settlement was established has provided the context for this thesis.

South Australia's planners attempted to transplant an unrivalled and pluralistic British society. The promotion of a moral and pious colony would encourage religious diversity and tolerance. This resounds today in its epithet as 'the city of churches'.[163] They envisioned a colony where the 'faith and discipline to which they subscribe[d]' discouraged dispersion.[164] The most promising and superior members of each class in British society were encouraged; Wakefield intended that 'society shall be transplanted'.[165] While Australia comprised four colonies when South Australia was envisioned, its distinctive government system and constraint on convict transportation distinguished it from them. It is revealed that this encouraged antagonism and competition for suitable migrants which newspapers and literature exacerbated.

The emerging newspaper industry was instrumental for the promotion and advertising of the colony. It was the predominant means by which its planners and supporters facilitated settlement and encouraged migration. The evidence and statistical data presented in this thesis indicate that, while publicity was crucial for spreading information about the venture, the British government, colonial administrators or South Australia's promoters could not control the immense quantity of unofficial published information. This significant and ongoing issue is advanced in Chapter Two.

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[162] See Paul Sendziuk and Robert Foster (eds),, *A History of South Australia*, CUP, UK, 2018, 49.
[163] See, for example, ABC News article by Nicola Gage and Inga Ting, 2016 Census: 'City of Churches' label spreading thin across Greater Adelaide communities', 3 August 2017, https://www.abc.net.au/news/2017-08-03/adelaides-city-of-churches-label-spreading-thin/8763330, accessed 10 June 2019.
[164] Ibid, 7-28.
[165] Ibid.

Chapter Two

Promoting South Australia in the 'age of newspapers'

The period from 1829 until c. 1850 marks an era of mass migration which evolved from an *ad hoc* sporadic relocation to a large-scale colonisation movement. By mid-century, Britain had exported people and capital to every other continent on earth.[1] Concurrently, the increasing number and availability of newspapers and literature exposed the British public to more news and information than in any previous era. Most importantly, this facilitated the spread of information to almost every region in Britain. It was truly an 'age of newspapers'.[2]

This chapter explores the emerging newspaper and publishing industry, which developed simultaneously with the South Australian colonisation plan. It identifies and outlines the migration issues during the 1820s which preceded South Australian settlement and argues that these debates influenced public acceptance of Wakefield's plan for systematic colonisation. This chapter illustrates that newspapers were available to the classes that South Australia's planners initially encouraged and argues that this greatly advantaged Wakefield and his supporters. Furthermore, that the people responsible for the government pursuing the South Australian colonisation scheme were apprised of the issues surrounding colonisation and emigration from newspaper debates. This chapter also argues that this greatly assisted the creation of South Australia as a colony by the parliament.

Robert Montgomery Martin, the editor of the *Colonial Magazine* and an emigration author, revealed the importance of newspapers in his paper's first issue, in 1840:

> [Newspapers are] an instrument of vast but almost unseen power, which may be employed for the dissemination of good or evil, according to the conduct and motives of those who wield that singular element of social life – "the press".[3]

In conjunction with newspapers, new concepts, innovations and a changing perception in the middle and upper classes towards the working and lower classes

[1] Kevin Hjortshøf O'Rourke, 'From Empire to Europe: Britain in the World Economy', in Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries, & Paul Johnson (eds),, *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain,* Vol. *2*, CUP, UK, 2014, 60–94.
[2] John Stuart Mill, *On Liberty*, Walter Scott Publishing Co., Ltd., London, New York, Melbourne, 1859, 173.
[3] 'Preface', *Colonial Magazine and Commercial-Maritime Journal,* Vol. I, January–April 1840, i.

defined this period in Britain. The early migration schemes, which attempted to relieve destitute populations, were one manifestation of these changing perceptions. These are discussed in relation to their publication in the British press. The 1820s also marks a period when the emerging newspaper industry became the predominant method for disseminating news and information. Newspapers enabled the involvement of ordinary people in community issues. These developments are explored in connection with the support for Wakefield's plan from newspaper editors, such as Robert Rintoul from the *Spectator,* and the opposition of others like Thomas Barnes, the editor of *The Times*.

Emigration versus Colonisation: debates in British newspapers[4]

According to Wakefield, until the mid-1820s 'colonisation was in no respect a subject of public opinion: the public neither knew nor cared anything at all about it'.[5] From then, and in conjunction with the increasing urbanised communities of working poor previously discussed, theorists conceptualised methods of relieving destitution through colonisation and emigration. The increase in both the number of newspapers and their distribution greatly enhanced this debate. It enabled the broadest spread of information, previously relegated to word-of-mouth discussions and private forums and facilitated the ongoing involvement of ordinary people. This was clearly articulated in *Blackwood's Magazine* 1824:

> The force as well as the direction of the public mind may be measured and ascertained by periodical publications, more certainly, as well as more easily, than by any other mode.[6]

Newspapers promoted the colonisation and emigration debates which became the 'subject of public opinion' believed Wakefield.[7] This occurred concurrently with his innovative idea for systematic colonisation. He recognised the emerging newspaper industry and exploited it to publicise his colonisation idea in the public sphere. In this way he informed and influenced the prevailing ideas about colonisation and emigration. Rather than the existing unstructured migration, which previously occurred, Wakefield envisioned the organised transplantation of a complete society in

[4] On the policy debate between colonisation and emigration see, for example H.J.M Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830*, OUP, Oxford, 1972, 109-128.
[5] Edward Gibbon Wakefield (ed.), *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire; in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*, John W. Parker, London, 1849, 38.
[6] 'On the Reciprocal Influence of Periodical Publication, and the Intellectual Progress of this Country', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. XVI, No. XCIV, Nov. 1824, 518-528, in particular 519.
[7] Wakefield (ed.) *A View of the Art of Colonization,* 38.

a new territory.[8] It was the first experiment in 'settler colonialism'.[9] An exploration of these colonisation and emigration debates is important as it helps to explain the public disposition in Britain during the era when South Australian colonisation was proposed. It is argued that these debates created interest among Wakefield's peers in his plan and helped to publicise it more broadly, eventually gaining acceptance in parliament. Wakefield and his associates exploited the public interest in colonisation and emigration. In some respects the widespread reporting of these debates explains why systematic colonisation captivated so many people. Wakefield addressed the 'vagueness or confusion of language' which resulted from the 'confusion of ideas' surrounding colonisation.[10] Consequently, the extensive publication of these issues in newspapers should not be underestimated. They increased understanding about colonisation and emigration and enabled community debate and involvement for their resolution.

Three schools of thought were debated. First, that mass colonisation to destinations away from Britain could alleviate distressed populations. Second, that home colonisation which comprised the relocation of populations throughout the British mainland would offer relief, and third, that the existing random emigration which was ongoing was adequate. Initially, confusion surrounded the terms colonisation and emigration. Sir Francis Burdett, a wealthy and benevolent parliamentarian who described himself as a 'reforming Tory', was one of the first to articulate a distinction between colonisation and emigration.[11] 'Colonization,…[was] by no means confound[ed]…with "emigration". Emigration and colonization were things very different in their effect'.[12] Colonisation, it was argued, was a broad, largescale and systematic relief system for a superfluous population. As early as 1817 Colonel Robert Torrens, who would later become a South Australian Colonisation Commissioner, had proposed that a 'well regulated system of colonization' could relieve Ireland's overabundant population.[13] By contrast, emigration referenced the

[8] See Tony Ballantyne, 'The theory and practice of empire-building: Edward Gibbon Wakefield and 'systematic colonisation'', in Robert Aldrich and Kirsten McKenzie (eds), *The Routledge History of Western Empires*, Oxon, NY, 2014, 89–101.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Wakefield (ed), *A View of the Art of Colonization,* 11.
[11] 'Sir Francis Burdett, 5th bt. (1770-1844)', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, D.R. Fisher, (ed.) CUP, 2009, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/burdett-sir-francis-1770-1844, accessed 19 July 2016.
[12] Ibid; House of Commons Debate, Sir Francis Burdett, 11 May 1824, Vol. 11, cc708-710.
[13] Robert Torrens, 'A Paper on the means of reducing the Poor Rates, and of affording effectual and permanent Relief to the Labouring Classes', *The Pamphleteer*, Vol. X, Gale & Fenner, London, 1817, 509-530.

singular and haphazard movement of people with no specific rationale or plan which had occurred to date.

Those who favoured wide-scale colonisation, like Torrens and Wakefield, promoted it as imperative for Britain to provide hope for its people and to encourage betterment through planned relocation.[14] Although Wakefield supported a broad, large scale and systematic relief system for the mass movement of people to South Australia he did not support the relocation of a superfluous population. His plan proposed colonisation by every class of person with superior morals and a good work ethic. This is supported by the continued assertion that no convicts would be transported to the colony, that an equivalent number of both sexes would be sent and in the regulations which specified that emigrants must be 'honest, sober, industrious, and of general good character'.[15]

Underlying the opposition to colonisation and emigration were two vastly differing ideas. First, that there was no superfluous population in Britain, therefore neither large scale emigration nor systematic colonisation were required. Second, the existence of a superfluous and increasingly destitute population was acknowledged, but its remedy was relocation throughout Britain. Supporters of this latter idea opposed the removal of any British people to the colonies or elsewhere. Prior to 1830 newspaper content reflected the arbitrary manner of British emigration. It was 'casual,…by parties absconding in driblets on their own means'.[16] Emigration was perceived as inconsequential. From the 1830s a 'rage' for the melange of emigration schemes surpassed this previous 'casual' approach.[17] Publishers of London and provincial newspapers perceived this 'rage' for emigration and took advantage of the debates to further their efficacy. The importance of newspapers in promoting differing points of view at this time, therefore, was crucial. The following statistics about the colonisation and emigration debates reveal the prevalence of these discussions.

A study of newspapers available in the digital British Newspaper Archive from January 1828 until December 1830 revealed that 735 articles discussed colonisation or emigration: 228 were published in London, 250 in rural England, 25 in Scotland and 232 in Ireland. The newspapers which reported these debates most consistently were

[14] See, for example, poet Samuel Taylor Coleridge's remarks on mass colonisation in *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Second Edition, John Murray, London, 1836, 223-224.
[15] 'New Colony in South Australia', in Brian Dickey and Peter Howell, (eds), *South Australia's Foundation Select Documents*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, 1986, 71.
[16] 'Third Report upon Emigration from the United Kingdoms, 1827', *The Edinburgh Review*, January 1828, No. XCIII, 218.
[17] Ibid; 'National Picture', *Leicester Journal*, Vol. LXXIX, No. 4,054, Friday 30 April 1830, 4.

the large, urban ones: London's *Evening Mail* (38), *Morning Chronicle* (31)*, Globe* (30) and *Evening Standard* (26); Dublin's *Evening Post* (29) and *Morning Register* (16); and the Irish *Cork Constitution* (14). [18] The debates also resonated throughout provincial England. There were few regions whose newspapers ignored the colonisation and emigration debates, but the topic was more widespread in some areas than others (see Fig. 2.1).The lack of articles in Scottish newspapers may be indicative of the fact that wide-scale migration was already underway because of the Highland clearances.[19] The number of articles published also increased in each year from 155 in 1828, to 269 in 1829 and to 311 in 1830.[20]

Table 2.1: Frequency of newspaper articles about emigration and colonisation in English counties, January 1828–December 1830.

County	No.	County	No.
Berkshire	4	Bristol	4
Buckinghamshire	5	Cambridgeshire	1
Cheshire	4	Cornwall	1
Cumberland	17	Derbyshire	2
Devon	9	Dorset	8
Durham	10	Essex	4
Gloucestershire	4	Hampshire	12
Herefordshire	1	Huntingdonshire	1
Kent	7	Lancashire	20
Leicestershire	9	Lincolnshire	2
Norfolk	10	Northamptonshire	5
Northumberland	3	Nottinghamshire	5
Oxfordshire	2	Somerset	7
Staffordshire	4	Suffolk	11
Sussex	10	Warwickshire	15
Westmoreland	3	Wiltshire	13
Worcestershire	8	Yorkshire	26

This data indicates that the debates surrounding colonisation and emigration were prevalent prior to and during the years which coincided with Wakefield's promotion of systematic colonisation. A review of these articles revealed that the subjects of the debates were varied. Topics included support for an Irish home Protestant colonisation plan, for example.[21] Certainly, Irish newspapers showed a

[18] A digital reference search was undertaken on 23 October 2018 for the terms colonisation and emigration in articles in the British Newspaper Archive. It did not consider advertisements. A breakdown of the results are as follows: East Midlands, England (23), East, England (27), Grampian, Scotland (3), Highland, Scotland (4), London, England (228), Lothian, Scotland (16), North East, England (13), North Wales, Wales (2), North West, England (44), Northern Ireland, (37), Republic of Ireland, (195), South East, England (40), South Wales (1), South West, England (46), Tayside, Scotland (2), West Midlands, England (28), Yorkshire and the Humber, England (26).

[19] Gordon Pentland, 'Scotland and the Creation of a National Reform Movement, 1830-1832', *The Historical Journal*, 48 (4), Dec., 2005, 999-1023. On the clearances See, for example Eric Richards, *Debating the Highland Clearances*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2007, 9-14.

[20] This data was collated in a spreadsheet and is held by thesis author.

[21] See 'Protestant Colonies', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, Vol. VI, No. 962, Saturday 2 January 1830, 2, also 'Miscellanies', *Cumberland Pacquet*, No. 2,878, Tuesday 08 December 1829, 1; for a contemporary discussion about this debate See, for example, Andrew R. Holmes, 'Protestants and 'Greater Ireland': mission, migration, and identity in the nineteenth century', *Irish Historical Studies*, 41 (160), Nov 2017, 275–285, and Eugene Broderick Saothar, 'Religion and class in

greater interest than Scottish publications and many English provincial ones in the colonisation and emigration debates. The increase in destitute communities in Ireland, which Torrens argued would benefit from relocation, may explain this. Ireland comprised 'the very extreme of human wretchedness' with many of the Irish relocating to England.[22] Irish literacy expanded exponentially, enabling a strong market for cheap publications and the popular press which were considered 'a necessity'.[23] Furthermore, as Christopher Morash argued, newspapers in Ireland were extensively available to the lower classes, particularly in provincial regions.[24] The colonisation and emigration debates, therefore, were also widely publicised among these people.

In conjunction with the general debates about the merits of colonisation or emigration, other popular emigration destinations included the Swan River Colony, Canada and other destinations in 'New Holland' (a term still used in Britain in reference to the continent of Australia).[25] Table 2.1 reveals that the newspapers in some English counties were far more interested in the colonisation and emigration debates than others. Conditions specific to these regions encouraged community interest and newspaper commentary. Six prominent Yorkshire publications, for example, reported numerously about the colonisation and emigration debates.[26] The great 'agricultural distress' in Yorkshire witnessed by social commentator William Cobbett during his 'Rural Rides' between 1821 and 1826 may help to explain this.[27] By 1830, according to *The Times*, 'the small farmers' and shopkeepers were severely distressed and 'the blanket trade…[was] in a state of extreme depression' in this region.[28] The prevalence of newspapers reporting about colonisation and emigration helped to create an 'emigration mania' in this region, particularly among farmers who 'in general read nothing but the newspapers' according to Cobbett.[29] The exploitation of the colonisation and emigration debates in these provincial newspapers helped to

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nineteenth-century Ireland: the social composition of Waterford's Anglican community, 1831—71', *Irish Labour History Society*, 30, 2005, 61–71.

[22] Gustave de Beaumont, (edited and translated by W. C. Taylor) *Ireland, Social, Political, and Religious*, Harvard University Press, Cambridge and London, 2007, 130.

[23] Christopher Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, CUP, UK, 2010, 63, 65.

[24] Ibid, 65, 68-69.

[25] On emigration to these regions at this time see Chapter One. 'New Holland' was the name given to the 'Unknown South Land' by Dutch explorers. It was renamed 'Australia' after Matthew Flinders used it to describe the island he circumnavigated in 1803. See 'How was Australia named?' National Library of Australia, https://www.nla.gov.au/faq/how-was-australia-named, accessed 20 October 2019.

[26] These were the *Hull Advertiser* (6), *Hull Packet* (1), *Leeds Intelligencer* (7), *Leeds Patriot* (2), *Sheffield Independent* (4) and *Yorkshire Gazette* (6).

[27] See William Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, Vol. 1, Everyman's Library, London, NY, 1966, 44.

[28] [No Heading], *The Times*, No. 14,186 Monday 29 March 1830, 2.

[29] Ibid; Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 44.

perpetuate the 'emigration mania' because it provided information for the potential alleviation of their distress.

Newspaper proprietors in Yorkshire entered these debates because they perceived community distress and sought ways of informing their readers of a means for relief. 'Our sentiments on this subject we have already fully presented to our readers', reported the *Leeds Intelligencer*.[30] They argued that emigration was viable means for relief: 'in the present distress of the operative classes arising from redundancy of population, emigration will be found to be its effectual, it's exclusive, and it's almost immediate remedy'.[31] Although newspapers provided valuable information to communities seeking amelioration from distress, this evidence also reveals that they also exploited these circumstances by asserting that emigration was an ultimate panacea.

The data shows that Lancashire publications also took up these debates. This region suffered similar distresses to Yorkshire. Increasingly industrialised, by 1825 Lancashire's cotton handloom weavers were suffering from a loss of traditional employment with the transition to factory power-looms.[32] The spinners and weavers, according to Cobbett, were 'wretched beings' but their landlords were also 'deep in debt'.[33] Concerns about these issues, as with Yorkshire, more likely influenced the increased number of articles about colonisation and emigration. Increasingly, these communities demanded information and newspapers were in a prime position to provide it. The widespread publication of these debates assisted Wakefield and his supporters because they promoted discussions for the relief of these classes in society. Consequently, by 1829, when Wakefield first proposed his ideas, colonisation and emigration were in the public mind.

The question of pauper emigration

During the 1820s the terms colonisation and emigration were not differentiated. However, the parliamentary debates in 1825 over Robert Wilmot Horton's Canadian Waste lands Bill helped to clarify their meaning. A conservative politician and avid supporter of emigration, Horton defined colonisation as 'a bold and extensive

[30] [No Heading], *Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXVII, No. 3,916, Thursday 23 July 1829, 2.
[31] Ibid. In this instance, the operative classes were the Spitalfield silk weavers.
[32] Arthur Redford, *Labour Migration in England, 1800-1850*, Longmans, Green & Co., Ltd., London, N.Y., 1926, 12, 35, 132.
[33] Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 307, 310.

system'.[34] Horton had proposed systems of mass colonisation from early in the 1820s and believed that it was the best way to relieve Britain's distressed, labouring populations.[35] The terms were further clarified in Parliament's *Third Report on Emigration* in 1827: it is 'of primary importance to distinguish most accurately between Colonization and Emigration'.[36] Colonisation was the transplantation of emigrants 'aided by a small portion of capital'.[37] Emigration consisted of 'an indefinite quantity of labourers without capital'.[38] This definition tied population movement with economics, provided clarity for Wakefield's systematic colonisation proposal and promoted colonisation as opposed to the existing *ad hoc* emigration.

The colonisation and emigration debates encouraged widespread community interest in and concern about destitute populations, and also in 'the future welfare of the empire'.[39] Significant community interest was spearheaded through the newspaper debates, prompting the *Leeds Intelligencer* to report that 'till the recent discussion on Emigration we never felt a pang of despair for the fate of England'.[40] As a result, the government formed a Board of Emigration in 1827 which was responsible for regulating emigration agents, and selecting and vetting potential migrant families.[41] The creation of the board indicated that the government recognised the importance of the colonisation and emigration issues and formulated a response to community concerns. This also helped Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan for South Australia because its primary tenets mirrored those which were later enforced in the South Australian Act.[42] Furthermore, within a few years, growing numbers of the middle classes acknowledged an excess destitute population existed and recognised that colonisation was a viable means for its relief.

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[34] See, for example, 'Wednesday and Thursday's Posts', *The Bristol Mirror, Late Bonner and Middleton Journal*, Vol. LII, No. 2,662, Saturday 28 January 1826, 2; 'From the Representative', *Cumberland Pacquet, and Ware's Whitehaven Advertiser*, No. 2,677, Tuesday 31 January 1826, 2; House of Commons Debate, Canadian Waste lands Bill, 15 March 1825, Vol. 12, cc1033-1039.
[35] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 76; on Robert Wilmot Horton see Edward Brynn, 'Politics and Economic Theory: Robert Wilmot Horton, 1820-1841', *The Historian*, 34 (2), February, 1972, 260-277.
[36] 'Parliamentary Paper Third Report on Emigration', *Morning Post*, No. 16,723, Wednesday 3 October 1827, 2. This reference is from Part VII, entitled *The Distinction between Emigration and Colonization and a Regulated and an Unregulated Emigration.*
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] [No Heading], *Leeds Intelligencer,* Vol. LXXV, No. 3,791, Thursday 1 March 1827, 3.
[40] Ibid.
[41] 'Emigration', *Dublin Evening Post*, Saturday 13 October 1827, No. 9,723, 4; see also Horton's 'Emigration Bill, to enable parishes in England, under given regulations, and for a limited period, to mortgage their poor rates for the purpose of assisting voluntary Emigration', in W. (William), Huskisson, *The speeches of the Right Honourable William Huskisson: with a biographical memoir supplied to the ed. from authentic sources,* Vol. 3, London, 1831. *The Making Of The Modern World*. Web. 23 June 2015. Emigration agents are discussed in chapter four.
[42] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 52; Wakefield, (ed.) *A View of the Art of Colonization,* 40-41.

The ability of newspapers to facilitate these debates should not be underestimated. Their widespread reporting encouraged significant interest in the benefits or disadvantages of emigration or colonisation and many people joined the discussion. John Ede, for example, acquainted with political economists of the period, including Thomas Tooke and Robert Torrens, wrote of the 'fallacy and injustice of recommending emigration' in 1829.[43] Ede opposed Horton's views, stating that 'absurdity and contradiction' plagued the government and societies like Horton's which recommended these remedies.[44] Holding an opposing viewpoint, John Barton, a Quaker, political economist and a relative of South Australian pioneer John Barton Hack, was in favour of wide-scale colonisation. In 1830 he acknowledged that this was a popular topic and that its broad discussion would clarify the current 'schemes of colonization' because years had elapsed 'without any effective measure' for remedying excess populations.[45] Conversations like these were widespread in the primary literature, but were particularly polarised in newspaper columns because there was an opportunity for community redress and reply, particularly in the 'letter to the editor' columns. This ensured that the topics of colonisation and emigration remained at the forefront of discussions and that newspapers exploited these debates to encourage readership.

Wakefield's plan; defining community discussion

An article in the esteemed and broadly circulated *Brighton Gazette* signed 'Candid' reported that a 'Systematic Colonization' plan which was discussed in the *Spectator* in April 1830 'might be advantageously adopted in colonization'.[46] Candid referred to Wakefield's colonisation plan which was published as an appendix to the *Spectator* on 3 April and attracted much interest. Candid reported that colonisation was badly conducted by all countries, particularly when it encouraged 'the middling classes' rather than 'the most miserable classes'.[47] According to this anonymous author, while emigration was a *relief*, it could never 'be a *prevention*, much less a Cure'.[48] This argument highlighted economic considerations. If colonisation encouraged a mass

[43] John Ede, *Reflections on the Employment Wages & Conditions of the Poor Showing the Fallacy and Injustice of Recommending Emigration*, 1829, title page and 17; A Letter to R W Horton on the Subject of Emigration and Colonization, Vol. 4, Maughan Library Foyle Special Collection, FCO 2 JU 7614 OUT, 9.
[44] Ede, *Reflections on the Employment Wages & Conditions of the Poor,* 17.
[45] John Barton, *A statement of the consequences likely to ensue from our growing excess of population, if not remedied by colonization*, Harvey and Darton, London, 1830, 1, 2.
[46] On the *Brighton Gazette* see 'Provincial Newspaper Press', *Westminster Review*, Vol 12, January 1830, 69-103; 'The Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by Means of Systematic Colonization', *The Brighton Gazette and Lewes Observer*, No.478, Thursday 15 April 1830, 4.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid. The italics were in the original document.

exodus of the middle classes and their capital, British society would suffer. However, initially, this was exactly how Wakefield's plan was promoted.

London's *Standard and Morning Journal*, and the provincial *Brighton Gazette* republished the *Spectator* article, but were not in favour of the idea. They stated that it was 'a "*day-dream*"'.[49] The *Standard,* in particular, believed the plan would create a 'pauper colony'. Robert Rintoul, the editor of the *Spectator* countered that 'the scheme is not one of charity; it is not an extension of a "cheap soup system."…It is addressed to labourers and capitalists'.[50] Two specific questions were asked. How could a proposed annual emigration of 'fifty thousand procreative couples' be funded and how this number of colonists could be sustained in the colony?[51] Wakefield's emigration plan was not discounted, but the idea that a mass colonisation could occur was questioned. Already, the involvement of ordinary people, in particular, those in the classes who were previously excluded from these debates, is evident. In this case, individual emigration was preferred to the removal of large groups from specific regions. Once South Australia was founded, however, the removal of large groups became the government's preferred emigration model. This example provides evidence of the influence that newspapers wielded among their readership and how published information helped to inform and encourage community interest.

Wakefield and Horton: The debates for and against colonisation

Changing economic and social pressures, outlined in Chapter One, which caused unemployment and destitution, also encouraged communities to discuss ways of ameliorating the affected population. As a consequence, newspaper editors exploited the topics of colonisation and emigration in their columns. Horton realised the newspapers' increasing ubiquitousness which rivalled the government and the church as the pre-eminent 'voice of the people'.[52] Thus, in 1830 when he spoke of the differences 'between Emigration and Colonization' in eight lectures at the London Mechanics Institute, he used newspapers extensively to advertise and disseminate his ideas. The lectures, targeted to the 'operative and labouring classes', were advertised

[49] Ibid.
[50] 'Topics of the Day. New Plan of Colonization–Misapprehensions Corrected', *The Spectator*, No. 93, 10 April 1830, 8.
[51] 'The Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by Means of Systematic Colonization', *The Brighton Gazette and Lewes Observer*, No.478, Thursday 15 April 1830, 4.
[52] E.M. Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press in Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals*, Anthem Press, USA, UK, 2013, vii.

in newspapers and in pamphlets and transcripts were published in newspapers.[53] It was recognised that newspapers were important for spreading information among the working and lower classes.

The *Morning Advertiser* publicised the lectures and also published lengthy extracts from Horton's oration.[54] The *London Courier and Evening Gazette* and the *Globe* also advertised the lectures in December 1830 and published selections from Horton's speech.[55] While advertisements promoted the lectures and encouraged attendances, the publication of his speeches helped to spread his ideas among a far broader audience than the lectures alone. Indeed, the popularity of colonisation and emigration in communities inspired the widespread dissemination of Horton's concepts and he used the lectures to promote his ideas about these subjects.

Horton believed that emigration entailed 'the removal of persons from one country to another' and colonisation was 'the planting or establishing [of] a body of peoples as the permanent occupiers of a new country or district'.[56] Colonisers were 'settled and established,…permanent occupiers of the country to which they migrate'.[57] Wakefield embraced this distinction between colonisation and emigration and it was a point on which he and Horton concurred.

The publication of Horton's colonisation ideas generated considerable debate in other newspapers, including some that were published in the provincial regions. *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* denounced his idea as 'wrong in its principle…and trivial in its practice', and the *Leicester Journal* echoed this sentiment.[58] Ireland's *Waterford Mail,* however, reported that 'only Mr. Horton's plan of emigration' would relieve a supernumerary and unemployed population.[59] Such was the frequency with which Horton's emigration ideas were reported in newspapers that in 1828 *Bell's Life in London* described a painting of animals at Bartholomew Fair 'so numerous, as

[53] Robert Wilmot Horton, *Lectures on Statistics and Political Economy, as affecting the condition of the operative and labouring classes. Delivered at the London Mechanics' Institution, in 1830 and 1831, with notes*, Edmund Lloyd, London, 1832.
[54] See the *Morning Advertiser* on December 9, 13, 16, 25 and 30 December 1830 and 13, 20, and 27 January, 22 February and 31 March 1831.
[55] See the *London Courier and Evening Gazette* on 9 and 23 December, 1830 and 25 January, 1831; see the *Globe* 7, 17 December, 1830, 20 January and 8 March, 1831.
[56] Horton, *Lectures on Statistics and Political Economy*, Lecture VIII.
[57] Ibid.
[58] 'Mr Wilmot Horton and Emigration', *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. XXIII, January–June, 1828, 191-194; 'Mr. Wilmot Horton & Emigration', *Leicester Journal and Midland Counties General Advertiser,* Vol. LXXVII, No. 3,939, Friday 15 February 1828, 4.
[59] 'Emigration', *Waterford Mail*, Vol. VIII, No. 770, Wednesday 13 April 1831, 4.

almost to require Mr. Wilmot Horton's Emigration Bill to ship off the superabundant population'.[60]

Horton's ideas attracted opponents whose views were also aired in newspaper columns. For example, Michael Thomas Sadler, a Tory member of the House of Commons who supported the Poor Laws, and denounced industrialism, denied there was an excess rural population.[61] He stated that 'emigration had failed'.[62] He was vehemently opposed to large-scale emigration and proposed a vastly different approach for the remedy of destitution.[63] Through his business dealings with the linen trade in Ireland, he became a fervent advocate for the poor but believed that labouring in Britain, rather than emigration to the colonies, was their best remedy.[64] He advocated that the wealthy should fund the redistribution of the destitute in Britain.[65] Such was the interest in this debate that more than 240 articles which debated Sadler's viewpoint were published in London, in 1829. A further 162 articles were published in the provincial papers, and 74 in Ireland. The popularity of the colonisation debates is realised when contrasted with articles about the Catholic Emancipation Act, for example, which was debated and passed in parliament during 1829.[66] Only five London newspapers published articles on it and only ten were published in provincial Britain.

During the early 1830s debates about how to alleviate destitute populations effectively were common. Many and varied people voiced their opinions about colonisation and emigration and these discussions were facilitated in newspaper

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[60] 'Picture of Bartholomew Fair, with Several Portraits', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, Vol. VII, No. 340, Sunday 7 September 1828, 1; for a description and brief history of the Fair see Asa Briggs, '1960–Mass Entertainment: The Origins of a Modern Industry', in Kym Anderson (ed.) *Australia's Economy in Its International Context: The Joseph Fisher Lectures, Volume 2: 1956-2012*, University of Adelaide Press, South Australia, 2012, 49–76.

[61] 'Poor Laws in Ireland', *Windsor and Eton Express and Reading Journal*, No 877, Vol. XVI, Saturday 9 May, 1829, 3. On debates in the press between Horton and Sadler See, for example, 'Mr. Wilmot Horton on Pauperism', *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette,* Vol. CVIII, No. 5,679, Monday 18 January, 1830, 4; 'House of Commons', Thursday, June 4,' *The Standard*, 5 June 1829, No. 641, 4. 'Wilmot Horton's Project', *Cobbett's Weekly Political Register*, Saturday 20 March 1830, Vol. 69, No. 12, 1; 'Mr. Wilmot Horton and Mr Sadler', *Leeds Mercury*, Vol. 62, No. 3,148, Saturday 9 May 1829, 3; 'The Edinburgh Review and Mr. Sadler', *Yorkshire Gazette*, Vol. XI, No. 547, Saturday 3 October 1829, 2.

[62] 'Systematic Colonization', *The Spectator*, 24 April 1830, No. 95, 257-258.

[63] Stewart A. Weaver, 'Sadler, Michael Thomas (1780–1835)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Accessed 1 May 2013.

[64] 'Poor Laws in Ireland', *Windsor and Eton Express and Reading Journal*, No 877, Vol. XVI, Saturday 9 May 1829, 3.

[65] Ibid.

[66] For the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act, 1829 see Harry T. Dickinson (ed.) *Constitutions of the World from the late 18th Century to the Middle of the 19th Century, Sources on the Rise of Modern Constitutionalism, Vol. 1, Constitutional Documents of the United Kingdom 1782–1835*, K.G. Saur Verlag, Munich, 2005, 105–116. The debates surrounding Catholic Emancipation are discussed in Paul Adelman and Robert Pearce (eds.) *Access To History: Great Britain and the Irish Question 1798-1921 Third Edition*, Hodder Education, UK, 2005.

columns. For example, the *Yorkshire Gazette,* an important provincial journal, promoted Sadler's viewpoint.[67] It 'opposed the inhuman scheme for encouraging pauper emigration' and concluded 'we hope to hear no more of schemes for saddling parishes with debts to send paupers to the colonies'.[68] Hence, their opposition highlighted the perceived cost to the community and they expressed a general abhorrence for all emigration from this region. The difficulty readers faced was in distinguishing between the 'facts and opinions, rumours and occurrences' which journalist and author Frederick Knight Hunt referenced in his earlier history of *The Fourth Estate*.[69]

In 1832 the *Leeds Intelligencer* reported favourably about William Atkinson's lecture to Birmingham Political Union members which promoted 'Home Colonization'.[70] It was 'not only practicable…[but] of necessity' that the destitute should be relocated throughout Britain rather than removed to offshore colonies.[71] Atkinson, who also published his ideas in a pamphlet, argued that Horton's plan was unfounded because there was enough uncultivated land in Britain to engage the unemployed.[72] The *Leeds Intelligencer* supported Atkinson's view and published statements which clearly outlined their antipathy to Horton's 'cold-blooded system'.[73] It is unsurprising that these prominent Yorkshire newspapers were opposed to widespread emigration. In 1831 this region comprised one-tenth of the entire population of England and as a productive agricultural, mining and manufacturing region, it required an extensive labour force to facilitate these industries.[74] Offshore emigration was an unpopular remedy in this region because it removed the people that the community required. The *Leeds Intelligencer* highlighted this by promoting 'Home colonization', but in so doing, it revealed how biased information could be spread among people reliant on particular newspapers.

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[67] On *The Yorkshire Gazette* and its influence in the county see D.R. Fisher (ed.) 'Yorkshire', *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, CUP, 2009, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/constituencies/yorkshire, accessed 8 October 2016.
[68] 'Emigration', *The Yorkshire Gazette*, Vol. XIII, No. 643, 6 August 1831, 2.
[69] Frederick Knight Hunt, *The Fourth Estate: Contributions towards a History of Newspapers and the Liberty of the Press,* Vol. I, David Bogue, London, 1801, 4.
[70] 'Home Colonization', *Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXX, No. 4,050, Thursday 16 February 1832, 3.
[71] Ibid.
[72] William Atkinson, *A Plan of Home Colonization for gradually liquidating the National Debt, reducing Pauperism, and giving the Destitute the means of obtaining comfortable provision by their honest labour*, London, 1832.
[73] 'Domestic Intelligence', *The Leeds Intelligencer and Yorkshire General Advertiser*, Vol. LXXVII, No. 3,910, 11 June 1829, 2.
[74] James Bell, *A New and Comprehensive Gazetteer of England and Wales*, Vol III, A. Fullarton & Co. Glasgow, 1835, 431-444. On the industrialisation of Yorkshire see Nigel Goose, 'Regions 1700-1870', in Roderick Floud, Jane Humphries and Paul Johnson (eds), *The Cambridge Economic History of Modern Britain: 1700-1870*, CUP, Cambridge, 2014, Vol. 1, 149–177, in particular 160–161.

According to Cobbett, however, the *London Courier's* support for Horton reflected the mood of the day.[75] A Tory Member of Parliament and the publisher of the popular radical *Weekly Political Register*, Cobbett supported Horton's ideas. The *Courier*, which rivalled *The Times* in circulation as the most widely read newspaper in Britain, wrote that he (Horton) 'evinces a perfect knowledge of political economy'.[76] Those in favour of home colonisation did not argue that there were excess populations, but that redundant populations should be re-distributed throughout Britain. It was argued that 'the superfluous population…can be disposed of more economically and more advantageously at home than abroad'.[77] Members of the emerging middle classes, who supported this viewpoint penned letters to the newspapers, published pamphlets and induced its debate in parliament. Home colonisation supporters argued that only 'the very pride of our population' would be 'deported' leaving behind the 'idle beggars' and a debt of taxes distributed among the middle classes.[78] They argued that colonisation was voluntary, but emigration was enforced, and they tied parliamentary reform to the successful redistribution of destitute populations within Britain.[79]

Many published statements were controversial. *Bell's Life* summarised the arguments. The word emigration was 'unpopular…with the public' because the government promoted systematic colonisation as a powerful means of improving the condition and removing the discontent of the agricultural population'. [80] Emigration was a requirement for colonisation.[81] There was an almost unanimous consensus that Britain suffered from an excess population of unemployed and pauperised people. However, how to deal with the problem was disputed.[82] How would systematic colonisation, if it were successful, impact upon British society?

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[75] Cobbett made this statement about the *Courier* in 1831. It is cited in Stephen Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, *Vol. 1: The Nineteenth Century*, Hamish Hamilton, London, 1981, 46.
[76] On the *Courier's* circulation see Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 44; 'The Right Hon. Wilmot Horton', *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, No 11,711, Monday 1 June 1829, 3.
[77] 'The Labouring Classes', *Morning Post*, 18,497, Thursday 25 March 1830, 4.
[78] Edward P. Brenton, Esq., Capt. R.N., *A Letter to the Rt. Hon. R.W. Horton, Shewing the Impolicy, Inefficacy, and Ruinous Consequences of Emigration*, *and the Advantages of Home Colonies*, C. Rice, London, 1830, 12.
[79] John Ilderton Burn, *Familiar Letters on Population*, *Emigration, Home Colonization, & c.,* Hatcxhard and Son, London, 1832, 50; 'House of Commons', *Leicester Chronicle*, Vol. 22, No. 1,126, Saturday 21 April 1832, 2.
[80] 'Emigration', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, Vol. X, No. 464, Sunday 20 February 1831, 2. This was in reference to Lord Howick's Bill 'for facilitating settlements in his Majesty's foreign possessions'.
[81] Ibid.
[82] See, for example, John Barton, 'A statement of the consequences likely to ensue from our growing excess of population, if not remedied by colonization'' London, 1830. *The Making Of The Modern World*. Web. 23 June 2015, 2.

Although comprehensive colonisation programs were considered objectionable to those left behind, commentators still argued their benefits. The widespread publication of the colonisation and emigration debates encouraged community interest and involvement in the problem of how to remedy overpopulation and destitution. For example, the poet and literary critic Samuel Taylor Coleridge entered the debate in 1833.[83]

> Colonization is not only a manifest expedient for, but an imperative duty on, Great Britain. God seems to hold out his finger to us over the sea …. It must be a national colonization; … a colonization of hope.[84]

Another view expressed in many newspapers was that emigration favoured the removal of pauper populations to the detriment of Britain and to the emigrant. Charles Buller MP expressed this argument which was also brought against Wakefield. It was these debates which prompted Buller to utter his now infamous statement that Horton's scheme was merely 'shovelling out paupers'.[85] Wakefield and his supporters argued that systematic colonisation would greatly improve emigration and maximise settlers' potential for success through the sale of land, the selection of only suitable emigrants and the encouragement of a concentrated settlement in a new colony.[86] It was not a complete abhorrence of colonisation and emigration, but a criticism of the collective colonisation plans which Horton, Wakefield and other influential men promoted. It was these ideas which motivated so much public interest and debate in newspapers.

There is also evidence that some newspapers influenced these debates by promoting particular viewpoints among their readers. For example, Torrens's *Globe* newspaper reported that 'we feel interested on the subject of emigration, or rather colonization' and supported *The Times* promotion of the topic.[87] In an editorial comment preceding a letter from an Irish emigrant to Canada in 1828 *The Times* endorsed 'a regulated system of emigration…to those who would volunteer' and stated

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[83] On Samuel Taylor Coleridge see Frederick Burwick (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Samuel Taylor Coleridge,* OUP, Oxford, 2009; see Tilar J. Mazzio 'Coleridge's Travels,' 89–106, where his experiences with emigration to America are revealed.
[84] Samuel Taylor Coleridge, *Specimens of the Table Talk of Samuel Taylor Coleridge*, Second Edition, James Murray, London, 1836, 223–224.
[85] 'Topics of the Day. New Plan of Colonization–Misapprehensions Corrected', *Spectator*, No. 93, 10 April 1830, 8; 'Emigration', *Exeter and Plymouth Gazette*, Vol. XXXVI, Saturday 3 March 1827, 4. For a discussion regarding the perceptions of Horton see Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-42) the Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building*, 50-51. Regarding the quote and its use in parliament see House of Commons, Earl of Lincoln speech, HC Deb 1 June 1847 vol. 92 cc1369—450.
[86] Wakefield, *England and America,* Note XII, The Art of Colonization, 231-331.
[87] [No Heading], *Globe*, No. 7,822, Monday 7 January 1828, 2.

that 'nobody can be blind to the advantage of such an object'.[88] Provincial newspapers also sought to influence their readers. Berkshire's *Windsor and Eton Express,* for example, supported the government inquiry into emigration and wrote that there were clear advantages 'to the colonies and to the mother country from regulated emigration'.[89] However, opposition to extended colonisation was evident in *the Yorkshire Gazette* which stated in 1832 that

> to drain a nation of its strength by transporting its working population, is to remove the origin of public and private wealth, and to remove also the bulwark of defence and protection to the nation.[90]

In many respects therefore, the colonisation and emigration debates, prolific in newspapers from the mid-1820s, influenced readers and paved the way for Wakefield's actual plan for systematic colonisation in 1829. They greatly enabled its acceptance throughout the wider community and prefaced the South Australian charter.

South Australia: British newspaper support and opposition

A central argument in this research is that publicity was crucial for the success of Wakefield's scheme. South Australia's systematic colonisation promised to do what no other colonisation had achieved, to be completely self-funding. Wakefield and his peers recognised that, in conjunction with the existing ways for spreading ideas through word-of-mouth, community lectures and pamphlets, newspaper publicity was imperative. This evidence has already shown that newspapers wielded great influence throughout communities. Furthermore, that editors and publishers actively engaged in promoting specific opinions, principles, and judgements. Favourable newspaper comment could be greatly advantageous for disseminating ,ideas and eliciting support.

There were however, problems associated with newspaper publicity. In many instances it was difficult for readers to ascertain factual information from the authors' personal opinion. Hence, an editor's viewpoint could influence the tone of the language published and they made decisions about what to publish and whether to add editorial comment. As previously argued, public interest in the colonisation and emigration debates encouraged newspapers to publish information from those with

[88] 'Letter from an Irish Emigrant To Upper Canada', *The Times*, No. 13,480, Friday 4 January 1828, 3.
[89] 'Emigration', *Windsor and Eton Express,* Vol. VIII, No. 794, Saturday 6 October 1827, 3.
[90] 'Emigration and Home Colonisation', *Yorkshire Gazette*, Vol. XIV, No. 689, Saturday 23 June 1832, 4.

strong opinions and fostered content which appealed to newspaper purchasers. In other words, profit was also a factor for determining what to publish.

Consequently, the publication of negative reports, which South Australia's supporters struggled to control, tempered the advantageousness of positive publicity. The difficulties that newspaper readers faced were clearly outlined in London's *Atlas* in 1836.

> The morning and evening papers … practice that is directly intended to entrap country readers, who have no means of ascertaining whether the paragraph that excites their curiosity is written by the author, … the publisher, or the editor of the newspaper, and … are too apt to rely with confidence upon the authority of the journal.[91]

This statement reveals the growing relevance placed on the written word and, more importantly, it attests to the influence that newspapers wielded.

The South Australian colonisation plan was promoted during a period when political influence in newspapers was less persuasive or constraining of proprietors and editors.[92] Amendments to the libel laws encouraged the freedom of the press and meant that published opinions polarised the colonisation and emigration debate.[93] In many instances, therefore, newspaper ownership or involvement in them provided a lucrative financial investment and an outlet for the dissemination of personal, communal or organisational viewpoints. The aforementioned Chartist newspapers are such an example. Thus, the influence of newspapers during the early to mid-nineteenth century should not be underestimated. It was a period when popular publications became widespread, pervasive and powerful.[94] Newspapers transformed from being insignificant among the working and lower classes to the most influential and, indeed, profitable form of published literature.[95]

Wakefield, Horton and others seeking to spread ideas and philosophies recognised the growing influence of newspapers and exploited it to the greatest advantage. Torrens's involvement with newspapers is an example. As the proprietor of the *Globe*, which circulated 1,657,500 copies in the 18 months to June 1833, and in

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[91] 'Literature', *Atlas*, No. 531, Vol. XI, Sunday 17 July 1836, 455-456. The *Atlas* and the motivations of its editor are discussed in chapter five.
[92] On the influence of newspaper proprietors and editors see Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 3, 37 and Kevin Williams, *Read All About It!: A History of the British Newspaper*, Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, London and New York, 2010, 111.
[93] The libel laws are discussed in chapter one.
[94] Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century England*, Second Edition, Routledge, Oxon, NY, 2016, 2.
[95] Ibid; see also Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press*, 1–5.

conjunction with the publication of the *Athenaeum* and *Evening Chronicle*, he published extensively about the South Australian plan, which he also keenly supported.[96] The recently elected Whig ministry were accused of favouritism towards Torrens's and the South Australian colonisation plan because of his monetary and public support of the government in the *Globe* newspaper.[97] In fact, the *Morning Post* criticised Torrens motivations, likening the South Australian plan to 'the South Sea Bubble, or the mad scheme of Gregor McGregor, the Cacique of Poyais'.[98] The *Post*, which circulated 1,047,000 copies in 1833, third only to the *Times* and the *Morning Herald*, also criticised the sanity of Wakefield's project and the 'incapacity and unfitness of the Governor'.[99] Thus, while Wakefield and his supporters actively encouraged newspaper publicity, they could not control the extensive reports and comments that these ideas generated.

The fixed land price and 'land-jobbing': the newspaper debate

Certainly, some newspapers were highly critical of Wakefield's colonisation plan. They denounced its viability and attempted to discourage community interest. Particular facets of the plan were often targeted. A central pillar of Wakefield's plan was the fixed price for land sales and this generated considerable debate. Those intimately connected with its promotion were regularly accused of 'land-jobbing'. A controversial term, the *Monthly Review* defined it as 'swindling on a broad scale'.[100] Those opposed to systematic colonisation and the South Australian plan accused committee members with receiving preferential purchasing rights for land to the disadvantage of ordinary capitalists.[101] It was also suggested that those with an intimate knowledge of the

[96] For the Globe's stamp returns see 'Parliamentary Papers–Newspaper Stamps', *Reading Mercury,* Vol. CXL, No. 5,842, Monday 26 August 1833, 3; 'Newspaper Returns–The Humbug of Tory Reaction exposed', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,338, Monday 30 October 1837, 3. On Torrens and the press see Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 45.
[97] 'Whig Generosity to Colonel Torrens', *Morning Post*, No. 20,100, Saturday 9 May 1835, 3.
[98] Ibid. On the South Sea Bubble see Eric Richards, *The Leviathan of Wealth: The Sutherland Fortune in the Industrial Revolution, Studies in Social History*, Routledge, Oxon, 1973, (digital print 2010), 6. On Gregor McGregor, the Cacique of Poyais, see Colin Russell, *Who Made the Scottish Enlightenment? A Personal, Biographical and Analytical Enquiry*, Xlibris Publishing ebook, 2014, 478-479. www.xlibrispublishing.co.uk.
[99] For circulation figures see 'Parliamentary Papers–Newspaper Stamps', *Reading Mercury,* Vol. CXI, No. 5,842, Monday 26 August 1833, 3; 'South Australia', *Morning Post*, No. 19,935, Wednesday 29 October 1834, 2.
[100] James Thomson Callender, 'Art. 46, The Political Register', in *Monthly Review, or Literary Journal*, Vol. 21, September to December, 1796, 341-343, in particular 341.
[101] Douglas Pike, 'Introduction of the Real Property Act in South Australia,' *The Adelaide Law Review*, 1 (2), 1961, 169-189; on land-jobbing See, for example, Marcus Clarke, 'South Australian Bubble', in *Old Tales of a Young Country.* http://adc.library.usyd.edu.au/data-2/p00069.pdf , accessed 24 October, 2018.

South Australian colonisation plan had misled ordinary investors with 'theoretical speculation'.[102]

Wakefield intended that land sales would fund emigration and he was resolute that this was indispensable for the success of the venture.[103] However, Torrens disagreed. He supported Adam Smith's theory of supply and demand.[104] He believed that the sale of 'waste lands' would fund colonial expenses from market value sales.[105] In other words, a fluctuating land price would meet demand. The Colonisation Commissioners' *First annual report* stated that the fixed price of land at 12s. per acre was insufficient to fund emigration adequately however, the slow uptake of land ensured this price in the first instance.[106] The cost was subsequently raised to 20s. per acre with the increased incentive that it funded more labouring emigrants.[107] Although the higher price disadvantaged later purchasers, it was argued that they benefited from the increase in labourers.

Intense public interest in the land sale debate was facilitated through newspapers. Indeed, at this early stage in the progress of Wakefield's plan, the Colonial Office recognised that unsolicited publicity was problematic. The 'sale of Waste Lands in South Australia' was of 'no ordinary importance and delicacy' wrote Assistant Under-Secretary James Stephen to the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia.[108] The success of the venture was greatly reliant on the probity of the Commissioners and its successful publicity. This was also noted in the Commissioners' *First annual report.*[109] However, newspapers like London's popular *Age*, renowned for its lively anti-establishment position and whose editor, Charles Molloy Westmacott, was notorious for printing 'libellous gossip' about prominent people, published scathing reports about Wakefield's system for land sales.[110] For example, under the heading, 'The South Australian Swindle', Westmacott reminded readers of Wakefield's

[102] Robert Wilson MD to the South Australian Association, 11 July 1834, C/O 13/3.
[103] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 94-95.
[104] See Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, (Charles J Bullock, ed.), Cosmo Inc., NY, 2007, 58-67.
[105] Ibid.
[106] 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*, House of Commons, London, 16 August 1836.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Assistant under-secretary James Stephen to the Colonisation Commissioners for South Australia, 22 September 1835, CO 396/1.
[109] Ibid; South Australian Colonization Commission, *First annual report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia*.
[110] Henry Richard Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism*, Vol. II, Chatto & Windus, London, 1887, 228–229.; Laurel Brake, and Marysa Demoor, (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, Academia Press, Gent and London, 2009, 8.

imprisonment in 1826 for the abduction of the teenage heiress Ellen Turner.[111] He called Torrens 'the Horse Marine Whig hack' and stated that purchasing land before seeing if the location was fit for purpose was an 'infamous delusion'.[112] London's *Courier* was also scathing. A newspaper which circulated approximately 27,000 copies daily, it opposed the proposed colonisation principles of 'concentrating the settlers…[and] fixing a minimum price upon the land', concluding that a colony which sold land in this way would never succeed.[113]

This evidence reveals how newspaper editors perceived their role as community informers but, more importantly, used their position to influence their readership. Hence, some newspapers were not informative but flagrantly criticised the South Australian colonisation plan and its supporters. Unverified reports such as these were disseminated to a substantial audience. Concerns about land-jobbing and problems with Wakefield's system were raised and circulated throughout communities because newspaper editors highlighted these issues. In this era, however, few people were able to compare newspapers and recognise individual biases.

By the 1830s newspapers were an important organ of social inclusion and were recognised as an effective means for disseminating specific agenda or objectives. Middle-class radicals and activist groups published newspapers to spread particular viewpoints and influence the public. South Australian promoters, Torrens and Angas for instance, owned, edited and wrote for newspapers. One reason Wakefield endorsed Gouger and others was their adeptness at manipulating written language in the press.[114] As Westmacott's example shows, for all those who supported Wakefield's plan, there were many who condemned it. Those opposed to colonisation judged and censured the published debates. However, antagonistic statements which criticised Wakefield's idea for land sales were not restricted to the larger London papers. Provincial newspapers also entered the debate.

In conjunction with editorial articles which portrayed specific opinions, many newspapers routinely copied and pasted articles from rival publications. Often

[111] 'The South Australian Swindle', *Age*, Sunday March 20 1836, 8.
[112] Ibid.
[113] On the *Courier* see Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, 48; and Griffiths, *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, 543; for the *Courier's* circulation see 'Parliamentary Papers–Newspaper Stamps'; quotes from '*The Courier*, Friday Evening July 4', *Courier*, 4 July 1834, 2.
[114] These include Rowland Hill, J.A. Roebuck, and George Poulett-Scrope, and are discussed in later chapters.

provincial newspapers were 'a scissors-and-paste epitome of the London papers'.[115] This was an accepted practice in the newspaper industry of the early nineteenth-century and it assisted in spreading the opinionated statements in particular newspapers throughout Britain. For example, the provincial *Reading Mercury* was consistently antagonistic towards Wakefield's scheme. A long-established, highly regarded newspaper, the *Mercury* circulated approximately 114,700 copies in the 12 months to 1 April 1833 throughout north and south-western England.[116] Its editors, Frederick and Henry Cowsdale, were scathing towards Wakefield's plan.[117] They copied the aforementioned *Courier* article which accused South Australia's agents of 'land-jobbing' to a greater extent than any other colony, disputed the land sales scheme, alleged the promotors of colonisation falsely raised the expectations of settlers and concluded with the editorial statement, 'It will not be our fault if the public be deceived by it'.[118]

The *Mercury* enjoyed a wide circulation among agriculturalists, middle-class commercial manufacturers and financiers. [119] This article, which painted Wakefield's ideas for land sales very unfavourably, was disseminated in these areas because the Cowsdale*'s* chose to republish the *Courier* report. This is further evidence of the way that newspapers influenced their readership with targeted information and corroborates the argument that Wakefield, his supporters, and the government could not control what was published in newspapers. In this instance, among the capitalists and agriculturalists that Wakefield required for the success of his plan.

Newspaper publicity for the South Australian colonisation plan was, in fact, representative of the way the newspaper industry exploited their power and influence in society. Editors advocated singular and often sectarian viewpoints while publishers recognised the 'increased commercial opportunity' of the emerging newspaper industry.[120] It also constituted a major failing of South Australia's promotors. While they acknowledged the importance of widespread written publicity and provided

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[115] Martin Hewitt, 'The Press and the Law', in Joanne Shattock (ed.) *Journalism and the Periodical Press in Nineteenth-Century Britain,* CUP, Cambridge, NY, Melbourne, Delhi, Singapore, 2017, 147-166, in particular 163.
[116] A. T. Watts, *The Newspaper Press in the Town of Reading 1855-1980*, PhD., University of Stirling, September, 1990, 73; for the circulation figures see 'Parliamentary Papers–Newspaper Stamps'' *Reading Mercury,* Vol. CXL, No. 5,842, Monday 26 August 1833, 3.
[117] F. David Roberts, 'Still More Early Victorian Newspaper Editors', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, No. 18, 5(4), December 1972, 12-26.
[118] 'New Colony of South Australia', *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, Vol. CXII, No. 5,887, Monday 7 July 1834, 4.
[119] For the regional distribution and readership see Ron Martin, 'The Political Economy of Britain's North-South Divide', *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 13(4), 1988, 389-418.
[120] Rachel Matthews, *The History of the Provincial Press in England*, Bloomsbury Academic, New York, London, 2017, 27-28.

information for publication, they could not counter the abundance of unrestricted published articles, biased or exaggerated allegations printed in newspapers.

Newspapers as superintendents of truth

For all the negative comments, however, there were many sympathisers, but positive reports were not necessarily advantageous for Wakefield's South Australian plan. Newspaper editors monitored current or prevailing debates and were quick to publish reports. The contentiousness of Wakefield's plan resonated in newspaper debates. Certainly, some prominent London newspapers were recognisably for or against the proposal from the outset. A review of the editorial content of articles about the new colony in prominent newspapers revealed that the *Spectator, Morning Chronicle, Athenaeum, Globe* and *Literary Examiner* supported the South Australian colonisation plan but *The Times, Courier, Morning Post, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, *Age* and *Cobbett's Political Journal* were consistently antagonistic. Although many of the articles presented truthful information, in their attempts to challenge or compete with prevailing opinions newspaper editors and publishers espoused personal prejudices which are revealed in subsequent chapters as disadvantageous for potential emigrants.

For example, when the Bill for the enactment of the new colony was proposed in parliament, the widely read *Morning Chronicle,* renowned for supporting prevailing community beliefs, criticised Alexander Baring's opposition.[121] Baring was a member of Peel's Conservative government and a significant landowner.[122] The *Chronicle* article suggested that in opposing the Bill Baring might encourage interested investors and settlers to purchase some of the 'thousands of acres' he owned in the Pennsylvanian area of America.[123] This bulletin was likely penned by Richard Davies Hanson, a journalist for the *Chronicle* and an active supporter of Wakefield's plan.[124] Baring's legitimate concerns that distance to the colony could render it impracticable and the cost of land untenable were discounted.[125] The article was clearly biased towards South Australia. Thus, its recommendation as a viable investment or settlement opportunity and the discounting of Baring's valid concerns reveals the partisanship of

[121] E.M. Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press in Nineteenth-Century British Periodicals: A Bibliography*, Anthem Press, UK & USA, 2013, 602.
[122] Francis M. Carroll, *A Good and Wise Measure: The Search for the Canadian-American Boundary, 1783-1842*, University of Toronto Press, Canada, 2003, 3-4.
[123] 'The Morning Chronicle', *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,257, Thursday 31 July 1834, 3; 'Robert Gouger, to the Editor of *The Times'*, 3 January 1834; 'The Morning Chronicle', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,257, Thursday 31 July, 1834, 3.
[124] Richard Davies Hanson's involvement with Wakefield is discussed in Chapter Three.
[125] 'The Morning Chronicle', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,257, Thursday 31 July 1834, 3.

the *Chronicle*. It also provides evidence that some attempts were made to counter unfavourable publicity. More importantly, it illustrates the newspapers' relevance for informing British society. Why counter a negative report if its publication was inconsequential? This supports the argument that newspapers were emerging as the most widespread and easily accessible means for disseminating information throughout Britain. However, it was difficult for people with limited literacy, an inability to compare and contrast the arguments for and against the plan or only having access to a single provincial newspaper, to attain factual information.

In addition to individual biases, the South Australian plan was subject to criticisms between rival publications. Newspapers exploited the 'dirty spirit of rivalry', which arose during the 1820s to gain approbation against competitor publications.[126] Thus, Wakefield's plan, which was highly topical, provided editors with constant information to formulate their articles. For example the *Examiner,* a vigorous supporter of humanitarian causes, including emigration, criticised the *Courier's* scathing review of Wakefield's *New British Province of South Australia*.[127] The *Examiner* accused the *Courier* of gross exaggerations, strongly endorsing Wakefield's publication and the colonisation plan to capitalists and emigrants.[128] The *Morning Chronicle* and the 'Pet of the Petticoats', *Morning Post* which was popular among middle class women, also published opposing reports.[129] The *Chronicle* reported that Stanley's successor as colonial secretary, Thomas Spring-Rice, was 'a most valuable Minister for the colonies' because he sanctioned the new colony.[130] The *Post* republished a *Courier* article that prophesised ruin for 'those who are weak and silly enough' to believe that South Australia was a viable colonial venture.[131] The confusion these reports created among the people Wakefield and his supporters sought to encourage can be imagined, when the discussions and debates in the coffee houses, clubs and societies, which newspapers also helped to fuel, are considered.[132]

Debates about the capacity of the South Australian colonisation plan to provide a lucrative investment or migration opportunity were not limited to the prominent

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[126] Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press,* 39.
[127] 'The Literary Examiner', *Examiner*, No. 1,381, Sunday 20 July 1834, 453-454.
[128] On Leigh Hunt's *Examiner* and its support of humanitarian causes see 'A New Leigh Hunt', *The Spectator*, No. 5,222, 27 July 1928, 20.
[129] 'Chit Chat', *Cardiff and Merthyr Guardian*, Vol. 4, No. 182, Saturday 7 May, 1836, 4; on middle-class women and the reference of clothing as recognition of class see Katrina Rolley, 'Fashion, Femininity and the Fight for the Vote, *Art History*, 13(1), March 1990, 47-71.
[130] *TMorning Chronicle*, No. 20,222, Friday June 20 1834, 3.
[131] 'South Australia', *Morning Post*, No. 19,935, Wednesday 29 October 1834, 2.
[132] On word-of-mouth discussions see, for example, Brian Cowan, 'The Rise of the Coffeehouse Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 47(1), March 2004, 21-46; see also Chapter Three which discusses the South Australian Conversazione Club.

newspapers. The *Mechanics' Magazine*, for example, which targeted 'the industrial working-classes', published a scathing attack on the South Australian Association, calling the new colony 'a system of virtual slavery'.[133] Published weekly, and largely composed by its proprietor, Joseph Clinton Robertson (aka Sholto Percy), it was targeted to the growing class of literate artisans, manual tradesmen and manufacturers.[134] These were not under-employed or working class labourers, but skilled craftsmen and emerging merchants. Priced within the means of these classes, it quickly gained a large circulation and appealed to the types of people that Wakefield envisioned as land purchasers and colonists for South Australia. In October 1834, Robertson, who favoured emigration to America, dedicated six pages to castigating extracts from the Association's prospectus, calling it a 'wretched attempt' to encourage labourers who sought independence.[135] The article concluded that,

> it has been placed at the disposal of a set of nameless adventurers, in order that they may try a rash and ridiculous experiment, without risk or expense to themselves![136]

Despite the best efforts of Wakefield and his supporters to spread the systematic colonisation idea, the newspaper could not be controlled. Indeed, in many instances, newspaper comments actively discouraged the types of artisans and labourers that were envisioned for the colony.

This was the beginning of an era when newspapers became ubiquitous and 'readership shifted the market'.[137] In the emerging newspaper industry, innovative ideas such as Wakefield's colonisation plan were embraced in order to further particular beliefs and to garner popular support for publications within the wider community. Although favourable accounts certainly encouraged acceptance of the South Australian plan, newspaper capriciousness was a great disadvantage for ongoing publicity. There were, however, two newspaper editors whose opinions about the South Australian colonisation plan were consistent but polarised.

Robert Rintoul and the Spectator *and Thomas Barnes and* The Times

Robert Rintoul, the editor of the *Spectator* was a friend and constant supporter of Wakefield. He was the proprietor and editor of the *Spectator* which was first issued on

[133] 'South Australia', *Mechanics' Magazine*, No. 585, October 25 1834, 58-63.
[134] *Mechanics Magazine and Journal of Science, Arts, and Manufactures*, Knight and Lacey, London, Vol. 1, 1825, preface.
[135] Robertson recommended and encouraged emigration to America for husbandmen and mechanics in his collection of anecdotes published under his pseudonym; see Reuben and Sholto Percy (eds), *The Percy Anecdotes*, F. Warne, London, 1868, 369.
[136] 'South Australia', *Mechanics' Magazine*, No. 585, October 25 1834, 58-63.
[137] Palmegiano, *Perceptions of the Press,* vii.

5 July 1828 and by 1837 its weekly circulation averaged 3038 copies.[138] Thomas Barnes, the editor of *The Times*, controlled 'the destiny of the country', according to Derek Hudson, author of Barnes's biography. Barnes despised Wakefield and condemned the colonisation plan.[139] *The Times,* a long-established daily publication, was issued 333,000 stamps during March 1837.[140] Barnes enmity towards Wakefield was almost certainly due to Wakefield's kidnapping of Ellen Turner and subsequent incarceration. During Wakefield's trial Barnes described him as 'a callous-hearted wretch' and his opinion did not change with the proposal of the colonisation plan.[141] While the support of a prominent editor like Rintoul was advantageous for the promotion of the South Australian venture, the vast circulation of *The Times,* its reputation and that of its editor, meant Barnes opposition was greatly detrimental.

Rintoul, born in Perthshire, Scotland, was a career newspaper publisher and editor.[142] The highly regarded *Spectator* was influential among prominent men and the moral families which Wakefield envisioned as emigrants to South Australia.[143] Independent of political bias, it reflected Rintoul's conservative, utilitarian views, support of parliamentary reform and colonisation, advocacy of education and benevolence for the poor.[144] These views mirrored those of Wakefield and many of the men involved with the South Australian Association.[145] Rintoul, a staunch supporter of the Reform movement, was already associated with George Grote, a philosophical radical Member of Parliament and a proprietor of the *Chronicle,* when he met Wakefield in 1830.[146] Indeed, Wakefield's acumen and insight so inspired Rintoul that he became one of Wakefield's most valued confidantes and supporters.[147]

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[138] Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, 488; for the statistics see 'Newspapers', in *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, Volume XVI, Charles Knight & Co., London, 1839, 193-197.
[139] Derek Hudson, *Thomas Barnes of* The Times, (edited by Harold Child) CUP, Cambridge, republished 2013, 57.
[140] '"The Times" Circulation'', *Windsor and Eton Express and West Surrey Gazette*, No. 1,297, Vol. XXVI, Saturday 20 May 1837, 2.
[141] 'The Bill for Dissolving the Fraudulent and Scotch Contract of Marriage of that Callous-hearted Wretch', *The Times* No. 13,299, Thursday, 7 June 1827 2.
[142] See Griffiths (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, 488.
[143] Richard D. Fulton, 'The *Spectator*, British periodical', in Tracy Chevalier (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of the Essay*, Fitzroy Dearborn, Chicago, Illinois, 1997, 807-808; see also Richard Fulton, '*The Spectator* in Alien Hands, *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 24(4), Winter, 1991, 187-196.
[144] Fulton, 'The *Spectator*, British periodical'; Robert Blake, 'A History of the *Spectator*', *Spectator*, 22 September 1978, 30-35; Wakefield, Edward Gibbon, *The Founders of Canterbury: Volume I, Being letters from the late Edward Gibbon Wakefield to the late John Robert Godley, and to other well-known helpers in the foundation of the settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand,* Stevens & Co., Christchurch NZ, 1868, x.
[145] 'Edward Gibbon Wakefield to C. B. Adderley, MP, 4 December 1849', in *The Founders of Canterbury: Volume I,* 156-157.
[146] Bourne, *English Newspapers Chapters in the History of Journalism*, Vol. II, 47, 250; on George Grote see Bruce Kinzer, 'George Grote, The Philosophical Radical and Politician', in Kyriakos N.

Wakefield acknowledged Rintoul's enduring support in *The Art of Colonization:* 'By far the heaviest of my debts of gratitude is due to the proprietor and editor of the *Spectator*'. [148] In 1842 he acknowledged the extent of the assistance he received:

> It was your support that encouraged me, not only to maintain a theory offensive from its novelty, and generally disregarded or disapproved, but also to engage in a variety of labours of which the object was to submit that theory to the test of practice.[149]

More than to any other collaborator, Wakefield acknowledged his complete indebtedness to Rintoul and the *Spectator*.[150]

Barnes, however, was 'bitterly opposed' to all of Wakefield's ideas.[151] His enmity for Wakefield and vitriolic commentary about South Australia did not abate during his editorship. He called the South Australian project 'a skilful and captivating *puff'* and wrote that it was *The Times's* 'duty to the public' to affirm an 'entire distrust of the whole character and tendencies of such a project'.[152] This acrimony was also evident in the *Evening Mail*. Published as a 'partial reprint' of *The Times*, the *Mail* was circulated thrice weekly throughout the English countryside. It appealed to the 'leisurely and quiet habits of such classes as the clergy'.[153] By republishing *The Time*s's articles, the *Mail* broadened the dissemination of unfavourable reports about the South Australian colonisation plan in provincial regions, particularly among the classes Wakefield encouraged as investors and settlers to the colony.

Resolutely patriotic and with 'a real compassion for the poor and persecuted, Barnes refused monetary inducements from government ministers and *The Times* was renowned as a completely independent publication.[154] However, he utilised his editorial prowess to control public sentiment.[155] Men seeking journalistic or political advancement sought Barnes counsel, senior government officials considered his opinion trustworthy and he was considered among the most influential men in

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Demetriou (series ed.) Brill's Companion to George Grote and the Classical Tradition, Vol. 1, Brill, Leiden and Boston, 2014, 16-46.
[147] Sir William Beach Thomas, '*The story of the Spectator, 1828-1928'*, Methuen & Co. Ltd., London, 1928, 149.
[148] Wakefield, *A view of the art of colonization* 59.
[149] 'A Letter to the Editor of the "Colonial Gazette", by E.G. Wakefield, on the means of National Emigration', *New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator*, Vol. 21, Issue 143, 21 May 1842, 3.
[150] Ibid.
[151] Borrow Collection, Mrs Priscilla Mitchell as to Edward Gibbon Wakefield, 10/10/1986, microcassette 003M, Box 1, Track 1, Flinders University Library.
[152] *The Times*, No. 15,519, Wednesday 2 July 1834, 4.
[153] 'Evening Mail', in Charles Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory: Containing Full Particulars Relative to each Journal Published in the United Kingdom,* C. Mitchell, London, 1847, 92-93.
[154] Hudson, *Thomas Barnes of* The Times, second edition, ix, 35.
[155] Ibid, 207.

Britain.[156] It is unsurprising, therefore, that Gouger sought Barnes support for the South Australian colonisation plan.

Gouger wrote confidentially to Barnes on 3 January 1834 to reinforce the benevolent nature of the South Australian project:

> The enclosed paper contains the plan of an association the object of which is wholly National. It is not a Joint Stock Company, nor do the Commissioners or future Trustees entertain the least of converting it into a money getting speculation.[157]

Gouger's letter reflected his complete belief in the plan: 'I will not ask you to make the plan a subject of remark in your Journal; this you will do without my solicitation'.[158] Cognisant of the influence that *The Times* favourable reporting could induce among his peers, Gouger recognised how beneficial this support could be to the South Australian plan: '[T]he assistance you may give will be incalculable, and may make all the difference between the adoption or rejection of the measure by Government'.[159] Unfortunately, Barnes gave no such support.

Such was Barnes's continued antipathy that he also refused to publish a letter from Hanson who wrote to *The Times* in an attempt to explain 'former misrepresentations' published in the paper.[160] Instead, it was the supportive *Morning Chronicle* that published Hanson's rebuke.[161] Signed R.D.H., the reply concluded that *The Times* article was clearly distorted.[162] He admonished *The Times* as much for its use of derogatory language as its criticisms of the plan. Reliant on the support of capitalist land purchasers for advancement and aware of the respect and popularity that *The Times* enjoyed, the attack was clearly concerning for South Australia's planners.

Barnes also concurred with Baring and agreed that egocentric fraudsters, who acted with complete thoughtlessness for the people they deluded to emigrate, promoted the South Australian colonisation project.[163] Although many of the

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[156] Ibid, xiii, 35, 206, 214.
[157] Robert Gouger to the editor of *The Times*, 3 January, 1834, SLSA, PRG1012/5.
[158] Ibid.
[159] Ibid.
[160] 'To the Editor', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,257, Thursday 31 July 1834, 4.
[161] 'To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,257, Thursday 31 July 1834, 4.
[162] Ibid.
[163] 'Baring, Alexander (1773-1848), of The Grange, nr. Alresford, Hants and 82 Piccadilly, Mdx', in *The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832*, D. R. Fisher, (ed.) CUP, 2009, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/baring-alexander-1773-1848, accessed 27 March 2019.

committee members in the South Australian Association were seconded because of their influence in society, most advocated economic and parliamentary changes which would benefit the lower classes and the poor. It appears that Gouger made no further attempts to solicit support for the plan from Barnes and his opposition remained unchanged.

The *Spectator* and *The Times* were in complete disagreement about the South Australian colonisation plan throughout its promotion. Where Rintoul supported Wakefield and his plan as 'a remedy for the severest evils to which the social state is liable', Barnes reported that the South Australian Colonisation Bill was 'an absurd experiment or knavish mystification'.[164] Other publications recognised the biases of the *Spectator* and *The Times*. For example, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* stated 'the colony has ever had a thorough-going and most zealous advocate' in the *Spectator.* [165] It acknowledged popular support for the colony and the South Australian Company. Provincial journals also recognised *The Times's* animosity. Somerset's *Taunton Courier* reported *The Times* 'has declared war against the New Colony' in relation to its comments on the Colonisation Bill.[166] Agreeable to Wakefield's colonisation plan, the *Taunton Courier* denounced *The Times* as ignorant of the ongoing dedication that promoters of the colony had displayed.[167]

Few primary sources corroborate the persuasiveness of information published in newspapers. However, it is undeniable that this publicity played an important role in publicising South Australian colonisation. In July 1834 the *Morning Chronicle* reported that 'the office of the South Australian Association is daily crowded with persons who contemplate settling in the new colony' and estimated that 5000 colonists would travel in the first expedition.[168] Indeed, Gouger acknowledged that of more than 6000 emigration applications received, many had responded to the plan's widespread publicity.[169] Thus, whether favourable or unfavourable, reports in newspapers about Wakefield's colonisation plan helped to disseminate his ideas and encourage increased interest and debate among a wide-ranging audience.

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[164] 'Topics of the Day', *Spectator*, No. 92, 3 April 1830, 212; 'The bill for colonizing South Australia was advanced another stage-viz., that of its committal', *The Times*, No. 15,543, 30 July 1834, 3.
[165] 'Letter of Mr. Wheeler, the Manager of the South Australian Company', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. VI, February 1839, 135-136.
[166] 'The New Colony', *Taunton Courier and Western Advertiser,* No. 1,352, Wednesday 16 July 1834, 5.
[167] Ibid.
[168] [No Heading], *Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,245, Thursday 17 July 1834, 2.
[169] Robert Gouger to the Editor of the *Morning Chronicle*, September 22, 1832, CO13/3.

Conclusion

This chapter has explored the debates surrounding colonisation and emigration which evolved from the mid-1820s and preceded the broadcast of Wakefield's colonisation plan for South Australia. It revealed that those opposed to Wakefield's plan either did not acknowledge that Britain suffered from an excess of people and an increasingly pauperised population, did not believe that mass colonisation was an ultimate panacea or supported re-locating excess populations within Britain. This chapter has argued that colonisation and emigration were extensively debated in newspapers and that this greatly assisted public acceptance of the South Australian colonisation plan. Furthermore, these discussions were frequent and prolonged which ensured that these were prominent among the people whose involvement was advantageous for Wakefield's plan. By 1829, when Wakefield first publicised his plan for systematic colonisation, newspapers had already apprised their readers about the problems and solutions surrounding this issue.

This chapter has also argued that from the 1830s it was clear that newspaper editors and publishers sought to influence their readers through targeted commentary. It revealed that newspapers published information which reflected particular viewpoints and thereby influenced readers. This assisted with the promotion of the various colonisation ideas and schemes that were proposed during the late 1820s and early 1830s. Through the examination of publications which contributed to the colonisation debate it is argued that this idea was distributed among a wide audience. This chapter also argued that, despite attempts to control vast amounts of newspaper content, neither the British government nor South Australia's promotors could do so. While Wakefield's plan was innovative, during this initial and crucial stage of its broadcast, newspaper publicity and comment was polarised. The following chapter will discuss the early colonisation associations and introduce the men whose support helped to implement Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan.

Chapter Three
Planning for South Australian colonisation

This chapter introduces the influential men whose theories helped to advance Wakefield's plan. It summarises their ideas for relieving the issues of underemployment and overpopulation in Britain during the early 1830s. Subsequently, it analyses the period immediately after South Australia's foundation by legislation in 1834, to determine how its supporters promoted the colony.

The ability to differentiate South Australia from other colonies was important for its promoters and one factor which facilitated its success. Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan was promoted as exceptional. Its advantages over the existing Australian colonies were exploited. Consequently, this chapter argues that it was not necessarily systematic colonisation which encouraged these men, or South Australia's settlers, but that the ideas and language expressed throughout the extensive publicity framed the South Australian narrative. It is revealed that this continued as an important facet of South Australia's promotion throughout subsequent years.

Of the numerous people who supported and promoted colonisation, six are identified as influential for the prosecution of South Australia's colonisation. Specifically, they were adept at publicity and promoted South Australia widely. These are Edward Gibbon Wakefield, whose plan for systematic colonisation formed the basis of the South Australian Act and whose motivations remain enigmatic. Wakefield's nemesis, Robert Wilmot Horton, who supported and promoted mass colonisation well before Wakefield voiced his ideas, also influenced the colonisation debates. The other four men who became staunch supporters of South Australian colonisation and whose promotional influence warrants discussion are Robert Gouger, Robert Torrens, George Fife Angas and Richard Davies Hanson. Major Anthony Bacon is also discussed in this chapter because his promotion of the colony reveals how newspapers were influenced to publish inaccurate information without verification. Horton, and Bacon contributed to debates on the plan during its infancy, but their involvement was not ongoing.[1]

Influential men and their early colonisation plans

[1] On Horton see, for example, Vijaya Samaraweera, 'Governor Sir Robert Wilmot Horton and the Reforms of 1833 in Ceylon', *The Historical Journal*, 15 (2), June 1972, 209-228.

As outlined in Chapter Two, during the 1820s and 1830s colonisation and emigration emerged as contentious and greatly debated issues. The widespread publication of these debates in newspapers informed the public, but also enabled a broader involvement from communities than during previous times. Consequently, the aforementioned men who became prominent supporters of the South Australian colonisation plan held firm beliefs about migration generally or were already involved with promoting migration to other destinations. They were planners whose theories helped South Australia's progression from vision to reality and their support for Wakefield's plan was instrumental in its realisation. There were other influential men such as Hanson whose advocacy was encouraged and with their support Wakefield's plan was widely promoted.

Edward Gibbon Wakefield

Historians agree that Wakefield produced the plan for the colonisation of South Australia. Moreover, his Quaker upbringing and the substantial reforming influences of his family and their associates greatly influenced his ideas.[2] He penned the *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australia* in 1829. This comprised a series of 'letters to the editor' of London's *Morning Chronicle*.[3] It was publicised as a colonist in Sydney having written the letters, but they were published under Gouger's name.[4] From the outset, it is evident that Wakefield was acutely aware of the importance of publicity. In order to gain the broadest interest for his ideas, he contrived this method for their publication and the *Morning Chronicle* was a perceptive choice for their dissemination. A Whig-biased newspaper which competed fiercely with the renowned *The Times,* it appealed to the manufacturers and businessmen whose involvement and support Wakefield required.[5]

Described as a confident man with a magnetic personality, Wakefield published his ideas anonymously so that the notoriety he gained for the kidnapping of Ellen Turner in 1826, especially from reports in *The Times,* and his three years'

[2] Angela Woollacott, *Settler Society in the Australian Colonies: Self-Government and Imperial Culture*, Oxford University Press, UK, 2015, 40.
[3] The influence of 'Letters to the Editor' are analysed in chapter five.
[4] Richard Charles Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-1842) the Wakefield Experiment in Empire Building*, Dawsons of Pall Mall, London, 1968, 82. On the *Morning Chronicle* see J.A. Roebuck, 'The Stamped Press of London and its Morality', in J.A. Roebuck (ed.) *Pamphlets for the People*, Vol. I, Charles Ely, London, 1835, 7–8.
[5] On *The Times* see Chapter Two; H. Simonis, *The Street of Ink, an Intimate History of Journalism*, Cassell and Company Ltd., London, NY, 1917, 27; Charles Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory and Advertisers Guide*, C. Mitchell, London, 1846, 64.

incarceration for the crime, did not discredit his plan.[6] Although Wakefield's incarceration in Newgate Prison harmed his personal reputation, it was pivotal for his development of the South Australian colonisation scheme. His hopes for a political career were thwarted by the confinement but it tempered his egotism and opened his mind to the plight of the less fortunate. [7] This re-evaluation of his own life enabled him to write his letter's with a clarity and magnetism that enthralled readers. [8]

Thus, in order to downplay his notoriety, the letters*,* so popularly received and subsequently published as a book entitled *A Letter from Sydney*, did not mention his name. The *Morning Chronicle,* however, acknowledged his covertness:

> The object of the ingenious writer, in throwing his views into the form in which they appeared was to obtain for them the attention of a class of readers too little interested in abstract speculations to have profited by them, without some such contrivance.[9]

As letters from a purported colonist, Wakefield hoped to attract the interest of those who might become supporters of the plan and not discount his ideas as fraudulent or as exploitative of his notoriety if outlined under his own name. Instead, he imposed on Gouger to promote his ideas in order to provide the means of gauging community interest in his plans without bias or recrimination. His decision to publish the letters in the *Morning Chronicle* initially reveals how relevant newspapers were from this early era for disseminating information, but, more importantly, it highlights their role in stimulating and reflecting public debate.

In May 1830 the *Hampshire Chronicle* reported that 'public attention has lately been drawn to a project put forward by Mr. Gouger for the establishment of an Emigration Society'.[10] The *Globe, Morning Advertiser, Evening Mail* and *Morning Chronicle* also published this article. Clearly referencing Wakefield's plan, but worded in a manner which suggested it was Gouger's idea, the *Hampshire Chronicle* outlined Wakefield's aims for systematic colonisation exactly. It is plausible that the *Hampshire*

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[6] Philip Temple, *A Sort of Conscience the Wakefield's*, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 2002, 218; 'Trial of the Wakefield's', *The Times,* No. 13,236, Monday 26 March, 1827, 2. On the abduction See, for example, Abby Ashby and Audrey Jones, *The Shrigley Abduction, A Tale of Anguish, Deceit and Violation of the Domestic Hearth*, Sutton Publishing, Lancashire, 2003 and Ged Martin, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: Abductor and Mystagogue*, Ann Barry, Edinburgh, 1997, or Kate M. Atkinson*, Abduction: the Story of Ellen Turner*, Blenkins Press, UK, 2002.

[7] Garnett, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield the Colonization of South Australia and New Zealand*, 47; for a discussion regarding Wakefield's altered persona see 15-20; see also Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-1842),* xiii and also Ged Martin, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: Abductor and Mystagogue*, Ann Barry, Edinburgh, 1997.

[8] Daniel Reimold, *Journalism of Ideas, Brainstorming, Developing, and Selling Stories in the Digital Age*, Routledge, New York and London, 2013, 1-3.

[9] [No Heading], *Morning Chronicle*, No. 18,741, 8 October, 1829, 2.

[10] 'Colonization', *Hampshire Chronicle*, Vol. LVII, No. 3,262, Monday 10 May 1830, 4.

Chronicle was selected as the singular provincial paper to publish the article, because it was a long-established, respected publication, distributed throughout the agricultural districts of Sussex, Wiltshire and Kent, where the working class radical community spearheaded the 'Captain Swing' riots during 1830.[11] Wakefield was influenced by this rural unrest and it prompted his authoring of *Swing Unmasked* which was published in 1831.[12] Its publication immediately after his *Letter* reveals that the relief of the inherent and generational destitution of the region remained at the forefront of his mind.

As previously argued, the merits of colonisation were already publicised before Wakefield introduced his systematic colonisation plan to the public. Certainly, as discussed in Chapter Two, many leading and influential men were apprised of these debates. While his ideas were unconventional, Wakefield acknowledged that the theories of others greatly influenced him. These theorists included Adam Smith, whose *Wealth of Nations* is still referenced today, the utilitarian philosopher Jeremey Bentham and the radical philanthropist Robert Gourlay, whose book on Canadian colonisation inspired Wakefield.[13] He also acknowledged that Torrens and Horton's objectives for pauper emigration influenced his ideas.[14]

Wakefield's theory of systematic or planned colonisation, as opposed to *ad hoc*, emigration, proposed that colonial land sales could fund labouring emigrants.[15] His plan was associated with the revision of the land grant system which resulted in the Ripon Regulations of 1831 by which land sales were enforced at a minimum price.[16] Conceivably, Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan gained popularity so quickly among his peers because newspapers had already broadcast the colonisation debates

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[11] See Bruce W. Brown, 'The Machine Breaker Convicts from the Proteus and the Eliza', MA, University of Tasmania, April 2004, 19–20 and Carl J. Griffin, 'Affecting Violence: Language, Gesture and Performance in Early Nineteenth-Century English Popular Protest', *Historical Geography*, 36, 2008, 139-162.
[12] See Jeremy Burchardt, *The Allotment Movement in England 1793-1873*, Boydell Press, Suffolk & New York, 2002, 70-71. On the Swing riots see E. J Hobsbawm & George Rude, *Captain Swing*, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1969. Wakefield's pamphlet was entitled *Swing Unmasked, or, the Causes of Rural Incendiarism*.
[13] 'The Editors Miscellany', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser,* Vol. XXX, No. 2,179, Tuesday 11 September 1832, 3; 'The Sydney Herald', *Sydney Herald,* Vol II, No. 72, 5 July 1832, 2; Robert Gourlay, *The Banished Briton and Neptunian, being a record of the life, writings, principles and projects o Robert Gourlay, Esq., now Robert Flemming Gourlay*, S.N. Dickenson, Boston, 1843, 27.
[14] Peter Boroughs, *The Colonial Reformers and Canada 1830–1849*, McClelland and Stewart Limited., Toronto, 1969, xi.
[15] See, for example, Wakefield's *England and America*; Edward Gibbon & Edward Jerningham Wakefield, *The founders of Canterbury: Being letters from the late Edward Gibbon Wakefield to the late John Robert Godley, and to other well-known helpers in the foundation of the settlement of Canterbury in New Zealand*, Stevens and Co., Christchurch, NZ, 1868.
[16] Peter Burroughs, 'Wakefield and the Ripon Land Regulations of 1831', *Historical Studies Australia and New Zealand*, 11 (44), 1965, 452-466. Wakefield's land sale system was also discussed in chapter one.

from Horton, Torrens and others. Colonisation and emigration were prevailing interests.

Robert Wilmot Horton

Horton first proposed the advantages of 'regulated Emigration' in 1822.[17] His ideas, frequently debated in the House of Commons, were also published in newspapers from as early as 1823 six years before Gouger lent his name to Wakefield's *A Letter from Sydney*. The *Morning Chronicle* and the *Morning Post* published Horton's ideas about emigration over eleven issues during 1823. Eighteen county newspapers across England and six in Dublin also published his views. While Horton recognised that publicity was important for furthering his theories and was already renowned as a prolific pamphleteer, newspaper proprietors also recognised that Horton's ideas were newsworthy.[18] Published articles in journals and newspapers helped to spread his views throughout the country and increased discussions about emigration among influential people, particularly those in official positions.[19] In this way, newspapers assisted in changing the way that prominent economic and social issues were managed.

Wakefield used his three years imprisonment to inquire into the social issues of his era. It was during this period that he read about colonisation and emigration, and Horton's theories in particular. Horton and Wakefield each gained public support for their ideas on colonisation and emigration, but they disagreed on the manner of their implementation. Whereas Horton argued that the key to relieving Britain's excess population was the mass emigration of its under-employed and destitute communities, Wakefield supported the relocation of all classes in British society.[20] Although Wakefield agreed with Horton that systems of relief for Britain's poor and destitute were crucial, his plan encompassed far more than merely relocating supernumerary populations.

Robert Gouger, Colonel Robert Torrens and George Fife Angas

The relief of under-employed and destitute communities was an important motivation for Gouger and Angas, who were highly influential for the implementation of Wakefield's colonisation plan. Gouger, according to Hodder, 'developed a strong,

[17] Robert Wilmot Horton, *Lectures on Statistics and Political Economy*, Edmund Lloyd, London, 1832, 18.
[18] Edward Brynn, 'Politics and Economic Theory: Robert Wilmot Horton, 1820-1841', *The Historian*, 34(2), February, 1972, 260-277.
[19] Ibid.
[20] Ibid.

passionate interest in the poor' from an early age and had an empathy for the suppressed labouring classes, whose lot e sought to improve.[21] A confidante of Robert Owen's utopian socialism, the immense chasm between the wealthy and the poor, affected him greatly.[22] It was plans for the relief of Britain's destitute populations which drew him to Horton and then to Wakefield.[23]

Torrens, however, was initially opposed to Wakefield's scheme. A military man, political economist and a founding member of the Political Economy Club in London, he recognised the influence that newspapers wielded in society.[24] He purchased the *Traveller* newspaper, which the *Globe* subsumed in 1823.[25] The latter was an extensively circulated newspaper which Torrens edited until 1829.[26] With an avid interest in the science of economics, Torrens only became aware of Wakefield as 'the Author of England and America'.[27] However, his priority was to obtain a government position in Ireland, or to receive the appointment as governor of Van Diemen's Land.[28] In fact, his original motivations were similar to those of Major Bacon, who also desired this governorship.[29] Unlike Bacon, however, Torrens was associated with some of the colonisation schemes which preceded the South Australian plan and he influenced Wakefield's ideas for alleviating Britain's overpopulation.[30] Torrens agreed with Wakefield that emigration should provide more than the 'animal wants of the people'; it should provide 'arts, literature and science'.[31] He had already acknowledged that 'New Holland' was a likely emigrant destination in his pamphlet on reducing Ireland's Poor Rates, published in 1817.[32] Torrens was a member of the Colonization Society in 1830. However, he disagreed with Horton and withdrew from the Society's

[21] Hodder, *The Founding of South Australia*, 17, 18.
[22] Ibid, 18-19.
[23] Ibid.
[24] 'Torrens, Robert (1780-1864)', The History of Parliament: the House of Commons 1820-1832, http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1820-1832/member/torrens-robert-1780-1864, accessed 20 March 2019; on Torrens and his influence in political economics, See, for example Lionel Robbins, *Robert Torrens and the Evolution of Classical Economics*, MacMillan & Co. Ltd., New York, 1958, 144–181; see also Koss, *The Rise and Fall of the Political Press in Britain*, Vol. I, 45.
[25] Griffiths, (ed.) *The Encyclopedia of the British Press*, 265, 564
[26] Ibid.
[27] Torrens, *Colonization of South Australia*, x; 'Colonial Land Enquiry,' in *The Museum of Foreign Literature, Science and Art*, I, July–September 1836, 425.
[28] 'Torrens, Robert (1780-1864)', The History of Parliament.
[29] Sir Herbert Taylor to Robert Hay, 13 February 1831, SLSA, D 7432 (L), 1-11.
[30] 'Torrens, Robert (1780-1864)', The History of Parliament. On his influence of Wakefield see Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 76.
[31] Robbins, *Robert Torrens*, 149–150.
[32] Torrens, 'A Paper on the Means of Reducing the Poor Rates,' *The Pamphleteer*, 519.

committee.[33] His direct involvement with South Australia did not begin until 1835 when he was appointed chairman of the South Australian Colonisation Commission.[34]

Angas, a successful businessman and philanthropist, was not involved in the early discussions about systematic colonisation. Instead, he became interested in Wakefield's plan in 1832 when the proposal for the South Australian Land Company was presented to him.[35] Musing how best to utilise his accumulated wealth, he wrote that 'the true interests of the human family at large' were benevolence, morality and piety.[36] He recognised that Wakefield's plan could fulfil these aims. Indeed, Angas's involvement was to be a great advantage for the prosecution of Wakefield's plan. He was a 'born merchant, shrewd, intelligent, far-seeing', but, principally, a Christian.[37] Angas's extensive experience in banking, trade and business provided an unparalleled addition to South Australia's supporters.

Richard Davies Hanson

While Wakefield, Gouger and Torrens were at the forefront of South Australia's planned colonisation, there were other men who supported Wakefield's ideas and whose ability to influence others, particularly in the press, was important. One such man was Richard Davies Hanson. A young idealist, he became enthralled with Wakefield's colonisation plans. His Dissenter background ensured a liberal disposition and his outgoing nature and talent for writing and oration was advantageous for South Australia's promotion.[38]

Described as a 'precocious young man with radical views', Hanson was a 'newly admitted solicitor' and, like many of the men intimately involved with Wakefield's plan, also was involved with the press. He was a journalist for the *Morning Chronicle* and, later, Torrens's *Globe*.[39] Hanson's first involvement with Wakefield was reportedly in 1831. However, considering he worked for the *Morning Chronicle* when Wakefield's letters were published, it is very likely that he was aware of the subterfuge.[40] Perhaps it is not coincidental that he worked for the newspaper that published them. Hanson was also acquainted with John Brown, George Strickland Kingston and John Morphett,

[33] Charles Tennant and George Murray, *A letter to the Right Hon. Sir George Murray ... on systematic colonization*, J. Ridgway, London, 1830, 5–6.
[34] 'Torrens, Robert (1780-1864)', The History of Parliament; see also Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 76 and Robbins, *Robert Torrens*, 146-147.
[35] Hodder, *George Fife Angas*, 424-425.
[36] Ibid, 91, 92.
[37] Hodder, *George Fife Angas Father and Founder of South Australia*, 23.
[38] Greg Taylor, *Sir Richard Hanson*, The Federation Press, N.S.W., 2013, 8, 15.
[39] Ibid, 12, 20.
[40] Ibid.

all of whom were such champions of Wakefield's idea that they migrated to the new colony.[41] As it was not until 1846 when Hanson migrated to South Australia, he obviously remained interested in its success and had maintained a close association with Brown. Hanson's involvement is further evidence that Wakefield encouraged clever wordsmiths with influence in leading English newspapers.

The National Colonization Society, promotion of the colonisation plan and debates in the press

Although these men were influential in the systematic colonisation of South Australia, it was Gouger who embraced the colonising mission with zeal. He worked tirelessly, without remuneration, and believed so strongly in the success of the venture that he travelled to South Australia in 1836 with the first settlers. Greatly supportive of emigration before his involvement with Wakefield, his ideas were formulated around the settlement of Upper Canada and the Cape of Good Hope.[42] He was involved with the Emigration Society, subsequently renamed the National Colonization Society, which Horton promoted. Gouger was appointed secretary, and numerous influential men were committee members. Besides Torrens, these included Robert Owen, John Stuart Mill, Charles Tennant (an avid supporter of emigration) and Charles Buller, a Radical politician and journalist who is cited today mostly for his infamous 'shovelling out paupers' statement.[43]

Horton believed that only government-funded, mass colonisation could relieve destitute populations and improve colonial labour shortages. However, this was in opposition to Wakefield's idea for a self-funding colony. Wakefield opposed Horton's ideas to grant Canadian land freely for emigration and to restrict emigration to 'only those "entirely destitute of all means of subsistence"'.[44] In other words, Horton proposed that only those with insufficient means for maintaining life in Britain, the destitute or the pauperised should be selected and funded for emigration. This caused a significant discord between Wakefield and Horton. Wakefield believed that the

[41] 'Death of Sir Richard Hanson', *South Australian Register*, Vol. XLI, No. 9,144, Monday 6 March 1876, 4-5.
[42] Hodder, (ed.), *The Founding of South Australia,* 38.
[43] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 56; Nicholas Capaldi, *John Stuart Mill a Biography*, CUP, UK, 2004, 128; Hodder, (ed.), *The Founding of South Australia,* 37; Gregory Claeys, 'Owen, Robert (1771–1858)', and H. J. Spencer, 'Buller, Charles (1806–1848)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; on Buller's quote See, for example Robin Haines and Ralph Shlomowitz, 'Emigration from Europe to Colonial Destinations: Some Nineteenth-Century Australian and South African perspectives, *Itinerario*, 20, (1), March 1996, 133–152, Gary Howells, 'On Account of their Disreputable Characters': Parish-Assisted Emigration from Rural England, 1834–1860,' *History*, 88 (4) Oct 2003, 587–605, Radzevicius, *England Elsewhere*, 31.
[44] Mills, *The Colonization of Australia (1829-42),* 25.

labouring class was not lacking in the ability to learn about opportunities for betterment, but merely that the idea of emigration was never considered because the means were unattainable. The problem he argued, was that the poorest classes were removed 'not by attraction, but repulsion,…the tendency of these pauper-shovellings is to make the common people think of emigration with dislike and terror'.[45] Communities were encouraged to believe that 'emigration was only fit for the refuse of the population'.[46] These were the perceptions that Wakefield sought to change with his plan and its extensive promotion. Their debate shows that those in lower classes were not necessarily illiterate and ignorant.

Hence, in 1830, the National Colonization Society's plans were advertised extensively in newspapers.[47] Wakefield headed the committee and relied on Gouger, as secretary, to 'influence public opinion by articles in the press, by advertisement…by word-of-mouth and by pamphlet'.[48] Despite Wakefield and Horton's disagreements, they both recognised the influence that newspaper publicity could make to the success or indeed, the failure of their plans. In the first instance, the advertising was targeted at men with capital and benevolence for the relief of the poor.

Contemporary debates consider how effectively advertising shapes today's public attitudes. However, during the 1830s advertising and publicity were equally crucial for promoting ideas.[49] Hence, Gouger and Horton widely advertised a meeting for the 'Prevention of Pauperism by means of Systematic Colonization', and obtained subscriptions and donations for the plan.[50] Gouger petitioned the government to undertake Wakefield's scheme, which was outlined during the aforementioned National Colonization Society meeting.[51]

The plan was publicised in newspapers with the bold heading 'the Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by a well-regulated system of Emigration' and advertisements appeared in London's *Examiner,* several editions of the *Morning Post,* the *London Standard* and Dublin's *Freeman's Journal*.[52] Horton, Gouger and Wakefield,

[45] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization, in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1849, 137–138.
[46] Ibid, 138.
[47] 'Horton, Sir Robert Wilmot (1784–1841)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography.*
[48] Hodder, (ed.), *The Founding of South Australia* 37.
[49] For the debates regarding the influence of advertising See, for example Daniel J. Hopkins, Eunji Kim, and Soojong Kim, 'Does newspaper coverage influence or reflect public perceptions of the economy?' *Research and Politics*, November 2017, 1–7.
[50] 'National Colonization Society', *Morning Post*, No. 18,567, Tuesday June 15, 1830, 1.
[51] Hodder, (ed.), *The Founding of South Australia*, 40. On The *Standard* see Griffiths, *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, 86, 263.
[52] *Examiner*, Sunday 16 May 1830, No 1,163, 318; *London Standard*, No. 940, Thursday 20 May, 1, No. 954, Thursday 5 June, 1830, 1; *Morning Post*, No. 18,540, Friday 14 May 1830, 1, No. 18,545,

realised that the extensive promotion of these ideas in prominent newspapers could benefit their cause. Therefore, they published in newspapers whose readership would be most sympathetic. The 'Whiggish' *Examiner* was a leading intellectual newspaper, the *Morning Post* enjoyed a strong upper class readership (a circulation of almost 600,000 copies during 1829) and the *Standard* was an esteemed paper with sympathy for moral and social issues.[53] Considering the 'unprecedented expansion' of newspapers in Ireland, Dublin's *Freeman's Journal* was most likely selected because it was a popular newspaper that supported British rule and received monetary incentive for its influence.[54] Already, methods for highlighting specific points were evident in these advertisements and are examples of the systems of advertising promotion visible in newspapers from early in the nineteenth century.[55]

For example, 'the cure and prevention of pauperism' was capitalised and at the head of the promotion to accentuate the importance of the statement. This targeted the altruistic motivations of people such as Gouger and Angas. It also exploited the prevailing concerns of widespread community distress.[56] These words were used to capitalise on the predominant social issue of destitution. A 'well-regulated system of Emigration' was in smaller, lower case type which implies that the 'system' to enable the 'prevention of pauperism' was of less importance and less likely to attract the community interest they desired. Emigration, as previously argued, was a highly publicised topic. Furthermore, by framing the promotion in this way, unwanted criticisms from those suspicious of the new systematic colonisation theory were minimised. Publicity for Wakefield's idea therefore, was thoughtful and targeted to the readers of some of the most popular, mainstream newspapers of the period.

Friday 20 May 1830, 2, No. 18,548, Friday 24 May 1830, 1, No. 18,567, Friday 15 June 1830, 1; *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. LXIV, Thursday 27 May 1830.

[53] The British Newspaper Archive, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/; Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*, 65–67, 72; Griffiths, *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, 236, 248.

[54] 'The *Freeman's Journal* Archive 1763–1924,' Irish Newspaper Archives, https://www.irishnewsarchive.com/freemans-journal-newspaper-archive, accessed 8 May, 2017; The British Newspaper Archive, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/; on the expansion of newspapers in Ireland see Christopher Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, CUP, UK, 2010, chapter 3, 60–90, in particular 69–70.

[55] On advertising and promotions See, for example, Nicholas Mason, *Literary Advertising and the Shaping of British Romanticism*, John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 2013, 12–13.

[56] Between February and May 1830 there were 25 petitions tabled in parliament whereby communities demanded relief from unemployment and excessive taxation. See, for example Distress of the Country, HC Deb 12 February 1830 vol 22 cc429-30 and HC Deb 16 February 1830 vol 22 cc529-31, Distressed Weavers, HC Deb 26 February 1830 vol 22 cc1005-7, Agricultural Distress, HC Deb 26 February 1830 vol 22 c1008, Distress in Drogheda, HC Deb 01 March 1830 vol 22 cc1076-7, Herring Fishery – Scotland, HC Deb 09 March 1830 vol 23 cc2-3, Distress of the Country, HC Deb 16 March 1830 vol 23 cc378-83, Stamp Duties (Dublin), HC Deb 28 May 1830 vol 24 cc1196-9.

The meeting, which Horton chaired, aimed to encourage other men of means to support the proposed National Colonization Society.[57] Ostensibly, attendance numbers were unremarkable. The meeting attracted only 200 people. However, when the numbers of people who potentially read about the meeting from transcripts or reports that were published in the newspapers are calculated, the publicity was significant. For example, *The Times* alone enjoyed an average daily circulation of 10,000 copies during 1830.[58] The distribution of other newspapers that reported on the meeting suggests the dissemination was substantial.

The meeting was the first public broadcast of Wakefield's systematic colonisation idea and outlined that 'a proper selection of emigrants – concentration of the colonists – and the sale of waste lands' were crucial for successful colonisation.[59] These were new and progressive concepts which caused intense debate, particularly from Horton. He publicly refuted some of Wakefield's ideas, refusing to be constrained by the *Statement of Purpose* which was outlined during the meeting and renounced his membership of the committee.[60]

Although Wakefield and Horton both championed the relief of the poor, their viewpoints on colonisation and emigration differed in their interpretation of lower and working class emigrants and how best to ameliorate them.[61] Whereas Horton believed that labouring emigrants comprised an additional class, alienated from those who remained at home, Wakefield considered the lower and working classes, as ordinary people.[62] Horton sought a wide-scale, voluntary, but government-funded removal of Britain's paupers to the colonies. Wakefield proposed that colonial waste lands should fund emigration, and that all classes of society should be encouraged to integrate into a model colonial community. 'The home and colonial markets of labour may be equalized, not by pushing *em*igration from England, but by pulling *im*migration to the Colonies', Wakefield wrote.[63]

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[57] See the Society's proceedings of a meeting held on 17 June 1830, 'National Colonization Society', *Standard*, No. 964, Thursday June 17 1830, 3.
[58] Raymond Williams, *The Long Revolution*, Broadview Press, Canada, UK, 2001, 211–213.
[59] 'National Colonization Society'. *The Times*, No. 14,255, Thursday 17 June 1830, 3. The pamphlet was entitled *A Statement of the Principles and Objects of a proposed National Society for the cure and prevention of Pauperism, by means of a systematic Colonization.*
[60] 'National Colonization Society'. *The Times*, No. 14,255, Thursday 17 June 1830, 3.
[61] On Horton's emigration policy see H. J. M. Johnston, *British Emigration Policy 1815-1830*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 1972, 57-68.
[62] A. J. Harrop *The Amazing Career of Edward Gibbon Wakefield*, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London, 1928, 55.
[63] 'Topics of the Day–Lord Howick's Emigration Bill', *Spectator*, No. 139, Saturday 26 February 1831, 15. Although the *Spectator* does not publish the author's name, R. N. Ghosh accords Wakefield with its authorship; see R. N. Ghosh, 'The Colonization Controversy: R. J. Wilmot-Horton and the Classical

Horton 'disclaimed all connexion with the peculiar views of the gentlemen who originally proposed the scheme of the Society and the meeting'.[64] In particular, Horton's objections lay with the plans for the proposed sale of waste lands. He concurred with the *Third Report on Emigration* that the government should fund the transplantation of excessive labourers to colonial destinations.[65] Wakefield remained committed to the notion that the sale of waste lands could fund emigration and he accused Horton of jealousy.[66] However, he also stated that these debates, which played out in the press, greatly advantaged his cause. 'By attacking their views, and thus causing those views to be examined' by the public, Wakefield wrote, many more people became aware of his colonisation plan.[67] At this early stage, he recognised that any publicity which spread information about his plan helped to encourage interest and discussion among his peers. It kept the topic at the forefront of community conversations.[68] Thus, the publicity surrounding Horton and Wakefield's disagreements initiated popular debate about Wakefield's plan and helped to influence prevailing beliefs.

Through this clever use of publicity, appeals to his peers, journalistic adeptness and the targeted diffusion of information, Wakefield persuaded both the public and the government to support his plan. This was confirmed in the opening remarks of the *Second Report from the Select Committee on South Australia*, in the *Edinburgh Review*.[69] The early success of the colony 'did not prove that the system was a sound one, but only that many persons believed it to be sound'.[70] In other words, the publicity was effective. It was a testament to the persuasive powers of Wakefield, whom Sir John Hindmarsh, South Australia's first governor, called 'the utopian castle builder', and his collaborators that so many people were convinced that the South Australian colonisation experiment would constitute a sound capital investment.[71]

Economists', *Economica*, New Series, Vol. 31, No. 124, November 1864, 385-400. Italics in original quote.

[64] 'National Colonization Society,' *Spectator*, No. 103, Saturday 19 June 1830, 410.

[65] Robert Wilmot Horton, *Lectures on Statistics and Political Economy, as affecting the condition of the operative and labouring classes. Delivered at the London Mechanics' Institution, in 1830 and 1831, with notes*, Edmund Lloyd, London, 1832, Lecture VIII, 7.

[66] Wakefield, *England and America,* 159–160.

[67] Ibid.

[68] See, for example, 'Emigration', *The Morning Advertiser*, No. 12,141, Wednesday 24 March, 1830, 2; [No Heading], *Yorkshire Gazette*, Vol. XII, No. 572, Saturday 27 March, 1830, 3; 'House of Commons', *Kerry Evening Post*, Wednesday 26 May, 1830, 2–3, 'Agricultural Distress,' *Sheffield Independent*, Vol. XI, No. 569, Saturday 13 November, 1830, 1; 'Emigration', *Brighton Gazette*, No. 519, Thursday 27 January, 1831, 4.

[69] 'Second Report from the Select Committee on South Australia', 10th June 1841, in the *Edinburgh Review,* Vol. LXXV, April-July 1842, 140-162.

[70] Ibid, 149.

[71] SLSA, PRG174, 1, Angas Papers, John Hindmarsh to Angas, 23 April 1836, 255-258.

Undeniably, at this stage, publicity and advertising was targeted to capitalists and investors with the means to support and finance Wakefield's plan.

More than a system of emigration which relieved Britain's destitute populations, as Horton proposed, Wakefield envisioned 'an intimate connection between the colony and the mother country'.[72] Free emigrants could aspire for more than monetary success.[73] They could attain class elevation and, eventually, class acceptance.[74] Ultimately, he predicted that the colony in southern Australia would create 'happy human beings'.[75]

Publicity for the South Australian Charter

Wakefield's inquiries into the problems of society revealed that there were an increasing number of labourers who were under or unemployed. He believed that the evil of pauperism was the singular topic which occupied most Englishmen's minds.[76] 'It is the misery and degradation of the bulk of the people', he wrote.[77] In fact, he attributed the incendiarism of the Captain Swing riots in Hampshire to generational destitution.[78] He also acknowledged that information about the 'melancholy subject' including petitions, parliamentary speeches, public meetings, 'innumerable pamphlets', constant references in publications and 'cheap newspapers, written expressly for the labouring classes' were abundant.[79] Wakefield was aware of the deficiencies of these classes and was attuned to the most effective methods for promoting his ideas for their relief.

Wakefield, however, was not alone in the use of publicity to promote colonisation ideas. The first attempt at gaining a charter for South Australia was undertaken in 1831 by the South Australian Land Company.[80] Its prospectus outlined the importance of publicity, stating that 'sufficient promulgation' in the press was imperative.[81] The promoters realised that unrestricted and accessible information was critical for their plan's acceptance. Indeed, Angas recalled the importance placed on newspaper publicity in a letter to the editor of the *South Australian Register* in 1869:

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[72] Wakefield, *A letter from Sydney,* 196.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Wakefield, *England and America,* 1833, 56.
[77] Ibid, 44.
[78] 'Swing Unmasked', *Spectator*, Saturday 17 December, 1831, 19.
[79] Ibid.
[80] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 53.
[81] South Australian Land Company, *Proposal to His Majesty's government for founding a colony on the southern coast of Australia*, W. Nicol, London, 1831, 7.

> To interest the public in the novel scheme of colonization … bringing influence to bear through the Press, and by other means … turn attention of intending immigrants to South Australia.[82]

Publicity for these plans was crucial. It informed and encouraged not only capitalists, but also those with influence who were most important for supporting the charter in parliament.

From the initial proposal for South Australian colonisation, and during the ensuing years, publicity was so extensive that in 1835 Wakefield related to the South Australian Colonisation Commissioners that 'the plan has been defended in so large a number of pamphlets and books that a list of them would surprise you'.[83] Additionally, he acknowledged the authorship of all publications related to systematic colonisation which were expressed in the three individual attempts to colonise southern Australia:

> I composed nearly the whole of the advertisements, resolutions, prospectuses and proposals and of the applications, memorials, letters and replies to the Government and other documents of any importance.[84]

Considering his desire for anonymity, this statement is difficult to confirm. However, in 1837 the *Examiner* reported that Wakefield was 'one of the most vigorous and effective writers of our time'.[85] Indeed, his writing prowess was also recognised by John Brown, South Australia's first emigration officer. His diary mentions that Wakefield's skill at manipulation and deception was 'universal…and…adept'.[86] According to Brown, Wakefield constantly manipulated affairs for the colony from the periphery.[87] Thomas Frederick Elliot, assistant under-secretary for the colonies, reflected upon Wakefield's expertise in 1847: 'The Merit of suggesting the Scheme of selling Lands, and applying the Proceeds to Emigration, was due to Mr. Wakefield'.[88] Historians who have studied Wakefield agree that his mastery as a wordsmith greatly

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[82] 'The Foundation of South Australia', *South Australian Register*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 7,116, Monday 30 August, 1869 3.
[83] Cited in Garnett, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield: the colonization of South Australia and New Zealand*, 104.
[84] Cited in Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 76.
[85] 'Popular Politics', *Examiner,* No. 1,513, Sunday 29 January 1837, 70.
[86] Diary of John Brown, 124.
[87] 'Wakefield's Popular Politics Examiner, 29 January, 1837', in John Stuart Mill, *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, Volume XXIV - Newspaper Writings January 1835-June 1847 Part III [1835],* Online Library of Liberty. 2018, https://oll.libertyfund.org/titles/mill-the-collected-works-of-john-stuart-mill-volume-xxiv-newspaper-writings-part-iii, accessed 11 November 2018. On John Stuart Mill (1806-1873) see Jose Harris, 'Mill, John Stuart (1806–1873)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.
[88] 'Report of the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Colonization from Ireland, Minutes of Evidence', 23 July, 1847 (583) VI, 63.

assisted the progression of the charter in parliament but he was not without detractors.[89]

Henry Chapman, for example, a journalist, prolific author and confidante of the Radical politician John Arthur Roebuck, criticised Wakefield:[90] 'He is a clever scoundrel…a dangerous man because of his unscrupulous dishonesty'. In fact, Chapman was one of the first to criticise Wakefield's plan as merely 'speculative jobbing'.[91] Chapman was an associate of Bentham, campaigned against the 'Taxes on Knowledge', and pre-empted the Chartist movement.[92] He also acknowledged that newspapers were instrumental for debating and spreading revolutionary and innovative ideas like systematic colonisation.[93]

Contemporary historians of the Victorian press argue that newspapers were a vehicle for the 'free exchange of ideas'.[94] Authors' sought to persuade their peers for 'the "common good"'.[95] Furthermore, newspapers were a means for undertaking 'politics by public discussion' and were 'seen as a necessity'.[96] However, the men who promoted colonisation and were involved with Wakefield utilised newspaper publicity for promoting the South Australian colonisation plan a decade before the Victorian era commenced. Until mid-century, newspapers were the predominant facilitators of 'public discussion'.[97]

Many scholars have researched Wakefield, his colonisation schemes and his motivations such as his abhorrence of the convict transportation system. While his achievements are clear, his motivations and his personality remain enigmatic. With a keen understanding of society and politics and proficiency as a publicist, Wakefield garnered enough peer support to see his plan become reality. He manipulated the South Australian colonisation debate, its publicity and the people who promoted it and

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[89] These include Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 75-83; Ged Martin, 'Wakefield's Past and Futures', in Eric Richards, (ed.) *Edward Gibbon Wakefield and the Colonial Dream: A Reconsideration*, GP Publications, Wellington, 1997, 20-44; Eric Richards, 'The Peopling of South Australia, 1836-1986', *Flinders History of South Australia: Social History*, Vol. I, Wakefield Press, 1986, 115.
[90] On Henry Chapman see R.S. Neale, 'Chapman, Henry Samuel (1803–1881)', *Australian Dictionary of Biography*. Quote cited in Temple, *A Sort of Conscience: The Wakefield's*, 211.
[91] H.S. Chapman, 'Lord Glenelg and the New Australian Colony', in J.A. Roebuck, *Pamphlets for the People* Vol. I, 1835, 10–12.
[92] Ibid, 211-212; Neale, 'Chapman, Henry Samuel (1803–1881)', Australian Dictionary of Biography. On Chapman's reform beliefs see *Pamphlets for the People,* Vol. I.
[93] Neale, 'Chapman, Henry Samuel (1803–1881)', Australian Dictionary of Biography.
[94] Hampton, *Visions of the Press*, 8; see also Terry Nevett, 'Advertising and Editorial Integrity in the Nineteenth Century', in Michael Harris and Alan J. Lee (eds), *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, The Press Group, NJ, England, Canada, 1986, 149-167.
[95] Ibid.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Ibid.

his dogged determination was responsible, in part, for its transference from theory to reality.

Wakefield stated in *England and America* that four separate prospectuses which promoted colonisation were published between 1829 and 1832.[98] The idea for colonising a specific region through planned settlement rather than by *ad hoc* emigration was widely discussed. However, the initial idea for a colony in South Australia was only proposed after Captain Charles Sturt's discovery of 'the South Coast of New Holland' was publicised.[99] Enamoured with Wakefield and his ideas and appointed secretary to the National Colonization Society, it was Gouger who coordinated the campaign to exploit 'all forms of literature' for the promotion of this new colony.[100] Certainly, Gouger's tireless, hard work in promoting Wakefield's idea helped the charter for South Australia come to fruition.

George Fife Angas and the South Australian Company

While Horton and Wakefield were motivated to develop systems of colonisation to relieve overpopulated and destitute communities, thereby alleviating the evils associated with the impoverished, Wakefield's theory required financial assistance and it was Angas who provided it. Thus, in 1835 Angas, then a Crown appointed-Colonisation Commissioner commenced a personal campaign to promote the colony.[101] He resigned as a commissioner, citing differences of opinion, when he became chairman of the South Australian Company in October 1835.[102] Angas was committed morally and financially to the success of the new colony and fully supported the objectives of the company:

> The most certain means of advantage to the Shareholders of this Company must be such as shall most permanently

[98] Wakefield, *England and America.* 160-162. The anonymously written *Sketch of a proposal for colonising Australasia* was published and distributed at no cost in 1829. Following an extensive article in *The Spectator*, *A Statement of the Principles and Objects of a Proposed National Society for the Cure and Prevention of Pauperism by means of Systematic Colonization* was published in 1830, the *Proposal to His Majesty's Government for Funding a Colony on the Southern Coast of Australia* was published and distributed in 1831 and *A Lecture on Colonization Delivered before the Literary Association, at the London Tavern* by Richard Davies Hanson was published in 1832; see also *Spectator*, no. 92, Saturday April 3, 1830, insert and no. 95, Saturday April 24, 1830, 257-258.
[99] Hodder, *The Founding of South Australia* 41, 401.
[100] Ibid*,* 39.
[101] For a list of the Royal Commissioners gazetted on 5 May 1835, see Edwin Hodder, *George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia*, Hodder, Stoughton, London, 1891, 106; for a list of the South Australian Company Board, appointed on 10 October, 1835, see 114.
[102] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent,* 123, 124–130.

> increase the numbers, wealth, skill and moral character of the Colony. [103]

As a firm believer in self-help benevolence, his moralistic outlook aligned with Wakefield's plan.[104]

Through the formation of the South Australian Company, Angas attempted to combine his altruism with a profit-making venture, a task which attracted little peer support initially.[105] Angas was so committed to the plan however, that he personally invested £20,000 to purchase land.[106] The company purchased in excess of 33,000 acres in the colony to rent to pastoralists, which they then advertised in the British press.[107] Numerous prominent men also advertised their investment in the scheme, which encouraged confidence in the new colony. A recognised method for soliciting patronage, Joseph Livesey's *Moral Reformer* stated that:

> if you want to draw the public into a belief that your society is popular, and its object is of great importance, take care that you fill an octavo page with a regular classification of the names and titles of its officers.[108]

An involvement in reputable ventures also increased community esteem for those involved. A further £200,000 in subscriptions was sold after these promotions were published.[109] Substantial sums, they are equivalent to $33 million today. This highlights the value of the publicity which encouraged the involvement of Britain's wealthy and respected middle and upper classes.

Cognisant of the importance of advertising for the colony and the company, Angas published the company's prospectus immediately after its formation on 9 October 1835.[110] It appeared in at least fifteen newspapers across Britain, including three prominent provincial publications - the *York Herald, Liverpool Mercury* and *Reading Mercury*.[111] In conjunction with the advertising campaign, Angas also embarked on a promotional tour of Leeds, Manchester and Liverpool in December

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[103] The South Australian Company, *Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company, First Report*, Mitchell Library 83/192, 6.
[104] Sutherland, *The South Australian Company,* 50-52.
[105] Ibid; Garnett, *Edward Gibbon Wakefield* 96.
[106] Sutherland, *The South Australian Company,* 59.
[107] See, for example, 'South Australian Company,' *Durham County Advertiser*, No. 1,103, Friday 23 October, 1835, 1; 'South Australian Company', *The Bristol Mirror,* Vol. LXII, No. 3,164, Saturday 24 October, 1835, 1.
[108] Joseph Livesey, *Moral Reformer*, Vol. 3, Sherwood, London, 1833, 70.
[109] Sutherland, *The South Australian Company,* 59.
[110] Hodder, *George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia*, 113.
[111] See advertisements in *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 4304, Saturday, October 24, 1835, 4. *York Herald and General Advertiser*, No. 3294, Saturday October 31, 1835, 1; *Liverpool Mercury and Lancaster General Advertiser*, No. 1277, Vol. XXV, Friday October 23, 1835, 1 and the *Reading Mercury and Oxford Gazette*, Vol. CXIII, No., 6,045, Monday October 26, 1853, 1.

1835. These promotional visits, like Wakefield's publicity thus far, targeted investors rather than emigrants: they were advertised in the *Leeds Times,* and the *Leeds Intelligencer,* the *Berkshire Chronicle* and *Jackson's Oxford Journal*.[112]

It is unlikely that these locations were chosen randomly and promotion in the provincial newspapers greatly enhanced the chances of success. The recently established *Leeds Times* and the long-established *Intelligencer* enjoyed a wide readership among middle class businessmen and agriculturalists.[113] Similarly, the recently established *Berkshire Chronicle* and the long-established *Jackson's Oxford Journal* circulated among their respective agricultural and commercial districts.[114] Each publication reflected similar views to Angas's but, in particular, all were aligned to the Church of England. Angas sought to encourage other investors with a similar disposition. However, it also provides evidence of the early use of 'saturation' style advertising.[115] Advertising in each newspaper at the same time encouraged the broadest community awareness of the opportunity in the shortest timeframe. This reinforces the argument that from this early period the influence of advertising in newspapers to further interest in the colonisation of South Australia was recognised.

Angas appointed David McLaren, his Scottish Baptist accountant as the company's colonial manager and he was directed to disseminate 100 company prospectuses throughout Scotland.[116] These included an abridged version to newspapers and a number to his brother, James, for distribution in northern Scotland.[117] Angas also printed 600 copies of their advertisement, 'in a sympathetic newspaper script', for distribution throughout the larger provincial regions in England.[118] This enabled these newspapers to insert the advertisement easily within their existing format and its larger, simplistic text, was intended to increase its appeal to less literate readers.[119] It is feasible that one of these promotions encouraged

[112] 'South Australian Company', *The Leeds Times*, No. 144, Vol. III, Saturday December 5, 1835, 2; 'South Australian Company', *The Leeds Intelligencer,* Vol. LXXXIII, No. 4,244, Saturday December 5, 1835, 2; 'South Australian Company', *Berkshire Chronicle & Windsor Herald*, Vol. XI, No. 564, 1; 'South Australian Company', *Jackson's Oxford Journal*, No. 4,314, 1; Hodder, *George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australia*, 118.
[113] The British Newspaper Archive, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/; Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*, 198-199.
[114] Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory,* 225, 231.
[115] For a contemporary explanation of saturation advertising See, for example, Robert L. Williams Jr., and Helena A Williams, *Vintage Marketing Differentiation, the Origins of Marketing and Branding Strategies*, Palgrave Macmillan, New York, 2017, 22-23.
[116] SLSA, PRG174, 1, Angas Papers, David McLaren to Angas, 26 October 1835, 968-971.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid. An example of these advertisements can be seen in chapter four of this thesis.
[119] Ibid. On advertising in newspapers and the importance of text styles see 'History: 19th Century', in John McDonough and Karen Egolf (eds), *The Advertising Age Encyclopaedia of Advertising*, Fitzroy Dearborn Publishers, Chicago, London, 2002, 750-758.

Edward Spicer, who opened the Introduction, to migrate. It is further evidence of the way that newspaper advertising for South Australia was targeted to particular groups.

Although Angas was renowned for his philanthropy – he was later responsible for morally and financially supporting the emigration of many hundreds of Pastor Augustus Kavel's Prussian emigrants to South Australia - *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* accused Angas's company of 'trafficking [emigrants] for profit'.[120] By merging philanthropy with profitable ventures, they concluded that 'poor Philanthropy, sooner or later, is sure to be driven to the wall'.[121] Although the company was a profit-making concern, it is undeniable that the amelioration of the poor through emigration was a significant motivation. Indeed, the publicity which generated such increased financial support for Angas's Company helped to consolidate South Australia as a viable British colony.[122]

Major Anthony Bacon and the colonisation scam

Benevolence was not a primary goal for Major Bacon who became involved with the National Colonization Society to gain a government charter for a colony in southern Australia. He, like Gouger, met Wakefield in Newgate Prison.[123] Brown admitted that Bacon was the first person to propose a colony on Spencer's Gulf during Sir George Murray's tenure as Britain's Colonial Secretary, two years before Gouger became involved in the scheme.[124] Unlike Wakefield and Gouger, however, Bacon sought only personal benefit from the scheme. In August 1831, when his request for a charter was refused, Bacon conspired with Gouger, Torrens and George John Graham, a Utilitarian acquaintance of John Arthur Roebuck MP, to raise capital and to petition Viscount Goderich, the then colonial secretary, with a colonisation plan.[125] Bacon, overlooked

[120] On the memorial for the migration of Kavel's Prussian's see George Fife Angas to Sir George Grey, 23 July 1838, CO13/3. Quote cited in 'The Manager of the South Australian Company', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. IV, February 1839, 135-136. For a contemporary discussion on South Australia's German migrants see Christine Lockwood, 'A vision frustrated Lutheran missionaries to the Aborigines of South Australia 1838-1853', in Peter Monteath (ed.) *Germans: Travellers, Settlers and their Descendants in South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Adelaide, 2011, 17-40.
[121] 'The Manager of the South Australian Company', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. IV, February, 1839, 135-136.
[122] This is discussed in Brook B. Ballard Jr., 'Colonial Reformers As An Imperial Factor, 1815-1855', University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Ann Arbor, 1967, 51-55. ProQuest, https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.flinders.edu.au/docview/302264171?accountid=10910.
[123] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 53.
[124] Diary of John Brown 130.
[125] Major Bacon to Viscount Howick, 25 August 1831, SLSA, D 7432 (L), 18-21. On Graham see Francis E. Mineka (ed.) *The Collected Works of John Stuart Mill, 1812-1848*, Vol. XII, University of Toronto Press, Toronto, 1916, 14, and 'Copy of a Memorial addressed to Viscount Goderich', in Wakefield, *England and America*, 307-319.

for an army promotion, was motivated by position and profit.[126] There is little evidence that Bacon promoted the colonisation plan for altruistic reasons, but, he exploited his association with Wakefield and Gouger and the public interest in colonisation.

While the motivations of the promoters varied, the plans for South Australian colonisation were all extensively advertised in British newspapers and publications. For example, the *Spectator* reported that a revival of the colonisation plan for southern Australia which was first promoted in 1830 (and was likely in reference to the ideas that Wakefield suggested in *A Letter from Sydney*), was again proposed in February 1831.[127] It was reported then that Lord Howick, the under-secretary of state for the colonies in the Australian Department, intended to promote a bill for systematic colonisation.[128] Quoting from Wakefield's *England and America*, the *Spectator* endorsed the systematic colonisation plan as a profitable venture for the middle classes:

> Men of small or moderate fortunes, having large families to provide for, - a career for all the sons…husbands for all the daughters…a field of profitable exertion and honourable ambition.[129]

Notwithstanding the lack of government sanction for these colonisation plans, this was an example of how newspapers exploited information without authenticating its veracity. The proposed colony in South Australia with its Governor as Major Bacon was promoted as if already a reality. The *Stamford Mercury,* for example, reported on a pamphlet which promoted the new colony, governed by Major Bacon and citing 'from the best authority', being supported by Gouger.[130] The *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly* advertised Bacon's governorship of the new establishment on Kangaroo Island.[131] This information was false, yet it assisted in spreading news about the proposed colony.

The men mentioned in this chapter were greatly influential in enabling the progression of South Australian colonisation. They recognised the importance of newspaper promotion and advertising to advantage their plans. However, the reports

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[126] R. L. V. Ffrench Blake, *The 17/21st. Lancers: 1759-1993*, Hamish Hamilton Ltd., GB, 1968, revised edition Leo Cooper, GB, 1993, 32.
[127] 'Topics of the Day, the New Colony', *Spectator*, No. 135, 4 February 1831, 7-8.
[128] *Spectator*, No. 138, 19 February 1831, 177. On Lord Howick's position see 'Appendix No. III, Copy of a Memorial addressed to Viscount Goderich', in Wakefield, *England and America,* 308.
[129] 'Topics of the Day, the New Colony', *Spectator*, No. 135, 4 February 1831, 7-8.
[130] 'Friday's Express', *The Lincoln Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, Vol. 136, No. 7110, Friday October 28, 1831, 3.
[131] [No Heading], *Plymouth and Devonport Weekly Journal,* Vol. XIV, No. 675, Thursday 4 October, 1832, 2.

about Bacon and his apparent governorship of an unformed colony are a clear example of how incorrect information was iterated in newspapers without authentication. This was revealed as an ongoing issue for South Australia's promotion. Once the South Australian colony was enacted, publicity remained a crucial tool for enabling land sales and preparing for the settlement of the colony. Publicity, which initially promoted the plan to financiers, then targeted small capitalists and intended settlers. The South Australian Literary and Scientific Association and the Conversazione Club were initiated to plan the intricacies of South Australia's settlement and to encourage influential men whose involvement would further colonial plans through widespread promotion.

The South Australian Literary and Scientific Association and the Conversazione Club[132]

The planning and promotion of colonial settlements was not idea. Various cohorts of Englishmen had already planned and encouraged others to colonise the Americas, for example.[133] In the nineteenth century public meetings and voluntary associations were established for providing the means to organise and plan a colony and newspapers supplied the broadest publicity.[134] Hence, the supporters of South Australian colonisation organised an association which enabled discussions and the resolution of particular issues for the colony. This was necessary to further their colonisation plans and reveals the importance of publicity and advertising in colonial settlement.

The South Australian Literary and Scientific Association

After the South Australian Act passed parliament in 1834 the South Australian Literary and Scientific Association was established.[135] It aimed for the 'Cultivation and Diffusion of Useful Knowledge throughout the colony'.[136] While Wakefield, Gouger, Torrens and Angas were at the forefront of South Australia's promotion, other

[132] The minutes of the Club spelled their name Conversazione however, clubs and societies in England were also regularly spelt Conversation.
[133] See, for example, Ned Landsman, 'The Middle Colonies: New Opportunities for Settlement 1660-1700', in Nicholas Canny (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire, The Origins of Empire, Vol. I*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, NY, 1998, in particular 360–361.
[134] David Spring, 'The Clapham Sect: Some Social and Political Aspects', *Victorian Studies*, 5 (1), September 1961, 35–48.
[135] See *Laws of the South Australian Literary Association*, William Nichol, London, 1834, SLSA, Special Collection, 806.09423 S726.
[136] Richard Hanson, *South Australian Literary Association, 5th. September, 1834, Inaugural Address,* S.A. Libraries Board, Adelaide, 1978, 1, 8; on 16 September 1834 its title was amended to South Australian Literary and Scientific Association.

influential men now became involved. One such man was Richard Davies Hanson. His enthusiasm for Wakefield's colonisation ideas and his outgoing nature was advantageous for South Australia's promotion.[137] Like many of the men intimately involved with the prosecution of Wakefield's plan, his involvement with the newspaper press was also greatly advantageous.

Hanson presented the first address of the association and highlighted the uniqueness which differentiated South Australia from all other colonies.[138] Embracing Wakefield's vision for the transplantation of a utopian community, he elaborated that South Australia would be a perfect society without want, crime and sorrow where every class could attain their 'dreams of happiness and perfection'.[139] His speech highlighted the optimism of South Australia's promoters and reiterated a principal philosophy, Bentham's 'greatest good for the greatest number'.[140] It was this optimism which featured extensively in publicity for the colony, once the South Australian Bill was enacted in 1834, both for capitalists and settlers. This was not hyperbole, but an idealism in which they truly believed.

A further measure for creating an ideal society outlined in Bentham's philosophy was the provision of knowledge.[141] Consequently, the Literary Association acquired more than 300 publications, largely through donations.[142] They comprised texts about colonisation, British colonies, emigration, exploration and enrichment for settlers in the colony.[143] Gouger provided ninety-five texts which included works on colonial and American emigration, almanacs and voyage and travel books: among them was Lang's publication which had encouraged Edward Spicer.[144] Other supporters provided historical, classical, travel and scientific works intended to 'cultivate the minds' of settlers through the 'diffusion of knowledge'.[145] While the intention of the association was the provision of mental stimulation and enrichment for colonists, many of the works provided informative reading for prospective colonists about emigration. However, library subscription costs precluded the lower and some working classes

[137] Greg Taylor, *Sir Richard Hanson*, The Federation Press, N.S.W., 2013, 8.
[138] S.A. Libraries, *Literary Association Inaugural Address,* 5, 9, 10-11, 14; on Hanson see Taylor, *Sir Richard Hanson*, 7-15.
[139] Ibid, 17.
[140] See Jeremy Bentham, *An Introduction to the Principles of Morals and Legislation*, two volumes, W. Pickering, London, 1823.
[141] Ibid, See, for example 99, 103.
[142] 'Literary Society,' *Southern Australian*, Vol. I, No. 6, Saturday 7 July 1838, 3.
[143] C. Bridge, *A Trunk Full of Books, History of the State Library of South Australia and its Forerunners*, Wakefield Press and the State Library of South Australia, Adelaide, 1986, 4. For a list of the books and their contributors see M. R. Talbot, 'A Re-Evaluation of the South Australian Literary and Scientific Association Library', *Australian Academic & Research Libraries*, 39(4), 269–290.
[144] Talbot, *A Re-evaluation*.
[145] S.A. Libraries, *Literary Association Inaugural Address,* 14.

from accessing this information.[146] It was clearly targeted to the middle and upper classes and was another method which South Australian promoters used to encourage capitalists and investors, who would then fund labouring emigrants.

The South Australian Conversazione Club

Another aim of the association was to organise and promote the colony through talks and lectures.[147] While written publicity was crucial to spreading news about the venture, public perception, reputation and shared physical experiences in the form of group lectures or face-to-face meetings were also important. The South Australian Conversazione Club evolved and at its first meeting held on 19 August 1835 it was resolved to raise funds through ticket and subscription sales, provide lectures about the colony and encourage keen participants to initiate critical tasks.[148] It was a place where 'public opinion achieved its fullest scope of liberty' and it aimed to expand from the Literary Association.[149]

Key initiatives included publicity and proposing colonial regulations.[150] Members were adept at managing promotions to their best advantage. This included 'editorial puffing', whereby editors were encouraged to publish accompanying articles related to their paid advertisements (see Chapter Five). Initially, Gouger advertised fortnightly meetings, but these increased to weekly and then bi-weekly until 19 February 1836.[151] On average, 62 people were present at each meeting, many of whom became colonists. Members were predominately middle class and, according to John Hindmarsh, 'influential persons had not only promised their subscriptions, but were exerting themselves in its cause'.[152] Publicity for the venture informed and encouraged men who would feature in South Australia's future. Such was the enthusiasm for the scheme that half of the first twenty-three subscribers travelled to the colony and filled government, administration or professional positions.[153] They included George Strickland Kingston and Osmond Gilles who were appointed as deputy surveyor and colonial treasurer respectively and John Morphett, a politician and avid supporter of

[146] *Laws of the South Australian Literary Association*, 6.
[147] Ibid, 12.
[148] South Australian Colonial Office, PRO CO386/141 C669699, meeting held 19 August 1835.
[149] Quote cited in Peter Gibian, *Oliver Wendell Holmes and the Culture of Conversation*, CUP, Cambridge, 2001, 153.
[150] South Australian Colonial Office, PRO CO386/141 C669699.
[151] Meeting 19 August 1835, PRO CO386/141 C669699. See meeting minutes from 19 August 1835 to 2 December 1835. The advertisements were published in London's *Morning Chronicle* and *Evening Standard,* see 'New Colony of South Australia', *The Morning Chronicle*, No. 20,246, Friday 18 July 1834, 1; 'New Colony of South Australia', *The Standard*, No. 2,253, Thursday 31 July 1834, 1.
[152] Meeting 14 October 1835, PRO CO386/141 C669699.
[153] Meeting 19 August 1835, PRO CO386/141 C669699.

the colony who, while not filling a government position initially, played an active role in colonial government affairs.

Discussions and lectures at the club were diverse. They included guidance for capitalists and labourers, the management of the Aboriginal population, fundraising for the erection of churches, and provisions for the education of labourers' children.[154] These deliberations were crucial for the preparation of strategies to ensure the colony fulfilled its covenant. The patronage of many prominent subscribers and, the discussions which helped to resolve many of these issues, also mitigated the concerns that some members raised about the colony. It enabled members and interested individuals to learn about the proposed colony, but more importantly, to influence its planning.

A strategy for protecting the Aborigine for example, was critical to the creation of the colony. This was discussed at the Conversazione Club in January 1836.[155] Brown, a regular attendee, wrote that a requirement for 'some plan for the protection of the natives' was required to appease the 'Saints in the House of Commons'.[156] For Brown, this was an additional tedium, politically motivated to allay the concerns of those opposed to slavery.[157] The club discussed the plan for the 'proper treatment of the natives in the proposed colony [and]…the Society for the Protection of the Aborigines' was formed.[158]

The treatment of South Australia's Aborigines was a principal topic of discussion in parliament, a legacy of the abolition debates which resulted in the termination of slavery in 1833.[159] Similar to the colonisation and emigration debates, the imperial mission to 'civilise' indigenous populations and emancipate slaves were prominent topics in newspapers from the 1820s.[160] Many newspaper proprietors and editors who

[154] Meetings, 26 August, 16 September, 21 & 28 October, 4 & 18 November 1835 PRO CO386/141 C669699.
[155] Meetings, 13 January 1836. , PRO CO386/141 C669699. See also Introduction in this thesis.
[156] Diary of John Brown, January 4, 1836, 84.
[157] See, for example, Slavery Abolition Act, HC Deb 17 March 1834 vol 22 cc280-4.
[158] Ibid, 80.
[159] See 'Colonies – Aboriginal Tribes', HC Deb 1 July1834, Vol. 24 cc1061-3; 'Treatment of Aborigines in British Settlements', HC Deb 14 July 1835, Vol. 29 cc549-53. On the British Slavery Abolition Act see *3° & 4° Gulielmi IV, cap. LXXIII, An Act for the Abolition of Slavery throughout the British Colonies; for promoting the Industry of the manumitted Slaves; and for compensating the Persons hitherto entitled to the Services of such Slaves*. [28th August 1833]; http://www.pdavis.nl/Legis_07.htm, accessed 30 May, 2017.
[160] Padraic X. Scanlan, 'Blood, money and endless paper: slavery and capital in British imperial history', *History Compass,* 14 (5), 2016, 218-230.

promoted South Australia also supported the abolition of slavery.[161] Lord Glenelg, the secretary of state for the colonies, stated that Australian aborigines should receive

> due observance of justice and the protection of their rights, and to promote the spread of civilisation among them, and the peaceful and voluntary reception of the exercise of the Christian Religion.[162]

Protecting the Aborigines was considered imperative for South Australia.[163] However, it was the 'peace and welfare of the settlement' which remained paramount.[164]

Other concerns were also allayed at the conversazione meetings. For example, potential colonists were advised that squatters (see chapter one) who settled near South Australia's border, would not 'interfere with their interests' and committees were formed to provide 'every kind of information concerning the wants and welfare of the colony'.[165] The Conversazione Club was effective because it provided consultation about the conditions in the colony of most importance to capitalists and potential settlers and it facilitated their involvement.

Club members also coordinated responses to unfavourable newspaper reports concerning the colony. Hanson's reply to *The Times* has been outlined above. Reports in the *Westminster Review* and the *Globe,* for example, were read and discussed at length and Charles Mann, who was to be prominent in establishing the *South Australian Gazette* and became South Australia's first advocate-general, prepared responses to refute inaccurate statements.[166] The importance of targeted publicity was outlined during the meeting on 29 January when 'a Gentlemen connected with the public Press' attended the meeting.[167] A 'Reporter of the Herald', he was invited to be informed about and to publish correct information regarding the delays of the first ships to the colony and to pacify colonists.[168] The *Morning Herald* had reported that Lord Glenelg was the chief impediment to the progress of the colony, that the Colonisation Commissioners would resign collectively and that these delays

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[161] These included for example, the aforementioned *Leeds Times* and *Leeds Intelligencer, Jackson's Oxford Journal* and the *Morning Chronicle*.
[162] Lieut. George Grey to the Commissioners for Colonizing Southern Australia, 17 July 1835, CO 396/1.
[163] Ibid.
[164] Ibid.
[165] Meetings, 18 September, 9 December 1835. PRO CO386/141 C669699.
[166] Meetings, 26 August, 21 October 1835. PRO CO386/141 C669699. On Mann see 'Mann, Charles (1799–1860)', Australian Dictionary of Biography; for the *Westminster Review* article see The *Westminster Review* Vol.'s 21-22, No. XLIV, 441-476.
[167] Meetings, 18 September, 9 December 1835. PRO CO386/141 C669699.
[168] Meeting 20 January 1836. PRO CO386/141 C669699; Diary of John Brown Saturday 20 January, 1836, 96.

disadvantaged hundreds of emigrants.[169] Although the minutes do not reveal who invited the reporter, his attendance was clearly orchestrated to ensure that accurate information was published and that through the publicity, the government were pressured into action.

The *South Australian Gazette* which was promoted to potential settlers was formulated at the Conversazione Club. In October 1835, 564 subscriptions for the *Gazette,* yet to be printed, were purchased.[170] A newspaper was deemed essential for the colony and a proprietor who was prepared to publish a newspaper at their own cost was promised all government advertisements and printing.[171] Methods of circumventing the newspaper stamp duty were also discussed, as a means of encouraging potential proprietors.[172] This underlines the importance of the newspaper industry for disseminating news and information, and it reinforces the significance of newspapers for influencing public perceptions through regular publication.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced several principal men who were involved in the foundation and/or advertising of a plan for South Australia and its early emigration schemes. It has argued that Wakefield used shrewd and calculated means to publicise his plan for systematic colonisation. Furthermore, that he encouraged men who were keen supporters of both colonisation and the amelioration of destitute populations, and also men who were accomplished publicists. It was imperative that politicians, capitalists and philanthropists were informed about the plan and encouraged to support it. Concerted promotion was undertaken to advertise colonisation plans and it was already clear, during this early period, that advertising in newspapers was targeted to particular communities. The influence which newspaper editors and publishers wielded was used to advantage.

The following chapters reveal how connections between members of the press and South Australia's supporters, emigration agents and others were exploited to influence colonisation. Although Wakefield argued that any publicity was beneficial, South Australia's promoters were unable to control newspaper content. Bacon's alleged governorship of a proposed colony was an example of blatant false reporting.

[169] Reported from *The Morning Herald* in *The Waterford Mail*, see 'Southern Australia', *The Waterford Mail*, Vol. XIII, No. 1,293, Wednesday 20 January, 1836, 2.
[170] Meeting 21 October 1835. PRO CO386/141 C669699.
[171] Ibid, see meetings 28 September, 5 October, 1835.
[172] Ibid, see meeting 9 October, 1835. PRO CO386/141 C669699.

The lack of control over published information and publicity was an important aspect which became more prevalent once the colony was settled. This is discussed further in the following chapters.

A review of the Conversazione Club minutes revealed that this was another means for promoting the new colony. It enabled the involvement of capitalist investors and potential settlers, in discussing and planning ways to replicate English society in the colony. The foundation of the *South Australian Gazette* was one example. The minutes also revealed that planning the colony was spread among numerous men. Once the South Australian Foundation Bill passed through parliament, those directly responsible for the colony's promotion Wakefield, Torrens and Angas, for example were not minuted attendees. Instead, it was Gouger, Brown, Hanson and others who undertook the settlement planning. These were the men who coveted a government position in the colony and intended to settle there. The next chapter examines the government's colonial management and the 'official' publicity. It analyses specific advertisements for South Australia to determine how and to whom the colony was portrayed, once Wakefield's systematic colonisation for South Australia received government sanction.

Chapter Four

Government and 'official' published advertising

This thesis argues that Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan coincided with an increase in the number of newspapers, their expanded influence in society and, more importantly, their role in informing readers and enabling community involvement in topical debates. This chapter analyses specific advertisements that were published in newspapers between South Australia's enactment as a colony in 1834 and until c.1850. It argues that newspaper promotions greatly facilitated the business of migration. The advertisements were not random but were published in specific newspapers to target particular people. Furthermore, this chapter argues that the promoters varied and individualised advertising content and style to capitalise on perceived variances in the readers of certain newspapers or from particular regions.

From the colony's inception, three separate entities were intimately involved with its planning and promotion. There were the Colonisation Commissioners under the secretariat of Rowland Hill; this became the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission (CLEC) from 1840. George Fife Angas's joint stock company, the South Australian Company which in conjunction with Thomas Smith and Henry Kingscote purchased two-thirds of the land required to establish the colony.[1] Thirdly, the South Australian Association which had been established in 1833 by Gouger and with Wakefield involved, in order to secure a charter for a colony.[2] Each of these organisations advertised the venture and it is their publicity that is considered official because it conveys the information that the government provided. Individuals such as newspaper publishers and editors, authors' of emigration books and the proprietors of businesses also promoted the colony: they are discussed in Chapter Five.

Official advertisements, to inform communities about migration opportunities commenced with the appointment of agents who promoted migration, coordinated emigrants and sold colonial land. A dedicated emigration supervisor was appointed and the CLEC was established in 1840. This chapter argues that advertisements were carefully styled and worded, and the content and language targeted specific groups of

[1] Edwin Hodder (ed.) *The Founding of South Australia*, Sampson Low, Marston, and Company, London, 1898, 64–77, 175; on Angas and the South Australian Company see also Edwin Hodder, *George Fife Angas, Father and Founder of South Australi*a, Hodder & Stoughton, London, 1891, in particular 112–122.
[2] Hodder, *George Fife Angas,* 102.

people and communities. Advertisements were planned for maximum influence. Hence, this chapter seeks to discover the effectiveness of advertisements that promoted South Australia among potential migrants and capitalists.

Advertising: its devolvement to Emigration Agents

By the time the first official settlers arrived in South Australia in mid-1836, the business of moving people across the globe was extensive. An increase in the number of newspapers and their distribution coincided with increased migration and greatly facilitated it. Many different types of business entrepreneurs were involved in migration, notably agents, who advertised widely to encourage migrants to particular destinations. Self-appointed agents had facilitated migration from the late eighteenth century, but Wakefield supported a government-organised implementation of migration agents.[3] He believed the widespread appointment of reputable and competent agents tasked with the dissemination of accurate information and the selection suitable of migrants could greatly advantage Britain and the colonies.[4] The Poor Law of 1834 which encouraged parish-funded migration also facilitated an increase in the appointment of agents throughout Britain.[5]

Migration officers in the colony

Wakefield suggested that agents with 'intelligence and judgement' should be appointed in each colony.[6] This would provide accurate information about the requirements of the individual colony and enable a prudently regulated supply of migrants from Britain.[7] His idea was implemented for South Australia and quickly adopted in the adjacent colonies. For example, James Pinnock became the British Colonial Office's 'agent-general for emigration' in 1835 and was appointed as New

[3] Marjory Harper, 'British Migration and the Peopling of the Empire', in Andrew Porter (ed.) *The Oxford History of the British Empire: Volume III, The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1999, 75-87; on emigration agents see also Marjory Harper, *Emigration from North East Scotland, Vol. II, Beyond the Broad Atlantic*, Aberdeen University Press, Aberdeen, 1988, 16-18, 21-23; see also Eric Richards, 'How Did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century'? *The Journal of British Studies*, 32(3), 1993, 250-279.
[4] Edward Gibbon Wakefield (ed.), *A View of the Art of Colonization, with Present Reference to the British Empire; in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist,* John W. Parker, London, 1849, 310.
[5] C.E. Snow, 'Emigration from Great Britain', in Walter F. Willcox, (ed.) *International Migrations, Volume II: Interpretations*, National Bureau of Economic Research, 1931, 237–260, http://www.nber.org/chapters/c5111.pdf, accessed 12 March 2019; on parish funded emigration see 'Reports from Commissioners, 1837-1838', in *Parliamentary Papers, Sessional Papers* Vol. XLV, 1838, 35; see also S.G and E. O.A. Checkland (eds), *The Poor Law Report of 1834*, Penguin Books Ltd., Middlesex, England, first published, 1834, 1974 edition.
[6] Wakefield, *Sketch of a Proposal for Colonizing Australasia,* J. F. Dove, London, 1830, 29.
[7] Ibid.

South Wales first migration officer upon his arrival in the colony in 1837.[8] However, New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land remunerated him equally. [9] He was tasked with examining potential migrants and approving loans of £20 for families or, providing a bounty of £8 for single women to cover their passage costs.[10] John Brown, South Australia's first emigration officer, arrived in the colony in 1836.[11] He appraised the new migrants to determine their employment suitability for specific tasks and advised the Colonial Office of the colony's outstanding labour requirements. Unfortunately for South Australia, however, its peculiar administration and a clash of personalities as discussed in Chapter One impeded the colony from its foundation and hampered Brown's capacity to provide information and manage migration in the manner that Wakefield envisaged.

Tasked with managing the migrants and collecting accurate labour data for the Colonial Office, the emigration officer was important for the regulation of labour.[12] This data would provide information for the correct selection of migrant labourers and the equal ratio of sexes. Brown was not an ideal candidate for the position given that in May 1835 his request for appointment as the accountant-general was denied.[13] In conjunction with Brown's indifference for his role as emigration officer, disunity among other colonial officials impacted on his ability to perform his duties and to provide accurate data.

Consequently, until 1840 three different emigration officers managed the assisted arrivals in South Australia. Brown clashed with Governor Hindmarsh, who alleged a 'neglect of duty and disobedience of orders', which led to his suspension in September 1837.[14] His interim replacement, Young Bingham Hutchison, an ex-naval officer, had arrived with Hindmarsh aboard the *Buffalo.* He held the position from September 1837 until February 1838, when Governor Gawler reinstated Brown.[15] In

[8] Liz Rushen, 'James Denham Pinnock: A Gentleman in Society', *Victorian Historical Journal*, 88(2), November 2017, 170–187; Margaret, Ray, 'Elliot, Sir Thomas Frederick (1808–1880), civil servant', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography.
[9] Rushen, 'James Denham Pinnock: A Gentleman in Society'; on Australian bounty emigrants see Robin Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia*, *Schemes, Regulations and Arrivals, 1831-1900 and some Vital Statistics 1834-1860*, Flinders University Occasional Papers in Economic History, 1995, 14.
[10] [11] J.F. Burden to Stephen, 9 January 1836, CO 13/5; on Brown, see Chapter Two.
[11] J.F. Burden to Stephen, 9 January 1836, CO 13/5; on Brown, see Chapter Two.
[12] 'The "Principles of the Colony" Once More–Official Appointments', *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Vol. II, No. 64, Saturday 13 April, 1839, 2-3.
[13] Brown to Colonisation Commissioners, 5 May 1835; R.W. Hay to Brown, 8 May 1835, CO 13/3; see also Brown's diary entries for 2 and 5 May when he states his desire for the position and 9 May when he acknowledges receipt of the letter denying him the position, SLSA, PRG 1002/2.
[14] Hindmarsh to Colonisation Commissioners, 30 May 1837, CO 13/6.
[15] Hutchison to Secretary of State, 24 January 1838, in Diary of Young Bingham Hutchison, SLSA, PRG 1013/1/2.

September 1838 Brown was suspended again and William Smillie, a solicitor and supporter of planned migration, was appointed.[16] While Smillie managed the position competently, the lack of continuity was problematic. The politics of colony making, as outlined in Chapter One, hampered South Australia's emigration officers and, ultimately, disadvantaged the colony.

Meanwhile, in 1836, a parliamentary Select Committee on the Disposal of Colonial Lands was held in Britain in order to inquire 'into the best mode for encouraging colonisation'.[17] It was recommended that 'a special and responsible authority' should manage migration in its entirety.[18] Evidence was provided to show that the existing emigration agents were ineffectual and that, as a result, colonial labour requirements were unmet or oversupplied.[19] Wakefield provided compelling testimony that the government disorganised colonisation policy created migration uncertainty.[20] Indeed, his input helped to shape the way that future colonisation was implemented.[21]

Special Migration Agents in Britain

Special migration agents were instituted in Britain to recruit suitable migrants and were compensated 'to give each agent a direct pecuniary interest in the good conduct of the labourers he selects for a free passage'.[22] The prime method for encouraging potential migrants was newspaper advertising. In conjunction with this, some agents gave lectures and posted handbills. Labourers were encouraged to apply for an assisted passage and the agents promoted land sales to capitalists who were not compelled to travel to the colony. The government maintained little authority or control over the migrants who paid their own passage. Although agents stipulated the authorised criteria for assisted migrants, the advertisements themselves were unregulated. Thus, publicity was haphazard and relied on the interpretation of individual agents and their perception of community needs.

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[16] On Smillie see Donald Leslie Johnson, *Anticipating Municipal Parks, London to Adelaide to Garden City*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2012, 12; on his appointment see 'Council Proceedings', *Adelaide Chronicle and South Australian Advertiser,* Vol. I, No. XVIII, 7 April 1840, 55.
[17] Select Committee on the Disposal of Colonial Lands, *British Parliamentary Papers, 1836, XI*, (cmd.512), QQ 629-630, 699-700, 914-924, 935.
[18] Ibid, 914.
[19] Ibid, 921.
[20] 'House of Commons Committee on Disposal of Waste Lands in the Colonies (1836): Evidence of Wakefield [Extract]', in K.N. Bell and W.P. Morrell (eds), *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy 1830-1860*, Oxford, 1928, 214–218.
[21] Ibid, 1 n. 215.
[22] *Third Annual Report of the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia*, House of Commons, 13 May 1839, 3; 'Enclosure' in Letter of Instructions by the Colonization Commissioners for *South Australia* to his Excellency Lieutenant-Colonel *George Gawler*, Resident Commissioner in *South Australia*', Appendix, No. 11, 39-41.

In 1836 the retirement of Under-Secretary Hay, the manager of the emigration agents from 1833, paved the way for T.F. Elliot, who was appointed as the agent-general for emigration from February 1837.[23] The appointment attracted criticism as being discriminatory due to family connections with the Whig politician Lord John Russell. However, the essayist Thomas Carlyle described Elliot as clever and poet Henry Taylor remembered him as 'frank, friendly, luminous, spirited'.[24] Elliot performed his role with eager enthusiasm and recognised the necessity for advertising colonial migration.[25] Consequently, Elliot prioritised migration publicity in newspaper advertisements and published literature, which increased in number and sophistication following his appointment as the CLEC's chairman from 1840.[26]

The list of country agents in 1835 (Fig. 4.1 indicates the extent of migration administration by agents prior to Elliot's appointment. Once Wakefield's colonisation plan received parliamentary sanction, agents advertised for migrants whose passages were subsidised from land sales and they also sold land in the new colony. The business of publicising migration expanded significantly after South Australia's enactment and it coincided with the 'rage for emigration'. Newspaper advertising for South Australia was extensive, particularly in rural counties.[27] However, while migration administration was prioritised as a result of the Select Committee's findings and Elliot's promotion of migration, in most instances South Australia was merely another migration destination. Many migration agents promoted one or more other destinations and this was disadvantageous for South Australia.

Consequently, those who publicised South Australia might also have advocated New South Wales, Canada or New Zealand. By 1836 the appointed agents advertised and organised migration to most British colonial destinations. Potential migrants were expected to satisfy every criterion imposed upon assisted migration. Statements of

[23] Peter Dunkley, 'Emigration and the State, 1803-1842: The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government Reconsidered', *The Historical Journal*, 23(2), June, 1980, 353–380; on Elliot specifically see Ray, 'Administering Emigration, during this early period see in particular, 76-83.
[24] Ray, 'Administering Emigration', 211; Thomas Carlyle to Jane Wilson, 21 September 1837, The Carlyle Letters online, http://carlyleletters.dukeupress.edu/clo/content/vol9/#lt-18370921-TC-JWI-01, accessed 2 November, 2018; Henry Taylor, *Autobiography of Henry Taylor 1800-1875*, Vol. I, Longmans, Green and Co., London 1885, 165.
[25] Ray, 'Administering Emigration', 83–84; on the nepotism allegations See, for example, 'More of the Minto Family', *West Kent Guardian*, No. 149, Saturday 28 October 1837, 3; 'Minto Family', *Leicester Herald*, Vol. XI, Saturday 28 October 1837, 2; 'Another Mare's Nest', *Globe*, No. 10,964, Tuesday 31 October 1837, 4.
[26] Ray, 'Administering Emigration', 83–84.
[27] On British emigration agents see Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, 79-93 and Dunkley, 'Emigration and the State, 1803-1842: The Nineteenth-Century Revolution in Government Reconsidered'; see also Philip Payton, 'Maritime History and the Emigration Trade: the Case of Mid-Nineteenth Century Cornwall', *History in Focus*, 9, The Sea, Autumn 2005, https://www.history.ac.uk/ihr/Focus/Sea/articles/payton.html, accessed 13 March 2019.

reference and certificates of baptism and marriage were demanded, scrutinised for authenticity and the migrant's integrity and 'local standing' were verified.[28] J.W. Wilcocks, the agent for western England, reported that this comprehensive selection system negated any attempted fraud or deception by the migrant.[29]

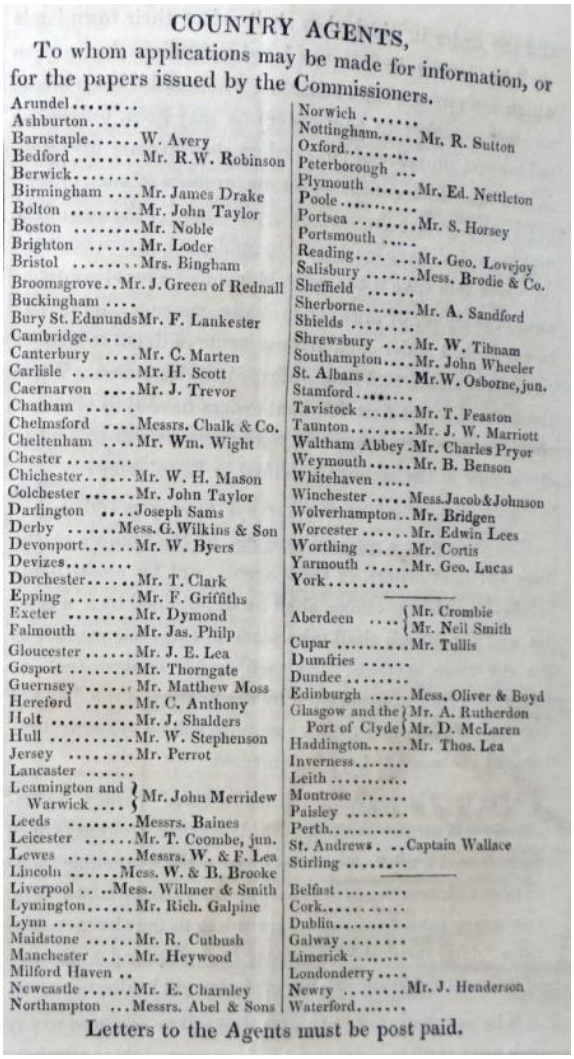
Ultimately, agents managed the regulations. Although Elliot was an effective administrator for migration, with 'an extensive reservoir of influential connections', colonies still experienced difficulties in gathering the required numbers of migrants with specific or desired skills.[30] Elliot acknowledged this failure of the existing system in 1837. He admitted that adhering to the specified colonial instructions was untenable and that any tradesman with favourable documentation and whom it was believed would succeed in the colony should be selected.[31] In other words, Elliot placed greater emphasis on the migrants' likelihood of success. According to Elliot, any difficulties in obtaining suitable migrants were the fault of the agent. Those without migration experience disadvantaged the migrant and the colony because they could not appropriately prepare potential migrants for colonial life.[32] These were 'the worst class of agents', he wrote.[33] Migrant selection was further hampered for South Australia because disputes between Brown and other colonial officials impeded their efficiency. As a result, the provision of migrant data to agents in Britain which reflected colonial labour needs was haphazard or deficient.

The list of the South Australia Colonisation Commissioners appointed agents in 1835 (Fig. 4.1) reveals that most regions in England supported a migration agent. Although few were evident in Scotland, by July 1835 Scottish agents had sold eighty-eight lots of land for South Australia and they had petitioned poor law guardians to purchase land, thus enabling the free migration of poor Scottish residents to South Australia.[34] Newry was the only region in Ireland which supported an agent at this time. However, under Elliot's administration the number of agents in Scotland and Ireland had increased by 1839 (Fig. 4.2). Although agents printed bill posters, gave lectures and held public meetings which promoted emigration, newspaper advertising was the predominant method for informing communities about migration choices.

[28] 'Defence of the English Emigration Agents', *South Australian Register* Vol. XI, No. 758, 21 August 1847, 3.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ray, 'Administering Emigration', 85.
[31] Elliot to Brock, 24 October, 1837, Elliot to Mr. Simpson, 6 November, 1837, Elliot to Rev. Brabazon, 6 November, 1837, Elliot to Mrs. Dawson, 10 November, 1837, CO 386/20.
[32] Elliot to Lieut. Low, 20 November 1837. CO 386/20.
[33] Ibid.
[34] Rowland Hill to Angas, 31 July 1835, Angas Papers, SLSA, PRG 174/87, 75-78.

Hence, in order to comprehend how agents targeted particular types of people, my research examined a range of advertisements. This revealed that particular language and stylised print, bold or italic lettering for example, were used in newspapers to emphasize particular ideas. These advertising methods were in place before the earliest ships left for South Australia and they were evident in all forms of advertising. This analysis also revealed that agents with a reputation or standing in their communities were preferred and that their advertisements varied greatly in number, wording, content and frequency. Even though Elliot acknowledged the importance of publicity, it appeared that the government did not specify particular criteria for their advertisements.

Analysing the Agents



COUNTRY AGENTS,

To whom applications may be made for information, or for the papers issued by the Commissioners.

Arundel.....
Ashburton.....
Barnstaple.....W. Avery
Bedford.....Mr. R.W. Robinson
Berwick.....
Birmingham ....Mr. James Drake
Bolton .....Mr. John Taylor
Boston .....Mr. Noble
Brighton .....Mr. Loder
Bristol .....Mrs. Bingham
Broomsgrove..Mr. J. Green of Rednall
Buckingham ....
Bury St. EdmundsMr. F. Lankester
Cambridge.....
Canterbury ....Mr. C. Marten
Carlisle .....Mr. H. Scott
Caernarvon ....Mr. J. Trevor
Chatham .....
Chelmsford ....Messrs. Chalk & Co.
Cheltenham ....Mr. Wm. Wight
Chester .....
Chichester.....Mr. W. H. Mason
Colchester .....Mr. John Taylor
Darlington ....Joseph Sams
Derby .....Mess. G.Wilkins & Son
Devonport.....Mr. W. Byers
Devizes.....
Dorchester.....Mr. T. Clark
Epping .....Mr. F. Griffiths
Exeter .....Mr. Dymond
Falmouth .....Mr. Jas. Philp
Gloucester .....Mr. J. E. Lea
Gosport .....Mr. Thorngate
Guernsey .....Mr. Matthew Moss
Hereford .....Mr. C. Anthony
Holt .....Mr. J. Shalders
Hull .....Mr. W. Stephenson
Jersey .....Mr. Perrot
Lancaster .....
Leamington and Warwick .... } Mr. John Merridew
Leeds .....Messrs. Baines
Leicester .....Mr. T. Coombe, jun.
Lewes .....Messrs. W. & F. Lea
Lincoln .....Mess. W. & B. Brooke
Liverpool .. ..Mess. Willmer & Smith
Lymington.....Mr. Rich. Galpine
Lynn .....
Maidstone .....Mr. R. Cutbush
Manchester ....Mr. Heywood
Milford Haven ..
Newcastle .....Mr. E. Charnley
Northampton ...Messrs. Abel & Sons
Norwich .....
Nottingham.....Mr. R. Sutton
Oxford.....
Peterborough ...
Plymouth .....Mr. Ed. Nettleton
Poole .....
Portsea .....Mr. S. Horsey
Portsmouth .....
Reading.... ...Mr. Geo. Lovejoy
Salisbury .....Mess. Brodie & Co.
Sheffield .....
Sherborne.....Mr. A. Sandford
Shields .....
Shrewsbury ....Mr. W. Tibnam
Southampton....Mr. John Wheeler
St. Albans .....Mr.W. Osborne, jun.
Stamford.....
Tavistock .....Mr. T. Feaston
Taunton.....Mr. J. W. Marriott
Waltham Abbey .Mr. Charles Pryor
Weymouth .....Mr. B. Benson
Whitehaven .....
Winchester .....Mess.Jacob&Johnson
Wolverhampton..Mr. Bridgen
Worcester .....Mr. Edwin Lees
Worthing .....Mr. Cortis
Yarmouth .....Mr. Geo. Lucas
York.....

Aberdeen .... } Mr. Crombie / Mr. Neil Smith
Cupar .....Mr. Tullis
Dumfries .....
Dundee .....
Edinburgh .....Mess. Oliver & Boyd
Glasgow and the Port of Clyde } Mr. A. Rutherdon / Mr. D. McLaren
Haddington.....Mr. Thos. Lea
Inverness.....
Leith .....
Montrose .....
Paisley .....
Perth.....
St. Andrews. ..Captain Wallace
Stirling .....

Belfast.....
Cork.....
Dublin.....
Galway .....
Limerick .....
Londonderry ....
Newry .....Mr. J. Henderson
Waterford.....

Letters to the Agents must be post paid.

Fig. 4.1: Country agents, 1835 [35]

Under Hay's administration, from 1833 until 1836, emphasis was placed on the ability to promote the colony in newspapers and print rather than the specific colonial

[35] South Australia, Regulations, CO13/3.

knowledge which Elliot recommended. Many of the agents listed in Fig. 4.1 subsequently were printers, booksellers or publishers. Thirty-five of the fifty-nine country agents in England held these professions. A comparison of the lists in Figures 4.1 and 4.2 reveals that many agents retained their authority to act on behalf of the Colonisation Commissioners from their original appointment in 1835. There were also several newly appointed agents. This affirms the demand for migration from these areas.[36] An investigation of the new agents' businesses at the time of their appointment revealed they were more varied. For example, there were only seven publishers or booksellers, and while the other occupations included auctioneer, manufacturer and druggist, most were general agents. It appears that some of the Select Committee's recommended changes were implemented through the selection of agents with more specific experience or influence. However, it also suggests that the business of migration was often merely another string to an agents' bow.

* The following gentlemen have been appointed by the colonization commissioners' agents for the sale of land in South Australia. They are supplied with the printed regulations, certificates, &c., and will at all times furnish every information required. Those marked thus (*) are appointed also special agents for the selection of emigrants :—

LONDON.

Tinkler and Hancock, 3, Austin-friars—Mr. E. H. Mears,* 5, Leadenhall-street—Mr. S. Ritherdon,* 1, Leadenhall-street—James Waddell and Co.,* Lime-street—C. Jacob,* Ingram-court, Fenchurch-street—F. G. Francis, 24, Rood-lane.

Arundel—*Henry Lear
Ashburton—H. C. Creagh
Bedford—R. W. Robinson
Berwick—N. G. Carr
Bideford—J. Haycroft
Birmingham—J. Drake, New-street, and J. F. Taylor, Cherry-street
Boston—J. Noble
Bristol—*James Morcom
Bromsgrove—Joseph Green
Canterbury—C. Martin
Chichester—*J. Elliot
Derby—Geo. Wilkinson and Son
Eriswell—R. Rutterford
Exeter—*Jos. Horsey
Falmouth—*A. B. Duckham
Gosport—J. B. Thorngate
Guernsey—M. Moss
Halifax—*H. Hughlings
Harlow—E. Goodwin
Hertford—S. Austin, jun.
Heytesbury—C. Morris
Hull—*G. Greenwood
Ipswich—F. Pawsey
Jersey—P. Perrot
Leamington—J. Merridew
Leeds—R. B. Watson
Lewes—*John Elliot
Liverpool—*John Hurry
Lymington—R. Galpine
Maidstone—G. Whiting
Monmouth—C. Hough
Newcastle-upon-Tyne—E. Charnley
Nottingham—R. Sutton
Oxford—G. F. Davenport
Penzance—G. Jennings
Plymouth—E. Nettleton
Portsea—S. Horsey
Portsmouth—W. Pierce
Reading—G. Lovejoy
Sherborne—W. Roberts
Shrewsbury—W. Tibnam
Southampton—J. Wheeler
Stockbridge—W. Busigny
Tavistock—*J. P. Feaston
Winchester—Messrs. Jacob and Co.
Worthing—C. Cortis
Yarmouth—Geo. Lucas

SCOTLAND.

Cupar— — Tullis
Clyde, Port of —*F. Reid
Dingwell—Provost Cameron
Dundee—P. Just
Glasgow—*F. Reid
Haddington—T. Lea
Inverness—P. M'Intyre, R. M.
Leith — *Messrs. Woodcock and Adamson
Montrose—C. Straton
Perth—L. Stalker
Stirling—Geo. Rae
St. Andrew's—Thos. Wallace

IRELAND.

Cork—Messrs. Coates and Lefeburne
Dungannon—Samuel Brown
Limerick—J. F. Raleigh
Tralee—*A. Chute

Messrs. Harvey of Horsey, Skene of Bedford, Harrison of Hindon, Ross of Rochester, and Serjeant of Brigg, are also appointed special agents.

Fig. 4.2: The Colonisation Commissioners' agents, 1839 [37]

Of particular note is that the advertisement that was published in John Stephens book in 1839 (Fig 4.2) shows that while these agents were appointed to sell land in South Australia, only a small number marked with an (*) were appointed

[36] The demand for emigration is discussed in Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600,* Hambledon and London, London & NY, 2004, 1–16.
[37] John Stephens, *The History of the Rise and Progress of the New British Province of South Australia*, 2nd. Edition, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1839, 37; Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, 319; [No Heading], *South Australian Record*, No. 20, Wednesday 8 May, 1839, 37.

as 'special agents' to select emigrants. Consequently, of the forty-eight agents that were chosen in London and England, there were only fourteen or 29% with the ability to promote and select migrants. One quarter of the agents for Scotland were able to select migrants and 60% were special agents in Ireland. This is further indication of the influence that Elliot wielded in the Colonisation Commission as no such distinctions were indicated in the earlier agents list (Fig. 4.1).

Newspaper advertising

South Australian colonisation coincided with the growth of a newspaper industry which catered to every class and was 'a genuine system of popular representation'.[38] Advertising was a common business practice which, much like migration, increased in volume during the first half of the nineteenth century.[39] Advertisements were considered important because 'they attract[ed] readers, promote[d] circulation and circulation attracts [sic] advertisements'.[40] However, as some newspapers were renowned for their particular political leaning, others were recognised for publishing particular categories of advertising. For example, the *Morning Chronicle* was considered 'a very literary paper', publishing numerous advertisements for books and literature.[41] This is important because it indicates that the newspapers in which South Australia was advertised were not necessarily chosen because of their circulation readership, but perhaps because of their advertising reputation. Furthermore, during the first half of the nineteenth century publishers' preferred short promotions which were bundled together 'in a swarm of advertisements … to astonish their readers'.[42] This may explain why, initially, so many appointed migration agents were printers or publishers. This also clarifies why agents like Isaac Latimer, a newspaper editor discussed later in this chapter, were selected to promote migration. An agent with editorial authority could greatly enhance the position, style and frequency of the advertisement in newspapers and encourage more colonial migration.

As with all advertising, profit motivated commercial decisions.[43] The expansion of newspaper numbers and circulation gave advertisers leverage over the style,

[38] 'Popular Literature–The Periodical Press', in *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 85, February 1859, 180-195.
[39] Terry Nevett, 'Advertising and Editorial Integrity in the Nineteenth Century', in Michael Harris and Alan Lee (eds), *The Press in English Society form the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Acton Society Trust, New Jersey, London, Ontario, 1986, 149-167.
[40] Daniel Stuart, 'Anecdotes of Public Newspapers', in *Gentleman's Magazine*, 10, 1838, 24–27.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid, see also Tim Holmes and Liz Nice, *Magazine Journalism*, Sage Publications Ltd., London, 2012, 23–24.

placement and format of advertisements. Advertising revenue helped to fund newspaper production and advertisers wielded great influence. Hence, advertisers demanded that publishers print supportive comments about their products in editorial articles elsewhere in the newspaper.[44] In conjunction with a paid advertisement, newspapers published 'puffs to be inserted as news, in order to draw attention to the advertisement'.[45] In this way, it appeared that the newspaper supported the venture. It also implies that other statements related to migration generally, or South Australia specifically, were published due to advertising pressures. Although a regular practice by mid-century, particularly among those working class publications which targeted migrants for South Australia, it was condemned for circulating 'slander, lies, and bestiality'.[46] Feasibly, the newspapers which reported that Major Bacon was South Australia's governor (discussed in Chapter Three) were infiltrated in this manner. Considering these revelations, the influence that agents wielded in newspaper advertisements and the associated editorial content about South Australia cannot be underestimated.

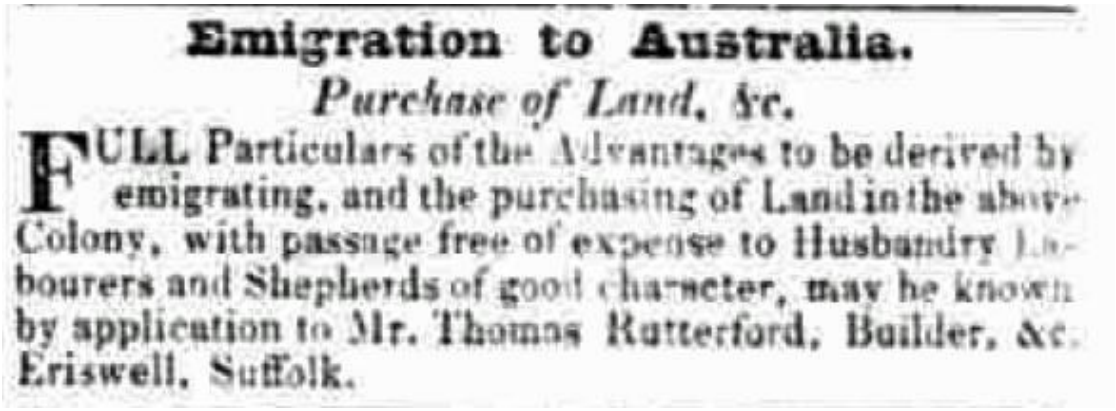
Advertising funded the increased number of newspapers during the years prior to the reduction of the Stamp Duty in 1854 and, ultimately, assisted the spread of information throughout communities.[47] While the appointment of land and emigration agents helped to spread migration information, this was not necessarily advantageous for South Australia and several reasons are suggested for this. With the exception of the types of migrants required, for example, agricultural labourers, the Colonisation Commissioners provided little direction for the content, style or frequency of advertisements. Therefore, the information provided was often seemingly at random. This disadvantaged labouring migrants whose literacy and access to information was limited. Those agents who regularly promoted more than one colony were often inexperienced in migration or favoured another colony, which also disadvantaged South Australian migration.

Analysing the Advertisements

An agent in Eriswell, Suffolk, Thomas Rutterford (Fig. 4.3), was a builder, an assurance agent for the New England Company and also managed the sale of farm

[44] Holmes and Nice, *Magazine Journalism*, 23–24.
[45] *The Language of the Walls*, Abel Heywood, Manchester, London, 1855, 90.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Nevett, 'Advertising and Editorial Integrity', 149–167.

estates and agricultural equipment.[48] The prominent positioning and italicisation in his concise advert of 'Purchase of Land' indicates that he targeted capitalists, but he also informed readers that labourers were transported 'free of expense'. Rutterford was one of the few initial agents without a literary background. However, his business with those in farming communities provided an avenue for promoting migration among the types of people sought as settlers for South Australia. Rutterford published two advertisements. The first in August 1836 highlighted 'Emigration to Australia' (Fig. 4.3) and the second, (Fig. 4.4), identical advertisement was entitled 'Emigration to South Australia'. Perhaps South Australia was added to exploit the colony's recent popularity in the press, considering the first ships were en route and much publicity had surrounded their departure. His second advertisement also advised readers that he was an 'Agent to the Commissioners'.



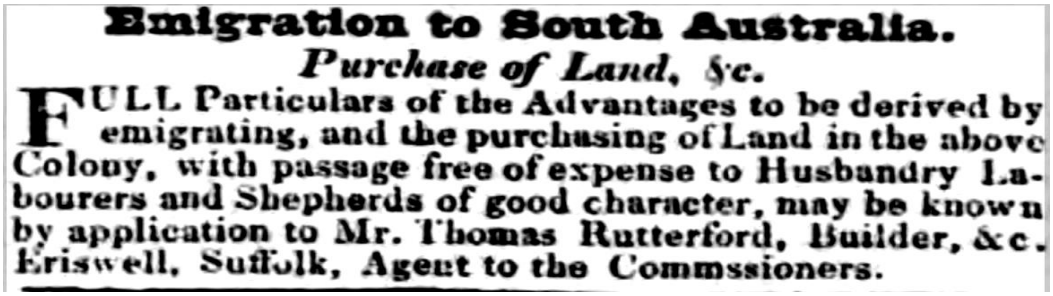
Emigration to Australia.

Purchase of Land, &c.

FULL Particulars of the Advantages to be derived by emigrating, and the purchasing of Land in the above Colony, with passage free of expense to Husbandry Labourers and Shepherds of good character, may be known by application to Mr. Thomas Rutterford, Builder, &c. Eriswell, Suffolk.

Fig. 4.3: Advertisement: Thomas Rutterford #1 [49]

Notwithstanding, Rutterford's agency was brief. These were the only migration advertisements that he appears to have published and his success or failure to facilitate migration is unknown. However, these examples reveal that migration agents altered the language or style of advertisements to accommodate or exploit perceived community interest.



Emigration to South Australia.

Purchase of Land, &c.

FULL Particulars of the Advantages to be derived by emigrating, and the purchasing of Land in the above Colony, with passage free of expense to Husbandry Labourers and Shepherds of good character, may be known by application to Mr. Thomas Rutterford, Builder, &c. Eriswell, Suffolk, Agent to the Commssioners.

Fig. 4.4: Advertisement: Thomas Rutterford #2 [50]

[48] 'Suffolk, Manor, Tithes, and Capital Freehold Estates', *The Bury and Norwich Post,* No. 2,725, Wednesday 17 September, 1834, 1; on Rutterford see William White, *History, Gazetteer, and Directory of Suffolk*, R. Leader, Sheffield, 1844, 588.

[49] 'Emigration to Australia', *Bury and Norwich Post*, No. 2,824, Wednesday 10 August 1836, 2.

Charles Jacob's advertisements were similar to Rutterford's (Fig. 4.5); concise to minimise advertising expense, conveying specific information and targeting particular groups. Jacob, a 'special agent for the selection of emigrants' received a 2.5% commission for each colonial land sale, but he also arranged transportation and insurance for migrants and goods.[51] He advertised in one issue each of the *Northampton Mercury, Chelmsford Chronicle, Hereford Journal* and the *Cambridge Independent Press* between May and December 1839.

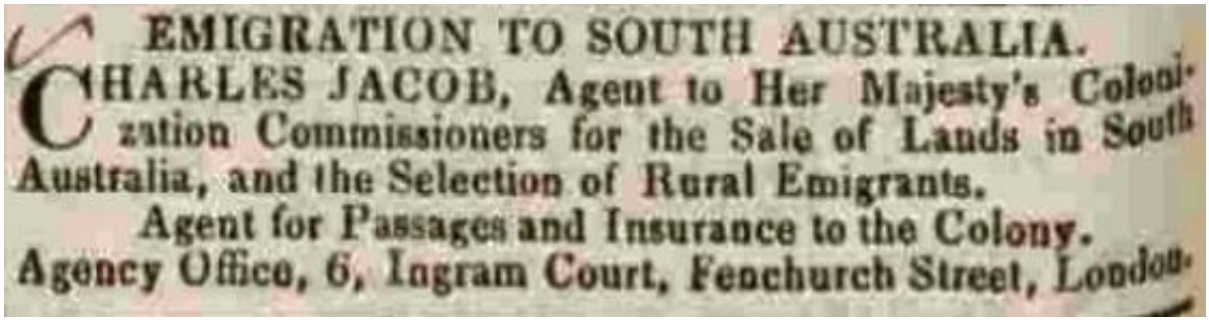
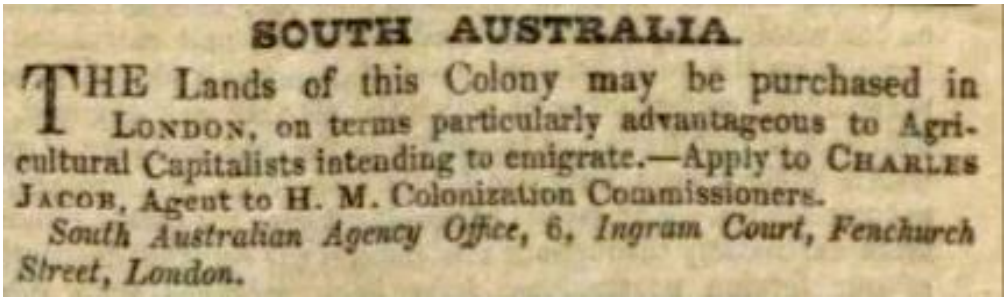

EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA.
CHARLES JACOB, Agent to Her Majesty's Colonization Commissioners for the Sale of Lands in South Australia, and the Selection of Rural Emigrants.
Agent for Passages and Insurance to the Colony.
Agency Office, 6, Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, London.

Fig. 4.5: Advertisement: Charles Jacob #1 [52]

It appeared that neither the language nor the placement of Jacob's advertisements were random. Rather, the wording in each advert was specifically targeted to that newspaper's readership. For example, that published in the long-established *Northampton Mercury* Fig. 4.5, promoted the 'Sale of Lands' and the 'Selection of Rural Emigrants'. As a migration destination, South Australia likely appealed to the *Mercury's* conservative and agricultural readership.[53] In contrast, the promotion published in the *Cambridge Independent Press* highlighted 'South Australia' but targeted 'Agricultural Capitalists intending to emigrate' (Fig. 4.6). With a largely commercial readership, a change in the language and emphasis in this advertisement indicates that it was modified to appeal to a different cohort.[54] Jacob is clear that he sought 'intending emigrants' rather than capitalist investors. This was 'the country for a small capitalist', according to John Morphett, a great supporter of Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan for South Australia and pioneering colonist.[55] A successful

[50] 'Emigration to South Australia', *Bury and Norwich Post,* No. 2,833, Wednesday 12 October, 1836, 1.
[51] Stephens, *The History of the Rise and Progress of the New British Province of South Australia,* 1.
[52] 'Emigration to South Australia', *Northampton Mercury*, Vol. CXIX, No. 12, Saturday 4 May 1839, 2.
[53] On the *Northampton Mercury* history see Rachel Matthews, *The History of the Provincial Press in England,* Bloomsbury Academic, New York, London, 2017, 41–46; for a contemporary synopsis see Charles Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory, and Advertisers Guide*, C. Mitchell, London, 1847, 219; on its editor and proprietor, Thomas Edward Dicey, see Richard A. Cosgrove, *The Rule of Law: Albert Venn Dicey, Victorian Jurist*, The University of North Carolina Press, USA, 1980, 5–6; on Dicey's morality see David Spring, 'The Clapham Sect: Some Social and Political Aspects', *Victorian Studies,* 5 (1), September, 1961, 35–48.
[54] Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*, 167.
[55] Quoted in John Stephens, *The Land of Promise: Being an Authentic and Impartial History of the Rise and Progress of South Australia*, Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1839, 204; on John Morphett see Dulcie M.

colonisation system, the commissioners asserted, required migrant capitalists and labourers.[56] Hence, these criteria were differentiated in Jacob's advertisements.


SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

THE Lands of this Colony may be purchased in LONDON, on terms particularly advantageous to Agricultural Capitalists intending to emigrate.—Apply to CHARLES JACOB, Agent to H. M. Colonization Commissioners.

South Australian Agency Office, 6, Ingram Court, Fenchurch Street, London.

Fig. 4.6: Advertisement: Charles Jacob #2 [57]

Jacob was aware that particular newspapers appealed to specific readerships. Hence, he reworded the advertisement again before the insertion in the *Hereford Journal* (Fig. 4.7). While still concise, it highlighted 'Emigration', 'Agricultural … Married Labourers' and 'South Australia' in bold, capitalised text. Interestingly, this is the only advertisement where Jacob states that 'there are no Convicts'. This advert, therefore, targeted the region's productive, moral and hard-working farm labourers, something South Australia's planners desired.


EMIGRATION.

AGRICULTURAL and other MARRIED LABOURERS may obtain a free passage to SOUTH AUSTRALIA, a Colony where there are no Convicts, on terms of increased facility to those having large Families.

Apply to Charles Jacob, Agent to H. M. Colonization Commissioners, South Australian Agency Office, 6, Ingram-court, Fenchurch-street, London.

Fig. 4.7: Advertisement: Charles Jacob #3 [58]

The *Hereford Journal* circulated 20,800 issues weekly in the six months to April 1838.[59] It was disseminated throughout England's western, agricultural districts which Cobbett described having 'pastures the finest I ever saw'.[60] This region maintained open agriculture when the private or general parliamentary Acts forced the enclosures on farms and employed a greater number of agricultural labourers with higher wages

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Perry, *Sir John Morphett: a South Australian Colonist of Distinction*, Cummins Society, Novar Gardens, S.A., 1992.

[56] Reported in the *First Annual Report of the South Australian Colonization Commissioners*, cited in *The Penny Cyclopaedia of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge*, Vol. IX, Charles Knight & Co. London, 1837, 377–380.

[57] 'South Australia', *Cambridge Independent Press*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1,423, Saturday 14 December 1839, 3.

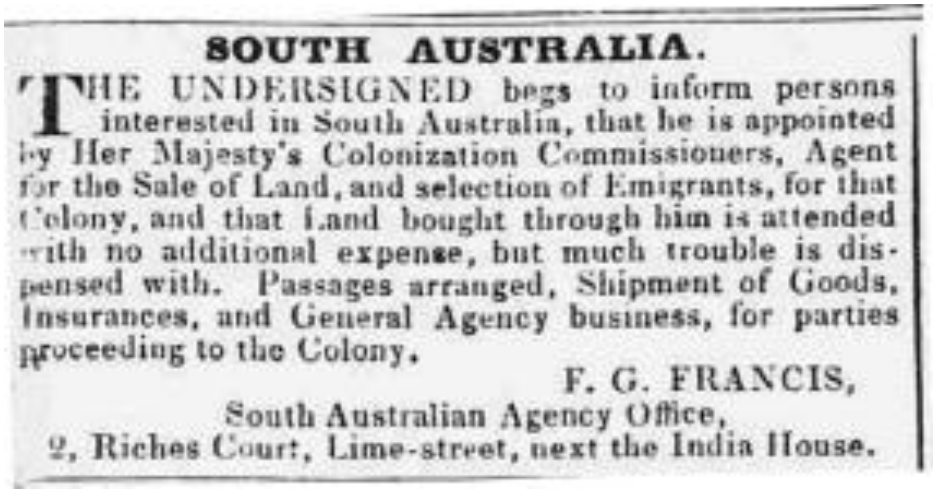
[58] 'Emigration', *Hereford Journal*, Vol. C, No. 5,224, Wednesday 11 December, 1839, 2.

[59] 'Newspaper Circulation', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7.

[60] Cobbett, *Rural Rides*, 21.

than in other rural areas.[61] Thus, these examples reveal that Jacob, like Rutterford, clearly understood the nuances of the readership between these newspapers and altered his promotions accordingly.

Many migration advertisements resembled those of Rutterford and Jacob as newspapers preferred their concise format.[62] Stylised and bold print highlighted specific content while minimising advertising costs and the language was straightforward and unembellished in order to appeal to the working and labouring classes. However, shrewd wording in some advertisements was also evident. For example, F.G. Francis, who also advertised in the *Bury and Norwich Post*, headed his advertisement with South Australia in bold capitals (Fig. 4.8). The colony was the most conspicuous part of the promotion and likely calculated to attract the attention



SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

THE UNDERSIGNED begs to inform persons interested in South Australia, that he is appointed by Her Majesty's Colonization Commissioners, Agent for the Sale of Land, and selection of Emigrants, for that Colony, and that Land bought through him is attended with no additional expense, but much trouble is dispensed with. Passages arranged, Shipment of Goods, Insurances, and General Agency business, for parties proceeding to the Colony.

F. G. FRANCIS,
South Australian Agency Office,
2, Riches Court, Lime-street, next the India House.

Fig. 4.8: Advertisement: F.G. Francis [63]

of land purchasers already aware of this migration opportunity. The *Post,* which devoted content to its agricultural readership, was renowned for its liberal religious and political character and was recognised as an accurate publication.[64] South Australia would interest many *Post* readers, considering favourable and informative news about the new colonisation plan was published in it from 1834.[65]

Specifically written to appeal to small capitalists, the sale of South Australian land 'at no additional expense' might also encourage other business. Francis targeted

[61] Katherine Joan Lack, 'Family Dispersal in Rural England: Herefordshire, 1700-1871', PhD., University of Birmingham, 2012, 29, 30, 31.
[62] Roy Church, 'Advertising Consumer Goods in Nineteenth-Century Britain: Reinterpretations', *The Economic History Review*, New Series, 53(4), Nov., 2000, 621–645.
[63] 'South Australia', *Bury and Norwich Post,* No. 2,949, Wednesday 2 January, 1839, 1.
[64] Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*,161.
[65] See, for example, 'Sunday's Post', *Bury and Norwich Post*, No. 2,732, Wednesday 5 November 1834; 'Colonization', *Bury and Norwich Post*, No. 2,769, Wednesday 22 July 1835, 1; 'Foreign and Colonial', *Bury and Norwich Post*, No. 2,970, Wednesday 29 May 1839, 1.

this advertisement to exploit readers' interest in South Australia while promoting his agency. This argument is strengthened by the evidence that he also promoted migration to other destinations. He purchased several town allotments in Western Australia on behalf of clients and also facilitated emigration to New Zealand.[66]

Agents as newspaper editors and proprietors

The lists of agents (Fig. 4.1 and Fig. 4.2) indicate that they were appointed for a specific county rather than a colonial destination. Moreover, some regions supported extensive migration networks; Kent is one such example. Many tenant farmers from Maidstone, a borough of Kent with a politically active constituency, participated in radicalism during the Captain Swing riots and associated unrest of the 1830s.[67] This, in conjunction with an excess of labourers, encouraged substantial and ongoing migration from this region. The Poor Law Commissioners' Report in 1834 revealed that the parish expenses of Benenden in Kent were reduced over four years by one-third and that by 1842 migration from Kent and Sussex was 'far greater than from any other part of England, of equal area'.[68] This evidence suggests that the agents appointed for this region were particularly successful.

George Whiting was an agent in Maidstone, Kent. A respected journalist, the proprietor of the *Maidstone Gazette*, and an advocate for education, reform and general suffrage, Whiting supported 'the elevation and improvement of the masses of the people'.[69] Migration could achieve this and he directed migrants to South Australia and New Zealand.[70] His co-proprietor, Richard James Cutbush, was also a Colonisation Commission appointed agent from 1839. A contemporary author, John A Phillips, labelled him the 'Whiggish editor and publisher of the *Maidstone Gazette*'. [71] Their

[66] [No Heading], *Spectator*, No. 645, Saturday 7 November, 1840, 1078; New Zealand Company Accountant's Office Papers, Archives Wellington, AAYZ 8980 NZC 32/2, 23.
[67] Bruce W. Brown, 'The Machine Breaker Convicts from the Proteus and the Eliza', MA, University of Tasmania, April 2004, 20; Bernard Harris, *The Origins of the British Welfare State, Society, State and Social Welfare in England and Wales, 1800–1945*, Palgrave Macmillan, Hampshire, 2004, 31; on emigration trends from Kent, see Alan Armstrong, 'Population 1831-1914', in Alan Armstrong (ed.) *The Economy of Kent 1640-1914*, The Boydell Press, UK, USA, 1995, 31-32.
[68] *Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws*, London, 1834, 354; *Reports from Commissioners, Vol. V*, Appendix to Eighth Annual Report of the Poor Law Commissioners, No. 8, Kent and Sussex, 138-145.
[69] Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 211; 'Obituary', *The Mercury Summary for Europe*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 4,900, Saturday 10 June, 1876, 2.
[70] On his appointment as an agent for New Zealand see John Ward, *Information Relative to New Zealand, Compiled for the Use of Colonists*, 4th. Edition, John W. Parker, London, 1842, Appendix III, 150–151; on his success as a New Zealand agent see Paul Hudson, 'English Emigration to New Zealand, 1839-1850: Information Diffusion and Marketing a New World', *The Economic History Review*, 54(4), November 2001, 680–698.
[71] Stephens, *The History of the Rise and Progress of the New British Province of South Australia*, 37; John A. Phillips, 'The Many Faces of Reform: The Reform Bill and the Electorate', *Parliamentary History*, December 1982, 1(1), 115–135.

paper frequently publicised migration. Indeed Whiting, similar to the Cornish agent Isaac Latimer, exploited his newspaper connections to benefit migration and this was particularly advantageous for South Australia. An example of the advantages that agents with a newspaper background enjoyed is evident during 1838 when eight issues of the *Gazette* contained almost a column dedicated to the benefits of migrating to South Australia.

Whiting clearly understood the stratagems for newspaper promotion and how best to entice readers. Hence, a lengthy promotion which read like an article rather than an advertisement was headlined 'Farmers, Mechanics, and Labourers! Can you see your own interest?' and was printed in bold capitals.[72] It explained Wakefield's system of colonisation, outlined the types of labouring migrants required, and almost half of the column was dedicated to the testimonials of satisfied colonists, whose authenticity was assured with the publication of their names. For example, Robert and Jane Bristow of Holborn advised their brother and sister that 'the wages of labouring men are very good'.[73] William Suter, a bricklayer, wrote to his mother that 'I am happy as a king' and Thomas Newman encouraged his mother and sister to consider joining him in Adelaide.[74] Clearly, Whiting's position with the *Gazette* enabled this lengthy promotion and reveals how advantageous a migration agent with newspaper connections could be for South Australia. It also helps to explain why the commissioners selected migration agents with publishing or printing experience in the newspaper industry. They possessed particular advantages for advertising migration. Whiting's example also showcases the creative ways that agents publicised the colony.

[72] See, for example, *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier*, No.2,081, 20 February 1838, 4; No. 2,095, Tuesday 29 May 1838, 2; No. 2,099, Tuesday 26 June 1838, 2, No. 2,110, 11 September 1838, 3.
[73] Ibid.
[74] Ibid.

To Emigrants.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND.

THESE are the only Colonies founded on the new principle of applying the proceeds of the sale of land, to carry out sufficient laborers to cultivate it. South Australia has now been established nearly three years, and has succeeded admirably. The New Zealand Company have sold above 60,000 acres of land within the last month. The advantage of purchasing the land in this country is that of the purchasers being able to obtain a free passage for their adult children or laborers, who come within the regulations.

Gentlemen wishing to purchase land in either of these colonies (where there are no convicts, as at Sydney), will save themselves much trouble, and incur no additional expence, by doing so through the agency of Mr. G. WHITING, Emigration Agent, 3, Marsham-place, Maidstone; of whom may also be obtained, books, maps, and every other information respecting these and other colonies.

Mr. WHITING is also enabled to obtain a free passage for married mechanics and laborers of skill and good character. Forms of application may be obtained, gratuitously, at the above office. Wages, by the last accounts from Adelaide, were—Carpenters, 14s. per day; Laborers, 7s. to 9s. per day.

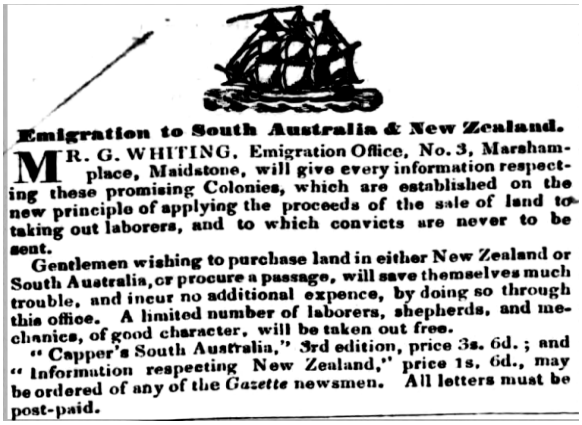
Unpaid letters cannot be noticed.

Fig. 4.9: Advertisement: George Whiting #1 [75]

Whiting's publicity was not limited to this promotion. Between July and October 1839 he published four other advertisements which were more concise, but also complemented the lengthy promotion.[76] Clearly recognisable as advertisements, they were written to inform but also exploited the competition between the colonies for suitable migrants. Thus, the language in one advertisement was sympathetic to the working classes or those with small amounts of capital (Fig. 4.9). They highlighted the fact that South Australia and New Zealand were colonies '(where there are no convicts, as at Sydney)' and were directed towards hard working and moral agricultural labouring families. They influenced migrants away from Sydney, which had already attracted 1000 migrants from Kent and Sussex in 1839.[77] It appears that Whiting and Cutbush enjoyed moderate success as together they directed almost 150 migrants to South Australia in 1839, many of whom were likely to have been influenced by these newspaper advertisements.[78]

[75] 'To Emigrants. South Australia and New Zealand', *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier*, No. 2,154, Tuesday 16 July 1839, 1.
[76] See advertisements in the *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier* No. 2,156, Tuesday 30 July, 1839, 1; No. 2,160, Tuesday 27 August, 1839, 1; and No. 2,166, Tuesday 8 October, 1839, 2.
[77] James Jupp (ed.), 'English Migration from London and the South East', in *The Australian People: An Encyclopaedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins,* CUP, Cambridge, 2001, 293–297, in particular 294.
[78] Reg Butler, 'Overseas Arrivals to South Australia–Early 1839'. Figures recorded from the emigrant passenger lists for ships arriving in South Australia between January and June, 1839, https://localwiki.org/adelaide-hills/Overseas_Arrivals_to_South_Australia_-_early_1839, accessed 13 March 2019.

Whiting's advertisement reveals how language was manipulated and how specific promotional content such as the addition of bona fide testimonials, was published to encourage patronage. Whiting, like Francis, provided migration services at 'no additional expense', rather than acknowledging that suitable migrants received assistance. He also promoted Henry Capper's migration book about South Australia Fig. 4.10, which was advertised regularly in this region as 'extraordinary proof' that Wakefield's colonisation plan was successful.[79] The variety in these advertisements reveals that the Colonisation Commissioners dictated no specific criteria to agents for their publicity. Consequently, the information provided to migrants may also have varied, according to the agent's knowledge and his particular colonial preferences. For example Whiting's recommendation of *Capper's South Australia* for migration information. Most important, however, is the fact that Whiting's position at the *Maidstone Gazette* advantaged his ability to advertise his migration services.



Emigration to South Australia & New Zealand.

MR. G. WHITING, Emigration Office, No. 3, Marsham-place, Maidstone, will give every information respecting these promising Colonies, which are established on the new principle of applying the proceeds of the sale of land to taking out laborers, and to which convicts are never to be sent.

Gentlemen wishing to purchase land in either New Zealand or South Australia, or procure a passage, will save themselves much trouble, and incur no additional expence, by doing so through this office. A limited number of laborers, shepherds, and mechanics, of good character, will be taken out free.

"Capper's South Australia," 3rd edition, price 3s. 6d.; and "Information respecting New Zealand," price 1s. 6d., may be ordered of any of the *Gazette* newsmen. All letters must be post-paid.

Fig. 4.10: Advertisement: George Whiting #2 [80]

This was also true for Isaac Latimer from Cornwall. Latimer, a printer and agent for 'Truro, and its neighbourhood' was appointed in March 1839. He was the brother of Thomas Latimer, the assistant editor of the highly regarded liberal and independent *Western Times*.[81] Although Thomas did not pursue a migration agency like his brother, he zealously advocated educating the working and agrarian classes about the political economy and went to great lengths to influence communities through the press, in

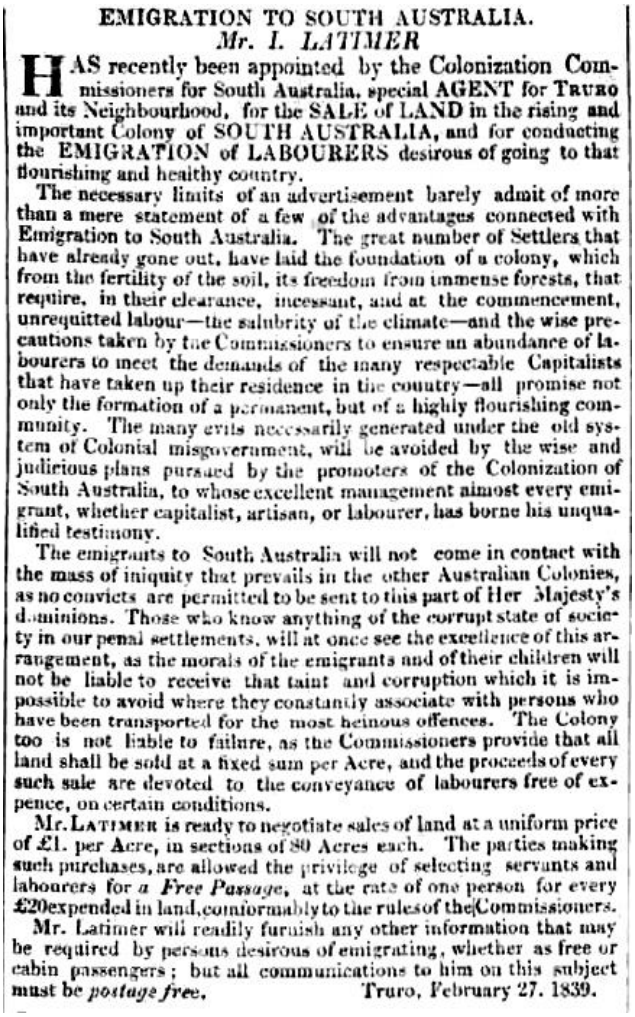
[79] See, for example, 'Literature', *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier*, No. 2,152, Tuesday 2 July 1839, 3 and No. 2,155, Tuesday 23 July, 1839, 1.
[80] 'Emigration to South Australia & New Zealand', *Maidstone Gazette and Kentish Courier*, No. 2,161, Tuesday 3 September, 1839, 1.
[81] On the *Western Times* see Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*, 181–182; Ian Maxted, 'Exeter Working Papers in British Book Trade History 7, Surnames: L-R', in *The Devon book trades: a biographical dictionary*, https://bookhistory.blogspot.com/2014/07/devon-book-trades-plymouth-l-r.html, accessed 11 November 2018; see also British Newspaper Archive, *Western Times*, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/western-times, accessed 11 November 2018.

meetings, giving lectures and promoting societies.[82] It was a great advantage, therefore, that he was also an avid supporter of South Australian migration.[83] Although the Cornish were not specifically targeted during this early period of South Australian settlement, they were certainly recognised as adept at tasks such as mining and farming which would be necessary once the colony became established.[84] Rather, the Latimers were enthusiastic about the South Australian colony, like Whiting and Cutbush, because Wakefield's plan promoted ideals which they supported.

As a prominent local advocate for the community, a promoter of education and literacy, and a recognised shrewd businessman and 'journalist of extreme ability and wide repute', Isaac was already well known in the county when he was appointed an agent for South Australia.[85] Like Thomas, Isaac was involved with the newspaper industry. As the editor of Cornwall's *West Briton* newspaper he strongly endorsed its pro-emigration stance.[86] In conjunction with Thomas, he was a positive force of publicity for South Australia in this region and among the classes that the colony demanded.

Their promotions appealed to labouring migrants and investors, and Isaac provided positive reasons for choosing South Australia above other colonies. An advertisement reveals that Isaac exploited his brother's editorship of the *Western Times* (Fig. 4.11). This is another example of the way in which agents with an interest in newspapers were advantageous for publicising migration. This advertisement promoted Latimer's particular authority as a Special Agent for Truro and it enthused about the colony. Considering the preference for concise advertisements, this promotion resembles an editorial, rather than an advertisement. His influence in the *Western Times* clearly advantaged the publicity.

[82] F. David Roberts, *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians*, Stanford University Press, California, 2002, 88.
[83] 'Emigration to South Australia', *Western Times*, Vol. XII, No. 576, Saturday 9 March 1839, 4.
[84] See, for example Philip Payton, *One and All, Labour and the Radical Tradition in South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Mile End, 2016, 33-39; on Cornish migration generally see also Payton, *The Cornish Farmer in Australia* and *The Cornish Overseas*.
[85] H. Simonis, *The Street of Ink, an Intimate History of Journalism*, Cassell and Company Ltd., London, 1917, 226–227; 'Death of Mr Isaac Latimer of Plymouth', *Isaac Latimer (1813-1898)* by Rosewyn Row; 'The Western Daily Mercury', by R.A.J. Walling, *The Cornish Magazine*, Vol. 12, No. 2, 1899, Courtney Archives Library, Truro.
[86] Payton, *One and All,* 28-29.



EMIGRATION TO SOUTH AUSTRALIA.
Mr. I. LATIMER

HAS recently been appointed by the Colonization Commissioners for South Australia, special AGENT for TRURO and its Neighbourhood, for the SALE of LAND in the rising and important Colony of SOUTH AUSTRALIA, and for conducting the EMIGRATION of LABOURERS desirous of going to that flourishing and healthy country.

The necessary limits of an advertisement barely admit of more than a mere statement of a few of the advantages connected with Emigration to South Australia. The great number of Settlers that have already gone out, have laid the foundation of a colony, which from the fertility of the soil, its freedom from immense forests, that require, in their clearance, incessant, and at the commencement, unrequitted labour—the salubrity of the climate—and the wise precautions taken by the Commissioners to ensure an abundance of labourers to meet the demands of the many respectable Capitalists that have taken up their residence in the country—all promise not only the formation of a permanent, but of a highly flourishing community. The many evils necessarily generated under the old system of Colonial misgovernment, will be avoided by the wise and judicious plans pursued by the promoters of the Colonization of South Australia, to whose excellent management almost every emigrant, whether capitalist, artisan, or labourer, has borne his unqualified testimony.

The emigrants to South Australia will not come in contact with the mass of iniquity that prevails in the other Australian Colonies, as no convicts are permitted to be sent to this part of Her Majesty's dominions. Those who know anything of the corrupt state of society in our penal settlements, will at once see the excellence of this arrangement, as the morals of the emigrants and of their children will not be liable to receive that taint and corruption which it is impossible to avoid where they constantly associate with persons who have been transported for the most heinous offences. The Colony too is not liable to failure, as the Commissioners provide that all land shall be sold at a fixed sum per Acre, and the proceeds of every such sale are devoted to the conveyance of labourers free of expence, on certain conditions.

Mr. LATIMER is ready to negotiate sales of land at a uniform price of £1. per Acre, in sections of 80 Acres each. The parties making such purchases, are allowed the privilege of selecting servants and labourers for *a Free Passage*, at the rate of one person for every £20 expended in land, conformably to the rules of the Commissioners.

Mr. Latimer will readily furnish any other information that may be required by persons desirous of emigrating, whether as free or cabin passengers; but all communications to him on this subject must be *postage free*.

Truro, February 27. 1839.

Fig. 4.11: Advertisement: Isaac Latimer [87]

A relentless promotor of migration to South Australia, Isaac Latimer's literary background greatly advantaged him because he was able to publish extensive and informative advertisements in numerous publications, including posters, Cornish newspapers and books. [88] He also presented numerous lectures. As the honorary secretary of the Truro Institute, he conducted free information lectures about the colony, and published reports containing a summary of his lectures and posters which promoted South Australia (Fig. 4.12).[89] In these advertisements Isaac placed as much importance on the destination as the availability of a free passage. South Australia and Port Adelaide are prominent, at the head of the copy and their typeface is capitalised and in a bold font. Acknowledging the contentiousness of migration, he

[87] 'Emigration to South Australia,' *Western Times*, Vol. XII, No. 576, Saturday 9 March, 1839, 4.
[88] Books which advertised Latimer's emigration agency for South Australia include Capper's *South Australia*, *Five Views in and near Adelaide* by Ann Gliddon and *Canada and South Australia* by Thornton Leigh Hunt.
[89] 'Death of Mr. Isaac Latimer', and 'Journalism Sixty Years Ago', *Western Morning News*, No. 12,042, Monday 12 September 1898, 4; for the posters See, for example Courtney Archives Library, Truro, R703; advertisements for a lectures can be found at *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, Vol. XXX, No. 1,520, 3, Courtney Archives Library, Truro.

stated that detailed information was required to 'counteract the false statements repeatedly put forward by the enemies of Emigration'.[90]

Latimer was highly successful encouraging migration. In conjunction with agents in Cornwall, A.B. Duckham, G. Jennings and John Geake, from 1837 until 1840, 632 applications for assisted migration were received for South Australia.[91] This number increased greatly between 1846 and 1850 when 4775 assisted emigrants left Cornwall for South Australia.[92] It is true, however, that these agents promoted migration extensively though means other than newspaper advertisements. Latimer held lectures for large audiences throughout Cornwall.[93] However, his influence through the *Western Times* and the *West Briton* should not be underestimated for it enabled the broadest dissemination of comprehensive information.

Latimer's success is well documented, a legacy of the numbers of Cornish miners who were encouraged to South Australia, and are discussed in Chapter Six. Unfortunately, there is scant data for the period before 1846 to confirm the successfulness of many of these agents' advertisements. Table 4.1 below provides an indication of the numbers of people that arrived from these locations and which were recorded between 1846 and 1850. They are compared to the numbers that travelled to New South Wales and Victoria during the same period. These statistics reveal that the agents from Kent, Northampton, Hereford and Sussex, whose advertisements are discussed in this thesis, encouraged more migrants to South Australia than New South Wales or Victoria.

Table 4.1: Government-assisted Migrant Arrivals 1846-1850 [94]

Origin	S.A.	Vic.	N.S.W.
Suffolk	116	197	130
Cambridge	162	234	127
Kent	518	256	275
Northampton	513	94	152
Hereford	66	20	18
Sussex	192	28	108

[90] Free Emigration broadsheet October 1839, Courtney Archives Library, Truro, R703; Philip Payton discusses emigrant and agent exploitation of the regulations in Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, 76.
[91] Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, 80, 85-86.
[92] Bernard Deacon, Sharron Schwartz and David Holman, *The Cornish Family: The Roots of Our Future*, Cornwall Editions Limited, Fowey, Cornwall, 2004, 155.
[93] Ibid, 80.
[94] Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government-assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia*, Table 4, 56.

E 5

FREE EMIGRATION
TO
PORT ADELAIDE,
South Australia.

An opportunity now offers itself to all MARRIED persons, of useful occupations, particularly to AGRICULTURAL LABORERS, CARPENTERS, BUILDERS, STONEMASONS, SHEPHERDS, and BLACKSMITHS, of obtaining a

FREE PASSAGE
TO
PORT ADELAIDE,
IN
South Australia,

A FREE COLONY, where there are no convicts sent, and where every person who emigrates is as free as he is in this country.

Besides the classes of persons enumerated above, Bakers, Blacksmiths, Braziers and Tinmen, Smiths, Shipwrights, Boat Builders, Wheelwrights, Sawyers, Cabinet Makers, Coopers, Curriers, Farriers, Millwrights, Harness Makers, Boot and Shoemakers, Tailors, Tanners, Brickmakers, Lime Burners, and all persons engaged in the erection of buildings are always in great request. The applicants must be able to obtain a good character as honest, sober, industrious men. They must be real laborers going out to work in the Colony, of sound mind and body, not less than 15 nor more than 30 years of age, and married. The rule as to age is occasionally departed from in favor of the parents of large families. As a general rule, each child is considered as extending the age one year. The sisters of married applicants are allowed to go free, if of good character.

The province of South Australia is a delightfully fertile and salubrious country, in every respect well adapted to the constitution of Englishmen, and is one of the most flourishing of all our colonies. *It is well watered*,—and there have never been any complaints from the colonists of a want of this valuable element; on the contrary, the letters from Cornishmen who have written home are very satisfactory on this point. It should be borne in mind that complaints of a scarcity of water do not relate to Port Adelaide, but to other settlements not connected with *South* Australia.

Emigrants wishing to obtain a free passage this year may now have that opportunity if they apply **IMMEDIATELY** to

Mr. I. LATIMER, Truro,

who is empowered by her Majesty's Colonization Commissioners to engage for that fine first-class teak-built ship the

JAVA, of 1200 TONS.

This ship's accommodations are unusually spacious and lofty, and are so arranged as to insure the comfort of all the passengers. She will carry *two Surgeons*, and *two Schoolmasters*, the latter of whom will be regularly employed in teaching the emigrants and their children. The vessel will call at **PLYMOUTH**, to take in Cornish passengers, on or about the 16th of OCTOBER; but in order to ensure a passage, application should be made forthwith. Every kind of information, and the necessary papers may be obtained of Mr. Latimer.

E. HEARD, PRINTER, BOOKBINDER, &c., BOSCAWEN-STREET, TRURO.

D6029_15L.jpg

Fig. 4.12: Poster: Isaac Latimer [95]

The success of advertisements by these agents is also borne out by the fact that settlers in South Australia remarked on the numbers of migrants arriving from these destinations. For example, the *South Australian Record* published several letters 'with the utmost confidence' in the trustworthiness of the authors.[96] They remarked about the numbers of migrants that had arrived in the colony from 'Sussex, Kent, [and] Norfolk.'[97] In 1840, the *Maidstone Gazette* reported that '500 to 600 persons…emigrated from this district'.[98]

[95] Letters from Cornish Settlers, SLSA D6029(L).
[96] 'Letters from Adelaide', *South Australian Record and South African Chronicle*, Saturday 30 May 1840, 287-288.
[97] Ibid.
[98] 'Misrepresentations Concerning South Australia Refuted', *Maidstone Gazette*, Tuesday 24 March 1840, 3.

Advertising optimism

While advertisements used specific language and textual styling, few of the agents extolled the colony with utopian or overtly optimistic language. The advertisements published by the agents from Leeds and Halifax, Harry Hughlings and R.B. Watson, were an exception. Their joint advertisements, published in six issues of the *Leeds Mercury,* feature 'South Australia' in bold capitals to exploit its prominence and 'Her Majesty's Commissioners' to provide authenticity. Other capitalised statements indicate that this promotion targeted agricultural labourers 'and their wives' with 'industrious and sober habits'. South Australia's demand for morally superior families, as emphasised in the Foundation Act, is clear. However, unlike the advertisements analysed thus far, Watson and Hughlings convey hope to potential migrants: come to this 'young but flourishing colony' where travel is 'free of expense including provisions and medical attendance' (Fig. 4.13). Potential migrants were advised that they were 'left perfectly free after arrival in the colony to make the most of their labour'. In other words, this was not a system of indenture.[99] The advertisement is cleverly worded, perhaps to entice migrants away from other destinations in Australia or elsewhere, but it also displays the utopian language which became more common once South Australia was settled and the publicity of colonial planners deferred to that from settlers or those exploiting its renown.

Hughlings was confident in these statements. His opinion of the colony was 'very high indeed'.[100] It is unsurprising, therefore, that he was also associated with the South Australian Company. He facilitated the sale of land shares, personally purchased 110 shares and also bought four Adelaide town acres at auction.[101] As a commission appointed agent, he facilitated the sale of eighteen acreages to seven individual purchasers in Halifax.[102] He was so confident in the success of the colony that he proposed the formation of a Halifax South Australian Association which also promoted the colony.[103]

[99] See Haines, *Nineteenth Century Government Assisted Immigrants from the United Kingdom to Australia*, 12.
[100] 'Original Correspondence', *South Australian Record*, No. 12, Wednesday 12 September 1838, 2-4.
[101] Transcript of Signatories on the South Australian Company, SLSA BRG 42/11/5; Returns of lands sold, SLSA GRG 24/1, 1838/310a7.
[102] Thomas Worsnop, *History of the city of Adelaide: from the foundation of the province of South Australia in 1836, to the end of the municipal year 1877*, J. Williams, Adelaide, 1878, Appendices F, 420–441; GRG 24/1, 1838/310a7.
[103] Ibid.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

HER MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS having appointed the Undersigned as Agents for Leeds and Halifax, including the surrounding Neighbourhood, for the DISPOSAL of LAND in the above Young but flourishing Colony, Persons wishing to emigrate, or to INVEST CAPITAL IN THE PURCHASE OF LAND, will obtain every Information required, by applying to them.

AGRICULTURAL LABOURERS AND THEIR WIVES, under Thirty Years of Age, besides Shepherds, Bakers, Blacksmiths, Brazlers and Tinners, Smiths, Shipwrights, Butchers, and many more, are taken out to the Colony FREE OF EXPENSE (INCLUDING PROVISIONS AND MEDICAL ATTENDANCE on Board, during the Voyage,) and are left perfectly free, after Arrival in the Colony to make the most of their Labour.

The Applicants must be of INDUSTRIOUS and SOBER Habits.

R. B. WATSON & CO., No. 10, Albion Street, Share Brokers, Leeds; or

HARRY HUGHLINGS, Share Broker, And Agent to the Scottish Union Insurance Company, No. 5, West Parade, Halifax.

Fig. 4.13: Advertisement: Harry Hughlings and R.B. Watson [104]

Hughling's example shows that some agents undertook their role with great enthusiasm for and belief in South Australia. The devolvement of land sales and the recruitment of migrants to agents throughout Britain helped in the promotion of South Australia greatly. Indeed, Elliot confirmed that the agents' renown in a specific location, intimate local knowledge and the extensive rural circulation of advertisements was of great benefit.[105] It defrayed the cost of facilitating government officials and agents' published advertisements reached a vast audience. Furthermore, this method of 'active advertising' also helped to redirect valuable migrants from competing destinations in Australia and elsewhere.[106]

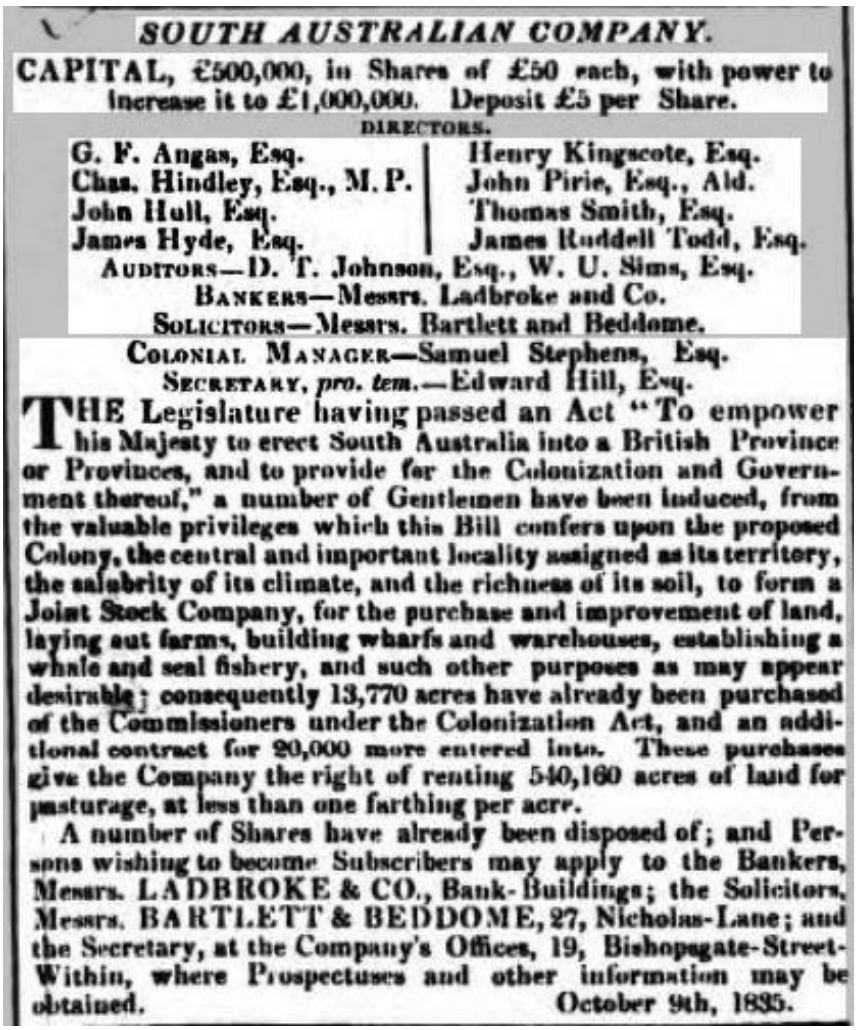
The advertisements thus far reveal that although there were no specific guidelines provided to agents for publicity and this led to inconsistencies in their promotions, they were informed about South Australia's requirements and published specifically to target newspaper readership. Furthermore, style, typeface and language were varied in order to appeal to particular groups. Thus, it strengthens the argument that newspapers were enormously important for promoting South Australia and, additionally, that their relevance was acknowledged during the early nineteenth century.

[104] 'South Australia', *Leeds Mercury*, Vol. 73, No. 5,450, Saturday 23 June 1838, 4.
[105] Elliot to Brock, 24 October, 1837, CO 386/20.
[106] On active advertising see Ray, 'Administering Emigration', 135; competition between colonies is discussed in Inches to Elliot, 18 October 1839, *BPP* enc. No. 8, XXXIII, 13.

George Fife Angas and the South Australian Company

Newspaper advertising for the colony was not restricted to the commissioners appointed agents. The South Australian Company also advertised widely. The company's directors purchased 13,770 acres in Adelaide and the country and 320 acres on Kangaroo Island: these were advertised for sale in shares and they also facilitated migration.[107] The inaugural publicity encouraged the complete uptake of shares and enough settlers signed up to migrate that four ships were chartered to sail to the colony with the official government vessels in 1836.[108] The business for which Angas was criticised posted great initial success and profits.[109] An extensive promotional campaign helped to accomplish this. In conjunction with speaking tours and word of mouth promotion among peers, the company advertised widely in newspapers. Fig. 4.14 is an example of a South Australian Company advertisement, deliberately formatted in a 'sympathetic style' to allow easy insertion in newspaper columns.[110] The forthright broadcast of directors' names illustrates that this promotion encouraged interest among similar investors. In fact, this was discussed at the Conversazione Club and the commissioners names were forwarded to 'several periodicals' for publication.[111]

[107] *South Australian Company*, London, 1838, 9–11; Register of lands, SLSA BRG 42/10, Annual Reports BRG 42/17.
[108] *Supplement to the First Report of the Directors of the South Australian Company*, William Johnston, London, 1837, 5–19.
[109] Ibid, 5–7.
[110] This was discussed in chapter two.
[111] South Australian Colonial Office, Meeting 5 October, 1835, PRO CO386/141 C669699.



SOUTH AUSTRALIAN COMPANY.

CAPITAL, £500,000, in Shares of £50 each, with power to increase it to £1,000,000. Deposit £5 per Share.

DIRECTORS.

G. F. Angas, Esq.	Henry Kingscote, Esq.
Chas. Hindley, Esq., M.P.	John Pirie, Esq., Ald.
John Hull, Esq.	Thomas Smith, Esq.
James Hyde, Esq.	James Ruddell Todd, Esq.

AUDITORS—D. T. Johnson, Esq., W. U. Sims, Esq.

BANKERS—Messrs. Ladbroke and Co.

SOLICITORS—Messrs. Bartlett and Beddome.

COLONIAL MANAGER—Samuel Stephens, Esq.

SECRETARY, *pro. tem.*—Edward Hill, Esq.

THE Legislature having passed 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," a number of Gentlemen have been induced, from the valuable privileges which this Bill confers upon the proposed Colony, the central and important locality assigned as its territory, the salubrity of its climate, and the richness of its soil, to form a Joint Stock Company, for the purchase and improvement of land, laying out farms, building wharfs and warehouses, establishing a whale and seal fishery, and such other purposes as may appear desirable; consequently 13,770 acres have already been purchased of the Commissioners under the Colonization Act, and an additional contract for 20,000 more entered into. These purchases give the Company the right of renting 540,160 acres of land for pasturage, at less than one farthing per acre.

A number of Shares have already been disposed of; and Persons wishing to become Subscribers may apply to the Bankers, Messrs. LADBROKE & CO., Bank-Buildings; the Solicitors, Messrs. BARTLETT & BEDDOME, 27, Nicholas-Lane; and the Secretary, at the Company's Offices, 19, Bishopsgate-Street-Within, where Prospectuses and other information may be obtained.

October 9th, 1835.

Fig. 4.14: Advertisement: South Australian Company [112]

From October 1835 to January 1836, the company's advertising campaign was extensive. It reached every region in England and as far as Dublin in Ireland.[113] Angas, who was adept at publicity, used various methods to promote his interests and the extent of this advert's circulation reflects his financial capacity to promote the company and South Australia. In conjunction with the advertising, Angas exploited the common practice, previously outlined, whereby advertisers paid to have editorial support, elsewhere in the publication. For example, nine prominent newspapers

[112] 'South Australian Company', *Bucks Herald; or Farmers' Journal and Advertising Chronicle*, No. 199, Saturday 24 October, 1835, 1.

[113] Headed 'South Australian Company', this advertisement appeared in the following newspapers; *Sheffield Iris*, No. 2,535, Vol. 48, Tuesday 20 October 1835, 2; *Cheltenham Chronicle and Gloucestershire Advertiser*, Vol. 26, No. 1,364, 22 October 1835, 1; *Lincoln, Rutland and Stamford Mercury*, Vol. 140, No. 7,317, Friday 23 October, 1835, 1; *Durham County Advertiser*, No. 1,103, Friday 23 October, 1835, 1; also No. 1,104, Friday 30 October, 1835, 3; *Bristol Mirror*, Vol. LXII, No. 3,164, Saturday 24 October, 1835, 1; also Vol. LXII, No. 3,165, Saturday 31 October, 1835, 1; *Manchester Times and Lancashire and Cheshire Examiner*, No. 3,293, Saturday 24 October, 1835, 1; *Carlisle Journal*, No. 1,927, Saturday 24 October, 1835, 2; *Derby Mercury*, Vol. 104, No. 5,389, Wednesday 28 October, 1835, 3; *Berrow's Worcester Journal*, No. 6,935, Thursday 29 October, 1835, 2; *Birmingham Journal*, No. 344, Saturday 31 October, 1835, 1; *Reading Mercury*, Vol. CXIII, No. 6,050, Monday 30 November, 1835, 3; *Leeds Times*, No. 144, Vol. III, Saturday 5 December, 1835, 2; *Saunders Newsletter and Daily Advertiser*, No. 29,381, Vol. III, Monday 7 December, 1835, 3; *Berkshire Chronicle,* Vol. XI, No. 564, Saturday 12 December, 1835, 1.

published an article about the company's *First Annual Report*. These included several newspapers which regularly followed South Australia's progress - the *Globe, Hampshire Chronicle, Reading Mercury* and *Leeds Intelligencer*.[114] Other newspapers that published the report included the *Westmoreland Gazette,* London's *John Bull* and *Constitutional,* and Ireland's *Newry Telegraph* and *Mayo Constitutional*. Unsurprisingly, the report was highly conciliatory towards South Australia and written in the utopian style which increasingly permeated throughout South Australian literature. It was a 'new land of promise'.[115] Further reinforcing the importance of newspapers during this period, the fact that the *South Australian Gazette* was printed in London in 1836 proved the colony's advanced civilisation.[116] Hence, editorial statements which accompanied extracts from the report generally advocated the colony. While Angas was a great supporter and promoter of South Australia, he also exploited its popularity in the press to further his business interests.

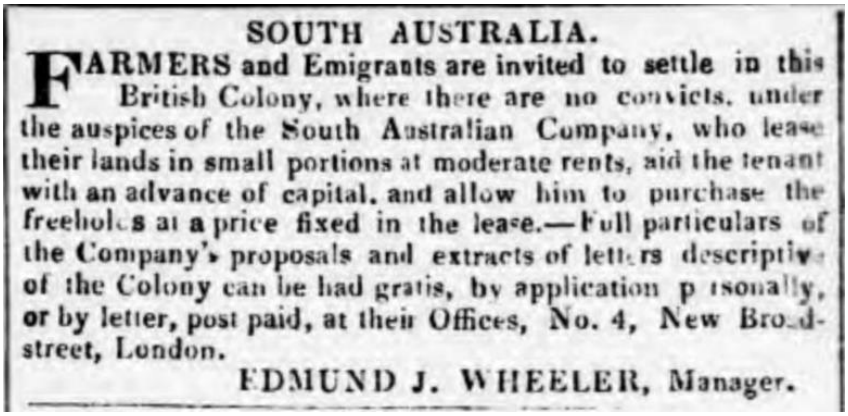
Edmund J. Wheeler, the Company's Manager

Edmund J. Wheeler was the company's manager and he had tasks comparable to some of the agents already discussed. The company advertised extensively throughout the latter 1830s and 1840s. The company's advertisements, like Jacob's and Whiting's, highlighted that there were to be no convicts in South Australia. An advertisement in 1839 reinforced the principles of the Foundation Australian Act (Fig. 4.15). The advertisement stipulated that 'persons of dissolute habits, or immoral principles' were unwelcome.[117] Certainly, South Australian publicity was designed to encourage independent labourers and their families, regardless of class. Men who exhibited pride in their work and family, and who conveyed 'a sense of moral feeling and moral dignity' were sought.[118] South Australia stood apart from the existing Australian colonies because felons, who were 'deteriorated as to their Morals and Honesty', were not permitted.[119] However, James Stephen, assistant under-secretary in the Colonial Office, prophesised in 1832, during the height of discussions about a colony in southern Australia, that 'this free settlement in the immediate vicinity of the

[114] 'New Colony of South Australia', *Globe*, No. 10,490, Wednesday 22 June 1836, 3; [No Heading], *Hampshire Chronicle*, Vol. LXIII, No. 3,599, Monday 27 June 1836, 4; 'Foreign and Domestic Intelligence', *Reading Mercury*, Vol. CXIV, Monday 11 July, 1836, 2; 'South Australia', *Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 4,300, Saturday 31 December 1836, 5.
[115] Ibid. The 'land of promise' is also discussed in Chapter Five.
[116] Ibid.
[117] *Supplement to the First Annual Report,* 36.
[118] *Report from His Majesty's Commissioners for Inquiring into the Administration and Practical Operation of the Poor Laws*, 89.
[119] *Selection of Reports and Papers of the House of Commons: Prisons and Houses of Corruption in England and Wales*, 28 July 1835, 250.

penal Settlements will afford the Convicts a place of refuge and a powerful temptation to avail themselves of it'.[120]

Publicity thus far, while varied in style, size and wording, was unanimous that convicts were prohibited. Certainly, the statement that South Australia was convict free was one method for encouraging morally upright and hard-working migrants. The refutation of convict labour in conjunction with religious liberty and a fixed land price were the points about South Australia which Angas felt most strongly.[121] Yet, Stephen's concerns were astute. While convicts were not *transported* to the colony, the arrival of ex-convicts in South Australia could not be stopped and this became a contentious issue as settlement progressed. The convict question is discussed further in Chapter Six.



SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

FARMERS and Emigrants are invited to settle in this British Colony, where there are no convicts, under the auspices of the South Australian Company, who lease their lands in small portions at moderate rents, aid the tenant with an advance of capital, and allow him to purchase the freeholds at a price fixed in the lease.—Full particulars of the Company's proposals and extracts of letters descriptive of the Colony can be had gratis, by application personally, or by letter, post paid, at their Offices, No. 4, New Broad-street, London.

EDMUND J. WHEELER, Manager.

Fig. 4.15: Advertisement: Edmund J. Wheeler [122]

In conjunction with advertising, Wheeler was tasked with contesting some of the unfavourable publicity the company received, particularly, accusations of land-jobbing. In response to an article in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, which included extracts from Stephen's *Land of Promise*, Wheeler refuted prejudicial statements.[123] An impartial, popular and highly regarded monthly publication, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* was 'accessible to three fourths of the population'.[124] Its editor, Christian Isobel Johnstone, reported that the company was 'trafficking for profit' and revealed its dividend percentage.[125] Profit over the welfare of migrants, according to Johnstone, was their predominant motivator. This was, indeed, a business arrangement to

[120] 'Memorandum of Stephen, CO 13/1: PRO', in Kenneth N. Bell and W. P. Morrell, *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy 1830–1860,* Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968, 199–204.
[121] Hodder, *George Fife Angas*, 309–310.
[122] 'South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser*, No. 4,838, Vol. XCIV, Monday 16 September, 1839, 1.
[123] 'The Manager of the South Australian Company', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. 6, April, 1839, 280.
[124] 'Review', *Leicestershire Mercury*, No. 47, Vol. I, Saturday 27 May 1837, 3. See also 'Tait's Edinburgh Magazine, *Leeds Times*, No. 206, Vol. IV, Saturday 11 February, 1837, 2.
[125] 'Letter of Mr. Wheeler, the Manager of the South Australian Company', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. VI, February, 1839, 135-136.

facilitate the lease and sale of 'exclusive pasturage' in South Australia and Wheeler's advertisement did not misrepresent the fact that payment of rent on leases was expected (Fig. 4.15).[126] Wheeler quickly answered this unfavourable publicity in order to stem some of the 'numerous attempts made to retard the establishment, and obstruct the progress of the Company'.[127]

This reveals another example of the way newspapers facilitated debate among readers. Other agents and supporters of South Australian colonisation would also use newspapers to debate or contest unfair or untrue statements. The relevance and importance of newspapers for disseminating information about South Australia is strengthened, for it enabled ordinary people, those without a voice in parliament, for example, to be informed about and to participate in topical issues.

Angas and the South Australian News

Angas recognised the importance of all forms of publicity to promote South Australia. In particular, however, he realised the newspaper's ability to reach a far broader audience than the usual oral methods. While targeted advertisements initially publicised his company, he sought a more comprehensive way to promote the colony in the most favourable light. Hence, the inaugural edition of the *South Australian Colonist and Settlers' Weekly Record* was published on 10 March 1840. John Stephens, renowned as 'the assiduous bookseller of No. 16, City-Road' and the founder of the *Christian Advocate* newspaper in 1831, was appointed as editor. His promotion of reform and abolitionism, Christian beliefs, publishing knowledge and 'literary instinct' attracted Angas, who engaged his services.[128]

The *Colonist* received such unfavourable press that this costly exercise ceased publication in September 1840. Undeterred, Angas then established the *South Australian News.* Its first issue was published in London on 15 June 1841. The inaugural editorial stated:

> our great object will be to vindicate the rising Colony of South Australia against the numerous misrepresentations so industriously, yet so *anonymously* circulated; … by

[126] Wheeler to Rowland Hill, 19 January 1837, SLSA BRG 42/5/6.
[127] *South Australian Company*, 20.
[128] George Jacob Holyoake, *Life of Joseph Rayner Stephens Preacher and Political Orator*, Williams and Northgate, London, and Edinburgh, 1881, 24, 46-49; Rev. John Blacket, *A South Australian Romance, how a Colony was Founded and a Methodist Church formed,* Charles H. Kelly, London, 1899, see, in particular, Chapters 3 and 6; on John Stephens, see also 'Death of Mr. John Stephens, Formerly of London, Late of Adelaide, South Australia', *South Australia Register*, Vol. XV, No. 1,538, Saturday 20 September, 1851, 2.

> impartially recording authentic facts, and presenting our readers intelligence on which they can rely.[129]

Its publication, during the colony's relative stagnation, was fortuitous as Angas sought to counter disadvantageous publicity like that published in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*. A regular staple of each newspaper was favourable testimony from migrants, particularly letters from middle class gentlemen. The influence of personal correspondence, discussed further in Chapter Five, cannot be underestimated and Angas certainly exploited letters for publicity. This analysis of advertisements reveals that once the South Australian Colonisation Bill was enacted, the encouragement of migrant labourers became a focus. While Angas outlined that the *South Australian News* was 'within the reach of all', including 'the poorest', it was the correspondence of landholders with advice for similar classes that were published. In fact, a request for missives from 'the literary portion of the public' was published in South Australia's *Southern Australian* newspaper in 1841:

> Well written papers on general subjects relating to the province, and more especially with such "suggestions, addressed to the Mother country, relative to the improvement of the colony, as ought to be published in the London (sic)".[130]

Hence, correspondents were exploited for publicity because the accounts of those 'on the spot' were considered more reliable.

In addition to correspondence, other regular features in the *South Australian News* were colonial statistics for land sales, cultivation, population and the climate and the minutes of the South Australian Company's general and annual meetings. Unlike the *Colonist*, the *South Australian News* became an esteemed publication in Britain. By 1845 demand for advertising increased to such a degree that the paper was enlarged and stamped to cater for a greater circulation.[131] Its content was also republished in reputable journals and cited for its truthfulness. For example, *The Times, Gloucestershire Chronicle* and *Derby Mercury* suggested that 'those who feel an interest in the great question of systematic colonization' should refer to the *News* because of its reliability.[132] The *John O'Groat Journal* also acknowledged its trustworthiness when it published 'important and interesting statistics of the

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[129] 'Address', *South Australian News,* No. 1, 15 June 1841, 1.
[130] 'G. F. Angas Esq. and the South Australian News', *Southern Australian*, Vol. IV, No. 264, Friday 26 November 1841, 2.
[131] 'Notice', *South Australian News*, New Series, No. 43, 1 December, 1845, 373.
[132] 'South Australia', *Gloucestershire Chronicle*, No. 519, Saturday 10 June 1843, 4, 'South Australia', *The Times*, No. 18,284, Monday 1 May 1843, 7, 'South Australia', *The Derby Mercury*, Vol. 113, No. 5,834, Wednesday 1 May, 1844, 4.

province, … from *official* and other undoubted sources'.[133] Thus, within a few short years, Angas's newspaper increased circulation, confirmed its authenticity and provided another method for promoting South Australia.

Advertising by the Colonisation Commissioners

As the 'rage for emigration' increased, truthfulness and probity also became more important. The corresponding increase in newspapers and literature which publicised migration gave rise to the spread of false, misleading or exaggerated information which the Colonisation Commissioners struggled to contain. Torrens outlined their desire for candour: 'The Colonization Commissioners for South Australia did everything in public. All their transactions they wished to submit to the scrutiny of the public at large'.[134] The Commissioners advertisements therefore, related factual information in plain, unadorned language (Fig. 4.16).

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

By order of the Colonisation Commissioners for His Majesty's Province of South Australia.

NOTICE is hereby given, that, in compliance with the Act of Parliament, the Commissioners are now SELLING LAND, situated in the Colony, in lots of 81 Acres each.

The price fixed at present is £1 per acre, and the whole of the purchase money is to be immediately employed for the benefit of the Purchaser in giving a FREE PASSAGE to Servants and Labourers of both sexes, of good character and sound health, whose ages do not exceed thirty; the Purchaser of each lot of Land being allowed to select five such Servants or Labourers.

Each of the first 437 lots will contain one acre of the most valuable part of Town Land, and the purchasers of these lots will be entitled to priority over all others in the choice of land.

The Governor and other Chief Officers will depart as soon as the preliminary arrangements are made.

Copies of the Regulations for the disposal of Public Land and the Emigration of Labourers, may be obtained of

MR. JAMES DRAKE,

Agent for Birmingham and its neighbourhood, to whom applications for Land can be made; or at the office of the Commissioners, No. 6, Adelphi-terrace, London.

By order of the Board,

ROWLAND HILL, Secretary.

Fig. 4.16: Advertisement: Colonisation Commissioners #1 [135]

Figure 4.16 is indicative of the advertisements that the Commissioners published before the first settlers travelled to South Australia. It outlines factual information in simple, plain text. Agent James Drake, also a publisher, placed this

[133] 'Column for Emigrants–Province of South Australia', *John O'Groat Journal*, No. CCCXLIX, Friday 21 July, 1843, 4. Italics in original quote.
[134] 'Dinner to Governor Gawler and the South Australian Colonization Commissioners', *Derby Mercury*, Vol. 107, No. 5,524, Wednesday 23 May, 1838, 4.
[135] 'South Australia', *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Vol. XCIV, No. 4,893, Monday 31 August, 1835, 1.

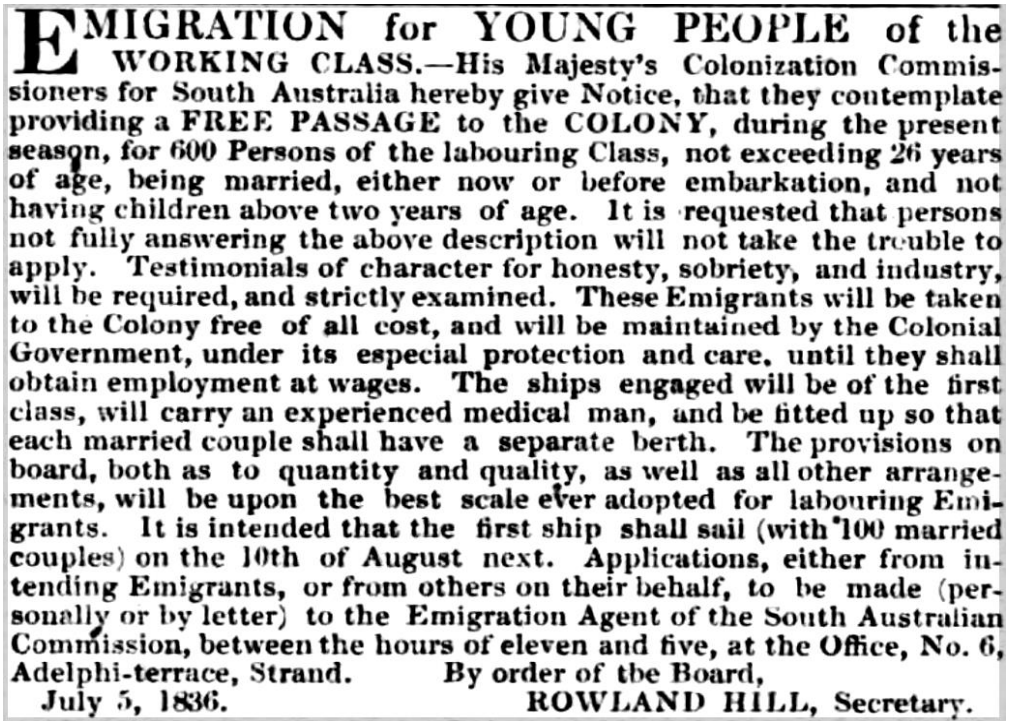
notice in *Aris's Birmingham Gazette* in 1835. A prominent, long-standing newspaper which circulated 52,000 copies in the six months to April 1838, *Aris's* targeted the agricultural and manufacturing readers that South Australian planners desired.[136] In fact, Birmingham was an expanding mercantile town of 100,000 people with above average wealth per head of population, according to Hutton's *History of Birmingham* in 1836.[137] For these reasons, publicity for South Australia in this newspaper was likely calculated and, as evident from the capitalisation of 'selling land' and 'free passage', targeted both the capitalist and the working classes. This advertisement also highlights the benefits accorded to early land purchasers, who were given 'priority over all others in the choice of land'. An appeal to this region's landed population; these declarations were not always accomplished in the colony. Indeed, land allocation became a contentious issue once South Australian settlement was established (see subsequent chapters).

Advertising for labourers

In early 1836, as the first vessels left England for South Australia, the Colonisation Commission published advertisements targeted to 'Young People of the Working Class' (Fig. 4.17). This promotion appeared in five issues of London's *Morning Advertiser* and several provincial newspapers, including the *Dorset County Chronicle* which had a circulation of 28,100 copies between December 1837 and April 1838.[138] Differing from the earlier promotion which targeted capitalists and promoted land sales for South Australia (Fig. 4.16), this advertisement highlighted labourer migrants as a priority, as seen in its capitalisation and prominent positioning at the head of the advertisement. While this is a promotion for South Australia, its reference to the colony is printed in ordinary text and suggests that the location is insignificant. This indicates that once the first settlers were underway, the Commissioners' focus was to encourage migration, rather than to publicise South Australia. Instead, 'a free passage' and the 'protection and care' of migrants are prioritised. This was an attempt to allay migrant concerns for the widespread deficiencies in shipping provisions, revealed during the

[136] Newspaper Circulation', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7; Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*, 154.
[137] William Hutton, *The History of Birmingham*, James Guest, Birmingham, 1836, 67, 77, 208.
[138] 'Emigration for Young People', *Hertford Mercury and Reformer*, No. 86, Vol. II, Tuesday 12 July, 1836, 1; *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, Sunday 17 July, 1836, 4; *Dorset County Chronicle and General Advertiser,* Vol. XVII, No. DCCCLXL, Thursday 20 July 1837, 1; for the *Dorset County Chronicle* circulation figures see 'Newspaper Circulation', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7.

Select Committee inquiry into passenger transportation and which resulted in the Passenger Act of 1835.[139]



EMIGRATION for YOUNG PEOPLE of the WORKING CLASS.—His Majesty's Colonization Commissioners for South Australia hereby give Notice, that they contemplate providing a FREE PASSAGE to the COLONY, during the present season, for 600 Persons of the labouring Class, not exceeding 26 years of age, being married, either now or before embarkation, and not having children above two years of age. It is requested that persons not fully answering the above description will not take the trouble to apply. Testimonials of character for honesty, sobriety, and industry, will be required, and strictly examined. These Emigrants will be taken to the Colony free of all cost, and will be maintained by the Colonial Government, under its especial protection and care, until they shall obtain employment at wages. The ships engaged will be of the first class, will carry an experienced medical man, and be fitted up so that each married couple shall have a separate berth. The provisions on board, both as to quantity and quality, as well as all other arrangements, will be upon the best scale ever adopted for labouring Emigrants. It is intended that the first ship shall sail (with 100 married couples) on the 10th of August next. Applications, either from intending Emigrants, or from others on their behalf, to be made (personally or by letter) to the Emigration Agent of the South Australian Commission, between the hours of eleven and five, at the Office, No. 6, Adelphi-terrace, Strand. By order of the Board,
July 5, 1836. ROWLAND HILL, Secretary.

Fig.4.17: Advertisement: Colonisation Commissioners #2 [140]

The publication of this advert in Dorset, Hertford and Leeds was also a prudent undertaking. Farmers and labourers in England's southern provinces were experiencing widespread distress. In order to assist wage negotiations for the region's agricultural labourers and small holding farmers, an Agricultural Union was established in Tolpuddle, Dorset in November 1833.[141] By March 1834, its six founding members were found guilty of 'unlawful oaths' and sentenced to transportation to Sydney for seven years.[142] Their conviction caused intense turmoil and protest. A demonstration of almost 30,000 labourers through London in April 1834 and petitions containing 800,000 signatures by mid-1835 reveal the extent of the discontent.[143] South Australia's creation and subsequent publicity for the colony coincided with this unrest.

[139] John Ramsay McCulloch, *A Dictionary, Practical, Theoretical, and Historical, of Commerce and Commercial Navigation*, Vol. 1, Longman, Orme, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1839, Supplement 33.
[140] 'Emigration for Young People', *Morning Advertiser*, No. 14,135, Thursday 14 July, 1836, 1.
[141] On the background of the rural and labouring unrest see 'The Tolpuddle Martyrs', *History Today*, 33(11), Nov 1, 1983 and Gerald B. Hurst, 'The Dorchester Labourers, 1834', *The English Historical Review*, 40(157), Jan., 1925, 54–66; on its influence on the free press see James Curran, 'The Press as an Agency of Social Control: an Historical Perspective', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate, (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, Constable, London, 1978, 51–75, specifically 55.
[142] Dorchester unionists. Copies of the indictment and record of conviction, in the prosecution against George Loveless and others, at the Dorchester spring assizes 1834, *House of Commons Papers*, 250, Vol. XLVI.187.46.
[143] Hurst, 'The Dorchester Labourers, 1834'.

One can imagine how the promise of a 'free passage' and government maintenance in the colony might appeal to disaffected labourers.

This was also likely true for the *Morning Advertiser* promotion. The Commissioners took advantage of its extensive readership among the literate and industrious working classes. Published by the Society of Licenced Victuallers and with a daily circulation of 4,294 copies in 1836, the *Morning Advertiser* was considered one of Britain's four leading daily newspapers.[144] Qualifications for 'honesty, sobriety and industry', which were paramount requirements for South Australian colonists, were clearly outlined in the advertisement and it was well placed in this newspaper to maximise exposure to this target audience.

This analysis of advertisements that were published by appointed agents, the South Australian Company and the Colonisation Commissioners reveals how extensively they advertised. It has shown that agents interpreted the market and reacted accordingly. Thus, advertisements were targeted to specific audiences and in particular regions. However, the inexperience of some agents about migration and the colony disadvantaged the migrant and South Australia. Agents who represented several colonial destinations also provided little incentive for South Australia over other regions. Others, like Latimer advantaged South Australia through their favourable reputation and engendered confidence and trust in the venture with clear language, varied text styles, italics or capitalisation to highlight specific requirements.

Torrens and the Irish poor

In conjunction with the advertising, other forms of 'official' publicity gained a broader audience through their publication in newspapers. For example, in mid-1838 during South Australia's financial and administration crisis created by the colony's 'peculiar double government' and disagreements between officials, Robert Torrens's pamphlet, *Plan for an Association in aid of the Irish Poor Law,* was published.[145] Torrens promoted migration to South Australia and his associated lectures on the topic were discussed in newspapers across Ireland.[146] Lengthy extracts from the pamphlet were published in Irish newspapers and editorial comments relating to the extracts were

[144] 'Newspaper Returns–The Humbug of Tory Reaction Exposed', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,338, Monday 30 October 1837, 3. On the *Morning Advertiser* see Basil L. Crapster, 'The London 'Morning Advertiser': Two Notes on Its Editorial History'' *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, Vol. 7, No. 1, March 1974, 3-9, and J. S. R. Phillips, 'The Growth of Journalism', in Sir A. W. Ward and A. R. Waller (eds), *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, *Vol. XIV, The Nineteenth Century, Part III*, The University Press, Cambridge, 1964, 167-204, 189-190.
[145] Pike, *Paradise of Dissent*, 169-172.
[146] Refer to Robert Torrens, *Plan for an Association in aid of the Irish Poor Law*, Longman, Orme, Brown, and Green, London, 1838.

made. They revealed that Torrens's pamphlet was read and reported upon, not merely copied and published. This provides further evidence that newspapers were instrumental for spreading targeted migration information. Indeed, Christopher Morash says that a new cohort of Irish newspapers 'aligned to a particular cause' would promote it relentlessly, in this case the benefits to Ireland of migration.[147] In conjunction, Torrens renown in Ireland, revealed in Chapter Two, was likely to have assisted the favourable reporting he received: 'The talented chairman of the Colonisation Commissions', it was asserted, promoted 'the self-supporting system of emigration' to South Australia.[148]

Hence, Dublin's *Monitor* and the *Pilot*, *Saunders News-Letter and Evening Post*, Belfast's *Vindicator* and Limerick's *Chronicle* were unanimous that:

> the transplantation of the surplus agricultural population to South Australia would confer a blessing on the country they left behind, and secure to them comforts which it were vain to expect in this overstocked land.[149]

Charles Gavin Duffy, the editor of Belfast's recently established *Vindicator,* extolled the colony and professed his support for migration to South Australia over Canada or New South Wales.[150] Representing the Catholic community and published as an answer to a growing Protestant press, Duffy's paper supported migration because it enabled his countrymen 'independence abroad that political causes so frequently prevent them from achieving in their own country'.[151] Together, these favourable accounts about South Australia reached an extensive Irish readership, far greater than individual purchasers of Torrens's pamphlet or attendees at the meetings. This is further evidence that newspapers were not only crucial for promoting South Australia but that supporters of the colony were keenly aware of the advantages that newspapers provided for spreading information and encouraging particular viewpoints in communities'.

The language which editors used to report about Torrens pamphlet is also revealing. For example, Dublin's *Monitor* 'call[ed] the attention of our readers to a new scheme that is about to be undertaken' and the long-established, popular *Limerick*

[147] Christopher Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, CUP, New York, 2010, 68.
[148] 'Improvement of Ireland–Emigration to South Australia', *Dublin Monitor*, Tuesday 30 July 1839, 1.
[149] Ibid.
[150] 'Emigration–State and Prospects of South Australia', *Vindicator*, Vol. I, No. 50, Saturday 19 October 1839 2.
[151] Brake, Demoor, (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism,* 45; 'Emigration–State and Prospects of South Australia', *Vindicator*, Vol. I, No. 50, Saturday 19 October 1839 2.

Chronicle, renowned for its pro-Tory and union stance, voiced a similar view.[152] It appears that there was little debate between these Irish papers with regard to the advantages of migration to South Australia. Morash also says that Irish newspapers actively sought out news and that often the provincial newspapers outdid their urban counterparts for news-gathering.[153] Irish editors were at the forefront of the emerging British newspaper industry and, as such, provided valuable information to their readers. Given the lack of Irish agents during South Australia's foundation years (Fig's 3.1 and 3.2), targeted advertising was limited. Published news from Torrens and the accompanying editorial comments, therefore, informed communities and advertised the colony.

The analysis of advertisements which revealed a lack of regulation by the Colonial Office and an irregularity of agents promoting migration, likely contributed to the unreliability of migrant arrivals in the colony. Certainly, the Irish migrants who these reports likely encouraged to South Australia caused much debate in the colony.[154] It also appeared that little supervision or control was forthcoming, once agents were advised of the South Australian settlement. Although these examples of agents' advertisements reveal that agents placed them in particular newspapers and targeted specific regions, evidence that indicated a coordinated advertising campaign was not found. This was disadvantageous for colonial promotion and a failing of the Colonial Office and the South Australian Association. Elliot recognised these flaws and instigated changes in the government management of colonial settlement from 1840.

Advertising from 1840: the Colonial Land and Emigration Commission.[155]

Initially, Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan was reported in newspapers as successful and the first migrant settlers proclaimed that the colony of South Australia was flourishing. However, within the first years after British settlers arrived in the colony, the administrative and financial issues, discussed in Chapter One, almost caused its demise. Meanwhile, Britain endured a sweeping depression during these

[152] 'Improvement of Ireland–Emigration to South Australia', *Dublin Monitor*, Tuesday 30 July 1839, 1; 'Plan of an Association in Aid of the Irish Poor Law', *Limerick Chronicle*, Vol. 73, No. 12,498, Saturday 6 July 1839; on the *Limerick Chronicle* see Denis O'Shaughnessy, 'Making the Papers–An Irishman's Diary on 250 Years of the 'Limerick Chronicle'', *Irish Times*, Wednesday 4 April 2018, https://www.irishtimes.com/opinion/making-the-papers-an-irishman-s-diary-on-250-years-of-the-limerick-chronicle-1.3449392, accessed 24 April, 2019; and Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland,* 69.
[153] Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, 68–69.
[154] See Chapter Six.
[155] Fred Harvey Hitchins, *The Colonial Land and Emigration Commission, 1840-78*, University of Pennsylvania Press, Philadelphia, 1931, although an early work, it provides an extensive outline of the way the CLEC administered migration, including policy and promotion.

years and the decade of the 1840s. Twentieth and twenty-first century scholars have termed these years 'the hungry forties'.[156] Industrial improvements, social reforms, population increases and climatic events induced an economic depression which was at its severest between 1838 and 1842.[157] This coincided with South Australia's insolvency and curtailed migration.

In December 1839 Lord Russell, the secretary of state in Lord Melbourne's Whig government, and instrumental for the legislation of the 1832 Reform Act, dismissed South Australia's voluntary Colonisation Commissioners.[158] In January 1840 three salaried commissioners, Robert Torrens, T.F. Elliot and Edward E. Villiers, were appointed with the complete management and regulation of South Australia.[159] It was agreed that the government should directly control the colony until 'it struggle[d] through its difficulties and obtain[ed] considerable prosperity'.[160] This included a continuation of the plan for land sales to fund migration. Agents tasked with selling land and scrutinising potential migrants, in accordance with these regulations and the funds available, remained the principal means of promoting the colony.[161] This was considered a prudent measure because agents locally were more likely to be able to scrutinize applicants for specific colonial destinations.[162] The devolvement of migration administration to agents was maintained, but advertising and promotions were streamlined and expanded.

Although a definitive timeframe cannot be pinpointed for when South Australian settlers began influencing the types of labourer arrivals, the evidence indicates that increasingly from 1840, settlers attempted to affect the migrants they deemed acceptable for the colony. South Australia's regulations and British colonial office directives constrained agents' approval of assisted migrants who did not fulfil colonial requirements. Indeed, agents were often unable to attract the required number of

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[156] Peter Dunkley, 'The 'Hungry Forties' and the New Poor Law: a Case Study', *The Historical Journal*, Vol. 17, Issue 2, 1974, pp 329-346.
[157] See, for example, Anthony Wood, *Nineteenth Century Britain 1815-1914*, Longmans, Green and Co. Ltd., London, 1960, eighth edition 1969, 113; Eric Vanhaute, Richard Paping and Cormac OGrada, 'The European Subsistence Crisis of 1845-1850: A Comparative Perspective', *International Economic History Congress*, Helsinki, 2006, http://www.helsinki.fi/iehc2006/papers3/Vanhaute.pdf. Accessed 2 September, 2016; Paul Clayton and Judith Rowbottom, 'How the Mid-Victorians Worked, Ate and Died', *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health*, 6(3), March, 2009, 1235-1253; Paul Adelman, *Peel and the Conservative Party 1830-1850*, Routledge, first edition 1989, Oxon, New York, 2014, pp 30-32.
[158] John M. Ward, 'Russell, John (1792–1878)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/russell-john-2619/text3615, accessed 6 June 2017. The CLEC also administered migration to regions other than Australia.
[159] South Australia, HC Deb 15 March 1841 vol 57 cc243-82.
[160] Ibid.
[161] See Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor,* in particular 77-86.
[162] Ibid.

suitable labourers, regardless of their advertising campaigns. It is argued that this was not a result of ineffectual advertising, but of South Australia's strict migration criteria.

On behalf of the CLEC, agents advertised the colony, arranged migrant ships, examined documentation and assembled passengers. Wakefield's more organised recruitment processes, which were implemented previously, remained the prime method for facilitating assisted migration from Britain to the colony. Migration agents facilitated and supervised migration, collected and transmitted colonial labour requirements and promoted the CLEC regulations.[163] However, although more information detailing particular labour requirements was forthcoming from the colony during the 1840s, individual agents' publicity remained unregulated.

Colonial Competition

Elliot, as CLEC chairman, relished his role in facilitating colonial migration and advanced administrative procedures.[164] He implemented travelling migration agents who journeyed to specific regions and were tasked with facilitating 'proper emigrant' selection.[165] The number of regional agents was also increased to assist in the assessment and approval of potential migrants.[166] The 1840s also heralded a move in the Colonial Office from the provision of individual and sporadic migration to the support of large-scale transplantation from particular regions. Colonial officials argued that the relocation of large cohorts increased their success in the colony: 'More likely that the deserving amongst them should carry to their new home a pride in sustaining the good character they had become in this country'.[167] This reflected the earlier debates from the 1820s which differentiated between broad-scale colonisation and ad hoc emigration and reveals that measures were put in place to streamline migration.

Advertising for settlers and labourers was highly successful and encouraged an increased number of agents. Healthy competition between agents was deemed advantageous for sourcing locally known, superior migrants with positive recommendations, as rival contenders vied to provide the quantities of labourers that colonies required.[168] Indeed, Lord Russel encouraged this competition, instructing the

[163] Colonisation Commissioners to Grey, 'Letter of Instructions', Enclosure No. 9, 25 May 1840, GRG 48/5. These instructions were discontinued on 20 February, 1843 under the Act, 5th & 6th Vict. C.61.
[164] Ray, 'Administering Emigration', 84–86.
[165] Ibid, 170.
[166] 'Lord John Russell's Instructions to the Colonization Commissioners', *South Australian Register,* Vol. III, No. 128, 4 July 1840, 7.
[167] Ibid.
[168] Ibid.

Colonisation Commissioners that 'excessive competition amongst private parties' for migrants was greatly beneficial, particularly for its cost effectiveness.[169]

CLEC appointed agents were required to sell land and to facilitate every step of a migrant's selection and embarkation; like their earlier counterparts, they were paid a 2.5% commission for Australian land sales.[170] An important feature of CLEC migration management however, was an impartiality towards the Australian colonies: 'For obvious reasons, the Commissioners cannot undertake to recommend any particular colony in preference to others', was a common reply to requests for the best colony to send poor parishioners or for preferential advice about land sales.[171] Migration regulations and lists of expected wages in the Australian colonies were regularly enclosed with these replies.[172] This disadvantaged South Australia as agents often promoted other colonies in Australia and elsewhere. Exaggerated and sometimes biased advertising became a legacy of the competition the Commissioners encouraged, and an ongoing concern. South Australia's popularity in the press likely helped to encourage its promotion over other Australian colonies, but this also incited the publication of overstated claims.

Verisimilitude, managing truthful publicity

Despite the competition from other colonies, and that which the Commissioners encouraged between the agents', the promotion of truth and factual information which South Australia's planners also solicited remained paramount for the CLEC. The business of migration increased greatly to meet demand, particularly in Australia.[173] Henceforth, the CLEC adopted measures to circumvent fraudulent behaviour among agents.[174] These included the regular publication of official agents' names to restrict unauthorised activities and to minimise migrant exploitation.[175] Agents were chosen carefully and their duties were specified. Character, intelligence and capacity to undertake the role were questioned and references of suitability were demanded.[176] In fact, they were scrutinised much like the migrants they selected: 'It will be necessary that you should submit testimonies of general fitness for the appointment', agents

[169] Ibid.
[170] Circular S. Walcott, CLEC to appointed agents, 14 August, 1840, CO 386/25.
[171] S. Walcott, to Rev. H.J. Urquhart, 30 November 1840, CO 386/25; see also S. Walcott to Rev. T.W. Teasdale, 20 November, 1840.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Report of Agent-General, 'Papers Relative to Emigration', *B.P.P.* 1847-1848 (986) XLVII, 457.
[174] This is discussed, for example in Payton, *The Cornish Overseas*, 76.
[175] S. Walcott, to E. Chadwick, 31 August, 1840, CO 386/25.
[176] S. Walcott to William King, 16 September, 1840, CO 386/25.

were advised.[177] They were also counselled that while acting on behalf of the CLEC they could not represent 'any Company or other parties in the conduct of Emigration or the Sale of land'.[178] In this way, the CLEC attempted to minimise corruption and to restrict colonial favouritism. Considering that most appointed agents acted on behalf of several colonies, there was less incentive to promote South Australia more favourably.

Although the appointment of agents was a successful measure for managing colonial migration, the CLEC realised that duplicity by unscrupulous operators occurred. To minimise rorts and deception selected agents were provided with specific directions: 'Afford gratuitously all the assistance in their power to protect intending Emigrants against fraud and imposition and to obtain redress where oppression or injury has been practiced on them'.[179] These regulations were provided to parish officials for dissemination as widely as possible to 'the poorer class' and were a concerted attempt to minimise an 'evil of considerable magnitude'.[180]

> The deception practised upon the poor through the exaggerated statements of the advantages to be derived from emigrating to the settlement, whichever it might be, … and through the falsehood and calumnies heaped upon other colonies.[181]

In order to satisfy migration quotas and benefit from the business of migration, agents actively sought migrants from the poor and destitute classes. The CLEC acknowledged that these people were the most likely to be deceived:

> There is no subject on which misapprehension and fallacies be more easily propagated, or with more fatal success, than in reference to the state, resources, and advantages of those numerous dependencies of this kingdom which are spread over every region of the American, African, and Australian continents and islands.[182]

False, biased or exaggerated publicity disadvantaged the working and lower classes and was particularly injurious to the colony because, once promoted, information could not be rescinded: 'Though it is very easy to deny a falsehood, it is not easy to reduce exaggeration to the dimensions of truth'.[183] Although the CLEC acknowledged

[177] S. Walcott to Richard Henry Hartley, 16 September, 1840, CO 386/25.
[178] S. Walcott, to Robert Roy, 12 September, 1840, CO 386/25.
[179] S. Walcott, to E Chadwick, 31 August, 1840, CO 386/25.
[180] Ibid; Torrens and Villiers to R. Vernon Smith, M. P. 8 January 1841, 'Correspondence relevant to the Land Revenue in Australian Colonies', Enclosure 1 in No. 3, *Emigration (Australia),* 1841, 15–17.
[181] Torrens and Villiers to Smith, 8 January 1841.
[182] Ibid.
[183] Ibid.

these flaws in the promotion of migration, is was unable to control the extensive network of published material. This became increasingly problematic as the people now sought as migrants were principally from the lower classes. The CLEC increasingly favoured Horton's idea for pauper migration, in opposition to Wakefield's plan.[184] Migration, Wakefield had said, should 'not be confined to paupers'.[185] A discontinuity was evident, therefore, between the CLEC's regulations which facilitated migration from the destitute classes and the superior migrants which South Australia desired.

Although Elliot reported that Australian migration was extensive in 1841, South Australia's financial troubles caused the termination of migration. Agents were advised that funds were unavailable for debts already incurred on behalf of South Australia.[186] People seeking to become migration agents were told that no agencies were available.[187] South Australia's financial insolvency impacted greatly on the colony's ability to fund migrants.[188] As a result, publicity was limited until mid-1840 when a renewed and extensive migration occurred and advertisements such as that shown in Figure 4.18 were published.

Although Figure 4.18 is similar to advertisements from the 1830s in that it highlights the colonies accepting migrants at the outset, its content is far more extensive. The types of labourers required, expected wages and the costs of provisions are outlined. This shows that the CLEC heeded information that colonial migration agents provided, but it also reveals the importance placed on advertising. More information was provided in the publicity in order to encourage broader interest and to negate fraud. This type of advertisement shows that the working and lower classes were still being encouraged to migrate.

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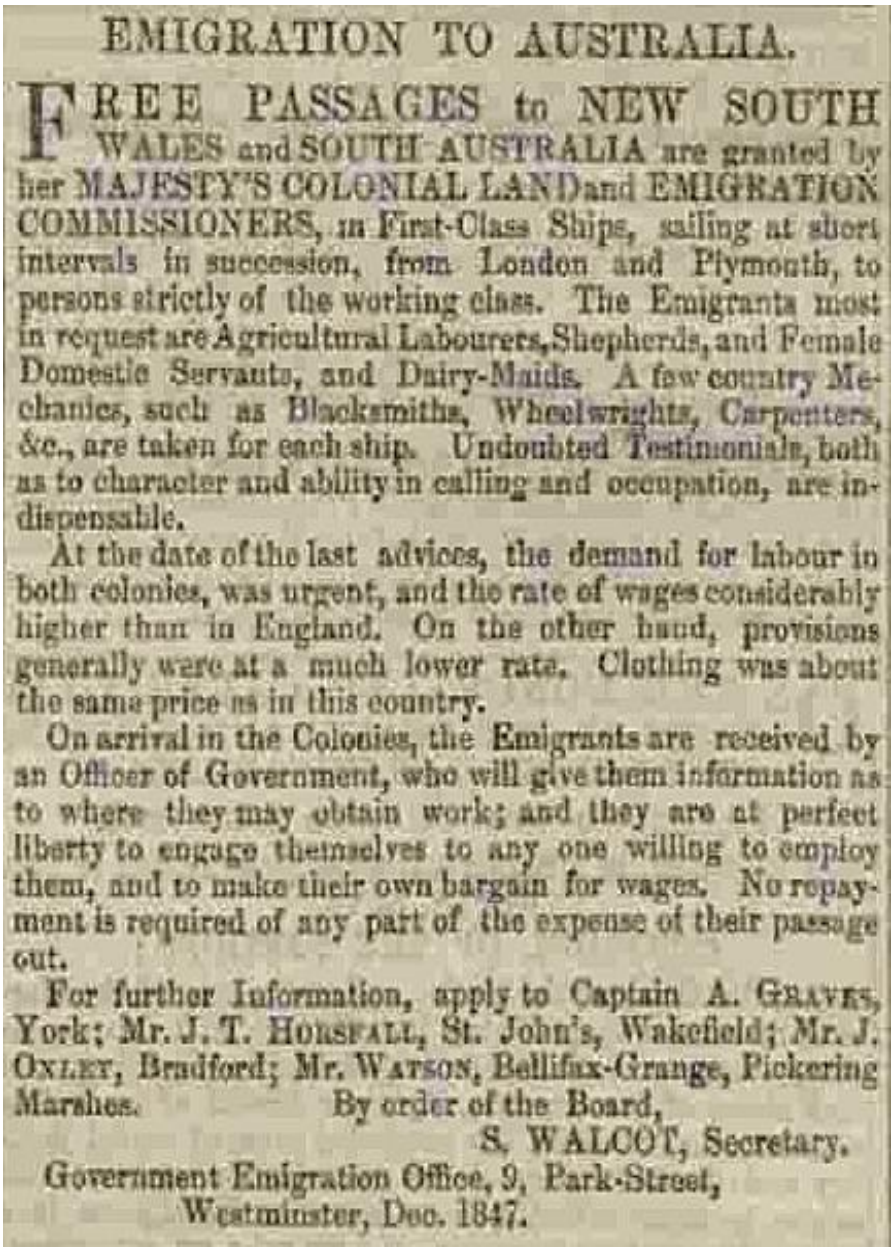
[184] See Richards, 'How did Poor People Emigrate from the British Isles to Australia in the Nineteenth Century'?

[185] Gouger, *A Letter From Sydney*, 180.

[186] There were many letters sent from the South Australian Colonial Office to agents in response to requests for payment incurred on behalf of migrants. See, for example, letters to Lachlan, Sons & McLeod 18 and 27 January, 1841; Messrs John Flemming & Sons 18 January, 1841; James Trussell 18 January, 1841; Mr H. Capper, 27 January, 1841; D. Grant, 28 January, 1841; Thomas Heath, 28 January, 184; William Wilson 8 February, 1841, CO 386/16. Agents were advised in June 1841 that submissions for payment of bills would be honoured, see circular from the Colonisation Commissioners, 2 June, 1841, CO 386/16.

[187] See, for example, Colonial Office to F. Plowright, 17 February, 1841 and to W. Joseph, 17 February, 1841, CO 386/16.

[188] See Chapter One.



EMIGRATION TO AUSTRALIA.

FREE PASSAGES to NEW SOUTH WALES and SOUTH AUSTRALIA are granted by her MAJESTY'S COLONIAL LAND and EMIGRATION COMMISSIONERS, in First-Class Ships, sailing at short intervals in succession, from London and Plymouth, to persons strictly of the working class. The Emigrants most in request are Agricultural Labourers, Shepherds, and Female Domestic Servants, and Dairy-Maids. A few country Mechanics, such as Blacksmiths, Wheelwrights, Carpenters, &c., are taken for each ship. Undoubted Testimonials, both as to character and ability in calling and occupation, are indispensable.

At the date of the last advices, the demand for labour in both colonies, was urgent, and the rate of wages considerably higher than in England. On the other hand, provisions generally were at a much lower rate. Clothing was about the same price as in this country.

On arrival in the Colonies, the Emigrants are received by an Officer of Government, who will give them information as to where they may obtain work; and they are at perfect liberty to engage themselves to any one willing to employ them, and to make their own bargain for wages. No repayment is required of any part of the expense of their passage out.

For further Information, apply to Captain A. GRAVES, York; Mr. J. T. HORSFALL, St. John's, Wakefield; Mr. J. OXLEY, Bradford; Mr. WATSON, Bellifax-Grange, Pickering Marshes.

By order of the Board,
S. WALCOT, Secretary.

Government Emigration Office, 9, Park-Street,
Westminster, Dec. 1847.

Fig. 4.18: Advertising: CLEC. [189]

Coinciding with the 'vast amount of voluntary emigration' during the late 1840s, advertisements similar to Fig. 4.18 first appeared in newspapers in December 1847.[190] Perhaps in an attempt to stem the flow of migrants to the Americas, in 1847 the CLEC published twenty-nine advertisements similar to Figure 4.18 in provincial English newspapers and four in Scotland. Publicity increased markedly in 1848 when sixty advertisements were published in English counties, ten in Scotland and two in Ireland. The famine of 1847-48, encouraged almost 100,000 Irish people to migrate, predominately to the Americas. As a result, promotional incentives in Ireland to ease

[189] *Leeds Times*, Vol. XV, No. 760, Saturday 11 December 1847, 1.
[190] 'Imperial Parliament', *London Standard*, No. 7,685, Saturday 31 March 1849, 3–4.

population pressures were not as crucial.[191] Furthermore, Irish paupers were not encouraged to migrate to South Australia (see chapters following). The CLEC advertisements targeted the county's most likely to attract the required number of labourers. Consequently, advertisements did not appear in London newspapers. The CLEC publicised specific information about individual requirements which indicates that the management of migration was continuing to evolve.

Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the three separate authorities which facilitated South Australian migration and analysed their published advertisements. It has demonstrated that migration promotion was an extensive and broad-reaching business that newspaper advertising greatly facilitated. Publicity for systematic colonisation which previously appealed to influential men was replaced with promotions that targeted the people required as migrants. Hence, migration agents were appointed in the colonies and throughout Britain and they managed every facet of migration, including newspaper publicity. An examination of the agents' backgrounds revealed that the government recognised inherent difficulties with the migration systems and initiated reforms to assist in the selection of migrants. However, the unregulated nature of agents' publicity encouraged varied promotions that incited competition among colonies and, in some instances, prompted unrealistic assertions. This chapter has argued that government officials like Elliot, recognised the benefits of publicity, but they acknowledged its flaws and made attempts to rectify them. This further reinforces the argument in this thesis that people were cognizant of migration opportunities and made choices dependent on the information available.

From the mid-1840s when the restoration of migration occurred to South Australia, the authorities improved and expanded the migration system and this was evident in the publicity too. This chapter has argued that South Australia did not necessarily benefit from these promotions because government authorities encouraged competition and promoted impartiality. An analysis of individual advertisements revealed that agents mastered techniques in stylising text and format

[191] See, for example, 'Horrors of the Irish Emigration to Canada', *Leeds Times,* No. 758, Vol. XV, Saturday 25 September 1847, 4. For secondary sources about the Irish famine and resulting migration See, for example, Arthur Gribben (ed.) *The Great Famine and the Irish Diaspora in America*, University of Massachusetts Press, USA, 1999, in particular, Wayne Hall's chapter, 'A Tory Periodical in a Time of Famine: The *Dublin University Magazine*, 1845–1850', 48-65 and Neil Hogan's 'The Famine Beat: American Newspaper Coverage of the Great Hunger', 155–179; see also Kerby A. Miller, Ireland and Irish America, Culture, Class, and Transatlantic Migration, Field Day Publications, Dublin, 2008, 67–75.

and manipulated language to promote migration to specific people. Furthermore, the government realised the advantages of targeted advertising and increased this during the 1840s.

Thus far it is argued that although colonial officials and the CLEC promoted the colony in a factual manner, the information that agents disseminated in advertisements was largely haphazard and unregulated and relied on their influence with individual newspapers. Chapter Five explores how private individuals and companies promoted South Australia in advertisements and assesses if the promotions were successful. In particular, the publicity garnered from published literature, correspondence and newspaper editorials and commentaries. Chapter Five also appraises the involvement of ordinary people in the business of migration.

Chapter Five

Public and community publicity: the 'unofficial' advertising

The analysis of 'official' published advertisements revealed that specific regions and groups of people were targeted. Advertisements were stylised and formatted to appeal to newspaper readership. The argument that advertising played a key role in facilitating the extensive migration which occurred in the 1830s and 1840s was reinforced. However, the management and control of factual and unexaggerated information became a prime concern for the British government and the supporters of the South Australian venture.

The publication of embellished and, indeed, utopian language in advertisements by official emigration agents and promotors of migration was limited to a few agents whose exuberance for the new colony was manifested in their publicity. However, this trait was far more prevalent in the 'unofficial' publicity. This chapter argues that after Wakefield's colonisation plan was enacted and South Australia was settled it was the 'unofficial' information that disseminated the greater proportion of information to potential settlers. It is argued that this publicity far outweighed the 'official' advertisements. Members of the public without official sanction published literature, such as emigration books and, together with editorial comments and information in newspapers; this significantly influenced migrant destination choices and the migrants' expectations.

This chapter reveals the extent of publicity by private individuals, that is, members of the general public without an official role in promoting South Australia, whose information was often biased, lacked authenticated facts or came from limited colonial experience. This type of publicity included newspaper editorials, letters to the editor, correspondence, editorial comments and literature reviews. Accordingly, this chapter argues that it was such 'unofficial' and uncontrolled sources, which intensified the expectations of migrants and subsequently escalated the accounts of unfavourable or exaggerated publicity. Newspapers were the vehicle which South Australian promoters like Wakefield, Gouger and Angas exploited to promote the systematic colonisation plan and the colony then became an uncontrollable behemoth, guided by editorial decision making and public influence. This was highlighted in the *Edinburgh Review* in 1839. 'The Wakefield Principle' was supported by 'friendly Newspapers…as

the one thing needful to make mankind rich, virtuous, and happy, for the rest of their time on earth … the whole efforts and skill of the Colonial Office can hardly prevent it from taking effect'.[1]

Due to the vast quantities of news and comments in the newspapers, two important periods in South Australia's settlement are identified and evaluated in this research. News from the initial settlers was keenly anticipated and reports and correspondences were swiftly broadcast at home. This, it is argued, encouraged great interest in the colony throughout Britain. Then when Governor Hindmarsh's recall to London followed these accounts within the year and culminated in the cessation of migration, South Australia's circumstances remained prominent topics for the public. The analysis of these two milestones in South Australia's history, as they were reported in newspapers, reveal the types of 'unofficial' information which influenced migration. An investigation of the literature published specifically to promote or denigrate the colony reveals another facet of the types of publicity that informed potential migrants.

Enthusiasm for the first South Australian settlers

Thus far, it is argued that published advertising played a significant role in the development of Wakefield's self-supporting colony. It encouraged capitalists who purchased the land which funded the labourers and informed the working classes who sought betterment from migration to South Australia. The advertising campaigns of the South Australian Association, the South Australian Land Company and official agents outlined previously, informed people like Spicer and other migrants who travelled aboard the first emigrant ships. Newspapers exploited the interest that the departure of the first ships generated and news from the first settlers was keenly anticipated in Britain.

The Coromandel's *farewell*

A way of stimulating interest in the South Australian venture and ensuring its broadest and favourable publicity, a farewell dinner was arranged for the migrants aboard the Colonisation Commissioners' ship, *Coromandel.* Held just prior to the ship's September departure in 1836, it was a way for supporters of South Australian colonisation to exploit the anticipation and enthusiasm surrounding the endeavour. Prominent people attended, including Torrens, Wakefield, members of the South Australian Association

[1] 'New theory of Colonization', *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. 71, July 1840, 281-296, see, in particular, 282.

and, according to a report in the *Morning Advertiser*, 'a long list of professional and commercial men'.[2] The pomp and ceremony and the jubilation of those whose work enabled Wakefield's idea for a self-supporting colony to be realised can be imagined. Hence, publicity about the dinner was extensive in newspapers. Although unverified in primary sources, previous evidence of the targeted placement of information about the colony suggests that newspapers were informed of the farewell dinner in order to encourage publicity.[3] Three of London's prominent morning newspapers, the *Advertiser, Chronicle* and *Post* covered the event. So too did provincial newspapers in England and in Dublin, Ireland including the *Bath Chronicle, Hertford Mercury, Hull Advertiser, Kentish Mercury* and *Post*, the *Pilot*, *Westmoreland Gazette, Saunders News-Letter* and *Waterford Mail*. By publishing accounts of the event, the newspapers maintained interest in South Australia. News of the departure was greatly beneficial because proof that South Australian colonisation was proceeding was disseminated among an extensive readership. For example, collectively the *Bath Chronicle,* the *Westmoreland Gazette* and the *Kentish Gazette* circulated in excess of 50,000 copies from mid-1836 to 1837.[4]

Publicity about the event was unanimously exuberant. The Colonisation Commissioners and 'a vast number of respectable persons', reported the *Bath Chronicle,* witnessed a 'very interesting scene'.[5] The emigrants were 'in the most buoyant spirits' and many friends and family were present.[6] Dublin's *Pilot* and Cumbria's *Westmoreland Gazette* reprinted the *Morning Advertiser's* report that stated the event was a 'festival', the vessel was 'extremely commodious' and the migrants aboard were 'of a superior grade'.[7] Reports in these newspapers were an example of the rationale of newspaper editors who perceived the popularity of the new colony among their readers. Hence, the long-established *Bath Chronicle,* which appealed to the 'influential agricultural and commercial classes', had a vastly different readership to the *Pilot* which was renowned as a defender of the Roman Catholics and was the most informed Irish newspaper for commerce and trade.[8] The *Westmoreland Gazette's*

[2] 'New South Australian Colony', *Morning Advertiser*, No. 14,174, Monday 29 August 1836, 1-2.
[3] 'New South Australian Colony', *Westmorland Gazette and Kendal Advertiser*, Vol. XIX, No. 940, Saturday 3 September, 1836, 4.
[4] 'Newspaper Circulation', *Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7.
[5] 'New South Australian Colony', *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, Vol. 79, No. 3,870, Thursday 1 September, 1836, 2.
[6] Ibid.
[7] See 'New South Australian Colony', in *Pilot*, Vol. VIII, Wednesday 31 August, 1836, 4; also *Westmorland Gazette and Kendal Advertiser*, Vol. XIX, No. 940, Saturday 3 September, 1836, 4; and *Morning Post*, No. 20,507, Monday 29 August, 1836, 3.
[8] On the *Bath Chronicle* see British Newspaper Archive, *Bath Chronicle and Weekly Gazette*, https://www.britishnewspaperarchive.co.uk/titles/bath-chronicle-and-weekly-gazette, accessed 27 March 2019; on the *Pilot* see Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 335–336;

readers were advocates of the Church of England from predominantly agricultural districts.[9] The varied readership that these publications targeted shows that the pending migrant departures to South Australia were universally acclaimed.

Thus, the overall optimism in these reports conveyed positive publicity. These reports are also evidence of the appeal which the early publicity for the colony had created. Wakefield, Gouger, Angas, Torrens and others were successful in conveying its morality and religious impartiality. Other newspapers highlighted Wakefield's belief that the colony of South Australia would rival Britain in power and prosperity and published a quote from Torrens which characterised his enthusiasm for the venture: 'The native pastures might be considered as mines of gold requiring no labour to explore'.[10] This report provided positive publicity for South Australia and Wakefield's colonisation system. However, utopian language and an expectation for betterment permeated the publicity.

As already argued, the interest that South Australian colonisation generated encouraged the continued promotion of the colony in newspapers. The publication of Torrens's speech to farewell the *Coromandel* not only provided positive publicity for the colony but it also may have increased sales of the newspaper as interest in the venture was piqued. Public interest then encouraged more publicity. Torrens was confident in the success of Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan and the colony and this was reflected in the language he used. He embraced the optimism extolled in the lead-up to the departure. Wakefield's plan had come to fruition. What better way to promote the colony and encourage future migration than to host a farewell dinner and exploit the publicity. Torrens speech began,

> by cordially and energetically adopting the recent improvements in the art of colonization, [emigrants] … may extend the language, the industry, the science, and the religion of Britain throughout the wild and unappropriated regions of the globe.[11]

Articulating his utilitarian outlook for the happiness of the many, his speech reflected the criteria for migrants and the principles of colonisation which were stipulated in the South Australian Act. However, his use of flamboyant language promoted a great optimism for the venture, considering neither he nor anyone then espousing the colony spoke from personal experience.

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[9] Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 196.
[10] 'The New South Australian Colony', *Kentish Gazette,* No. 5,430, Tuesday 6 September, 1836, 2.
[11] 'The New South Australian Colony', *Greenwich, Woolwich and Deptford Gazette and West Kent Advertiser*, No. 142, Saturday 2 September 1836, 2.

> The colony would be like one co-operative society. There would be no solitary labourers – no solitary hearts…They would not have among them any desponding, pining, or melancholy maiden. In South Australia a large family will be a large source of wealth: and "happy is the man who has his quiver full of them."[12]

Underlying this ostentatiousness, Torrens reiterated that the welfare of the migrants and their careful selection were crucial for the ongoing prosperity of the colony. He implied that large families would thrive in happiness. His language promoted hope and promise to those already travelling, but, more importantly, raised the expectations of prospective future migrants.

Other newspaper reports were also enthusiastic as news about the impending departures to South Australia spread. For example, the *Hereford Times*, which circulated 38,750 copies between December 1837 and April 1838, reported that the ninety poor labourers and their families aboard the *Cygnet* were 'exceedingly well pleased' with their choice of South Australia.[13] Dublin's *Saunders News-Letter* reported that the emigrants aboard the *Coromandel* were the 'sinews' of the new colony.[14] They were not 'buoyed up by any exaggerated hopes of good fortune', the *News-Letter* reported but realised that 'industry and perseverance' were key for their independence.[15] These were the types of migrants Wakefield encouraged for the colony. As the paramount vehicle for the dissemination of ideas, newspapers played a decisive role in spreading information among the lower and working classes.[16] However, as this evidence reveals, newspapers highlighted Torrens's idealistic words in order to captivate readers and exploit interest in South Australia.

Perpetuating the enthusiasm for South Australia, the first arrivals

Publicity surrounding the departure of the first ships to South Australia generated much interest and news from the first settlers was eagerly awaited. First impressions about South Australia's landscape and environment were immensely important because statements from its supporters were yet to be verified. Allowing for journey

[12] 'New Colony in South Australia, 4 Dec. 1835', in Dickey and Howell, *South Australia's Foundation Select Documents*, 66-69; 'The New South Australian Colony', *Greenwich, Woolwich and Deptford Gazette and West Kent Advertiser*, No. 142, Saturday 2 September 1836, 2; see also 'The South Australian Colony', *The Leicester Chronicle*, Vol. 25, No. 1,346, Saturday 3 September 1836, 4.
13 'Newspaper Circulation', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7; Diary of John Brown, 106, 107, 109, 113, 114; 'South Australia', *Hereford Times and General Advertiser*, Vol. V. No. CXCVII, Saturday April 2, 1836, 4.
[14] 'New South Australian Colony', *Saunders News-Letter*, No. 29,601, Wednesday 31 August 1836, 1.
[15] Ibid.
[16] See, for example, Alan J. Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England 1855-1914*, Croom Helm, London, 1976, 18-19 and James Curran, 'The Press as an Agency of Social Control: an Historical Perspective', in George Boyce, James Curran and Pauline Wingate (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, Constable, London, 1978, 51–75.

time, information arrived in Britain many months after landing, and it was reported with enthusiasm. First-hand, positive news from pioneering colonists was greatly advantageous for the colony as it would promote more land sales and encourage more people to select South Australia as their migration destination. The *Spectator* was unsurprisingly positive, reporting that 'all accounts, without a single exception, give a most favourable description of the climate and country'.[17]

In order to capitalise on the interest which news from South Australia generated, letters from settlers were a popular addition to many newspapers. Often spread throughout news and information pieces, the letters could give the impression that the newspaper supported the statements. For example, news incorporating extracts from correspondence from the colony was published in London's *Morning Chronicle*, the *Birmingham Journal, Bristol Mercury, Monmouthshire Beacon, Westmoreland Gazette, Leeds Intelligencer* and *Liverpool Mail.* This reveals how rapidly and widespread information about the colony spread. Most accounts were favourable. One, in particular, began 'the public are aware' of the new colony and reveal that South Australia was a popular topic.[18] Newspapers commented that 'the first news from the settlers has been read in the metropolis, and, … will be read in the provinces, with a lively interest'.[19] Stamp return data shows the circulation of the newspapers that published this article (Table 5.1).[20] When the additional circulation of newspapers in coffee houses, clubs, libraries and mechanics institutes is considered, the reach of this information was possibly much greater.

Table 5.1: Stamp returns data 1 December 1837 to 31 March 1838 [21]

Morning Chronicle	526,000
Westmoreland Gazette	12,000
Liverpool Mail	35,000
Birmingham Journal	42,000
Monmouthshire Beacon	11,000
Bristol Mercury	44,000
Leeds Intelligencer	60,000

Letters from colonists who were prominent in their communities were also published and some newspapers published statements about the letters which attempted to exonerate previously held misgivings. Such was a report in the *Sussex*

[17] 'Progress of South Australia', *Spectator*, No. 490, 18 November 1837, 9.
[18] Ibid.
[19] Ibid.
[20] 'Newspaper Circulation', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7.
[21] Ibid; for *Morning Chronicle* data see 'Newspaper Stamps', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 21, 529, Wednesday 14 November 1838, 3.

Advertiser which published lengthy extracts from John Barton Hack's correspondence. Already a prominent businessman in Chichester, Sussex, Hack was migrated to South Australia with his family and purchased large tracts of farming land and a whaling station.[22] The *Sussex Advertiser's* report began,

> the new colony of South Australia, appears to be progressing with unexampled rapidity. The letters and despatches which have lately arrived, give the most encouraging account of their prospects. The writers of some of these letters, are personally known to us, and we know that the utmost reliance may be placed in their statements.[23]

Similar to the way that prominent men in the charter's committee from 1831 were published to show the legitimacy of the plan, the editor assured readers of the authenticity of the information and published Hack's name. This not only encouraged the involvement of others, but, it was also a tool which newspaper proprietors used to confirm the creditability and truthfulness of their statements. It helped to allay any concerns that readers held about the newspapers reliability. Hence, the newspaper proprietor who published extracts from letters that the South Australian Protestant Emigration Community sent 'home' disclosed that the 'Commissioners for Emigration for South Australia have transmitted Extracts of Letters, from emigrants to the above community'.[24] This particular article was reprinted in several newspapers in Ireland.[25]

This small cohort of respectable Irish families who deplored the state of their home migrated to South Australia because of its arable land and superior moral atmosphere. South Australia held 'comparative advantages' over other destinations. [26] The lack of convicts greatly influenced their decision and in their correspondence they justified their choice. Published letters praised the excellent land on Kangaroo Island and prophesised they were 'thoroughly assured that we shall find our expectations … fully realized'.[27] The publication of these accounts in Ireland and Hack's in Sussex shows that newspapers published information of particular interest and relevance to their readership. While these accounts promoted South Australia, they were not necessarily published as endorsements of the colony but took advantage of the

[22] On John Barton Hack see, for example, Iola Hack Matthews and Chris Durrant, *Chequered Lives: John Barton Hack & Stephen Hack and the early days of South Australia*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, 2013.
[23] 'South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser*, Vol. XCIII, No. 4,774, Monday 25 June 1838, 3.
[24] See, for example, 'The South Australian Protestant Emigration Community', *Waterford Mail,* Vol. XIV, No. 1,418, Wednesday 5 April 1837, 4.
[25] See, for example, *Waterford Mail, Saunders News-Letter*, 5 April 1837, *Warder and Dublin Weekly* 26 August 1837 and *Newry Examiner* 6 September 1837.
[26] See 'Letter to Commissioners for South Australia, 2 February 1837', in George William Robertson, *Rise, Progress, and Plans of the South Australian Protestant Community*, J. Cross, London, 1837, 2–4.
[27] 'South Australian Protestant Emigration Community', *Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail*, No. 801, Vol. XVI, 1 April 1837, 8.

popularity of South Australia to inform local communities of its progress. This reveals how newspapers helped to spread particular ideas among a wide audience.

In conjunction with targeted advertising, published personal testimonies helped to keep South Australia in the public's mind. Certainly, the generally positive first accounts of the colony were greatly anticipated. An extract from a letter sent home during 1837 provides an example of the type of language that some settlers used to relate their experiences. It began 'I am beyond everything charmed with the country'.[28] This letter in Ireland's *Londonderry Standard, Clonmel Herald, Wexford Independent* and *Waterford Mail* reached a wide audience: the papers' combined circulation for the twelve months to January 1837 was almost 100,000 issues (in excess of 36,000 by the *Wexford Independent* alone). [29] Through publication therefore, a single letter which was once only circulated among family and perhaps, friends, could potentially influence a vast number of people. A positive, first hand report might provide hope that South Australia was a sound migration destination for other Irish families.

Scholarly research reveals that many migrants wrote favourably of their new life regardless of their actual circumstances because they sought validation for their decision.[30] Nonetheless, there are arguments against the use of published letters in migration research as they are not 'socially representative', they echo community sentiment about migration and that, ultimately, the decision to publish and frame correspondence remained with the newspaper editor.[31] It is these reasons, however, that justify their inclusion in this study. It was newspaper editors with little, if any, knowledge about South Australia who exploited the popularity of the colony to further particular agenda and increase sales. The examination of published correspondence, therefore, illustrates the extended influence of a single letter and reinforces the significance of newspapers for spreading information.

The concept of 'letters to the editor'

[28] 'South Australia', *Londonderry Standard*, Vol. I, No. 79, Wednesday 30 August, 1837, 1; 'South Australia', *Clonmel Herald,* Vol. XXXVI, No. 3,734, Wednesday 30 August 1837, 1; 'South Australia', *Wexford Independent*, Vol. VII, No. 677, Saturday 26 August 1837, 2; 'South Australia', *Waterford Mail*, Vol. XIV, No. 1,461, Saturday 26 August, 1837, 2.
[29] 'Newspapers Ireland', *Wexford Independent*, No. 666, Vol. VII, Wednesday 19 July 1837, 4.
[30] See, for example, David Gerber, *Authors of their Lives, the Personal Correspondence of British Immigrants to North America in the Nineteenth Century*, New York University Press, New York, 2006, 1-28 and Eric Richards, 'The Limits of the Australian Emigrant Letter', in Bruce S. Elliot, David Gerber and Suzanne M. Sinke (eds), *Letters Across Borders, the Epistolary Practices of International Migrants,* Palgrave Macmillan, England, 2006, 56-74.
[31] William D. Jones, '"Going into Print": Published Immigrant Letters, Webs of Personal Relations, and the Emergence of the Welsh Public Sphere', in Elliot, Gerber and Sinke (eds), *Letters across Borders,* 175-199.

While published correspondence was one method that newspapers used to inform readers, a 'letter to the editor' was a new concept that provided readers with a voice to a wider community. South Australia's nemesis, Thomas Barnes, the editor of *The Times,* is generally acknowledged for establishing the 'letters to the editor'.[32] Essentially, they provided an opportunity to engage in current debates and discussions through anonymity, because people had the opportunity to use a nom-de-plume. The concept was an ingenious method for facilitating and encouraging community involvement and interest, thus improving the newspaper's circulation and reinforcing the power of the press.

Although Barnes was conspicuously silent during 1837 when the first correspondence from South Australia arrived, several 'letters to the editor' were published in *The Times* during the following year. Correspondence from 'A Friend to Fair Play' begun thus,

> The subject of emigration to South Australia at the present moment engrosses a large share of public attention, and as it is of the first importance that correct and complete information should be obtained.[33]

While this was another method for disseminating information about the colony, the truth or fabrication of 'letters to the editor' is debatable considering editors decided what would be published and, in some cases, wrote the letters themselves to exploit popular topics, thereby increasing newspaper sales.[34] There is little evidence to support the authenticity or falsification of these 'letters to the editor', but their publication provided publicity for South Australia. However, neither the Colonial Office nor South Australia's administrators could control this content. This was problematic for the colony. In fact, the widespread incidence of published fraudulent correspondence was outlined in newspapers and South Australian's supporters were accused of it. 'We do not believe them [letters from South Australia] to be genuine or written by persons free and uninfluenced', the *Weekly Despatch* reported and acknowledged they had exposed fictitious correspondence from the colony.[35] No evidence was provided for this claim, it was merely reported that 'many complaints' were received.[36] The language and the tone of the article however, provide little doubt that this author was vehemently against the South Australian systematic colonisation

[32] Laurel Brake and Marysa Demoor, (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, Academia Press, Gent, 2009, 358-360.
[33] 'A Friend to Fair Play', *The Times*, No. 16,827, 6 September 1838, 3.
[34] Ibid.
[35] Cited in 'Emigration', *Wiltshire Independent*, Vol. III, No. 128, Thursday 2 May, 1839, 3.
[36] Ibid.

plan. Furthermore, the article stated that most of the favourable reports were from 'interested servant[s] and landholders'. … Mr. Gouger … Mr. Morphett … [and] Mr Capper' were cited and it was alleged that they 'would not cry stinking fish'. In other words, this report alleged that the letters were biased and from people with a vested interest in providing favourable testaments.

Regardless of these claims, many newspaper proprietors embraced the 'letters to the editor' concept and published extracts from the letters South Australian settlers sent home. Often forwarded to local newspapers by gratified relatives, favourable news justified a migrant or family's decision. Their publication helped to promote hope and promise to other potential migrants as South Australia's planners had envisaged. However, the conundrum that supporters of the colony were faced with can be imagined. Enthusiastic letters provided great publicity for the new colony but the question of authenticity was problematic. An example from *The Times* reveals how the public, assuming the letters were genuine, engaged with a popular debate. In reference to 'unfavourable accounts' published in *The Times*, a correspondent, signed D.L.N., addressed a letter to the editor: 'The following extracts from a letter I have received from South Australia; to the veracity of the writer I pledge myself'.[37] The letter, dated 2 June 1838, begins 'this colony continues in an uproar; the officials are quarrelling and fighting amongst themselves whilst the emigrants are nearly starving'. A potential migrant's dismay after reading an allegedly eyewitness account like this can be imagined. Most importantly, however, it reinforces the way editors could influence South Australian migration by selecting letters which reflected the tone they wished to portray.

Considering *The Times* extensive circulation, an estimated 1,785,000 copies during 1837, its readership was immense.[38] It is also possible that Barnes published unfavourable correspondence because of his animosity towards Wakefield. The author did not support South Australian colonisation or Wakefield's colonisation plan. 'Colonization schemers', he wrote, 'fear that the truth will endanger their many thousands-a-year obtainable by the delusions of emigration'.[39] This was penned to question the authenticity of letters from the colony that the Colonisation Commissioners provided for publication: 'We know how easy it is to get such letters …

[37] 'South Australia', *The Times*, No. 16,875, 1 November 1838, 5.
[38] 'Newspaper Returns–The Humbug of Tory Re-Action Exposed', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,338, Monday 30 October, 1837, 3.
[39] 'South Australia', *The Times* No. 16,885, 13 November 1838, 3.

at half-a-crown apiece'.[40] Edward Wheeler, manager of the South Australian Company, refuted these assertions in a reply to *The Times*.

> The directors of this company once more deviate from their custom of disregarding anonymous letters in newspapers, to relieve intending settlers in South Australia or the friends of persons already there from alarm, in consequence of the unfounded statements of "D.L.N." in your paper'.[41]

The publication of unfavourable letters was concerning for the colony, but, more importantly, other than a swift reply, which the editor also controlled, colonial officials were unable to circumvent unfavourable publicity.

Exploiting language in publicity, the case of William Wyatt

The analysis of 'official' advertising discussed in Chapter Four revealed that some emigration agents manipulated language in order to promote South Australia. This practice was far more pronounced in the 'unofficial' publicity. Newspaper editors influenced their readership and realised the importance of colonisation and emigration to their communities. These topics were exploited to gain leverage for particular viewpoints. Hence, Robert Kellie Douglas's Chartist *Birmingham Journal*, renowned as a family newspaper that advocated the extension of democracy and Britain's empire, reported of 'the very ingenious author [Wakefield] of *England and America'*.[42] Douglas published letters from South Australian settlers who praised the land in the colony as 'the finest country eyes ever beheld' and wrote that it fulfilled every hope the migrants aboard the first ships held.[43] Until these firsthand reports were received, it was Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan which was promoted in newspapers. The favourable reports substantiated Wakefield's revolutionary and untried idea and decisions to settle in the colony appeared justified. Thus, a newspaper like Douglas's could greatly influence its readers through the tone of the language its editor chose to publish, in this case the utopian optimism of the early firsthand reports.

William Wyatt, the surgeon-superintendent of the *John Renwick,* described his earliest experiences in the colony with great optimism.[44] He petitioned the colonial

[40] Ibid.
[41] 'South Australian Company', *The Times*, No. 16,881, 8 November 1838, 5.
[42] On the *Birmingham Journal* see Mitchell, *The Newspaper Press Directory*,154; on Robert Kellie Douglas see R.G. Gammage, *History of the Chartist movement, 1837-1854,* Browne & Browne, Newcastle-on-Tyne and Truslove & Hanson, London, 1894, 18-22; on the influence of the Chartist newspapers see, for example, Thomas Milton Kemnitz, 'Chartist Newspaper Editors', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 18, 5(4), December, 1972, 1-11; the quote is cited in 'South Australia', *Birmingham Journal*, No. 617, Saturday 25 March 1837, 3.
[43] 'South Australia', *Birmingham Journal*, No. 617, Saturday 25 March 1837, 3.
[44] See the Introduction; see also Harriet Martineau, *Homes Abroad-A Tale,* Charles Fox, London, 1832.

office in August 1836 for a government position, purchased agricultural land and migrated with his family.[45] Introduced to Angas as 'superior', Wyatt contributed much to the colony and his first letter home suggested his decision was vindicated.[46] Lengthy extracts entitled 'a home in paradise' were published in London's popular *Morning Chronicle, Evening Chronicle* and the *Globe* and in the provincial *Berkshire Chronicle*, *North Wales Chronicle,* Kent's *Maidstone Gazette* and the *Liverpool Mercury.* Table 5.2 shows the circulation of these papers.

Table 5.2: Stamp return data, 1 January 1837 to 30 June 1837 [47]

Evening Chronicle	699,200
Globe	450,000
Berkshire Chronicle	14,000
North Wales Chronicle	11,500
Maidstone Gazette	24,000
Liverpool Mercury	5,769

Considering his acquaintance with Angas, whose aptitude for advertising South Australia was extensive, Wyatt's letter was clearly intended to promote the colony. His utopian language was 'shaped for an audience'.[48] 'I have not now room enough to describe … the most delightful scenery I ever beheld', Wyatt wrote.[49] 'I wished you all here to view with me the paradise-like scene'.[50] He described idyllic rambles, 'exquisite flowers', 'graceful tea-trees' and 'parequets, looking like rubies, sapphires and emeralds as their gay plumage is met by the sunbeams'.[51] Wyatt's descriptive and idealistic language conjured images of a colonial paradise and newspapers printed his account without question. Indeed, some publications endorsed his prose with equally sanguine language. The *Chelmsford Chronicle,* for example, headlined Wyatt's letter with 'Glorious News for Emigrants, - Mr. Wyatt'. [52] Statements such as these helped to spread unrealistic hope among their readers and amplified Wyatt's claims as authentic.

[45] Memorial from William Wyatt to Viscount Glenelg, 5 August 1836, CO 13/5.
[46] Thomas Prance to George Fife Angas 6 August 1836, PRG 174 Series 1, 421-424; on Wyatt's success see Carol Fort, *Keeping a Trust, South Australia's Wyatt Benevolent Institution and its Founder*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2008; see also Dr Peter S Hetzel, 'On the Shoulders of Giants', Royal Adelaide Hospital Heritage Office, 2015, http://www.healthmuseumsa.org.au/menu/foundation-day/2015-on-the-shoulders-of-giants/, accessed 3 January 2019; and Alan Rendell, 'Wyatt, William (1804–1886)', Australian Dictionary of Biography*;* 'Julia Wyatt', Biography, AustLit, The University of Queensland, St Lucia, 2002 www.austlit.edu.au.
[47] See 'Newspaper Returns–The Humbug of Tory Re-Action Exposed', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,338, Monday 30 October, 1837, 3.
[48] Carol Fort suggests that Wyatt knew of its publication, see *Keeping a Trust,* 33.
[49] 'South Australia', *Birmingham Journal*, No. 617, Saturday 25 March 1837, 3.
[50] 'South Australia', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 21,197, Saturday 21 October 1837, 3.
[51] Ibid.
[52] 'Glorious News for Emigrants, - Mr. Wyatt', *Chelmsford Chronicle*, No. 3,488, Friday 27 October, 1837, 2.

Some newspaper proprietors, however, perceived Wyatt's hyperbole. London's *Age,* for example, renowned for its 'coarse and scurrilous' literature (see Chapter Two) and vehemently against South Australian colonisation and its supporters was popular among 'the lower class of readers', those who allegedly revelled in scandal.[53] The *Age's* extensive circulation reached 120,000 copies during 1837.[54] Its editor, Charles Westmacott, who used his position to reveal alleged charlatans and questionable practices, attacked Wyatt's assertions.[55]

> When this project [South Australian colonisation] was in process of concoction, we did our utmost to show up the humbug; and we now warn all persons desirous of emigrating, to place no reliance upon the glowing descriptions that … appear in the journals.[56]

The *Age* report was reprinted in two of Ireland's popular northern provincial newspapers, - the established Tory *Drogheda Journal*, which boasted a considerable circulation throughout the prosperous agricultural and industrial province of Leinster, and the *Londonderry Standard,* a moral and conservative paper.[57] Provincial Irish newspapers, Morash argued, were adept at news gathering.[58] Considering the vast number of new publications, reporting news of particular interest to their readership justified their establishment.[59] The publication of the unfavourable *Age* report about Wyatt's statements, therefore, was not necessarily in response to an antipathy for migration. In fact, it was revealed that during the first six months of 1837, 7,547 people, mostly Protestant and from the class of 'comfortable farmers', migrated from this northern region. [60] Instead, 'an extended system of emigration' was suggested.[61] Rather, it was likely an attempt by Westmacott to inform his readers about the pitfalls of overstated claims about South Australia.

Hence, Westmacott questioned Wyatt's language; 'quite a paradise, indeed?' and accused newspapers which published his letter of spreading false hope to

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[53] Henry Richard Fox Bourne, *English Newspapers: Chapters in the History of Journalism*, Vol. II, Chatto & Windus, London, 1887, 228–229.
[54] 'Newspaper Returns–The Humbug of Tory Re-Action Exposed', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,338, Monday 30 October 1837, 3.
[55] Brake, Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism*, 8.
[56] Cited in 'The Settlers in South Australia', *Drogheda Journal,* Saturday 11 November 1837, Vol. LVI, 1.
[57] Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland*, 70; on Leinster's prosperity see Jane Humphries, 'Standard of Living, Quality of Life', in Chris Williams, (ed.) *A Companion to Nineteenth Century Britain*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., USA, UK, Australia, 2004, 287-304. On the *Londonderry Standard* see Brake, and Demoor, (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth Century Journalism in Great Britain and Ireland*, 377.
[58] Morash, *A History of the Media in Ireland,* 68–69.
[59] Ibid, 70.
[60] [No Heading], *Drogheda Journal*, Vol. LVI, Tuesday 2 May 1837, 2.
[61] 'Increase of conservatism in Drogheda' and 'Emigration from the North of Ireland', *Drogheda Conservative Journal*, Vol. I, No. 2, Saturday 1 July 1837, 3.

migrants.[62] 'Beware of going to the land of the *laughing jackasses',* he wrote.[63] This aversion for Wyatt's utopian language demonstrates how newspaper editors influenced the communities they serviced. Wyatt's language was more than a simple description. His enthusiastic prose and utopian ardour promoted the optimism and hope that many supporters of South Australian colonisation displayed. However, some newspaper proprietors and editors like Westmacott were selective to 'exploit a unique local appeal'.[64] In other words, they perceived community interest in South Australia and capitalised on their power to influence readers.

The *Age* continued its reprimand of South Australia. An article, 'More South Australia Twaddle', was replete with vitriolic sarcasm and cautioned settlers who were beguiled with promises of an 'Antipodean Paradise', 'El Dorado' or 'Garden of Eden' and revealed that escaped convicts had already 'found their way to Adelaide':[65] 'Here we have this Paradise of humbugged cockneys, chattering cockatoos, and laughing jackasses, threatened with a population of runaway convicts'.[66] These statements, in similarly evocative language to Wyatt's prose and in keeping with Westmacott's ruthless journalistic style, challenged the assertions of South Australia's supporters and the colonisation plan. Indeed, they foreshadowed concerns that arose about South Australia as colonisation progressed.

In contrast to Wyatt's language but in a similar positive vein, a private letter published in north-eastern England's popular, weekly *Newcastle Courant,* which issued 46,000 copies between 1 December 1837 and 30 April 1838, provided an unembellished account of the colony.[67] It 'has not the most prepossessing appearance, being covered all over with brushwood and small trees'.[68] This author wrote of 'millions of wild ducks and black swans' and concluded 'this new colony has far exceeded our highest expectations'.[69] Still a favourable account, the author's language was perhaps reflective of his class or his education but his motivation was unlikely publicity. The contrast between Wyatt's ostentatious language and the plain statements of this author, reveal how easily newspaper content could influence South Australian migration and enhance or discourage expectations.

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[62] Cited in 'The Settlers in South Australia', *Drogheda Journal,* Saturday 11 November 1837, Vol. LVI, 1.
[63] Ibid. Italics in original quote.
[64] Barker, *Newspapers, Politics and English Society,* 113.
[65] 'More South Australia Twaddle', *The Age*, November 19, 1837, 5.
[66] Ibid.
[67] 'Newspaper Circulation', *The Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,375, Saturday 26 May 1838, 7; 'South Australia', *Newcastle Courant*, No. 8,492, Friday 18 August, 1837, 2.
[68] 'South Australia', *Newcastle Courant*, No. 8,492, Friday 18 August, 1837, 2.
[69] Ibid, 2.

Similar to the early colonisation and emigration debates, newspaper proprietors realised first reports and correspondence from South Australia were highly topical and newsworthy. In fact, the *Evening Mail* clearly outlined the demand for South Australian information:

> What was originally a matter of necessity is becoming a matter of business and speculation, anything which tends to enlighten the public mind upon the subject [of South Australia], … is worthy of serious consideration and grateful thanks.[70]

Newspapers exploited the popularity which South Australia and its colonisation scheme had stimulated. Increasingly, it was uncontrolled reports, predominantly in newspapers, which informed prospective settlers and promoted the betterment which migrants sought. However, it was clear that neither the British government nor South Australia's planners could control this quantity of publicity. Rather, it was an increased freedom of the press and self-regulation which newspaper proprietors wielded that encouraged debate, competition and a perception that they were adjudicators of truth.[71] Thus, by 1840, when migration ceased to South Australia temporarily, newspapers played a pivotal role in influencing communities, eliciting particular viewpoints and providing a voice for ordinary people.

Financial and administration issues, the cessation of migration

A dominant argument in this thesis is that newspapers, previously inaccessible to the working and lower classes, underwent a significant social and political evolution in the first half of the nineteenth century.[72] Scholars of journalism argue that this was largely the result of their development as independent business enterprises, which advertisements largely funded.[73] This coincided with and greatly influenced the colonisation of South Australia as it spread information among the classes that the planners desired. Increasingly, however, it was unofficial news, advice and opinions which informed newspaper readers. Newspapers seeking increased profitability appealed to public interest and the widespread publication of news from South Australia's first settlers provides evidence that they sought out popular topics. Newspapers also spread the news of the colony's financial depression and

[70] 'Six Months in South Australia, *Evening Mail*, No. 10,902, Friday 29 March 1839, 2.
[71] Lee, *The Origins of the Popular Press in England*, 24.
[72] Martin Conboy, *Journalism: A Critical History*, Sage Publications, London and California, 2004, 100.
[73] Ibid.

administration difficulties that culminated in the cessation of large-scale migration temporarily.

The recall of Governor Hindmarsh

Public interest in the colony's welfare had not abated when, on 2 January 1838 a meeting was held in London to resolve issues with South Australia's administration. The proposed recall of Governor Hindmarsh was discussed and the position of concerned settlers was outlined. The minutes of the meeting were published in the *Morning Chronicle*. Entitled 'Proposed recal (sic) of the Governor of South Australia', it revealed that settlers held apprehension for the welfare of the colony.[74] This was the first instance of colonists in South Australia attempting to pressure authorities for change. It reveals that newspapers were not merely the facilitators of information, but they were also a conduit for enabling community involvement through comment and debate.

In conjunction with the *Morning Chronicle*, London's *Globe, Courier, Examiner* and *Bell's New Weekly Messenger* published the same account of the meeting and followed the events which ensued. Collectively, these newspapers reached an extensive audience and so news of South Australia's problems was broadcast significantly. For example, the *Courier* reported that disputes arising between the 'respectable colonists in South Australia and Captain Hindmarsh' were so serious that a replacement governor was demanded.[75] Certainly, this was true. The concerns were acted on and George Gawler, a deeply religious military man, replaced Sir John Hindmarsh.[76] Once appraised of the issues, other newspapers also entered the debate, publishing news and opinion pieces to inform their readership. The newsworthiness of South Australia ensured that the favourable information reported from the first settlers was quickly replaced with concern and assertions that those who had forewarned that the colony could not succeed were being proved correct.

Hence, within twelve months of the *Leeds Intelligencer*, keenly reporting that the first settlers were immensely happy with the colony, it broadcast news of South Australia's administrative problems: 'It appears that in the South Australia settlement the governor and his officials were "at drawn daggers"'.[77] Westmacott continued his condemnation of South Australia in the *Age* when he reported that 'the new colony of

[74] 'Proposed Recal (sic) of the Governor of South Australia', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 21,260, Wednesday 3 January 1838, 4.
[75] [No Heading], *London Courier and Evening Gazette*, No. 14,481, Thursday 4 January 1838, 2.
[76] R. Hetherington, 'Gawler, George (1795–1869)', Australian Dictionary of Biography.
[77] 'Foreign and Domestic', *Leeds Intelligencer*, Vol. LXXXVI, No. 4,372, Saturday 5 May 1838, 6.

South Australia appears to be in a most enviable state of social confusion!'[78] Having all but ignored South Australia after his initial diatribe, reports in the *Age* of its difficulties prompted Westmacott to attack the colony anew in January 1840.

The *Age* highlighted the exorbitant cost of South Australian provisions: 'To pay these prices either money or misery must abound in Adelaide'.[79] Then, in April a letter to the editor was published which admonished South Australia.[80] It contained an extract from the *Greenock Advertiser.* Greenock was an established commercial transportation hub for migration from Scotland and, therefore, news from emigrants would be a popular topic. It is unsurprising, therefore, that the highly regarded *Greenock Advertiser* would publish correspondence on this.[81] For the same reason, it is also unsurprising that Westmacott chose to highlight correspondence from *Greenock's Advertiser*. The excerpt began,

> the following extract … will prove the prediction of the fate of South Australia, and the boasted working of the new invented Wakefield system. Advantages were given, by a vacillating imbecile government, to this bubble province, at the expense of the old colonies of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, and Port Philip; and experience has proved the fatal result of the experiment.[82]

One can imagine the debate that comments like these instigated among readers of the *Greenock Advertiser*, where talk about migration destinations and opportunities were commonplace, and the *Age,* whose editor sought out scandal.

Another castigating report of South Australia's financial and administration difficulties was published in August.

> We have, from the commencement of the humbug South Australian Colonization scheme, been its steady opponents. Every account that reaches England from that location of humbug, Adelaide, is pregnant with facts sufficient to settle the mind of any one intending to become a settler.[83]

Westmacott's tirade found fault with every facet of the colony, from the exorbitant cost of produce to the difficulty in procuring fresh water. His condemnation of South

[78] 'Latest', *The Age*, Sunday 5 August 1838, 8.
[79] 'South Australia', *The Age*, Sunday 26 January 1840, 7.
[80] 'To the Editor of the Age', *Age,* Sunday 5 April 1840, 3.
[81] On Greenock see Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West, a passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of Revolution*, Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1986, 119; on the *Advertiser* see Stephen W. Brown, 'Newspapers and Magazines, *Edinburgh* v. the *Advertiser*: a case study', in Stephen W. Brown and Warren McDougall, *Edinburgh History of the Book in Scotland, Vol. 2: Enlightenment and Expansion, 1707 – 1800*, Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2012, 353–368; Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 301.
[82] 'To the Editor of the Age', *Age,* Sunday 5 April 1840, 3.
[83] [No Heading], *The Age*, Sunday 30 August 1840, 3.

Australia was comprehensive and provides evidence of the way that newspapers influenced readers. These were not impartial representations of the facts. Similar to the effusive language of settlers who extolled the colony, these statements were designed to elicit emotive responses.

Pragmatism and the case of Peter Potter

Correspondence and 'letters to the editor' facilitated the involvement of readers. It enabled those otherwise excluded from the outlets for debate that the middle and upper classes enjoyed, for example, the floor of parliament or the numerous philosophical or debating clubs, to air personal points of view. Editors were keenly aware of their role in providing information and facilitating community involvement, while also producing entertaining reading for those with limited time and resources.[84]

When South Australia was touted as a great success, correspondence and newspaper reports used exuberantly optimistic language to encourage readers. Once news of colonial mismanagement was received, reports quickly exploited colonial concerns. Scandal and sensational news like that of South Australia's financial woes was exploited in the popular working class newspapers because it appealed to readers.[85] Certainly, this helped to explain Westmacott's reports in the *Age*.

Much of the correspondence was anonymous or published with a pseudonym to hide an identity but still having credibility. One method for asserting authenticity, however, was the publication of correspondence from a local of the region. This reinforced its legitimacy. Hence, when the *Reading Mercury* published a letter addressed to his siblings, the author, Peter Potter, who migrated from Lewes, was revealed in order to prove the letter's authenticity.[86] Confirming the breadth of readership that one letter could reach when published, the *Reading Mercury* copied this letter from the *Sussex Advertiser*.[87] According to Potter, South Australia was 'a most dreadful place to bring a family'. Thus his letter, intended for his immediate family, when published provided unfavourable publicity among a far wider readership. Similarly, the *Liverpool Mercury* reported that it was unfortunate to hear that 'a gentleman well known in this town, and universally respected' had migrated to South

[84] Peter Roger Mountjoy, 'The Working-class Press and working-class conservatism', in Boyce, Curran and Wingate, (eds), *Newspaper History from the Seventeenth Century to the Present Day*, 265–280.
[85] 'Part Two the Nineteenth Century, Introduction' in Michael Harris and Alan Lee (eds),, *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, particularly 108–109.
[86] 'Adelaide', *Reading Mercury*, Vol. CXVIII, Saturday 21 November 1840, 2.
[87] 'Emigration', *Sussex Advertiser*, Vol. XCV, No. 4,899, Monday 16 November 1840, 3.

Australia and had not bettered his situation.[88] The language used to bemoan Potter's experience reveals that there was an expectation that those who travelled to South Australia would improve their situation.

Within two years of colonisation, news which was initially so positive and filled with hope for betterment was replaced with accounts like these. It was not the voyage or the system or even the land in the colony that caused Potter's distress, but the difficulties he faced when determining fact from fiction in the literature about the colony. Newspapers that previously promoted South Australia and encouraged migration observed these contradictions and published letters of dismay. With the exception of those supporters of the colony, the *Spectator* or *Globe* for example, newspaper editors conformed to perceived public interest. Thus, letters and information were published without question and in many instances, without editorial comment. This is identified as a particular issue for South Australian publicity because those in the classes encouraged to migrate, like Potter, believed in what they read in the newspaper press.

Contemporary historians have revealed that correspondents often masked or exaggerated the true state of affairs. This is seen in Latimer's condemnation of the emigrant James Sawle (see Chapter Six). When situations changed, newspaper reports reflected them. They published information on popular topics but, readers could not verify their information. Positive accounts like those of the first colonists emboldened others to select South Australia. From 1840 however, published reports told a different story. Whether favourable or not, this evidence reveals that published information continuously affected perceptions about South Australia.

Travel and emigration literature sources and motivations

Travel and emigration literature was another form of unofficial publicity which greatly influenced South Australian migration. Comprising tales of colonial exploits and foreign lands, travel accounts became popular during the early nineteenth century.[89] Evidence of the demand for these types of books was revealed in data from libraries and Mechanics Institutes.[90] Contemporary authors acknowledge the influence of travel

[88] 'Emigration to South Australia', *Liverpool Mercury*, Vol. XXX, No. 1,445, Friday 20 March 1840, 3.
[89] See James Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and after, 1660–1840', in Hulme and Young (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 37–52.
[90] See Hunt, 'Racism, Imperialism, and the Traveller's Gaze in Eighteenth-Century England', *Journal of British Studies*, 32 (4), October 1993, 333-357; also Society of Writers, *A History of the Society of Writers to Her Majesty's Signet, with a list of the members of the Society from 1594 to 1890 and an*

literature which was 'widely read by all classes of readers' and helped to shape Britain's 'global consciousness'.[91] They also argue that expanded migration was a significant factor which facilitated travel writing.[92] An increasingly literate audience juxtaposed with 'mass tourism' which enabled greater individual opportunities for people to travel further afield, and which occurred from the mid-1820s, expedited the publication of entertaining travel monologues and emigration books.[93]

Just as increased literacy among the lower and working classes encouraged the expansion of newspapers targeting these classes, authors of emigration texts exploited this new market. This was the 'booster literature' to which Belich referred and that expedited colonial settlement.[94] However, just as newspaper editors were induced to reference advertisements elsewhere in the paper, publishers used a similar method to motivate public attention.[95] Thomas Babington Macaulay, a historian and essayist, complained in 1830 that educated men who once only solicited their peers now sought widespread public renown: 'The puffing of books is now so shamefully and so successfully practiced, that it is the duty of all … to join in discountenancing it'.[96] In addition, social recognition for authors whose books were popularly accepted was a strong motivation to publish: 'A brilliant new writer was almost sure to be lionized'.[97] However, just as correspondence could be unreliable, so too were authors who employed 'a recipe for the construction of a Successful Novel for the present "taste of the day"'.[98] In other words, popular themes and places influenced authors. Emigration was a 'taste of the day' during the 1830s and 1840s and, as already argued, widespread publicity ensured South Australia remained a popular topic.

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abstract of the minutes, University Press, Edinburgh, 1890, lxx; Joanna Innes, 'Libraries in context: social, cultural and intellectual background', 283-300 and Brian Burch, 'Libraries and literacy in popular education', in Giles Mandelbrote, and K.A. Manley (eds), *The Cambridge History of Libraries in Britain and Ireland, Vol. II 1640-1850*, CUP, UK, 2006, 371-387.

[91] 'Introduction', Bohls and Duncan (eds), *Oxford World's Classics, Travel Writing 1700-1830 an Anthology*, xxvii; on the influence of literary periodicals see Jude Piesse, *British Settler Emigration in Print, 1832-1877*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2016, in particular the Introduction; on the growth of the mass market for books, see Alexis Weedon, *Victorian Publishing, The Economics of Book Production for a Mass Market, 1836-1916*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd., Hants, England & Vermont, USA, 2003, chapter 2.

[92] See, for example, Roy Bridges, 'Exploration and Travel outside Europe 1720–1914', in Hulme and Young (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Travel Writing*, 53–69.

[93] Buzard, 'The Grand Tour and After, 1660–1840', 37–52.

[94] See Introduction.

[95] Terry Nevett, 'Advertising and Editorial Integrity in the Nineteenth Century', in Michael Harris and Alan Lee, *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to Nineteenth Centuries*, Associated University Presses, N.J, England, Canada, 1986, 149–167.

[96] 'Mr Robert Montgomery's Poems, and the Modern Practice of Puffing', *Edinburgh Review*, No. CI, April 1830, 193–210, in particular 196.

[97] A.S. Collins, *The Profession of Letters, A study of the relation of author to patron publisher, and public, 1780-1832*, George Routledge & Sons, London, 1928, 250.

[98] Richard Henry Horne, *Exposition of the False Medium and Barriers Excluding Men of Genius from the Public*, E. Wilson, London, 1833, 67, 70.

Emigration literature followed the prescribed format of travel monologues. It described geography, people and customs, flora and fauna and the adventures of the author. Colonial statistics, migrant testimonials, wages and labour requirements were included. While many texts were written from personal experience and intimated factual accounts, other authors' were merely well-read, imaginative wordsmiths who published for profit and personal glorification. They pandered to the public's 'rage for reading' and were inspired to author travel tales because of the 'rage for emigration'.[99] The *Maidstone Gazette* revealed that 'at least a dozen books' about South Australia alone were published between 1836 and 1838, and they argued that this proved the popularity of the colony and Wakefield's colonisation experiment.[100] As with newspaper content, however, emigration literature was unregulated and this became increasingly problematic for South Australia as potential migrants were exposed to biased or exaggerated information. Book reviews in newspapers exacerbated this.

Newspaper reviews of South Australian literature

Published literature about the colony increased exponentially, after settlers arrived in South Australia. The great enthusiasm which encouraged published correspondence and first hand news from the colony was not lost on those seeking to exploit its popularity. Christian Johnstone, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine's* editor, reported this clearly in 1838: 'Whatever may be wanting to the new colony of South Australia, it has, from first to last, never lacked *puffing*'.[101] As outlined, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* was a highly respected monthly journal that was priced for mass appeal, particularly to the 'working poor'. [102] Johnstone's statements about South Australia were astute. She recognised the problems that emigration books generated for potential migrants but singling out South Australia in particular provided unfavourable publicity among the classes the colony sought to encourage: 'Every one of those colonies has its jobbers, advocates, and trumpeters; and *they all exaggerate*, though none … so far as the individuals connected with South Australia'.[103] These comments comprised the

[99] The 'rage for reading' is discussed in Ina Ferris, *Book-men, Book clubs and the Romantic Literary Sphere*, *Palgrave Studies in the Enlightenment, Romanticism and the Cultures of Print,* Palgrave Macmillan, UK, 2015, 101; the 'rage for emigration' is revealed in 'Reports from Commissioners: Eleven Volumes, Poor Laws, Session 3 February–12 August 1842', *B. P. P.*, Vol. 19, 143.
[100] 'Literature', *Maidstone Gazette*, No. 2,152, Tuesday 2 July 1839, 3.
[101] 'The New Colony of South Australia, and the Penal Colonies', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. V, December 1838, 776–789; italics were in the original quote. On *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* see, for example, Ian Duncan, *Scott's Shadow: The Novel in Romantic Edinburgh*, Princeton University Press, New Jersey, 2007, 298–300.
[102] On Johnstone and *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* see Chapter Four; quote cited in Duncan, *Scott's Shadow,* 299.
[103] 'The New Colony of South Australia, and the Penal Colonies', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* Vol. V, December 1838, 776-789; italics were in the original quote.

opening remarks of a lengthy literature review and are evidence of the significance of newspapers for spreading migration information throughout communities.

Literature reviews were a staple of publications like *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and the *Edinburgh Review,* but were also a popular addition to many newspapers. Reviews comprised a variety of formats. Lengthy extracts, with or without editorial opinions, short notifications and the recommendation or rejection of publications. They were not, according to Walter E. Houghton, a 'critical examination [but] a series of observations woven into an essay … illustrated … by reference to the text'.[104] However, publishers and authors solicited favourable reviews for payment, according to John Livesey, editor of the *Moral Reformer:* 'For a guinea you will get your work praised by these men, even though they have never taken time to read it'.[105] While Johnstone's review suggests she read and compared several publications to formulate her lengthy article, most newspapers, as Livesey revealed, merely brought the publication to their readers' attention and published extracts. In this way, book reviews about South Australia were advantageous for the colony because they spread information among a much larger audience to advertise the colony.

Contemporary authors have acknowledged the popularity of literature reviews: 'Victorian books lived, or died, by their notice, or lack of notice, in the press'.[106] The genre of the review developed in response to the need for a 'quicker consumption of a wider range of changing titles' and provided a means for accessing the quantity of published material.[107] However, the authenticity of the review as a true representation of literature in the field comes under suspicion. Just as advertising revenue allowed sympathetic referrals elsewhere in the newspaper, reviewers were accused of 'selective processing' and 'covert marketing' when choosing a book and writing the review.[108] Again, the newspapers' ability to influence potential migrants cannot be underestimated. The favourable review of an emigration book in a popular newspaper could greatly benefit the colony's promotion, as Spicer's example in the Introduction confirms. A poor review could be equally disadvantageous.

Newspaper critiques of emigration literature comprised another form of promotional advertising for the colony that was unregulated, plausibly exploitative and

[104] Walter E. Houghton, 'Periodical Literature and the Articulate Classes', in in Joanne Shattock and Michael Wolff (eds), *The Victorian Periodical Press: Samplings and Soundings*, Leicester University Press, UK and University of Toronto Press, Canada, 1982, 3-28.
[105] 'Deception', *Moral Reformer*, Vol. III, No. 3, March 1, 1833, 69–74, in particular 70.
[106] Elizabeth Carolyn Miller, 'Reading in Review: The Victorian Book Review in the New Media Moment', *Victorian Periodicals Review*, 49(4), Winter 2016, 626–642.
[107] Miller, 'Reading in Review', 626–642.
[108] Ibid; on advertising revenue, see Chapter Four.

biased on the whim of an editor with sparse colonial knowledge. This was problematic for South Australia's planners and colonial officials because reviewers' compositions reached a broad audience. In addition to the actual content of emigration books and the fact that many authors were motivated to publish books for personal reasons, literature reviews made unreliable judgements about migration destinations, were possibly selectively biased, and their statements were spread among a vast audience. The *Edinburgh Review*, whose editors were renowned for their critical and lengthy evaluation of texts rather than judgemental opinions, concurred with *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* that newspapers misrepresented facts and that South Australia and Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan frequently experienced 'groundless enmity, jealousy and trickery'. [109] Sydney Smith, one of the *Edinburgh Review's* four remunerated but 'anonymous' editors, explained how authors of the travel genre exploited their subject: 'they perpetually distort facts, so as to render them as agreeable'.[110] Their unreliability, Smith explained, was a 'fallibility of human testimony'. A revelation that could apply equally to published correspondence: 'Eye and ear witnesses to the same fact, give a directly opposite account'.[111]

Publicity for the emigration books of John Stephens and Thomas Horton James

An analysis of book reviews by John Stephens and Thomas Horton James reveals a great deal about the way that newspapers attempted to influence migration. Stephens and James wrote about South Australia to further their personal interests and business ventures. Angas encouraged Stephens to write his book, purely for publicity and James was an avid author who sought to further his business opportunities.[112] Authors and publishers realised the advantage of writing about a destination which generated so much publicity and they exploited its popularity. Stephens authored *The Land of Promise* in 1838 and a second edition entitled *The Rise and Progress of South Australia* was published in 1839.[113] Written expressly to promote the colony and the South Australian Company, they are considered 'unofficial' publicity because Stephens was not an official of the colonial office or involved with the planning or implementation of South Australian regulations like Torrens or Angas.

[109] 'New theory of Colonization', *Edinburgh Review*, Vol. CXLIV, July 1840, 282; On the *Edinburgh Review* see Duncan, *Scott's Shadow*, 26; Brake and Demoor, (eds),, *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism*, 190–191.
[110] Sydney Smith, *The Work of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, Carey and Hart, Philadelphia, 1844, 26; Brake and Demoor (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism*, 190–191.
[111] Smith, *The Work of the Rev. Sydney Smith*, 26.
[112] Peter Symes, *Thomas Horton James, the Life of X. Y. Z.*, Self-published, Young, N.S.W., 2018, 69.
[113] Rev. John Blackett, *A South Australian Romance, how a Colony was Founded and a Methodist Church formed,* Charles H. Kelly, London, 1899, 84-85; 'Stephens, John (1806–1850)', Australian Dictionary of Biography.

Stephens, however, was a fervent supporter of South Australia and penned *South Australia: an exposure of the absurd, unfounded and contradictory statements in James's Six months in South Australia* to discount the alleged false assertions that were proclaimed in James's book which had been published in 1839. This reveals the faith that was placed in published works in order to answer the colony's critics. In fact, James's and Stephens's books created great controversy in Britain and in the colony. They gained more publicity for their authors' rancour than their usefulness as emigration books. A review in the *Manchester Courier* provides an example of the types of critique that Stephens received:

> This is a racy, well written pamphlet, and if the author's indignation has not damaged his facts, it is a very important refutation of Mr. James's statements relative to the colony …. It is well worth perusal.[114]

The Times published an opposing viewpoint. Continuing his aversion for 'schemes for colonizing' and particularly 'South Australia … the first favourite in the race of avarice, speculation, and ignorance', Barnes's review of *Six Months in South Australia* stated that

> Mr. James's book will convey a very accurate notion to all persons who do not find a pleasure in being cheated of the real nature, quality, and prospects of this district.[115]

This highlights the influence that newspapers wielded in society. It also shows that prejudicial views continued once the colony was settled.

Newspaper reviewers' seized upon Stephens's and James's disagreements. They forewarned that errors and misrepresentations which Stephens outlined had disadvantaged those who relied on James's book and increased confusion about South Australia.[116] In fact, the controversy between James and Stephens incited so much disdain that Stephens's publisher cited the following quote in advertisements published in Henry Capper's *South Australian Record* in 1839*:*

> The real slanderers of the colony are a few half-witted gentlemen who have found their way hither, and who, not content with scribbling lying nonsense for the gratification of

[114] 'Literature', *Manchester Courier and Lancashire General Advertiser*, Vol. XV, No. 740, Saturday 2 March 1839, 7.
[115] 'Six Months in South Australia', *The Times*, No. 17,001, 28 March 1839, 3.
[116] See, for example, 'South Australia', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Journal*, Sunday 24 February 1839, 2; 'Literature', *London Despatch*, No. 128, Vol. II, Sunday 24 February 1839, 4; 'Literature', *Courier*, No. 14,849, Wednesday 6 March, 1839, 3.

> their private friends, are ambitious to see their lucubration's in print.[117]

Undoubtedly, James had clear motivations for writing about South Australia. A long-standing colonist, he arrived in Sydney in 1824 and purchased several large tracts of land in northern New South Wales.[118] An accomplished writer and frequent contributor of correspondence to Sydney's newspapers under the pseudonyms Rubio and later, X.Y.Z., he earned an early reputation for 'puffing' the advantages of New South Wales.[119] A recent biographer reported that James recognised the advantage of newspapers and literature for promoting his business interests purely for increased wealth.[120] These included a merchant and ships chandlery, his appointment as chair of the Sydney Bank, and being the manager of the British and Colonial Export Company.[121] As manager he advocated the company's services to migrants, particularly the 'farmers, graziers, merchants, manufacturers, professional men [and] capitalists', who were encouraged to South Australia.[122] He also provided favourable 'letters of introduction … and credit' to migrants.[123] A common ruse, the Colonial Office acknowledged this practice as 'a Conman trick in England' and warned against using these services.[124] Newspapers, including *The Times*, recognised this deception. It promoted worthless advice which was 'fraudulently concocted to mislead' migrants.[125]

In fact, James's reputation for exploitation and misrepresentation was well established by the time *Six Months* was published. His hyperbole about New South Wales was published frequently in Sydney newspapers that were provided to potential British migrants. According to a report in the *Sydney Monitor* in August 1832, free migrants claimed they were deceived by the 'grossly exaggerated' claims of the colonial newspapers.[126] Their disappointment with the colony, upon arrival, partly resulted from articles they read by Rubio and X.Y.Z., and others.[127] James was well-

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[117] [Advertisement], *South Australian Record*, No. 16, Wednesday 9 January 1839, 4 and No. 17 Wednesday 13 February 1839, 6.
[118] Symes, *Thomas Horton James, 69; Symes'* biography provides an in-depth study of James life, including his personal motivations and business dealings.
[119] Ibid, 71.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Peter Symes, 'Thomas Horton James and the Sydney Bank', *Australasian Coin and Banknote Magazine*, 11 (1), February 2008; 'Notice', *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser,* Vol. XXII, No. 1,087, Thursday 16 September 1824, 1.
[122] 'Scheming', *Cornwall Chronicle*, Vol. 6, No 287, Saturday 1 August, 1840, 3-4; 'Money-Market and City Intelligence', *The Times,* No. 17,537, Thursday December 10 1840, 5.
[123] 'Money-Market and City Intelligence', *The Times,* No. 17,537, Thursday December 10 1840 5.
[124] Elliot to Norman MacDonald, 22 November 1837, CO 386/20.
[125] 'Money-Market and City Intelligence', *The Times,* No. 17,537, Thursday December 10 1840, 5; see also 'Scheming', *Cornwall Chronicle*, Vol. 6, No 287, Saturday 1 August, 1840, 3–4.
[126] [No Heading], *Sydney Monitor*, Vol. VII, No. 509, Wednesday 22 August 1832, 2.
[127] Ibid.

versed with the benefits of newspapers for motivating public interest and he exploited South Australia's popularity. Authoring and promoting *Six Months* was another way to expand his business ventures.

Thus, it was as much for James's dubious business practices as concerns with statements in the book that incited Stephens. James alleged that *Six Months* was not written for 'fame nor profit' but was 'a true and impartial account … by an eye witness … in a few dry and simple details of facts'.[128] In fact, he recommended South Australia to emigrants: 'I have no hesitation in pronouncing it a very fine country', he concluded.[129] James's work attracted a favourable review in *The Times:* '*Six Months in South Australia* will open the eyes of many who have hitherto been wandering in the darkness of perfect ignorance'.[130] However, while Barnes intimated that James's information was astute, he then wrote disparagingly about the colony. Those who supported South Australia were 'interested quacks and speculative boobies' blinded by 'individual profit' or personal aggrandisement.[131]

Other widely circulated publications praised James's book. London's *Morning Advertiser* and *Evening Standard* concluded that 'no one can give a better opinion about Emigration' and the *Courier* stated 'we have seen no work which we can more confidently recommend to the intending emigrant'.[132] Johnstone wrote of the 'South Australia mania' in her review of James's book in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* but acknowledged his impartiality and first-hand knowledge: reading *Six Months* was 'worth fortune and happiness' for those contemplating migration.[133] Such was its influence that Henry Watson, an early colonist in South Australia wrote home to his family that James's book 'gives a stranger the best idea of the Colony of any book I have read'.[134]

Johnstone's review of James's *Six Months* was lengthy and favourable. She accorded no such adulation to Stephens's *History, Rise and Progress,* however, which only received a half column critique. Commencing with the statement 'this work is, … one enormous puff of South Australia', Johnstone highlighted that the book contained 'senseless epistles' from prominent colonists and concluded that Stephens's '*Land of*

[128] James, *Six Months in South Australia*, v.
[129] Ibid, 205.
[130] 'Six Months in South Australia', *The Times*, No. 17,001, Thursday 28 March 1839, 3.
[131] Ibid.
[132] 'South Australia', *Morning Advertiser*, No. 14,879, Tuesday 11 December 1838, 1; 'South Australia', *The Standard*, No. 4,516, Tuesday 11 December 1838, 1; 'Literature', *Courier*, No. 14,790, Tuesday 25 December 1838, 3.
[133] 'Australian Emigration', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, March 1839, 168–176.
[134] Henry and Charlotte Watson to Thomas Gates Darton and Margaret Emily, 5 November 1839, SLSA, PRG 1488/40. Henry Watson is discussed in Chapter Six.

Promise' was a prejudiced and untrustworthy account of the colony.[135] Certainly, many publications acknowledged the 'puffing' or overt publicity which promoted South Australia from its first intimation. However, Johnstone's criticisms of Stephens's book were likely a *quid pro quo* for his denouncement of *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* favourable review of James's book.[136] This indicates that although newspaper book reviews provided a far broader readership than book sales, they also highlighted the ambiguity of published literature and reinforced the newspaper's role for spreading targeted opinions that endorsed or denigrated a colony about which they had scant, if any, first hand knowledge.

The publications of emigration agent Henry Capper

Another author and government-appointed emigration agent was Henry Capper. He wrote books advocating South Australia and other Australian colonies and New Zealand which the Colonisation Commissioners recommended.[137] *South Australia Containing Hints to Emigrants* was published in three editions. The first, 'a rough sketch' according to Capper, was expanded after it received a positive public response.[138] The second 'more finished piece' was written in his capacity as 'senior Clerk to the Colonization Commission'.[139] The third edition contained 'careful revision' and 'great additions'.[140] Capper intimated that the third edition was published because of the favourable endorsements received for his previous two publications.[141] South Australia was a popular topic. Although the Commissioners recommendation of Capper's books likely helped their popularity, extensive advertising in newspapers and favourable reviews were also beneficial. For example, between 1837 and 1839, Capper's books were advertised extensively in London and also in Maidstone, Kent which was a source of labourer migrants.[142]

Although the abundance of emigration literature added to the extensive newspaper coverage of South Australia, it interspersed factual information with exaggerated, biased or false statements about the colony. Hence, Capper published *How to get to South Australia* in 1839 to 'assist persons of the labouring class' and to

[135] 'Literary Register', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, March 1839, 195.
[136] Ibid.
[137] See Chapter Four.
[138] Henry Capper, *South Australia Containing Hints to Emigrants Proceedings of the South Australian Company; a variety of useful and authentic information; a map of the eastern coast of Gulf St. Vincent, and a plan of Adelaide*, (Second Edition), Robert Tyas, London, 1838.
[139] Ibid, v.
[140] Henry Capper, (and the South Australian Company), *Capper's South Australia*, (3rd ed.), H. Capper, London, 1839, iii.
[141] Ibid.
[142] See Chapter Four.

clarify the confusion between 'the terms *Australia* and South *Australia*'.[143] A problem for labourers was the lack of awareness of the breadth of Australia or the location of its individual colonies. Through ignorance or the dearth of factual information, newspaper editors confused South Australia geographically and distorted colonial representations. For example, Charles Duffy, the editor of Belfast's *Vindicator,* devoted two columns in support of migration but stated that 'New South Wales' and 'Australia' were preferred colonies: 'A pamphlet written by … Colonel Torrens gives a delightful picture of the latter colony', he wrote.[144] These were the types of reports that Capper attempted to rectify by publishing his book. In fact, this remained a constant problem for South Australia and is revealed in Chapter Six as an issue which induced false expectations for migrants.

William Smillie, exploiting newspaper publicity for The Great South Land

The provision of 'authentic' information also motivated William Smillie. 'An increased tendency of the public mind towards emigration', he wrote, stimulated the publication of four articles in 1837 about the benefits of colonisation and the new colony of South Australia in Edinburgh's *Stirling Observer*.[145] Just as Wakefield tested his initial plan by publishing *A Letter from Sydney* in the *Morning Chronicle*, Smillie exploited the newspaper as a measure of public interest before publishing a book.

Smillie's articles were highly praised as 'the production of a gentleman who is familiar with the subject' and received such a favourable response that they were published in a 'cheap book' entitled *The Great South Land* 'for general circulation'.[146] Smillie and his parents migrated to South Australia and purchased 4000 acres of farmland in the Mount Barker district and he was appointed as emigration agent and then became advocate-general for South Australia. But they arrived after his articles had been published.[147] Hence, his information was not written from first hand experience.

[143] Henry Capper, *How to get to South Australia : being information for labouring emigrants respecting the above colony*, Capper and Gole, London, 1839, 2; italics are in original quote.
[144] On Charles Gavin Duffy See, for example, 'Sir Charles Gavin Duffy Papers 1840 - 1914', Australian Joint Copying Project, https://www.nla.gov.au/sites/default/files/blogs/m_672-673_sir_charles_gavan_duffy.pdf, accessed 13 March 2019; 'Emigration–State and Prospects of South Australia', *Vindicator*, Vol. I, No. 50, Saturday 19 October 1839, 2.
[145] 'Literature', *The Scotsman*, Vol. XXII, No. 1,933, Wednesday 18 July 1838, 4.
[146] William Smillie, *"The Great South Land": Four Articles on Emigration, Designed to Exhibit the Principles and Progress of the New Colony of South Australia*, The Stirling Observer Office, 1838, 5.
[147] 'The Meeting at the Land Office', *Southern Australian,* Vol. II, No. 35, Wednesday 30 January 1839, 3.

Distributed in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Dublin and major Scottish towns, *The Great South Land* was a considerable sensation.[148] Smillie praised the land and climate, and the systematic colonisation principle, but it was the benefits of a convict-free colony that provided his greatest incentive for promoting South Australia. Numerous respectable families, trusting his word, made the decision to migrate. Indeed, the book was so successful that 2000 copies of the first edition were sold 'within the first month' and a second edition with 'the most recent information on the subject from the best sources' was published.[149]

However, it was the initial publication in the *Stirling Observer* that caused the most controversy. The paper later said it 'incurred a heavy responsibility in being instrumental … of inducing so many people in easy circumstances to expatriate themselves'.[150] The crux of the issue, therefore, was not the reliability of the work or a dispute over the emigration scheme, but the fact that respectable families 'in easy circumstances' were migrating when Scottish Highland destitution was particularly severe during 1837.[151] Hence, it was, as Eric Richards stated, 'a reluctant peasantry who were further pauperised by the slowness of emigration' who were considered as prime emigrants rather than the working and middle classes that Smillie's articles encouraged.[152]

It appeared that the strategies Smillie used to captivate his readers were successful. For example, he endorsed the South Australian Company, Torrens's *Colonization of South Australia*, the *South Australian Record* and Capper's *South Australia.*[153] In fact, Capper wrote the preface for Smillie's book. Several favourable albeit biased letters from notable colonial supporters like Wheeler and Hack were also included.[154] Ultimately these acquaintances potentially aided his government appointments in the colony and his renown in Scotland assisted the recommendation of the publication in local newspapers.

With a combined circulation of almost 200,000 copies in the six months to 30 June 1837, the *Glasgow Courier* and the *Scotsman* were two popular newspapers that

[148] See the dust jacket, Smillie, '*The Great South Land';* 'Death of the Hon. Wm. Smillie, Advocate-General of South Australia', *Stirling Observer,* Vol. XVII, No. 852, Thursday 23 December 1852, 4.
[149] Smillie, '*The Great South Land',* notices of the publication.
[150] 'Death of the Hon. Wm. Smillie, Advocate-General of South Australia', *Stirling Observer,* Vol. XVII, No. 852, Thursday 23 December 1852, 4.
[151] This is discussed in John MacAskill, 'The Highland Destitution of 1837', Scottish History Society AGM, 2 March 2013, https://www.academia.edu/12699173/The_Highland_Destitution_of_1837_-_Paper_given_at_the_Scottish_History_Society_AGM_2_March_2013, see particularly 6, 8–9.
[152] Eric Richards, 'Varieties of Scottish Emigration in the Nineteenth Century', *Historical Studies* 21(85) October 1985, 473-494.
[153] Ibid, iv.
[154] Ibid, 9.

recommended Smillie's book highly.[155] Advertisements promoting the book were published in London's *Examiner* and *Morning Chronicle*.[156] *Chamber's Journal* published a three-quarter page article entitled 'Emigration to South Australia' and highlighted that '"*The Great South Land*" … is an able pamphlet' that clearly outlines South Australia's peculiarities.[157] However, Johnstone recognised *The Great South Land* for its blatant publicity. It was 'the means of propagating great and mischievous delusion in Scotland', she wrote in her review.[158] Although popular in his native land, Smillie's book was not universally recommended. However, it is undeniable that all editors were not as adroit as Johnstone, thus their recommendation of the work helped its wider publicity.

Authors' capitalising on South Australia's popularity

The exploitation of South Australia because of its popularity encouraged other authors to write about South Australia without first hand knowledge. Robert Montgomery Martin, for example, wrote the *History of Austral-Asia* which included information about South Australia and was widely advertised in Britain as 'a mass of most valuable information for all connected with these fast increasing colonies'. [159] A prolific author and newspaper editor, Martin advocated reform, the abolition of slavory and supported the spread of Britain's colonial empire.[160] The book's popularity prompted the publication of two editions. However, while Martin had resided in Sydney between 1826 and 1828, he had not been to South Australia. Instead, he acknowledged that 'the age for cheap books conveying instruction had set in' and this motivated the publication.[161] Furthermore, 'a sense of the importance of the Colonies' to the public suggested that the Australian colonies were topical.[162] His South Australian information, however, was gathered from Colonial Office officials, including Henry

[155] 'Circulation of the Scottish Newspapers', *Scotsman or Edinburgh Political and Literary Journal*, Vol. XXI, No. 1,845, Wednesday 13 September 1837, 3.
[156] 'The Great South', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 21,480, Monday 17 September, 1838, 1; 'The Great South Land–Second Edition', *Examiner*, No. 1,602, Sunday 14 October, 1838, 656.
[157] 'Emigration to South Australia', *Chamber's Journal.* Vol. 7, No. 341, Saturday 11 August 1838, 229.
[158] 'The Manager of the South Australian Company', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. IV, February 1839, 135-136.
[159] 'The Geography, Statistics, and History of Austral-Asia', *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, No. 2,236, Saturday 23 February 1839, 1; see also *Naval and Military Gazette*, *East India and Colonial Chronicle*, No. 315, Saturday 2 February 1839, 16; *John Bull*, Vol. XIX, No. 947, Sunday 3 February, 1839, 11; *The Examiner*, No. 1,618, Sunday February 3 1839, 16; *The Standard*, No. 4,559, Wednesday 30 January 1839, 1 and *Morning Post*, No. 21,238, Monday 28 January, 1839, 1.
[160] Frank H. H. King, 'Martin, Robert Montgomery (1800–1868)', Oxford Dictionary of National Biography; see also Robert Montgomery Martin, 'Preface', *The Colonial Magazine and Commercial-maritime Journal,* Vol. 1, January–April 1840.
[161] Robert Montgomery Martin, *History of the British Colonies*, Vol. V, James Cochrane & Co., London, 1835, xi.
[162] Ibid.

Capper.[163] Hence, this was another publication, like Smillie's, which was not officially sanctioned but which used information gleaned from supporters of the colony. It is evident that the Colonial Office did not officially publish South Australian emigration books or recommend any colonial destination; its agents clearly informed others and engaged themselves in authoring promotional literature.

The public interest in migration also motivated Edwin Hartley Mears. Author of *On British colonization: particularly in reference to South Australia,* its popularity also encouraged the publication of two editions.[164] A colonial shipping agent and like Capper, an appointed migration agent for the Colonisation Commissioners, Mears also lectured about South Australia at the Greenwich Literary Society in January 1839.[165] Like Martin, he wrote from second hand sources, but the publicity his lecture and emigration book gained are likely to have influenced potential migrants and advantaged his agency. But neither his emigration agency nor his renown as an author guaranteed success. In March 1843 he filed for bankruptcy and was listed as unemployed.[166]

While these authors researched their information in Britain, others wrote from personal experience. However, this did not guarantee a favourable account of South Australia. William H.Leigh, a surgeon aboard the ship *South Australia* which arrived in the colony in 1837, published *Reconnoitering Voyages* in 1839 to address 'foolish expectations' about the advantages of migration which he recommended against.[167] Contemporary historians frequently reference Leigh's descriptive prose of the land and its inhabitants.[168] Yet, George Sutherland, in his 1898 study of the South Australian Company, described Leigh as 'a clever and amusing grumbler' and his *Voyages* as 'rollicking sallies of humour, without the slightest regard for literal accuracy'.[169] A much earlier reviewer of Leigh's *Voyages* in Sydney's *Australian* newspaper had

[163] Ibid, xi, xv.
[164] Edwin Hartley Mears, *On British colonization: particularly in reference to South Australia*, second edition, G. Mann, London, 1839, 4.
[165] See the advertisements 'Second Edition', *Morning Advertiser*, No. 15,005, Friday 26 April, 1839, 1 and 'Australia and New Zealand', *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, Monday 15 July 1839, 3; John Alexander Ferguson, *Bibliography of Australia. Volume III 1839-1845*, Brown Prior Anderson Pty. Ltd., Melbourne, 1986, 44. 'Special agents' for the selection of emigrants are outlined in Scott, *Description of South Australia*, 36-37.
[166] 'Insolvent Debtors', *Kentish Independent*, No. 7, Saturday 18 February 1843, 6.
[167] George Sutherland, *The South Australian Company, A Study in Colonisation*, Longmans, Green, and Co., London, New York, Bombay, 1898*;* 182-183.
[168] See, for example, 'The Golden Age is Past', in Anne Chittleborough, Gillian Dooley, Brenda Glover and Rick Hosking (eds), *Atlas, for the Pelicans! Flinders, Baudin and Beyond, Essays and Poems*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town South Australia, 2002, Part 3; Bernard Smith, *European Vision and the South Pacific*, Second Edition, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1985; Rebe Taylor, *Unearthed: The Aboriginal Tasmanians of Kangaroo Island*, Wakefield Press, Kent Town, South Australia, 2002, 64-68.
[169] Sutherland, *The South Australian Company,* 182–183.

indicated this. Leigh did not consider 'the social state of a new colony' and his disposition generally was 'not well fitted … to pass judgement'.[170] Rather, his unrealistic expectations of the fledgling colony were reflected in his book.

Notwithstanding, *Reconnoitering Voyages* was advertised and reviewed widely in London newspapers, including the *Despatch, Examiner, Era, Champion, Evening Standard* and *Morning Post,* and in provincial newspapers in Cumbria and the West Midlands.[171] Reviews were polarised. For example, the *Monthly Literary Advertiser* promoted it as 'entertaining' and with 'valuable information, … to all who contemplate seeking their fortune across the wide seas'.[172] The *Era,* reported that Leigh was an 'eye-witness to the wants of emigrants' and that the book was highly valuable and recommended it to 'every class of emigrants'.[173] The *London Despatch,* however*,* cautioned readers about the 'puffs of emigrants, who represent unalloyed happiness to await those who leave England'.[174] The *Examiner* concurred. It was 'a clever and entertaining book … written by a man of little or no judgment'.[175] Some reviewers criticised or praised his writing style and others questioned his facts. Hence, conflicting reviews ensued. Leigh's revelations were likely accurate representations of his experiences. However, contrasting reviews show how the whim of a disgruntled colonist or a newspaper reviewer might influence those dependent on newspapers for their information.

William Mann was another author to denigrated South Australia in a similar manner to Leigh. He used his position as a publisher and newspaper proprietor to capitalise on the popularity of emigration books. *Six years' residence in the Australian provinces, ending in 1839* was authored to contrast the 'many works on these colonies' and to provide up to date information.[176] Mann resided in Van Diemen's Land from 1832 and spent only three weeks in Adelaide during December 1838 as a minder for Lewis Gilles's children while visiting their uncle, the colonial treasurer Osmond

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[170] 'Mr Leigh's Reconniotering Voyages and Travels to South Australia', *Australian*, Supplement, Tuesday 1 October, 1839, 2.
[171] Advertisements were cited in several editions each of the *London Evening Standard, Morning Chronicle, Morning Post* and *The Examiner* between May and July 1839 and provincial newspapers including the *Leicester Chronicle, Dublin Monitor,* and *Wexford Independent.* From August until December 1840, it was advertised again in the *Era, Falmouth Express and Colonial Journal, Bolton Chronicle* and *Leamington Spa Courier*.
[172] 'Register of Engravings & C.', *Bent's Monthly Literary Advertiser*, Vol. 4, No 415, June 10 1839, 83.
[173] 'Literature and Art', *Era*, Vol. II, No. 97, Sunday 2 August 1840, 8.
[174] 'Literary Notices', *London Despatch*, No. 143, Sunday 9 June 1839, 8.
[175] 'The Literary Examiner', *Examiner,* No. 1,638, Sunday 23 June 1839, 4.
[176] Jane Bell, *"An Extremely Scurrilous Paper" The Cornwall Chronicle: 1835-47*, MA, University of Tasmania, 1993, 10, 12; the primary book is William Mann, *Six Year's Residence in the Australian Provinces: Ending in 1839, exhibiting their capabilities of colonization, and containing the History, Trade, Population, Extent, Resources, &c. &c. of New South Wales, Van Diemen's Land, South Australia, and Port Phillip; with an Account of New Zealand*, Smith Elder, & Co., London, 1838, iii.

Gilles.[177] Published in London and intended to inform potential migrants, Mann wrote in language which implied an intimate knowledge of South Australia from personal experience. However, he later admitted that Mount Lofty was the only place apart from Adelaide that he visited and despite this limited experience his considered opinion was that 'four-fifths of the land in the province was bad'.[178] In truth, Mann was biased towards Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales and this was outlined in his first editorial in Launceston's *Cornwall Chronicle*. [179] In his opinion, South Australia detracted from the existing Australian colonies: 'This then is the El Dorada (sic) for which the interest of the elder colonies is to be sacrificed, by quackery and trickery'.[180]

Several popular newspapers reviewed Mann's book, including London's *Morning Chronicle, Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* and *The Times*. The *Morning Chronicle* continued its support of the colony and recognised Mann's bias towards the 'most favoured portions of Australasia–Van Diemen's Land and New South Wales', calling his representation of South Australia and Wakefield's colonisation plan, 'lamentable'.[181] Wheeler, who also took exception to Mann's publication, challenged the 'erroneous statements upon South Australia' in a lengthy letter to the editor which the *Morning Chronicle* published in full.[182] Writing as a 'private individual' and published under his own name, Wheeler was compelled to 'rebut representations which must otherwise excite considerable anxiety among the numerous respectable families whose connections are located in South Australia'.[183] Wheeler's quick response to refute Mann's book reveals his loyalty towards the colony. Yet it also highlights the fact that similar criticisms were not forthcoming from colonial or official representatives. Newspapers sustained the power to influence their readership without penalty. However, reflecting the *Chronicle's* impartiality or in order to perpetuate interest, Mann's rebuke in a letter to the editor was also published: 'What inducement … could there be to remain in such a miserable place', he questioned .[184]

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[177] 'Evidence of Mr William Mann', *South Australian Register,* Vol. IV, No. 199, Saturday 13 November 1841, 4; on Osmond Gilles see Ross A. Both, 'Gilles v. the Glen Osmond Union Mining Company: Anatomy of a Lease Dispute', *Journal of Australasian Mining History*, Vol. 10, October, 2012, 1-11.
[178] 'Evidence of Mr William Mann', *South Australian Register,* Vol. IV, No. 199, Saturday 13 November 1841, 4.
[179] 'The Cornwall Chronicle, Launceston', *The Cornwall Chronicle*, Vol. I, No. I, Saturday 14 February, 1835, 2.
[180] Mann, *Six Years' Residence in the Australian Provinces,* 300.
[181] 'Literature', *The Morning Chronicle,* No. 21,797, Thursday 3 October 1839, 2.
[182] 'South Australia', *The Morning Chronicle,* No. 21,801, Tuesday 8 October 1839, 1.
[183] Ibid.
[184] *'To the Editor of the Morning Chronicle', Morning Chronicle*, No. 21,854, Tuesday 10 December 1839, 3.

Johnstone's review in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, which was interspersed with numerous lengthy extracts from the book, also recognised Mann's aversion for South Australia: 'The condition and prospects of South Australia are not, by this author's account, either flattering to emigrants or satisfactory to the present settlers'.[185] However, it is Barnes's review in *The Times* that provides the most telling account of Mann's opinion of South Australia. Published over two columns, Barnes's delight in reviewing the work can be imagined, considering his dislike for Wakefield and the colony. The writer, Barnes states, clearly explains Adelaide's shortcomings:

> [He] exposes very properly the manner in which the process has been managed by which several thousand persons have been "squatted" in an unfavourable and unimproveable sandy and woody waste under the name of a city.[186]

Mann's book, according to Barnes, revealed 'the miseries … from delusive and greedy speculations' and 'the interested fallacies … in the manufacture of colonization'.[187] Barnes highlighted extracts from the book which were the most critical and he concluded that Adelaide was primitive, filled with thieves and in a 'remote and sterile district'.[188] Thus, these reviews in such widely disseminated publications are further evidence of the importance of newspapers for spreading information about the colony. Furthermore, they show how easily targeted reviews, opinions and conclusions could influence potential migrants.

Certainly, within the first few years of settlement, South Australia attracted an inordinate amount of publicity. As a result, numerous authors exploited its notoriety without official sanction. With the possible exception of Capper's publications, which some government-appointed emigration agents promoted, neither the Colonial Office nor South Australian officials authorised any of these works and no evidence of official support has been discovered. Chiefly, it was South Australian settlers who contributed to the distribution of information. This is evident in the publications of Thomas Potter Macqueen and Patrick Matthew. Macqueen was a long-time supporter of colonisation and Matthew exploited the popularity of migration and South Australia. Macqueen purchased a rural property in New South Wales in London and managed it for almost a decade before migrating there. Although Matthew supported colonisation, he favoured

[185] 'Literary Register', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. VI, 1839, 683–685.
[186] 'Six Years' Residence In The Australian Provinces, &c', *The Times*, No. 17,1611, October 1839, 3.
[187] Ibid.
[188] Ibid.

New Zealand.[189] Both, however, wrote about South Australia in their emigration books without having travelled to the colony.

Macqueen was a member of the National Colonization Society committee which met in June 1830 to promote a colony in southern Australia and a was disciple of Horton on pauper emigration.[190] Yet he was accused of discouraging pauper labourers on his own properties.[191] Like Leigh and Mann, Macqueen criticised South Australia: 'The jobbing of the present system' he wrote, greatly disadvantaged any migrant without substantial capital.[192] However, reviews in the press said Macqueen's book was 'admirable' and 'conveying greater information than the most costly publications'.[193] Matthew's *Emigration Fields* was similarly promoted. Several popular newspapers advised anyone intending to migrate to first read this publication.[194] Astutely, however, Johnstone's review in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* revealed that it was the popularity of migration which prompted an expansion of the book to include South Australia rather than an intimate knowledge of the colony.[195]

Certainly, *Emigration Fields* promoted migration to New Zealand and was a platform for Matthew's Chartist beliefs and his principles of natural selection: 'Properly regulated colonization, to obey the common instincts of nature, "to increase and multiply"'.[196] Information about Australia and, specifically, South Australia was included on advice from his publisher: 'I had not such a knowledge of the subject of our colonies generally [but] … I could … shew how very important an element emigration might be rendered in our national economy'.[197] In other words, the perceived popularity of South Australia rather than an intimate knowledge of the colonies was the motivation for the colony's inclusion in *Emigration Fields*.

As argued in Chapter Two, colonisation and emigration emerged as highly topical subjects during the 1830s and greatly influenced South Australian settlement.

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[189] E. W. Dunlop, 'Macqueen, Thomas Potter (1791–1854)', Australian Dictionary of Biography, accessed 27 February 2015; Patrick Matthew, *Emigration Fields. North America, The Cape, Australia, and New Zealand*, Adam and Charles Black, Edinburgh Longman, Orm, Longman, Green and Longmans, London, 1839, v.
[190] 'National Colonization Society'. *The Times*, No. 14,255, 17 June 1830, 3.
[191] 'To The Editor of the *Sydney Monitor*', *The Sydney Monitor,* Vol. VII, No. 452, Saturday 4 February, 1832, 3.
[192] Thomas Potter Macqueen, *Australia as She is and as She may be*, J. Cross, London, 1840, 26.
[193] [No Heading], *Southern Reporter and Cork Commercial Courier*, Vol. XXXIII, Thursday 16 April, 1840, 2.
[194] See 'For Intending Emigrants', *Bell's Weekly Messenger*, No. 2,234, Monday 11 February, 1839, 7; 'Advertisements & Notices', *Leeds Mercury*, Vol. 74, No. 5,487, Saturday 9 March, 1839, 2.
[195] 'Australian Emigration', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. XI, March 1839, 168–175.
[196] Matthew, *Emigration Fields*, 6; on his beliefs, see Michael E Weale, 'Patrick Matthew's Law of Natural Selection', *Biological Journal of the Linnean Society*, 115, 2015, 785-791.
[197] Patrick, *Emigration Fields,* v.

Emigration authors exploited the popularity of Australia and, indeed, South Australia as a migrant destination. Newspapers which exploited 'the rage for emigration' were dominant contributors to migration discussions.[198] Authors regularly wrote without first hand experience and newspaper advertisements and reviews helped to influence public perceptions.[199] The prominence of South Australia in mainstream journals and public discussion coupled with a perception from the existing Australian colonies that South Australia would compete for capital investors and eligible migrants motivated authors and ensured interest. South Australia had quickly become a competitive emigration field.

Conclusion

This thesis has argued that the 'rage for emigration' combined with the 'rage for reading' and the expansion of the newspaper press, particularly targeted towards the working classes, greatly advantaged South Australian colonisation. Publicity in newspapers and literature played a crucial role in informing and influencing potential migrants. This chapter has revealed the extent of the 'unofficial' publicity about South Australia and argued that in conjunction with 'official' advertising and publicity, it was often people from the middle and working classes without verifiable information or government sanction who inspired or dissuaded potential migrants. They embraced newspapers and the opportunity they provided for individual and collective representation, with such celerity that neither colonial nor British governments were able to control their extensive promotional systems. This is recognised as major failing of British and colonial officials.

The demand for information from the first settlers that heightened awareness about South Australia also influenced literature. The number of emigration books that were published increased markedly during the years immediately after South Australian colonisation. A glut in publications was evident by 1840 when migration was curtailed. This Chapter reveals that some authors gathered information about South Australia for their books from its supporters. Theirs was not first hand information and some reviewers recognised their hyperbole or 'puffing' of the colony. In contrast, authors who wrote from personal experience were praised in the press for their candour. This chapter has revealed that, ultimately, it was the unofficial

[198] This is discussed in Piesse, *British Settler Emigration in Print, 1832-1877*, in particular 144-158.
[199] Ibid, 202.

newspaper publicity and not official sources that provided significant information about South Australia to potential migrants.

The analysis of particular periods in South Australia's colonisation history has identified themes in the literature of increasing importance. These issues, which have been alluded to in previous chapters are discussed in the following chapter. They include South Australia's avoidance of convict transportation, competition between the Australian colonies and a language of hope which emerged as utopian discourse. Furthermore, it is evident that migrants' expectations were not always met by their experiences. Chapter Six reveals the factors about South Australia which were most prominent in the publicity and asks whether migrants' reality matched their expectations.

Chapter Six
Expectations and realities

This chapter argues that newspapers played a significant role in affecting public disposition in favour of or against South Australia being a successful colony with an unrivalled colonisation system. The literature has revealed several prominent themes in the debates and advertisements about South Australia. These include the absence of convict transportation and the promise of a morally superior colony. In this way the hope for betterment was promoted and prompted some of the utopian language, as discussed. Indeed, a factor like no convict transportation was so important for South Australia's planners that it was enshrined in its Foundation Act. It was advocated as the element of a model colonisation society which set it apart from the other Australian colonies. This created a climate of competition between colonies which pervaded much of the literature.

This chapter reinforces the argument that from its first inception as an idea, publicity played a crucial role in promoting Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan and gathering enough public support to inspire the government to sanction a new province in southern Australia. Additionally, public input in newspapers and the literature greatly influenced migrants' expectations and, indeed, helped to perpetuate ongoing publicity. This increased the incidence of false, exaggerated or biased information which has been revealed as a problem for South Australia and one that influenced colonial realities. This chapter argues that as the colony was settled, many colonists actively engaged in promoting specific ideals for its ongoing settlement. This was evident in newspapers and the literature. South Australia was advanced through the promotion of those in the colony rather than by colonial officials in Britain. The high moral standards envisioned for South Australia's migrants, which helped to shape its population, also raised their expectations and clouded colonial realities.

Convicts not to be transported

Wakefield was adamant that no convicts would be transported to South Australia. His Quaker heritage and the experience of his incarceration influenced this decision. Indeed, Wakefield believed that the presence of convicts would greatly prejudice the

labouring classes against migration.[1] This conformed to the views of others in his coterie that supported an end to slavery and convict transportation, and was a significant influencing factor among South Australia's supporters. Hence, it was enacted that

> no Person or Persons convicted in any Court of Justice in *Great Britain* or *Ireland*, or elsewhere, shall … be transported as a Convict to any Place within the Limits of South Australia.[2]

The restriction of convict transportation distinguished South Australia from the other Australian colonies and provided an aura of morality and respectability. South Australia's early settlement aligned with the moralising influences of the early Victorian period which eschewed slavery and the servitude policies related to prison reform.[3] In 1838 Sir William Molesworth chaired an inquiry into transportation which highlighted the immorality of the convict colonies, exposed 'the depth of their moral depravity' and supported its termination.[4] However, settlers in the Australian colonies who depended on convict labour were aggrieved. Not only at the prospect of losing their convict labour force, but also because of the revelation that their colonies were considered to be morally depraved.[5] It was, therefore, South Australia's moral superiority that much of the publicity highlighted and which elicited colonial rivalries.

Convict immorality and colonial rivalry

From the outset, South Australia's rejection of convict transportation generated increased rivalry with the other Australian colonies, particularly New South Wales, as it competed for suitable migrants. New Zealand also emerged as a competitor for the same types of migrants as South Australia. This is confirmed in some of the emigration literature as discussed in Chapter Five. In fact, in 1842, Angas wrote of his concerns about New Zealand 'enticing away' valuable settlers from South Australia.[6] However, a perception that South Australia was morally superior threatened New South Wales, in particular, and newspaper reports helped to fuel resentment. For

[1] Edward Gibbon Wakefield, *A View of the Art of Colonization, in Letters between a Statesman and a Colonist*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1849, 138–140.
[2] 'An Act to empower His Majesty to erect *South Australia* into a *British* Province', in Dickey and Howell, *Select Documents*, 43-50.
[3] Philip Harling, 'The Trouble with Convicts: From Transportation to Penal Servitude, 1840–67', *Journal of British Studies*, 53(1), January 2014, 80–110.
[4] 'Transportation', in Kenneth Bell and W. P. Morrell, *Select Documents on British Colonial Policy*, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1968, 269–320, in particular see 269–270 and House of Commons Committee on Transportation, B. P. P., 1837-1838, xxii, 281–285.
[5] See, for example, James Boyce, *Van Diemen's Land*, Black Inc., Melbourne, 2008, 236-237; Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, Vintage, London, 2003, 282–322.
[6] Angas to Grey, 29 September 1842, Borrow Collection, Flinders University Special Collections, Early Experiences in Australasia, Volume I: Primary Sources and Personal Narratives 1788–1901 database.

example, the *Spectator* in 1836 highlighted concerns about South Australia that had been expressed in the *Sydney Herald*. 'The establishment of this free colony, and the success which has already attended it, appear to have excited the jealousy of the Convict Colonies of Australia'.[7] The article clearly outlined the apprehensions of New South Wales colonists. 'This new colony, perfectly unshackled by prison discipline, by military governors, and by immense civil and legal establishments, and wholly independent and free, threatens to annihilate the other colonies'.[8]

While South Australia was portrayed as a morally superior destination, the findings of the 1838 Molesworth inquiry into transportation reported that immorality prevailed in the convict colonies.[9] It created both a disparity between the social classes and widespread 'envy, hatred, and all uncharitableness'.[10] The publication of these findings in newspapers exacerbated the rivalries. Thus, the *Sydney Monitor* reported that South Australia's colonisation plan encouraged 'the *industrious* destitute' and created 'a city of refuge for the skilful and economical *farmer-bankrupt*'.[11] When revealed in Britain, these statements incited retaliation from South Australia's supporters. *Bell's Life* argued,

> to believe a syllable of what is stated by a Sydney Paper regarding South Australia would be far more absurd … Sydney has a *convict*-ion of her "currency" nature: Adelaide has "sterling" merit.[12]

A play on words, '*convict*-ion' is self-evident, 'sterling' referenced English-born settlers and 'currency' their colonial-born children.[13] This language appealed to *Bell's* working class readers, yet the contempt of the writer is obvious. *Bell's* editor, Vincent George Dowling, perceived the interest in the colony and highlighted 'South Australia' in a bold headline.[14] Yet a concluding editorial statement in keeping with Dowling's 'unbending integrity', declaimed the letter. It 'deals in assertions, but produces no

[7] 'South Australia' *Spectator*, No. 410, 7 May 1836, 435–436; the original article can be found here 'New Colony, Southern Australia', *Sydney Herald*, Vol. V. No. 417, Monday 26 October, 1835, 2.
[8] 'New Colony, Southern Australia', *Sydney Herald*, Vol. V. No. 417, Monday 26 October, 1835, 2.
[9] Sir William Molesworth, *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Transportation*, Henry Hooper, London, 1838, 34–35.
[10] Ibid.
[11] 'South Australia', *The Sydney Monitor and Commercial Advertiser*, Vol. XIII, No. 1,263, Friday 2 November 1838, 1; italics in original quote.
[12] 'South Australia', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, Sunday 20 January 1839, 2.
[13] On colonial slang see Benjamin T. Jones, 'Currency Culture: Australian Identity and Nationalism in New South Wales before the Gold Rushes', *Australian Historical Studies*, 48(1), 2017, 68–85; italics in original quote.
[14] Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 78–79.

proof … those intending to emigrate should "look before they leap"'.[15] Thus, Dowling maintained his impartiality, while exploiting the topical subject of South Australia.

Dowling's point was valid. Although South Australia's Foundation prevented convict transportation, it could not impede escaped or ex-convicts in Australian colonies from travelling across the borders or convicted felons from arranging a passage to South Australia. Therein lay the issue for the promoters of the colony and a loop-hole which supporters of New South Wales, in particular, exploited. How could South Australia's planners and colonial officials promote a convict-free settlement when the evidence indicated that escaped or ex-convicts convicts arrived in the new colony almost immediately (see Chapter Two).

Governor Hindmarsh outlined his concerns about convict arrivals in correspondence to the secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Glenelg, in 1838: 'So many desperate characters from the penal colonies are now in South Australia, that a mounted police has become absolutely necessary'.[16] This news was quickly disseminated in England. Sir John Jeffcott, the principal judge for South Australia, reported that 'squatters, runaway convicts, and deserters' were prevalent.[17] Soon after the first emigrant arrivals, acting Governor George Stephen reported that at least forty 'desperate runaway convicts' were in Adelaide.[18] The land was 'full of convicts and runaways', according to William Deacon, but he was unconcerned because they were quickly returned to the penal colonies.[19] Deacon, originally a South Australian Company employee, established a 'Coffee House and Hotel' and reported in a letter to his brother that escaped convicts and 'land jobbers' were rampant in the colony.[20] Correspondence in the *Liverpool Mercury* from a 'well-known and … respectable townsman' confirmed this and reported that 'almost all the crimes committed have been traced to old convicts … from the neighbouring colonies'.[21]

Although these correspondences concur, the sentiments of the authors were opposing, the latter implying that the South Australia's superiority as a moral colony remained intact because the criminals were convicts 'from the neighbouring colonies'. Additionally, its publication in the *Liverpool Mail* disseminated the news among a substantially increased readership. The relevance of published correspondence,

[15] 'South Australia', *Bell's Life in London and Sporting Chronicle*, Sunday 20 January 1839, 2.
[16] Hindmarsh to Glenelg, 2 April, 1838, CO13/10.
[17] 'The New Settlement in South Australia', *Hampshire Advertiser & Salisbury Guardian,* Vol. XV, No. 748, Saturday 18 November, 1837, 3.
[18] [No Heading], *South Australian Gazette and Colonial Register*, Saturday 14 July, 1838, 1.
[19] William Deacon to Thomas Deacon 19 April 1840, SLSA, D 7661(L).
[20] Ibid.
[21] 'South Australia', *The Liverpool Mercury*, No. 1,535, Vol. XXX, Friday 9 October 1840, 2.

therefore, is reinforced when individual perspectives are spread throughout entire communities. However, the fact that convicts were not transported to South Australia remained a significant drawcard. It was promoted in the official advertisements, (see Chapter Four) and helped to create rivalry with the other Australian colonies largely due to the publicity received in newspapers. Reports that alleged South Australia was superior to other colonies because it refused convicts, however, obscured the reality of the settlement.

Almost immediately after the first news from the colony reached Britain, newspapers emphasised the benefits of South Australia's convict-free status. Some publications were accurate in their interpretations of the Act. For example England's *Wexford Conservative* and North Wales' *Chester Chronicle* reported 'that no person convicted of criminal offences in England shall be transported' to South Australia.[22] As the advantages and disadvantages of a convict labour population were topical, it was often the language that framed newspaper reports and debates which misrepresented the edict, obscured colonial realities and encouraged discord with the other Australian colonies. Certainly, the letter published in *Bell's Life* provided few facts, which Dowling acknowledged this but his was the exception. More commonly, statements were similar to those published in Scotland's long-established *Caledonian Mercury* which reported that 'no convicts are to be admitted' to South Australia.[23]

This was clearly untenable and untrue considering that criminal statistics confirm that convicts arrived in South Australia regularly.[24] Yet, reports like this were published in many newspapers and reiterated in the emigration literature. Although they helped to increase misconceptions about the colony, they also aided migration. The purveyors of this literature had little regard for the cost to migrants whose expectations were unmet and the subsequent unfavourable representations they spread about the colony. However, South Australia's rejection of transportation reflected the importance of morality during Britain's early Victorian era. Indeed, *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* outlined the importance of its convict-free status: 'South Australia has lately excited considerable interest in Scotland, where people are repelled by the many evils and horrors attending the convict settlements'.[25] This helps

[22] 'South Australia', *The Wexford Conservative*, Vol. 5, No. 459, Wednesday 26 April, 1837, 1; 'South Australia', *The Chester Chronicle*, No. 3,226, Friday 5 May, 1837, 4.
[23] 'South Australia', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,244, Saturday 25 March, 1837, 1.
[24] Paul Sendziuk, 'No Convicts Here: Reconsidering South Australia's Foundation Myth', in Foster & Sendziuk (eds), *Turning Points*, 33–47.
[25] 'The New Colony of South Australia and the Penal Colonies', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. V, December 1838, 776–789.

to explain why Smillie's articles, discussed in Chapter Five, gained so much favourable attention in Scotland.

Publicity like this encouraged the promoters of New South Wales to downplay their convict population in order to 'remove the prejudices of the people'.[26] John Bowie's *Notes on Australia* published in 1837 was one example. Almost entirely devoted to New South Wales, only one paragraph described Van Diemen's Land and the Swan River Colony while South Australia was ignored completely. This was an exercise in publicity for New South Wales to change the belief that it was 'a place destined solely for convicts'.[27] Indeed, it is plausible that its title was a calculated attempt to exploit the popularity that South Australia enjoyed. This was the kind of publicity that Henry Capper sought to rectify when he published *How to get to South Australia* (see Chapter Five). While Bowie, who was a member of the Edinburgh Relief Committee, was motivated by the alarming destitution in Glasgow and Edinburgh in 1837, his acquaintance with John Dunmore Lang, New South Wales most fervent promoter, was a great influence.[28] Thus, he promoted the benefits of a convict work force and downplayed issues of immorality.

Bowie proselytised 'honest and exemplary' ex-convicts in order to allay fears about immorality in New South Wales and direct migration to its shore.[29] Certainly, his account contrasted with Smillie's assertions, that the convict colonies contained populations of 'enormous evil' where the colonist and his family were exposed to 'the foulest influences of immorality'.[30] Morality or the lack thereof, argues A.L. Beier, was tied to the rise of a criminal class among the working poor in Victorian Britain and a direct result of scaremongering by 'moral entrepreneurs'.[31] Certainly, this label could apply to authors like Smillie and Bowie and the many other examples in newspapers.

For instance, the Tory-biased *Quarterly Review,* whose readership comprised the affluent middle class stated that the large number of convicts affected all classes in New South Wales: 'the lower ranks are corrupted, and the higher, annoyed'.[32] Long

[26] John Bowie, *Notes on Australia, for the Information of Intending Emigrants,* University Press, Edinburgh, 1837, 6.
[27] Ibid.
[28] *First Report from the Select Committee on Emigration, Scotland, Minutes of Evidence,* Vol. VI, 26 January–22 June 1841, 1–228, in particular 48.
[29] Ibid, 20-21.
[30] William Smillie, *"The Great South Land": Four Articles on Emigration, Designed to Exhibit the Principles and Progress of the New Colony of South Australia*, The Stirling Observer Office, 1838, 5.
[31] A. L. Beier, 'Identity, Language, and Resistance in the Making of the Victorian "Criminal Class": Mayhew's Convict Revisited', *Journal of British Studies*, 44(3), July 2005, 499–515.
[32] 'New South Wales', *Quarterly Review*, Vol. LXII, October 1838, 480; on the *Quarterly Review* see Brake and Demoor, (eds), *Dictionary of Nineteenth-century Journalism*, 523.

extracts from this report were published in the Chartist *Operative*.[33] The Whig *Courier* reported that migrants were disinclined to travel to the convict colonies because of the immorality there:

> The one grand objection to Eastern Australia as a place of Emigration … which … is serious enough to outweigh all its other unquestionable advantages – the moral character, namely, of a large portion of its present population.[34]

The convict character was the 'only cloud on the prospects of this otherwise favoured country', the report concluded.[35] These were some of the numerous aspersions that painted the convict colonies as degenerate and ignited interest from other sources. New South Wales was the worst colony, according to the acerbic Benjamin Miller Kennedy, the editor of Scotland's newly published *John O'Groat Journal.*[36] It was a 'fatal curse', declared Samuel Laman Blanchard, the editor of London's *Constitutional*. 'The only guarantee…for a supply of free labour is the adoption of the Wakefield system', he concluded.[37] South Australia was the only hope for Britain's emigrants to 'avoid all the social miseries' of the convict colonies.[38] It is unsurprising that Blanchard promoted Wakefield's South Australia considering he counted pro-colonisers like Edward Bulwer-Lytton among his closest allies.[39] However, it is clear that Wakefield's colonisation system and, in particular, the rejection of convict transportation generated public debate in the press. These examples reveal that these subjects were very topical. Newspapers perceived this interest and exploited the issues and the debates which surrounded them, to bolster their readership.

1840: the suspension of transportation to New South Wales

These were a modicum of the articles published in newspapers ostensibly as a result of the favourable reports about South Australia from the early arrivals. They are evidence of the colony's prominence once settlement occurred and show that the edict

[33] 'State of New South Wales', *Operative*, Vol. I, No. 4, Sunday 25 November 1838, 15; on the *Operative* see David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838–1848*, CUP, UK, 1982, 35.
[34] 'Literature', *Courier*, No. 14,744, Monday 12 November 1838, 3.
[35] Ibid.
[36] 'Emigration to Australasia', *John O'Groat Journal*, No CXVI, Friday 1 February, 1839, 4; on Benjamin Miller Kennedy see R. Thompson and J. C. Keppie, 'A Reputation for Excellence Vol. 4, Aberdeen and the Northern Counties', Scottish Printing Archival Trust, 1–45, in particular 42–43, https://www.scottishprintarchive.org/wp-content/uploads/2012/04/Vol-4-Aberdeen-Northern-Counties.pdf#page=1&zoom=auto,0,-18, accessed 19 February 2019.
[37] 'The Social Condition of the Penal Settlements', *Constitutional and Public Ledger*, Vol. I, No. 144, Wednesday 1 March 1837, 3.
[38] Ibid.
[39] *The Poetical Works or Laman Blanchard with a Memoir by Blanchard Jerrold*, Chatto and Windus, London, 1876, 19, 22–23; on Bulwer-Lytton and colonisation See, for example, Bruce Knox, 'Colonies and Colonisation in Bulwer Lytton's The Caxtons, A Strange Story and The Coming Race', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 2016, 44(6), 857–880.

denying convict transportation was a catalyst for the ensuing competition for migrants with the penal colonies. Previous chapters have revealed the significance of 1840, the year which saw the cessation of assisted migration to South Australia. Significantly, it was the year when convict transportation was stopped to New South Wales.[40]

The cessation of transportation to New South Wales was applauded in South Australia. It was a matter of continued consternation in the colony that little restriction was placed against convicts arriving from the adjacent colonies. The *South Australian Register* reported on the problem in 1840:

> No precautions have been adopted to prevent the importations of escaped convicts or ticket-of-leave men from the neighbouring penal settlements; and the consequence is that South Australia is overrun with persons of these descriptions.[41]

In contrast, South Australia's no convict edict was stringently adhered to in Britain. For example, in 1840 the Romsey Poor Law Union applied to the Colonisation Commissioners on behalf of John Collins, his wife and seven children, for assistance to move to South Australia. An agricultural labourer and returned convict from Van Diemen's Land, he was sentenced for his participation in agricultural riots.[42] The Commissioners declined his request: 'Any person who has been transported' was ineligible for a free passage.[43] Although colonial officials adhered to South Australia's Foundation Act, their vigilance did not negate the arrival of convicts from the existing colonies or those able to fund their passage.

Many New South Wales colonists, however, held an opposing view and were in favour of continued transportation. They saw benefit from convict labour and were indifferent to aspersions of immorality with a convict taint. For example, a letter from a clergyman who migrated to New South Wales in 1837 was published in the popular working class and family orientated *Liverpool Journal* and reprinted in the *Kendal*

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[40] Order-in-Council ending transportation of convicts 22 May 1840 (UK), Museum of Australian Democracy, SRNSW: 4/1310; on the debates on Britain leading to the cessation of convict transportation See, for example Dane Kennedy, 'The Great Arch of Empire', in Martin Hewitt (ed.) *The Victorian World*, Routledge, Oxon, Canada, New York, 2012, 57–72; Julie M. Barst, 'The Molesworth Report and the Dissolution of Convict Transportation to Australia, August 1838', *BRANCH: Britain, Representation and Nineteenth-Century History*, http://www.branchcollective.org/?ps_articles=julie-m-barst-the-molesworth-report-and-the-dissolution-of-convict-transportation-to-australia-august-1838, accessed 8 February, 2019.

[41] 'The Police–Criminal Statistics', *South Australian Register,* Vol. III, No. 105, Saturday 25 January 1840, 3.

[42] Maughan Library Foyle Special Collection, FCO 2 JU 7614 OUT.

[43] *An Official Circular of Public Documents and Information: Directed by the Poor Law Commissioners,* Vol. 11, No. 1, 8 January 1840, 12.

Mercury in June 1840, a month after transportation was suspended.[44] In conjunction with the letter, Michael James Whitty, the *Journal's* editor, devoted half of a column to interpreting the letter: 'Many classes … may advantageously emigrate to New South Wales', Whitty stated.[45] However, he denounced Adelaide 'which has been represented in such flattering, and, we do not doubt, deceptive, terms as a market for labour of every description'.[46] This was gleaned from the clergyman who criticised the British system which encouraged free migrants to Australia and stated that a lack of convict labourers impeded South Australia's success:

> The withdrawal of convict labour is having a most injurious effect, and free labour cannot be procured for love or money. The driblets you send out from England are soon swallowed up.[47]

The minister continued, 'prevent your friends from going to Swan River, South Australia, and even New Zealand … you cannot colonise without labour, and they have it not, and I fear never will'.[48]

Thus, newspaper editors capitalised on the public interest in transportation that the inquiry brought. Regardless of the fact that assisted migration to South Australia was suspended, the colony featured prominently in newspapers which debated the convict issue because it was portrayed as 'Entirely free from the taint of *convicts'.*[49] The cessation of transportation elicited competition between the Australian colonies for suitable migrants during the 1840s. Newspapers perceived the interest the convict issue generated among their readers and encouraged the interest. For example, London's *Daily News* reported that:

> There have seldom been two communities more differently circumstanced in origin, in constitution, in rights, and in their social and physical condition, than New South Wales and South Australia.[50]

The *Daily News* highlighted the illegality of transporting convicts to South Australia, in contrast to New South Wales which was built by convicts and whose society was degraded because of them. However, reports of ex-convicts or ticket-of-

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[44] On the *Liverpool Journal* see Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory,* 206.
[45] 'Emigration to Australia', *Kendal Mercury and Northern Advertiser*, Saturday No. 346, 26 December, 1840, 1; on Michael James Whitty see 'Michael James Whitty (1798-1873)', *The Past: The Organ of the Uí Cinsealaigh Historical Society*, 10, 1973/1974, 45–47.
[46] 'Emigration to Australia', *Kendal Mercury and Northern Advertiser*, Saturday No. 346, 26 December, 1840, 1.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid.
[49] 'South Australia for Settlers of the Higher Classes', *South Australian Register*, Vol. VII, No. 402, Saturday 15 June, 1844, 2.
[50] 'South Australia', *Daily News*, No. 69, Wednesday 19 August 1846, 4.

leave men travelling into South Australia from the convict colonies did not escape the notice of newspaper editors who perceived and exploited the attention which the topic generated.[51] The interest was so widespread that even small, provincial publications contained reports about South Australia and the convict issue. For example, the *Elgin Courant,* a respectable albeit small newspaper that circulated in Morayshire, northern Scotland, reported that the arrival of pardoned convicts was 'the thorn on the rose' of South Australia: 'No convict, under any circumstances, can be permitted to set his foot on the shores of South Australia', it reported.[52] This was, according to the proprietor and editor James Grant, a provision of the South Australian Act.[53] Grant's lengthy article about the 'moral leprosy' that transportation created in the colonies most likely reflected his personal stance against slavery and transportation.[54]

Another example of the contentiousness of the convict issue for South Australia is the staunchly Protestant *Essex Standard's* report in 1840 that crime was already rampant in the colony.[55] In 1842, however, it dedicated almost a column to the promotion of South Australia. Unlike the exaggerated and unrepresentative *Elgin Courant*, the *Essex Standard* published the exact wording of the colony's no convict clause.[56] With a concentrated circulation in England's East Midlands of 1000 weekly issues, this reveals that accurate information was available to small, provincial newspapers.[57] However, while publicity in the *Elgin Courant* and the *Essex Standard* likely had little effect on migration to South Australia, it reveals the extent of community interest in the convict issue and, by association, South Australia. As the lifeblood of provincial communities, local publications were inspired to inform and unify.[58] These examples are evidence of the power of the press and the extent of the influence that newspapers wielded in society. More importantly, they reveal the inconsistency of published information and the lack of official regulation.

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[51] For an explanation of ticket-of-leave' men see Barrie Dyster, 'Public Employment and Assignment to Private Masters 1788-1821', in Stephen Nicholas (ed.) *Convict Workers: Reinterpreting Australia's Past*, CUP, Cambridge, NY, Melbourne, 1988, 127–151.
[52] 'The Colonies of South Australia', *Elgin Courant and Morayshire Advertiser,* Vol. XII, No. 586, Friday 6 March 1846, 2.
[53] Charles Rampini, *A History of Moray and Nairne*, William Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London, 1897, 363-364.
[54] This is gleaned from articles in the *Elgin Courant* against slavery and transportation, for example, 'Abolition of Slavery', *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser,* Vol. XII, No. 586, Friday 6 March 1846, 2; 'The Slave Trade', *Elgin Courant, and Morayshire Advertiser,* Vol. XII, No. 607, Friday 31 July 1846, 2.
[55] [No Heading], *Essex Standard*, Friday 20 November 1840, 4; Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 172.
[56] [No Heading], *Essex Standard*, Vol. XII, No. 611, Friday 9 September 1842, 2.
[57] For the number of issues see: 'Newspaper Returns-the Humbug of Tory Reaction Exposed', *Caledonian Mercury*, No. 18,338, Monday 30 October 1837, 3.
[58] 'Introduction to Part Two', in Michael Harris and Alan Lee (eds), *The Press in English Society from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries*, The Press Group, New Jersey, England, Ontario, 1986, 107–112; in particular 108.

The wording of South Australia's Foundation Act was specific. No convicts could be *transported* to the colony and this was upheld by the CLEC.[59] However, the suspension of transportation to New South Wales, debates in South Australia and growing community distaste for transportation and slavery in Britain ensured that the topic remained controversial and contentious throughout the 1840s. British newspapers instigated and perpetuated public interest, but through ignorance, misinterpretation or enthusiasm for the subject they were also responsible for spreading ambiguous or distorted information.

The Parkhurst Prison and Ragged School girls and boys

Many settlers arrived with the perception that South Australia was morally superior. They were adamant that it should not only remain free from the taint of convictism but also attract only the most wholesome, hard working migrants. Thus, when Lord Ashley, later the Earl of Shaftesbury, suggested that youths from Parkhurst prison could be sent to South Australia, newspaper publicity helped to elicit colonists' vehement protests.[60] 'The inhabitants … have strong prejudices against an infusion of convicts', it was reported.[61] Yet, South Australia's Governor Grey was amenable to the plan and canvassed the opinion of 'influential inhabitants of the colony'.[62] Colonial Secretary John Jackson also considered the idea and wrote to John Brown, the emigration agent in South Australia in 1843 to solicit his thoughts.[63]

South Australian newspapers were privy to these correspondences and published government and official communications about the plan, and sourced reports from the prison. For example, James Allen, editor of the *South Australian,* published statistics from the Parkhurst Prison. The language which introduced them reveals his contempt for the plan: 'We shall select some information relative to the young convicts … of whom we have been threatened' and we 'should not be exposed to…the immitigated (sic) evil of convict immigration'.[64] Certainly, Allen's language showed his disgust and provoked colonist dissent. In fact, colonists were so indignant that in January 1845 a meeting was called to gather signatures for a memorial to Lord

[59] Italics added by author for emphasis.
[60] *Speech of Lord Ashley in the House of Commons, Tuesday 6 June 1848*, W.H. Dalton, London, 1848, 32. Lord Ashley's emigration schemes are discussed in Haines, *Emigration and the Labouring Poor*, 172–173, n.24.
[61] 'The Parkhurst Boys', *South Australian*, Vol. VIII, No. 591, Tuesday 14 January 1845, 2.
[62] Colonial Department to George Grey, 20 November 1843, CO 13/35.
[63] *Circular to John Brown Esq. [Emigration Agent for the province of South Australia] from John Jackson, Colonial Secretary*, Colonial Secretary's Office, Adelaide, 26 January 1843.
[64] 'Convict Emigration', *South Australian*, Vol. VIII, No. 595, Tuesday 28 January 1845, 3.

Stanley, the colonial secretary of state.[65] Attendees reiterated that South Australia's Foundation Act 'guaranteed that convicts should not, under any circumstances, be transported to such province'.[66] Settlers selected South Australia, they argued, because it promised 'a proper moral tone' and they were guaranteed freedom from convictism.[67] They would 'resist it by every lawful means in their power'.[68]

Colonists were so concerned that unfavourable publicity about the Parkhurst boys would tarnish South Australia's reputation as a convict-free colony that it was resolved to publish a transcript of the memorial meeting in every Adelaide newspaper and in *The Times* and *Colonial Gazette* in London.[69] The newspapers were relied on for disseminating information and spreading opinions. Approximately 1460 signatures were gathered and the memorial was sent to Lord Stanley.[70] Barnes's enduring apathy for South Australia was reflected in the single sentence published in *The Times* that the colonists 'memorialize[d] against … children from the Parkhurst establishment'.[71] The *Colonial Gazette* published an account of the January meeting and its resolutions, and remarked about the 'strong and growing desire' to migrate to South Australia because of its superior morality.[72]

In the second half of the 1840s the British Parliament debated whether South Australia would benefit from the labour that selected convicts could provide. As a consequence of the routine publication in newspapers of the House of Commons debates, therefore, the idea was spread in prominent London and provincial newspapers. Aside from the Parkhurst boys, in 1848 Lord Ashley also recommended that 1000 well-behaved Ragged School boys and girls could be removed to South Australia at no expense to the colony.[73] An intensified passion for religion inspired the establishment of Ragged schools to provide free education to pauper or destitute children.[74] The disgust in South Australia about the plan can be imagined when they were reported as 'naked, filthy, deserted, and migratory wretches, the seed-plot of all

[65] Memorial Parkhurst Boys, SLSA, GR 24/1 1845/26.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Ibid.
[68] Ibid.
[69] 'Parkhurst Boys', *South Australian Register*, Vol. VIII, No. 489, Thursday 30 January 1845, 1; 'Memorial by the Colonists of South Australia Against the Introduction of Convicts', *South Australian*, Vol. VIII, No. 600, Tuesday 28 January 1845, 2.
[70] Memorial Parkhurst Boys, SLSA, GR 24/1 1845/26.
[71] 'Money-Market and City Intelligence', *The Times*, No. 18,9425, June 1845, 7.
[72] 'Parkhurst Boys', and 'Emigration', *Colonial Gazette*, No. 363, Saturday 7 June 1845, 16, 2.
[73] 'House of Commons, Tuesday, Juvenile Destitution', *Nottingham Review and General Advertiser for the Midland Counties*, Friday 9 June, 1848, 3; on the Ragged Schools, See, for example, F. David Roberts, *The Social Conscience of the Early Victorians*, Stanford University Press, California, 2002.
[74] Laura M. Mair, They 'Come for a Lark': London Ragged School Union Teaching Advice in Practice, 1844-70', *Churches and Education*, 55, June 2019, 324-346.

the crime in the metropolis (sic)'.[75] Again, the *South Australian* took up the debate, highlighting statements about the subject from *The Times*.[76] Thus, the importance of published information is further strengthened considering it was information from British newspapers that the *South Australian* referenced to highlight the debates.

A distinct mindset had emerged in the colony. South Australia was exceptional and this was reflected in the utopian endorsements of many settlers whose sentiments were published in Britain. But at what cost? Those with favourable experiences reiterated that the colony was a land of promise. Only superior, hardworking and virtuous migrants were sought. Indeed, this was exactly how the 'official' advertisements promoted the colony. It was untainted by convicts and was the envy of the existing Australian colonies, according to settlers Henry Mildred and William Giles who chose South Australia specifically because of its promotion as a colony of superior morality.[77]

Exploiting Utopian Language

As shown in Chapter One, this thesis supports the argument that from early in the nineteenth century written language transcended speech as the dominant means for information dissemination. Furthermore, written words acquired an authenticity among the working and lower classes previously accorded to spoken language. Increasingly, people believed what they read. Numerous instances of the ways that printed words elicited reactions have been revealed; the publicity surrounding South Australia's rejection of convict transportation is one example.

Promoting the colony as a 'land of promise'

An influential expression, 'the land of promise', was regularly referenced to South Australia. First penned by Wakefield in his *Letters from Sydney* and subsequently the title of Henry Capper's emigration book, the 'land of promise' was unlikely a random designation. Rather, it conveyed the attributes of the Christian discourse about a 'land of promise' or a 'heavenly land'.[78] By using this phrase to describe South Australia it implied that the colony was a majestical land 'more splendid than any to be found on

[75] 'Juvenile Delinquency', *Aberdeen Journal*, No. 5,240, Wednesday 14 June 1848, 6.
[76] 'Emigration', *South Australian*, Vol. XI, No. 996, Friday 24 November 1848, 2.
[77] 'The Parkhurst Boys', *Adelaide Observer*, No. 83, Saturday 25 January 1845, 7.
[78] Robert Gouger, (ed.) *A Letter from Sydney*, *the Principal Town of Australasia*, Joseph Cross, London, 1829, i; on the Christian discourse see Robert Louis Wilken, *The Land Called Holy: Palestine in Christian History and Thought*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, 1992, 127-128.

this earth'.[79] The 'land of promise' was synonymous with a hope for betterment which supporters of South Australia believed was attainable in this colony. Evocative prose like this reinforced these hopes. Hence, when authors wrote of 'sanguine hope' and in 'glowing language' about Adelaide, as Andrew Russell did in 1841, their language was framed to induce optimism in readers.[80] Imagining betterment was intensified and became a powerful pull factor for South Australian migration, which its advocates solicited to great advantage: 'The raptures with which Captain Sturt spoke of the paradise he had discovered, affects people's imaginations to this day' asserted Johnstone in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine* in 1838.[81]

Consequently, editors and journalists writing about the first arrivals in 1836 portrayed South Australia with idealism and hope: 'It seems but yesterday that the colony of South Australia was but a colony on paper, the favourite dream of a few enthusiasts. It was then a sort of Utopia'.[82] Wakefield's systematic colonisation dream was realised and publicity about the new colony encouraged people who imagined betterment. South Australia, which was proclaimed as 'a sort of Utopia', within two years was an 'established community … [a] thriving treasure', Capper's *South Australian Record* reported.[83] This language was not random. Authors recognised the impact of their words and chose them deliberately because they were, as Richard Bailey asserts, significantly compelling and persuasive.[84] In this case they encouraged people to dream of betterment.

By adopting the term for South Australia, 'the Land of Promise', Capper evoked connotations of hope which newspapers exploited to such a degree that it became synonymous with the colony. For example, the *Royal Cornwall Gazette* reported that a large number of Cornish migrants were selected for 'South Australia, the land of promise', as if its status as a colonial paradise was a certainty.[85] Indeed, people were so *au fait* with the term that it was used in place of South Australia. For example, correspondence published in Hertford's *Reformer* from 'an English lady' gives an

[79] Ibid, 128.
[80] A. Russell, *A Tour Through the Australian Colonies in 1839*, Glasgow, 1841, 90–91; a brief biography on Andrew Russell by Neil Thomas can be found at Andrew Russell (1809–1867), Descendants and Ancestry, Genealogy.com, https://www.genealogy.com/forum/surnames/topics/russell/14810/, accessed 1 March 2019.
[81] 'The New Colony of South Australia, and the Penal Colonies', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, Vol. V, December 1838, 776-789. On Captain Charles Sturt, see Chapter One.
[82] 'South Australia', *Nottingham Review and General Advertiser,* Vol. XXXI, No. 1,692, Friday 28 December, 1838, 2.
[83] [No Title], *South Australian Record*, Wednesday 12 December 1838, 6
[84] Richard W. Bailey, *Nineteenth-Century English*, University of Michigan Press, Ann Arbor, 1998, in particular, 139-176.
[85] 'Emigration', *Royal Cornwall Gazette*, No. 3,876, Friday 13 September 1839, 2.

account of her first impression of the colony: 'A land of promise seemed to open upon us', she wrote, and it is just as 'all the written authorities on the country of South Australia describe'.[86] In contrast, Reading's *Mercury* preceded Peter Potter's letter, (see Chapter Five) with 'Adelaide … such an unfavourable description of the land of promise we have not yet seen'.[87]

While Potter's account was scathing, it indicates how thoroughly publicity which extolled the colony permeated communities. Additionally, it illustrates how terms like 'the land of promise' beguiled migrants into believing a utopia awaited them.

> This is quite a different country and place from what is represented in England, … and if all would write truth, there would not be half so many come out; for eight out of ten working people … say they should be glad to get back again if they knew how to do so … you must not believe all you hear about this beautiful place.[88]

Potter, who was listed as a blacksmith and farmer, must have hoped for betterment as he migrated with his wife and six children to South Australia in 1839.[89] Some of the extensive publicity and advertising undertaken in this region in the preceding years are likely to have encouraged him. For example, the Colonisation Commissioners promoted land sales and advertised for migrants from 1836. Edmund Wheeler, the South Australian Company's manager, advertised specifically for 'experienced farmers (but possessing small capital)' in the *Sussex Advertiser* in early 1837.[90] The *Advertiser* also republished several favourable accounts of the colony, including positive correspondences by settlers from this region.[91] 'You can do nothing so well as come out here as soon as possible', Richard Smith, a carpenter, wrote to his son who forwarded it to the *Advertiser* for publication.[92] Indeed, as proof of the colony's 'superior advantages', it was reported that numerous people were 'pouring into it from the neighbouring settlements'.[93] A lecture on the advantages of migrating to South Australia was given at the Mechanic's Institute, in November 1837.[94] Hence, Potter was one of the numerous persons the *Advertiser* reported who were encouraged to

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[86] 'South Australia', *Hertford Mercury and Reformer*, Vol. III, No 140, Tuesday 25 July 1837, 3.
[87] 'Adelaide', *Reading Mercury*, Vol. CXVIII, Saturday 21 November 1840, 2.
[88] Ibid.
[89] South Australian Passenger Lists, 1839, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/BSA/ShipLists%20Alpha%20by%20Year/1839M-P.htm, accessed 5 March 2019.
[90] See 'To Farmers–South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser*, Vol. XCII, No. 4,714, Monday 13 February, 2 and Vol. XCII, No. 4,718, Monday 13 March 1837, 1.
[91] See, for example 'South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser*, Vol. XCIII, No. 4,774, Monday 25 June 1838, 3; 'South Australia', Vol. XCIII, No. 4,778, Monday 23 July 1838, 4.
[92] 'South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser*, Vol. XCIII, No. 4,792, Monday 29 October 1838, 1.
[93] 'South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser*, Vol. XCIII, No. 4,774, Monday 25 June 1838, 3.
[94] 'South Australia', *Sussex Advertiser,* Vol. CXII, No. 4,744, Monday 27 November 1837, 3.

South Australia from this region.[95] While these accounts reveal opposing viewpoints they indicate the success of the publicity which promoted South Australia. Migrant hopes were raised because many people believed South Australia was, indeed, a land of promise.

As previously argued, South Australian publicity increased once information from the earliest settlers was published in Britain and more newspapers and authors exploited the colony's popularity. This was certainly the case when the *Operative,* which had been established to defend the working class devoted three columns to inform readers about South Australia in 1839.[96] Its editor James O'Brien a Radical reformer and Chartist of Irish heritage, who believed that the attitude of working class people was crucial for implementing changes in society.[97] He reported about South Australia because there was so much 'public interest' in the colony.[98] The article, which referenced Stephens's *Rise and Progress of South Australia*, attempted to discredit utopian accounts of the colony.

> [Emigrants] imbibed too high notions of the "Land of Promise," to which they had expatriated themselves, expecting to find an earthy paradise where they would be free from personal exertion …. we are not friends to emigration … "look before you leap."'[99]

O'Brien's comments disconcerted Stephens's, who penned a lengthy missive in reply, which was also published. South Australia was a land of 'peace and plenty … emigration to that country must be regarded as a boon rather than a curse,' he wrote.[100] It was 'a land of promise'.[101]

De-emphasising utopian language

While South Australia's publicity was comprehensive, supporters and those sceptical of utopian language attempted to mitigate illusory and idealistic assertions. Few denied that truth was crucial. However, differentiating between the rationales and motivations of authors was beyond the scope of many readers of these papers. How to separate

[95] See, for example reports from the *Sussex Advertiser* 'Petworth', Vol. CXII, No. 4,764, Monday 16 April 1838, 3 and 'Arundel', Vol. CXII, No. 4,778, Monday 23 July 1838, 3
[96] For the *Operative's* mission statement see 'Address', *Operative*, Sunday 4 November 1838, 1; on Chartism, See, for example, David Goodway, *London Chartism 1838–1848*, CUP, UK, 2002, in particular 21–23, 24–25.
[97] On James (Bronterre) O'Brien see Alfred Plummer, 'The Place of Bronterre O'Brien in the Working-Class Movement', *The Economic History Review*, 2(1), January, 1929, 61–80; on the *Chartist* newspaper see Dennis Griffiths, (ed.) *The Encyclopaedia of the British Press*, 1422–1992, Macmillan Press, 1992, UK, 444.
[98] 'South Australia', *Operative*, Vol. II, No. 14, Sunday 3 February, 1839, 12.
[99] Ibid.
[100] 'South Australia', *Operative*, Vol. II, No. 15, Sunday 10 February, 1839, 5.
[101] Ibid.

fact from fiction, euphoria from melancholy? Editors certainly posed these questions and attempted to temper idealistic statements about South Australia. For example, Barnes cautioned readers of *The Times* to beware 'against the puffs of emigrants, who represent unalloyed happiness to await those who leave England'.[102] In her review of Horton James S*ix Months* in *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine,* Johnstone wrote that South Australia 'is not eligible for the promiscuous hordes who are eager to rush into what has been characteristically termed "the New Utopia"'.[103] Kennedy, too, discounted utopian claims about South Australia in the *John O'Groat Journal:* 'Tempting pictures of this country … overflowing with milk and honey, and, by exaggerated statements, excite the imaginations of those who know little about the matter'.[104] These editors used their position to moderate exuberant claims from all quarters. Barnes discounted the enthusiasm of individual emigrants; Johnstone questioned James's assertions and Kennedy generalised that every favourable account was exaggerated.

In this way, the newspapers wielded great power and influence over their readers. The increase in newspapers, in particular those targeting the working classes, eroded the previous reliance on word-of-mouth testimony.[105] Those directly involved in promoting the colony, Torrens for example, also realised the impact of their words. Feasibly, statements like those of Barnes, Johnstone and Kennedy which were reflected in several Irish papers, such as Dublin's *Mercantile Advertiser*, *Saunders's News-Letter* and *Freeman's Journal* helped to temper Torrens's exuberant language and de-emphasise his early enthusiasm.[106] Hence, chairing a migration meeting in Tralee, Ireland in 1839 Torrens stated that 'emigrants were not to expect an *El Dorado'.*[107] Clearly downplaying his previous fervour, the 'mines of gold requiring no labour to explore' which he alluded to during the *Coromandel's* farewell (see Chapter Five) he stated that 'industry and frugality were … necessary elements of success'.[108]

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[102] 'The scheme for the colonization of New Zealand, which was gone into when the Radicals and Whigs were on better terms', *The Times*, No. 16,643, Saturday, 3 February, 1838, p 5. Related to Leigh's *Reconnoitering Voyages* it was also republished in the *Evening Mail*; 'From *The Times*', *Evening Mail*, No. 10, 726, Monday 12 February, 1838, p 4; see also 'Literary Notices', *London Despatch*, No. 143, Sunday 9 June 1839, 8.
[103] 'Australian Emigration', *Tait's Edinburgh Magazine*, March, 1839, 168–176.
[104] 'Emigration to Australasia', *John O'Groat Journal,* No CXVI, Friday 1 February, 1839, 4.
[105] Aled Jones, *Powers of the Press: Newspapers, Power and the Public in Nineteenth-Century*, Routledge, Oxon, NY, 1996, 88-90.
[106] 'South Australian Colonization Society', *Freeman's Journal*, Vol. LXXIV, Thursday 18 July 1839, 3; South Australia Emigration', *Saunders News-Letter*, No. 30, 495, Thursday 18 July 1839, 2; 'Emigration – South Australia', *Dublin Mercantile Advertiser*, Vol. XIX, Friday 19 July 1839, 4.
[107] 'Emigration Meeting in Tralee', *Waterford Mail*, Vol. XVI, No. 1,734, Wednesday 25 December 1839, 4; italics in original quotation.
[108] Ibid.

Gouger, too, anticipated the extent of public interest and exaggerated claims about the colony. He also acknowledged that publicity influenced migrants' expectations. On his return to England in 1838 he occupied his time aboard ship writing factual information about South Australia from his experience and published it as *South Australia in 1837; in a Series of Letters:* 'My anticipations I find realized', he wrote, 'South Australia is exciting deep interest'.[109] Gouger, like Torrens, was now candid about migrant expectations:

> The minds of the emigrants have been injudiciously filled in England, … with too elevated anticipations of the future; these have been nurtured and heightened on the voyage, and it has not been until they found it necessary to go to work in earnest, that the illusion has been apparent. When the mistake is first discovered, disappointment takes the place of their castles in the air, and some time elapses before the usual course of labour is cheerfully followed.[110]

Gouger's elaboration was astute and described the experience revealed in the correspondence of many migrants. It can be imagined how the initial euphoria of migrants who anticipated 'castles in the air' influenced those at home. This explains why so many of the early settlers' letters were exceedingly positive. In their haste to ride the bandwagon of South Australia's popularity, many newspaper editors published letters and information about the colony without scrutiny. Thus they helped to spread illusory ideas throughout communities and created unattainable migrant expectations. These were the claims that Torrens and Gouger now sought to discount.

Gouger's *Letters,* unlike many publications about South Australia, were written with considerable experience of the colony and this was not overlooked in newspaper reviews. However, as also argued, editors were selective, appealing to perceived community interest. For example, William Byles, the editor of the liberal *Bradford Observer,* highlighted Gouger's *actual* experience of the colony and reprinted several long and complimentary extracts.[111] In contrast, Kennedy began his review in the *John O'Groat Journal* with 'Mr Gouger is forced, reluctantly, to own that there is more drinking of the demoralizing kind in his own settlement than in the others'.[112] This was

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[109] Robert Gouger, *South Australia in 1837: In a Series of Letters, with a Postscript as to 1838*, Harvey and Darton, London, 1838, introduction.
[110] Ibid, 90–91.
[111] On William Byles and the *Observer's* influence see Theodore Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford, 1750-1850*, CUP, Cambridge, 1990, 325; italics added by author for emphasis.
'New Colony, South Australia', *Bradford Observer,* Vol. V, No. 249, Thursday 8 November 1838, 4.
[112] 'Emigration to Australasia', *John O'Groat Journal*, No. CXVI, Friday 1 February 1839, 4.

not 'the EL DORADO of the southern hemisphere'.[113] Thus, a single publication could provide vastly differing information, depending on the language of the newspaper and how it was reported. The economic depression that the Bradford region experienced from 1837, helped to turn the eyes of those impacted towards South Australia for relief.[114] Readers of the *Observer*, which maintained an 'unchallenged influence over local opinion', were given positive statements because Byles perceived that migration was a compelling topic.[115] Thus, the assertion that newspaper editors perceived their role as adjudicators of truth is strengthened.

This was also apparent in the *Maidstone Gazette* whose editors, Richard Cutbush and George Whiting, were appointed emigration agents, (see Chapter Four). They criticised published correspondence from a South Australian migrant. Undoubtedly, it was to their advantage as agents to discount unfavourable statements. However, when published as the opinion of a trusted journal which enjoyed an extensive readership, the influence of newspapers throughout communities is reinforced. Hence, when blacksmith William Pratt of Adelaide wrote to a friend about the difficulties he faced in the colony, he requested 'to make this public; if the *Maidstone Gazette* won't do it, hand it over to the *Journal*'.[116] His friend sent it to the *Gazette* and, to its credit, it was published. However, although Pratt decried Whiting as the agent who provided him and his family with the assisted passage, the introduction for the letter began with the bold and capitalised statement, 'misrepresentations concerning South Australia refuted'.[117] Pratt's unhappiness, the preamble stated, was the result of 'a discontented and grumbling disposition … viewed by him with a jaundiced eye'.[118] This is further evidence that newspaper editors chose their language to appeal to and influence readers and also reinforces the importance of newspapers for South Australia. The argument submitted that newspapers were discernibly influential among their readers is again reinforced.

The role of published correspondence in utopian language

As Gouger intimated, once migrants realised the illusion and their immediate expectations were unmet, reports from the colony reflected their folly and this was echoed in newspapers. James Sawle's letters to his brother provide an example of the

[113] Ibid.
[114] Ibid, 325, 380-381.
[115] Koditschek, *Class Formation and Urban Industrial Society: Bradford,* 325.
[116] 'Misrepresentations Concerning South Australia Refuted', *Maidstone and Kentish Gazette*, No. 2,190, Tuesday 24 March 1840, 3.
[117] Ibid.
[118] Ibid.

way misguided expectations were iterated in correspondence which, when published, spread this news throughout entire communities. Unlike Pratt's example, for much of the published correspondence there is little explanation for why it was forwarded to newspapers or by whom. As already revealed, there were also accusations of publishing fraudulently concocted missives to exploit certain issues. However, Sawle, like Pratt, urged that his letters from Adelaide receive 'the utmost publicity'.[119] The most effective way for broadcasting his experiences so that others were not 'deceived by false representations' was to publish in newspapers.[120] In order to spread word of Sawle's dissatisfaction, his letter was sent to Cornwall's *West Briton* newspaper and the *Reading Mercury* and both published his first scathing letter in its entirety.[121] The *Mercury* preceded the letter with an assertion that it was published in the interest of remaining unbiased given so much favourable correspondence had been already published about South Australia, some of which may have swayed Sawle's migration decision.[122]

He found fault with every facet of the colony.[123] South Australia's prospects had severely declined since he arrived, barely six months before writing.[124] Published advertisements by Isaac Latimer, Truro's emigration agent, encouraged Sawle to South Australia and Sawle condemned them: 'The public should know that the statements put forth by the agents at home are not true', he wrote.[125] His letter incensed Latimer who also used the newspaper to denounce the statements. Latimer encouraged readers to reserve their migration decision until he published a counter-letter from Sawle's son-in-law, who had also migrated to South Australia, and which opposed his assertions.[126]

Further evidence of the singular mindset that caused South Australian colonists to believe theirs was a superior colony are revealed in the reprobation that colonial newspapers accorded Sawle's statements. The *South Australian Register* stated that such an industrious and temperate tradesman who had every likelihood of success

[119] 'Adelaide, South Australia', *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1,598, 26 February, 1841, 3.
[120] Ibid.
[121] Ibid; 'To Mr. Matthew Courtenay', *Reading Mercury*, Vol. CXIX, Saturday 13 March, 1841, 4.
[122] Ibid.
[123] 'Adelaide, South Australia', *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1,598, 26 February, 1841, 3.
[124] James Sawle arrived aboard the *Warrior* on 17 April 1840 with his wife and eight children, see South Australian Passenger Lists, 1840, http://www.slsa.sa.gov.au/BSA/ShipLists%20Alpha%20by%20Year/1840S-Y.htm, accessed 6 March 2019.
[125] Ibid.
[126] Ibid.

must have 'like many other persons, … [been] deceived'.[127] Thus, it was not the *colony* at fault, but the *information* Sawle received at home.[128] Sawle's letter contained such 'glaring mis-statements' that a retraction from the author was requested.[129] To maintain a 'respectable character' in the colony the author should 'make some atonement for the ridiculous and mischievous falsehoods he has been instrumental in propagating'.[130] Sawle's assertions were 'scandalously false or wicked' reported the *Adelaide Chronicle*, promising to confront him, if 'he ever was in the colony'.[131] In fact, such was the disgust for Sawle's statements about the colony that a subscription was initiated to raise funds for his return to England.[132]

Thus, the publication of one letter in Britain from a colonist whose expectations were unmet incited the wrath of the agent and censure from the colony. This is further recognition of the significance placed in newspapers for promoting the colony. Latimer, who also recognised the value of publicity in newspapers, published his response. He agreed that Sawle had migrated 'with the most absurd notions' and that he was told 'there would be many hardships to be undergone, and much want of comfort to be endured'.[133] A conciliatory letter from Sawle's daughter and son-in-law which contradicted his assertions was also published with an accompanying statement from Latimer: It was his 'duty to emigrants, friends and the Commissioners to disabuse their minds of the prejudices and the distress which Mr. Sawle's letter was likely to occasion'.[134]

Sawle's letter provides an important insight into the way newspapers were used to reveal and discuss favoured or topical subjects. It supports the argument that unrealistic expectations influenced colonial experiences and reinforces the role of newspapers in promoting this information. Notably, Sawle's opinion of the colony changed once he purchased arable land and became successful. He was not alone in this.[135] Other accounts of disenchanted migrants whose unrealistic expectations changed when their situations improved were also published. For example, an

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[127] 'Emigrants! Take Care of Your Pockets', *South Australian Register,* 11 September 1841, 4.
[128] Italics added by author for emphasis.
[129] 'Libellers of the Colony', *South Australian Register,* Vol. IV, No. 191, 18 September 1841, 2.
[130] Ibid.
[131] 'Libellers of the Colony', *Adelaide Chronicle and South Australian Literary Record,* Vol.II, No. XCII, 8 September 1841, 2.
[132] 'Emigrants! Take Care of Your Pockets', *South Australian Register,* Vol. IV, No. 190, 11 September 1841, 4.
[133] 'Adelaide, South Australia', *West Briton and Cornwall Advertiser*, Vol. XXXI, No. 1,599, 5 March, 1841, 2.
[134] Ibid.
[135] [No Heading], *Adelaide Chronicle and South Australian Literary Record,* Vol. II, No. XCIII, Wednesday 15 September 1841, 150.

extensive letter from a recent migrant to South Australia was published in *Chambers Edinburgh Journal* in November 1839 and copied in the *Fife Herald*.[136] The man, who migrated with his wife and was 'known as an upright and intelligent person to the Editors of this Journal', wrote to a friend who deemed the letter useful 'for the benefit of the public'.[137] Again, this evidence supports the argument that newspapers were recognised as significant for disseminating information throughout communities. As the letter had been penned after only three months in the colony, *Chambers's* editorial acknowledged that while the information was useful, the unfavourable comments were likely 'a simple consequence of the want of the familiar comforts of the old country – and that they generally improve through time'.[138] Here, the editors used their authority to influence readers by discounting the author's unfavourable statements.

Preceding his publication of the letter, George Smith Tullis, editor and proprietor of the *Fife Herald* revealed that the author was 'a writer in Cupar, and is well known to many of our readers as eminently worthy of the high character the Editors have bestowed upon him'.[139] By iterating the esteem of the author, more credence is given to the accuracy of his assertions. However, Tullis acknowledged that information gleaned from the community revealed that the authors 'unfavourable first impressions were fast disappearing'.[140] Again, the editor used his prerogative to question the author's statements and to influence the *Herald's* readers. Thus, it was the agent Latimer and newspaper editors who challenged these statements about South Australia. Little evidence that the Colonisation Commissioners weighed into the debates about the accuracy of this information was found. Hence, the point about the government's lack of control over published information is strengthened.

These examples also suggest that the grandiloquent language which promoted South Australia raised the expectations of these migrants. However, there are many examples of newspaper editors who dampened overblown reports. The *Dover Telegraph*, for example, whose publisher and editor are unrecorded but which supported every means for informing and improving the labouring and working classes, warned its readers 'against being duped by the exaggerated, highly coloured,

[136] 'Impressions of a recent emigrant to South Australia', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 406, Saturday 9 November 1839, 333–334; 'Impressions of a recent emigrant to South Australia', *Fife Herald*, No. 923, Thursday 14 November 1839, 4.
[137] Ibid.
[138] 'Impressions of a recent emigrant to South Australia', *Chambers's Edinburgh Journal*, Vol. VIII, No. 406, Saturday 9 November 1839, 333–334.
[139] On George Smith Tullis see Richard Tullis, 'Geneology of Robert Tullis: Ancestors and Descendants, 1700–1965', *Tullis Trees*, 1(3), 2002, 68; 'Impressions of a recent emigrant to South Australia', *Fife Herald*, No. 923, Thursday 14 November 1839, 4.
[140] 'Impressions of a recent emigrant to South Australia', *Fife Herald*, No. 923, Thursday 14 November 1839, 4.

and not seldom false representations' of the 'Adelphi-street emigration agents' about the colony.[141] The *Dover Telegraph* suggested that it was Colonial Office agents who misrepresented the true situation in South Australia. However, as revealed in Chapter Four, the 'official' advertisements were not inaccurate or fanciful. In fact, some argued that the regulations for migrants to South Australia were too severe. London's *Evening Mail*, a derivative of *The Times*, reported that

> the ignorant have been cajoled into a belief of their eligibility [for South Australia], … speculations have held forth in fluid declamation on the Utopias of their choice … much more in imagination that fact.[142]

The *Mail's* statement was perceptive. The Colonial Office received many letters from those seeking assisted migration passages but whose requests were denied. For example, the Stroud Poor Law Union requested migration assistance to South Australia for unemployed weavers from Gloucestershire. Regardless of their age or family eligibility the Colonial Office replied that under the South Australian Act 'an insurmountable barrier' existed for weavers because 'no employment for manufacturers of clothing materials existed'.[143] While the unofficial publicity about South Australia was greatly successful for encouraging potential migrants, the Colonial Office upheld the strict requirements of the colony. Regardless of the extent or success of the official and unofficial publicity, those requiring monetary assistance for migration were reliant on their suitability, colonial requirements and the availability of migration funds. Hence, as previously revealed, government assisted migration was curtailed to the extent that no official migrants arrived during 1841 and 1842 and only 327 arrived between 1843 and 1845.

Turning the tide, prosperity and the mining boom

Thus far it has been argued that newspapers and literature were the dominant methods which informed and encouraged potential migrants. Further, that the unrestricted and exaggerated or unverified nature of these communications cajoled many into believing that a 'land of promise' or utopia awaited them. As revealed, these hopes were often unrealised. However, mineral discoveries in South Australia

[141] For the *Dover Telegraph's* statement of purpose see 'The Dover Telegraph', *Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports General Advertiser,* Vol. I, No. 1, Saturday 16 November 1833, 6; 'Caution to Emigrants', *Dover Telegraph and Cinque Ports Advertiser*, Vol. VII, No. 351, Saturday 1 August 1840, 2.
[142] 'Six Months in South Australia', *Evening Mail,* No. 10,902, Friday 29 March, 1839, 2.
[143] Colonial Office to the Stroud Poor Law Union, 25 August 1838, HO 73/54/49 ff197-200. On the issues of the Gloucester weavers See, for example, Albion M. Urdank, *Religion and Society in a Cotswold Vale: Nailsworth, Gloucestershire, 1780-1865*, University of California Press eScholarship Editions, Berkeley, 2003, 208-231.

were a reality which was greatly responsible for turning the tide on the colony's financial misfortunes. Reports of valuable mineral discoveries and the expansion of mining from the mid-1840s heralded a resurgence of interest in the colony and precipitated migration for the ensuing decade and beyond. In fact, Philip Payton argues that mineral discoveries changed South Australia's economic prosperity and were the conduit which encouraged a new type of skilled migrant.[144] They also assisted in changing the regional focus of British migration during the peak of the 'hungry forties'.[145] Newspapers played a key role in providing the information which enabled this.

A review of articles about South Australia's mineral discoveries disclosed the breadth of interest focused on the colony. From 1844 to1850 English newspapers made reference to South Australia's mining in 2184 articles, in Irish newspapers there were 387 references and in Scottish papers 242.[146] This encompassed all information about the colony's mining from lengthy articles, correspondence and book reviews to short paragraphs but discounted specific advertisements. From the mid-1840s, mineral discoveries caused such an interest in South Australia that few newspapers were exempt from commenting. This highlights the importance and relevance of newspapers in publicising South Australia, given that this number of reports rivalled those published between Wakefield's first suggestion of systematic colonisation in 1829, the legislation of the colony in 1834 and the first departures in 1836. This data also reveals that now, South Australian colonists, private individuals and business enterprises rather than government and official sources were the dominant messengers of the colony in Britain.

Reporting the 'encouraging prospects'

Commensurate with the widespread interest that the first arrivals in the colony precipitated and (see Chapter Five), news of mineral discoveries and successful mining during the early and mid-1840s saw a renewed confidence and optimism for South Australia. News from the colony was greatly sought after. Although the first important mineral discovery was of silver and lead ore at Glen Osmond, it was the copper discovery by Francis S. Dutton, who migrated to South Australia in 1840 and Charles Samuel Bagot (son of Captain Charles H. Bagot, retired army officer) near

[144] See Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's 'Great Emigration'*, Cornwall Editions Ltd., UK, 2005, 172-200.
[145] Ibid, 131.
[146] These statistics are collated from a search in the British Newspaper Archive in March 2019.

Kapunda in 1842 which expedited the renewed interest.[147] Dutton clearly iterated how the discoveries changed many opinions about the colony and reaffirmed its popularity in the preface to his book, *South Australia and its mines* in 1846.[148]

> The great interest latterly excited, and the attention, now very generally drawn, to the highly prosperous and flourishing colony of South Australia, … induced me to devote the past winter to the compilation of this volume.[149]

News of the colony's burgeoning mining opportunities was a catalyst for the revitalisation of interest in the colony and newspapers were at the forefront of disseminating the information. Dutton provided worldwide data to support his statement that the Kapunda Mine was the most prolific in the world at the time of writing his book. The mineral discoveries encouraged other authors to write books. These include J.C. Byrne, who authored numerous emigration books including an emigrant's guide to the Australian colonies in 1849. With reference to the Burra Burra mineral discovery he stated that South Australia had 'the most valuable and productive copper mine in the world'. [150] Newspapers reiterated these assertions. For example, London's *Morning Post*, a leading newspaper among the politically savvy and upper classes, reported that South Australia's Burra Burra mine 'is now admitted to be the most valuable productive copper mine in the world'.[151] London's *Morning Advertiser* and *Daily News* reported of 'an immense mass of copper ore, now known as the Monster Mine' and stated that this discovery had confirmed that South Australia's mineral wealth was 'inexhaustible'.[152] The same article was published in newspapers, in southwestern and central England and Northern Ireland.[153]

Within a short period, from the mid-1840s the mineral wealth of South Australia featured in newspaper articles from northern Scotland to southern England and in Ireland. The optimistic and idealistic language which framed these reports shows that a fresh enthusiasm was evident for the colony: 'This colony … possess[es] advantages which could not be readily found in any other'.[154] The financial and administration

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[147] *Pastoral Pioneers of South Australia*, *Vol. I*, Reprinted from *The Adelaide Stock and Station Journal*, Publishers Limited, Adelaide, 1925, 35.
[148] On copper discovery and its impact See, for example, Philip Payton, Philip Payton, *The Cornish Overseas: A History of Cornwall's 'Great Emigration'*, Cornwall Editions Ltd., UK, 2005, 164–167.
[149] Francis Dutton, *South Australia and its Mines with an Historical Sketch of the Colony*, T & W Boone, London, 1846, preface.
[150] Joseph Charles Byrne, *Emigrant's Guide to New South Wales Proper, Australia Felix, or, Port Philip, and South Australia,* 12th Edition, Effingham Wilson, London, 1849, 113.
[151] 'Money Market and City News', *Morning Post*, No. 23,391, Monday 31 July 1848, 7.
[152] 'Mineral Wealth in South Australia', *Daily News*, Wednesday 15 April 1846, 7.
[153] They included *Bucks Gazette*, the *Salisbury and Winchester Journal, Bedfordshire Mercury, Wolverhampton Chronicle* and Ireland's *Derry Journal* and *Belfast Commercial Chronicle*.
[154] 'South Australian Society', *Bristol Mercury*, Vol. LV, No. 2,816, Saturday 9 March 1844, 2.

difficulties of the early 1840s that were prioritised in newspapers were now replaced with a similar fervour to that published during the colony's foundation settlement years. There was now an expectation that South Australia offered 'a prospect of boundless wealth'.[155] Again, it was the publicity in newspapers which greatly influenced migration and created utopian hopes.

James Allen's Lectures

As argued throughout this thesis, migration and South Australia were popular topics that newspapers and the literature discussed. When lectures or meetings about migration were held, they were advertised in newspapers, but more importantly, many lengthy transcripts and reports were published. Similar to the publication of book extracts and reviews therefore, the publication of lecture transcripts helped to spread information. As outlined in Chapter Three, the potential dissemination of this information was exponential.[156] However, the accompanying editorial critique could easily misrepresent what was actually said. James Allen's lectures provide an example of the way newspapers varied their reports about topics of interest and how this influenced readers.

Allen, a Baptist minister, who arrived in South Australia in 1839 and edited several of the colony's newspapers, returned to England in 1846 to promote migration to the colony.[157] He gave three lectures about South Australia. Editorials were published in several newspapers, including London's *Daily News, Bell's Weekly Messenger,* the *Morning Chronicle* and the *Bradford and Wakefield Observer*.[158] It was clear from their statements that the convict transportation issue remained prominent. For example, the *Observer* highlighted that it was 'freedom from the taint of convictism' that was South Australia's greatest asset.[159] This quote had been published in the *South Australian* in in 1845 in reference to the suggestion that Parkhurst boys could be sent to the colony. The *Observer* recommended South Australia over all of the Australian colonies:

[155] 'The Mines of South Australia', *Salisbury and Winchester Journal*, Vol. CXXVI, No. 6,455, Saturday 09 May 1846
[156] See, for example, the National Colonization Society meeting as discussed in Chapter Three.
[157] James Allen edited the *Southern Australia*, the *South Australian Magazine* and *the Adelaide News Letter*. Between 1842 and 1845 he was the proprietor of the *South Australian Register*. SLSA, S.A Memory, S.A Newspapers: Journalists, https://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1525, accessed 31 October 2019.
[158] On James Allen see SA Newspapers: Journalists, SA Memory, State Library of South Australia, http://www.samemory.sa.gov.au/site/page.cfm?u=1525, accessed 21 February 2019.
[159] 'Lectures on South Australia', *Bradford and Wakefield Observer*, Vol. XII, No. 648, Thursday 3 December 6, 1846.

> Sidney (sic) was overrun by convicts; Port Phillip possessed all the disadvantages of a convict settlement; … Van Diemen's Land was…one vast prison-house, … Western Australia was praying deliverance from this moral pest; [and] New Zealand had also received one more batch.[160]

South Australia was the single colony which was not 'polluted' with convictism.[161] The *Daily News,* however, reported that Allen's aim was to 'disabuse the public mind of many prejudices … arising from misrepresentations and misinformation'.[162] *Bell's Messenger* and the *Morning Chronicle* related only South Australian statistical facts.[163] Certainly, there is no way of knowing exactly what Allen said, how he intoned or what he emphasised in his speech. Did the *Observer* represent Allen's lecture factually or exaggerate to exploit continued interest in the convict transportation issue? Undoubtedly, the tone of the newspaper reflected the ongoing working class community unrest.[164] Thus, it is clear that the editors emphasised the statements they believed were topical and suggests that, editors directed and influenced community sentiment. Therefore, the business of supporting and promoting migration was extensive. Certainly, from the mid-1840s the mineral discoveries in South Australia caused a resurgence of interest in the colony. Conjointly, this renewed enthusiasm encouraged further exploitation. Newspapers augmented South Australia's promotion through the reports of Allen's lecture tour.

Allen returned to England in search of professional advancement after he sold the *South Australian Register* newspaper from to John Stephens in 1845.[165] His experience of the newspaper industry was advantageous and assisted the broadest publicity for his lectures. Reported in numerous publications, the articles vary in length and interpretation but they gained significant interest. Allen stated that his motivation was 'to remove the prejudices existing in the public mind against the settlement' and this was reported in each newspaper.[166] As would be expected, the *South Australian News* (discussed in Chapter Four) provided a lengthy report on the

[160] Ibid, and also Vol. XII, No. 649, Thursday 10 December 1846, 6.
[161] Ibid.
[162] 'Lectures on South Australia', *Daily News*, No. 27, Wednesday 1 July 1846, 4.
[163] 'Lectures on South Australia', *Bell's Weekly Messenger,* No. 2,604, Saturday 4 July 1846, 6; 'Lectures on South Australia', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 23,936, Thursday 16 July 1846, 8.
[164] On Bradford and Wakefield see Michael Joseph Brennan, 'Civic and municipal leadership: a study of three northern towns between 1832 and 1867', PhD., University of Leeds , 2013, in particular 206–241.
[165] 'The Week', *South Australian Weekly Chronicle*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 1,440, Saturday 27 March 1886, 11.
[166] 'Lead and Copper Mines of South Australia', *Greenock Advertiser*, Vol. XLVII, No. 6,256, Friday 21 August 1846, 4.

first lecture and stated that Allen 'is neither a puffer nor a partisan; but one who has the welfare of the colony at heart'.[167]

According to the published reports, the lectures were well attended, attracting several hundred people. These numbers were substantial and reveal the renewed interest in South Australia. However, it is the reports in newspapers which spread information from the lectures most extensively throughout communities. The newspapers were unanimous that his presentation was 'earnest', 'descriptive' and highly informative.[168] Allen portrayed an enthusiasm for the colony in his oration and provided drawings, plans and 'dissolving views' which were a highlight of the lectures.[169] However, the lectures were reported differently in the newspapers. This supports the argument that newspaper editors targeted content for specific readers. More importantly however, it reinforces the relevance of newspapers for spreading information about the colony. Their published language could enthuse or downplay Allen's oral statements and influence many more people than those attending the lectures.

The article about Allen's lecture on South Australia's mines in Scotland's *Greenock Advertiser* reveals the type of language employed in order to generate interest among readers.

> Thus doth South Australia open a vast field for emigration and profitable investment of capital. For who can estimate the probable influence of the future … and upon the greatness to which she may ultimately attain?[170]

While the provincial Greenock *Advertiser* reported in exuberant language, the London publications, while still positive, were less enthusiastic. London's *Economist* and the *Athenæum*, recounting his subsequent lectures, highlighted Allen's keen knowledge of the colony and his 'earnest endeavours to inform and instruct'.[171] Even *The Times* published a paragraph which highlighted Allen's 'well-executed dissolving views', but rather than promote the colony *The Times's* report acknowledged that attendees at the lectures were merely highly satisfied.[172] The *Morning Advertiser* was the sole

[167] 'Mr. Allen's Lectures on South Australia', *South Australian News*, No. 7 (New Series), July 1846, 49–50.
[168] 'Mr. Allen's Lectures on South Australia', *Atlas*, Vol. XXI, No. 1,051, Saturday 4 July 1846, 421.
[169] Ibid; Allen presented and images by the artist S. T. Gill, see Sasha Grishin, *S. T. Gill & his Audience*, National Library of Australia, Canberra, 2015, 32.
[170] 'Lead and Copper Mines of South Australia', *Greenock Advertiser*, Vol. XLVII, No. 6,256, Friday 21 August 1846, 4.
[171] 'Mr. Allen's Lectures on South Australia', *Economist Weekly Commercial Times*, Vol. IV, No. 149, Saturday 4 July 1846, 867; 'Our Weekly Gossip', *Athenænum*, No. 975, Saturday 4 July 1846, 686.
[172] 'Lectures On South Australia', *The Times*, No. 19,278, 2 July 1846, 5.

newspaper to mention that South Australia was secured 'by three Acts of Parliament against convict transportation' and explained that the sale of land funded 'judiciously selected' labourers.[173] These were unembellished and factual statements which promoted the colony without hyperbole. However, it is also clear that the editors highlighted particular facts and chose language that they perceived would be acceptable to their readership.

The report in London's *Daily News,* however, was grandiose in comparison. Adelaide was now a 'large flourishing town … [settlers were] industrious, prosperous, and living in comfort and luxury in their well-built brick and stone houses'.[174] The *Daily News* had only been established for six months in January 1846 when this report was published six months later, but already it was renowned for the talent of its journalists and the 'extent of information' published.[175] Its popularity had increased markedly with the reduction in its price.[176] The *Atlas,* another highly esteemed journal renowned for its truthfulness and accuracy, also wrote in halcyon terms: 'Few settlements have progressed so favourably in public estimation in a few years as South Australia'.[177] This evidence reinforces the importance of information being available to many more people than just those who attended Allen's lectures. While all of the reports were positive, it was the provincial newspapers which highlighted utopian statements.

For example, reporting on the three lectures Allen held in the York Institute, the long-established *York Herald,* a principal journal in that agricultural region, featured 'the triumphs of Colonization in South Australia'.[178] Bradford's *Observer,* which enjoyed a solid agricultural and manufacturing readership, cited two lectures extensively and its report concluded that South Australia soon 'would be one of the finest and richest, and most thriving countries in the world'.[179] The *Hull Advertiser*, which appealed to the politically astute readers in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire rather than working class labourers or agriculturalists, highlighted from the same lectures

[173] 'Mr. James Allen's Lectures on South Australia', *Morning Advertiser,* No. 17,204, Wednesday01 July 1846, 3.
[174] 'Lectures on South Australia', *Daily News*, No. 27, Wednesday 1 July 1846, 4.
[175] Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 64–65.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 76-77; 'Mr. Allen's Lectures on South Australia', *Atlas*, Vol. XXI, No. 1,051, Saturday 4 July 1846, 421.
[178] 'Lectures on South Australia', *York Herald*, No. 3,867, Saturday 21 November 1846, 8; on the *York Herald* see Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 256.
[179] 'Lectures on South Australia', *Bradford and Wakefield Observer*, Vol. XII, No. 648, Thursday 3 December 1846, 6; on the *Bradford and Wakefield Observer* see Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 156.

that South Australia's recently discovered lead and copper mines ensured its continued success.[180]

The *Liverpool Mercury,* however, which was renowned for publishing news that specifically targeted its readership, highlighted 'the advantages it [South Australia] holds out to intending emigrants and the opportunity it affords for the safe and profitable investment of capital'.[181] Hence, the *Mercury*, sympathetic to the plight of the local community which was overwhelmed by thousands of Irish famine migrants pouring into Liverpool, reported enthusiastically about the advantages that South Australia provided for those with the resources to avail themselves of the colony's renewed prosperity.[182] These accounts of Allen's lectures provide evidence that newspaper reports featured varied information and diverse language to appeal to or influence particular readerships. It reinforces the difficulty of official agencies monitoring or controlling this publicity and highlights the influence of newspaper reports for encouraging migration to South Australia.

Newspaper literature reviews, the renewed enthusiasm

As already argued in Chapter Five, literature reviews in newspapers and journals were instrumental in disseminating information about the colony in communities. They greatly influenced readers' perceptions. In a similar way that newspaper reports about Allen's lectures were accessible to much larger sections of the community than to the attendees, book reviews in newspapers highlighted their subject to a broader audience. The esteem that newspaper editors and proprietors held in communities also greatly enhanced their influence. This was particularly evident in provincial regions.

The review of Dutton's book in Frederick Lucas's *Tablet,* therefore, helped to explain the advantages for betterment that South Australia offered to a much wider readership than those who purchased the book. In particular, Lucas's report revealed the renewed opportunities in the colony that mineral discovery was enabling. Devoting

[180] 'South Australia', *Hull Advertiser and Exchange Gazette*, Vol. LI, No. 2,728, Friday 24 July 1846, 7; on the *Hull Advertiser* see Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 193; on the Yorkshire and Lincolnshire region See, for example, Thomas M Smith, 'Enclosure & Agricultural Improvement in North-west Lincolnshire from Circa 1600 to 1850', PhD, University of Nottingham, 2012.
[181] 'Collegiate Institution', *Liverpool Mercury*, Supplement, Friday 6 November 1846, 4.
[182] On the *Liverpool Mercury* see Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 207-208; on the impact of the Irish famine in Liverpool See, for example, Ryan Dye, 'The Irish Flood: Famine, Philanthropy, and the Emergence of Duelling Liverpool Catholic Identities, 1845-1865', *Transactions of the Historical Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, 150, 2001, 97-120, also John Belchem, *Irish, Catholic and Scouse: The History of the Liverpool-Irish, 1800-1939*, Liverpool University Press, Liverpool, 2007, 60-61.

almost a complete page to the review, the opening statement conveyed his optimism about the colony.

> The title of this volume is one of promise – and a promise which is amply fulfilled to the reader. We have seldom risen from the perusal of any work on the Colonies, with greater satisfaction.[183]

Lucas's critique praised Dutton's book and promoted South Australia to potential migrants and investors. The *Tablet* was established in 1840 for England's Catholic populace, many of whom had migrated from Ireland but although Lucas championed the poor and oppressed, it was not priced for the working classes.[184] Rather, its main readership comprised long-established Catholic families and landholders; and in January 1843 its increasing popularity prompted its enlargement to sixteen pages, published weekly.[185] Lucas's optimistic critique, preceding lengthy extracts from the book provided publicity for the colony among a wide and largely affluent audience. For example, prior to an extract about Adelaide he wrote

> the colony was originally formed by a free and respectable population, which has never been swamped by importations from convict settlements. Their tastes are, therefore, essentially English.[186]

Thus, Lucas acknowledged the convict free status of the colony but he also reinforced its Englishness. This was not a random statement but informed his readers that the English Catholic, whom he patronised, would find that South Australia was a suitable colony because it espoused their values.[187] Hence, the colony's newly discovered mining wealth encouraged a renewed enthusiasm from South Australian colonists, like Dutton and it was exploited in the pages of newspapers.

John Stephens's booklet *A Voice from South Australia*, which was published in the *Hereford Times,* is another example of the way newspapers precipitated publicity. In 1847 Stephens, introduced in Chapter Five, arranged for Charles Anthony, the proprietor and editor of the *Hereford Times,* to publish his booklet in four issues from

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[183] 'Review', *Tablet*, Vol. VII, No 321, Saturday 27 June 1846, 408.
[184] On Frederick Lucas see Oliver P. Rafferty, 'Introduction', in Oliver P. Rafferty (ed.) *Irish Catholic Identities*, Manchester University Press, UK and NY, 2013, 1–20, in particular 12 and generally on Lucas see Patrick Maume, 'Brethren in Christ: Frederick Lucas and Social Catholicism in Ireland', 231–242; on the *Tablet* see Josef L. Altholz, 'The Tablet, the True Tablet, and Nothing but the Tablet', *Victorian Periodicals Newsletter*, 9(2), June, 1976, 68–72; and also Michael Walsh 'History of the *Tablet*, a summary of "1840-1990 A Commemorative History, the *Tablet*"', *International Catholic News Weekly*, https://www.thetablet.co.uk/other/history-of-the-tablet, accessed 16 March 2019.
[185] Walsh 'History of the *Tablet'.*
[186] 'Review', *Tablet*, Vol. VII, No 321, Saturday 27 June 1846, 408.
[187] On Lucas's support for the English Catholics see Edward Lucas, *The Life of Frederick Lucas M.P.,* Vol. I, The Catholic Truth Society, London, 1887, 67–69.

February to March 1848.[188] Anthony's editorial, which introduced the first article, extolled the colony and remarked that Stephens was a personal acquaintance, 'a gentleman of honour and integrity' whose statements were authentic and truthful.[189] However, the evidence indicates that Stephens's motivation was profit. He required revenue to cover libel litigations against his Adelaide newspapers and he exploited the renewed interest in emigration that the mineral discoveries prompted.[190] Anthony also had a vested interest in the publicity that the promotion of Stephens's booklet encouraged. The stimulation of migration would advantage Anthony's agency as a Colonisation Commission appointed emigration agent.[191] Hence, Anthony lauded Stephens stating that he desired to exchange the reality of those struggling in England with the 'abundance, prosperity, and happiness, in South Australia' which the colony's mineral wealth enabled.[192] Thus, Anthony's decision to highlight these statements helped to generate hopes of a utopian destination to a far greater readership than the publication of Stephens's booklet and provides evidence of the way that interest in South Australia was exploited in Britain.

Another testament to South Australia's popularity was the publication of Joseph Charles Byrne's eighth edition of *Twelve Years' Wanderings* which was in competition with at least two dozen other emigration tracts in 1848 alone.[193] One publication, George Blakiston Wilkinson's *South Australia, Its Advantages and Its Resources*, was critiqued in the extensively circulated *Hereford Times* in conjunction with Dutton's book. Anthony stated that the publication of both volumes was 'most opportune'.[194] Indeed, he wrote of the importance of South Australia to the British Empire, 'in planting the *nucleus* of a powerful State … at the Antipodes' and reported that these publications provided ample evidence of South Australia's success.[195] Anthony continued optimistically:

> South Australia promises henceforth to be, and indeed is, … the most favourable field for the successful application of the industrial energies of large numbers of the inhabitants of these kingdoms, both capitalists and labourers.[196]

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[188] See 'A Voice from South Australia', *Hereford Times*, Saturday 26 February and 4, 18, 25 March 1848.
[189] Ibid.
[190] On Stephens' libel allegations See, for example 'Declaration of Confidence in Mr John Stephens', *South Australian Register*, Vol. XIV, No. 1062, (Supplement) Thursday 7 March 1850, 1.
[191] South Australia, Regulations, CO13/3.
[192] 'A Voice from South Australia', *Hereford Times*, Vol. XVII, No. 915, Saturday 26 February 1848, 6.
[193] J. C. Byrne, *Twelve Years' Wanderings in the British Colonies, from 1835 to 1847, in Two Volumes*, Vol. I, Richard Bentley, London, 1848, 18.
[194] 'Literary Times', *Hereford Times*, Vol. XVII, No. 929, Saturday 3 June 1848, 6.
[195] Ibid. Italics in original quote.
[196] Ibid.

In reference to South Australia's mineral wealth he wrote that 'the material and available resources of the colony will have a most important effect on the present and future destinies of the province'.[197]

Anthony's review of Dutton's and Wilkinson's books, which comprised almost two columns, reads more like a dedicated promotion for migration to South Australia than a review of the books. This adds evidence to the importance of newspaper commentary for publicising South Australia. Anthony's language clearly reflects the *Hereford Times's* professional, gentry, agricultural and commercial readership.[198] His writing style is in stark contrast to George Simpson's review of Wilkinson's book in the *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette.*[199] In devoting a quarter column to his review and including two lengthy extracts, Simpson reiterated Wilkinson's assertion that South Australia was 'an absolute paradise for the working classes,' especially 'industrious' labourers.[200] Thus, evidence of a newspaper editor using language to pander to the readers having an influence on South Australia is again strengthened.

Within a decade of the early arrivals in the colony, a renewed enthusiasm for South Australia prompted an outflow of information from settlers who had realised their hopes and had achieved betterment, if not always prosperity. Indeed, Cornish historian Philip Payton reported that once minerals were discovered a 'mining frenzy' engulfed the colony until the Victorian gold rush of 1851.[201] The publicity was almost unanimous that the 'mining wealth of South Australia' far exceeded expectations and heralded a renewed interest in the colony.[202] South Australia had regained its designation as 'the "model colony"'.[203]

Conclusion

This chapter has provided correlations between some migrant's experiences and the realities and the sources which informed them. It has argued that newspapers and published literature were the dominant ways in which South Australia was publicised. These mediums were also instrumental in influencing migrants' experiences through

[197] Ibid.
[198] Mitchell, *Newspaper Press Directory*, 190-191.
[199] 'By George! We're still here 200 years on', by Alison Phillips, *Gazette and Herald*, 10 March 2016, https://www.gazetteandherald.co.uk/news/14335141.by-george-were-still-here-200-years-on/, accessed 27 March 2019; see also J. J. Slade, 'The Wiltshire Gazette', in Rev. E.H. Goddard (ed.) *Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine*, Vol. XL, December 1919, 40-45.
[200] 'South Australia, Its Advantages and Its Resources', *Devizes and Wiltshire Gazette*, Vol. XXXIII, No. 1,706, Thursday 24 September 1848, 3.
[201] Payton, *The Cornish Overseas,* 161.
[202] 'Mining Wealth of South Australia', *Aberdeen Herald*, Saturday 24 April 1847, 4.
[203] 'South Australia', *Morning Chronicle*, No. 23,366, Tuesday 17 September 1844, 3.

the use of utopian language. Further, that neither colonial nor government officials disseminated or controlled this vast quantity of information. This chapter has also demonstrated that the founding settlers, who arrived before 1840, were generally satisfied. Further, that this was relayed in newspapers across the entire British Isles.

The primary sources reveal that several themes were considered highly important for South Australian settlers. The perception of morality that the lack of convict transportation elicited and the competition for migrants with the existing Australian colonies, particularly New South Wales, were highlighted. Further, the condemnation by settlers of the suggested Parkhurst Prison and Ragged Boy and girl migration options was revealed. British newspapers exposed the popularity of these topics throughout communities and indicated how editors manipulated information and language to promote particular viewpoints. This evidence also discloses how positive and first hand accounts from the early migrants, whose favourable experiences were broadly disseminated, influenced those who arrived during later years. More importantly, however, it confirms the relevance of newspaper publicity for spreading news about South Australia.

Finally, this chapter has revealed the renewed positivity which South Australia's mineral discoveries encouraged. The migration stagnation experienced after 1840 was by mid-decade, replaced with a renewed optimism. Newspapers and the literature exploited this rejuvenation in South Australia and the influx of news and information about the colony's mineral wealth was evident in the literature. Thus, this chapter concludes that the 'unofficial' news and information which was published in newspapers and literature, and which increased exponentially once the mining boom was promoted, was responsible for raising and tempering the expectations of migrants. The extent of this influence should not be underestimated.

Conclusion

Since now a days there's every man, attempting Emigration.
Why should not I propose some plan, to benefit the nation?
Long have I thought it in my mind, to find a fitting home.
Might seem by Nature's self design'd, for kindred souls to roam.

Anon, 'Emigration', 1835.

A poem, 'Emigration' by an anonymous poet was published in various English provincial newspapers in 1835.[1] The first verse (above), encapsulates the central premises of this thesis:. First, that ordinary British people, the poet's 'every man', were informed about migration opportunities. Second, that the nation was a prevailing idea in society at this time. Third, that the search for betterment or 'a fitting home' motivated migration. As the poem conveys, this thesis has shown that ordinary people in the classes that were required in South Australia as settlers were made aware of migration possibilities in Britain's empire and expanded through the literature and newspapers before the Victorian era began.

This study provides an original contribution to knowledge in three main areas: settler colonialism, migration and newspaper advertising. Efforts to promote migration in the literature and newspapers were a key component of the settlement of South Australia from the 1830s. It is generally acknowledged that James Belich's 'booster literature' influenced migration. Yet there are no studies which detail the extent of the official and unofficial advertising through the lens of South Australian colonisation. Nor are there analyses of the ways that newspapers specifically participated in the colonisation and emigration debates in order to influence them. The findings from this study are important because they show that published advertising, which we think of as a modern phenomenon, was established and influential, in the early nineteenth century. It has identified a direct link between the publicity for South Australia and colonial migration. Finally, this thesis has shown that the ordinary people, representative of middle and working class society, were aware of the emerging empire and became key facilitators for its ongoing development.

The examination of migration advertising that promoted South Australia has revealed that the literature and newspapers created opportunities for ordinary people, the poet's 'every man' to become involved in the business of migration. By providing community engagement, they helped to advance settler destinations like South

[1] See 'Emigration', in *Staffordshire Advertiser,* Vol. XLI, Saturday 10 October, 1835, 4; *Gloucestershire Chronicle,* No. CXIX, Saturday 10 October, 1835, 4; *Essex Herald*, No. 1,875, Tuesday 13 October, 1835, 3; *Leicester Journal*, Vol. LXXXIV, No. 4,393, Friday 23 October 1835, 4 and the *Derby Mercury,* Vol. 104, No. 5,389, 28 October 1835, 4.

Australia. Contributing to the knowledge of ordinary people about Britain's settler societies, in many ways, newspaper format and content were not dissimilar to those which are printed today. There were already inherent in difficulties recognising factual information from personal or collective opinions. That the published information was sometimes misrepresentative unverified or biased, the 'fake news' of today, but much was accurate, intuitive and instructive.

The period when Wakefield proposed his idea for systematic colonisation and the settlement of South Australia was decided upon coincided with the significant development of the newspaper industry. Migration became a commodity that advertising facilitated. By showing that newspapers and literature were the preeminent method for informing communities about migration opportunities, this study has found that this was an optimum era for promoting Wakefield's idea. Its promotion coincided with the expansion of newspapers and literature, and a push from communities for societal inclusion and improvement. Wakefield recognised the influence of written publicity and endorsed supporters who were both sympathetic to his ideas and clever wordsmiths with influence in the newspaper industry, for example Robert Rintoul, the editor of the *Spectator* and Richard Hanson, a journalist for the *Morning Chronicle*.

From its foundation, South Australia's supporters and government-appointed emigration agents exploited the ways that Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan differed from settlements in other colonies. In particular, its rejection of convict transportation was highlighted in advertisements as a dominant drawcard. This reveals how specific language in the advertising was used to stimulate migration to South Australia. The recurring use of the phrase 'land of promise' in reference to the colony is another example of the ways that language was targeted to particular people in order to influence and persuade them. While this was evident in the official literature, it was more prominent in the unofficial literature. This thesis has found, therefore, that it was not only government and colonial representatives but also ordinary people who promoted the empire and galvanised interest in migration through the written word.

The enthusiastic language and utopian terms which framed much of the promotional literature for South Australia inspired ongoing publicity. By showing how published language was manipulated to influence readers, this research has demonstrated how South Australia's success was enabled by publicity. Many prominent middle and upper class people promoted Wakefield's systematic

colonisation plan in the first instance and ordinary, middle and working class people perpetuated the colonisation dream among those seeking betterment from migration. Increasingly, ordinary people like Edward Spicer, whose story opens the Introduction, learned about migration opportunities from published information. For this purpose, the most accessible and widespread source was the newspaper.

This study has also expanded on the findings by Eric Richards, James Belich and Bernard Bailyn, for example, that the desires for economic advancement or betterment were driving forces for migration. While no single justification explains why so many British people migrated, Ravenstein's 'betterment' theory and the 'social forces' which encouraged chain migration, influenced many South Australian settlers.[2] Unfavourable life situations in Britain pushed people from all classes towards migration, while a dream of improved circumstances pulled them towards South Australia as a destination. The catalyst which enabled these 'social forces' was the ability of newspapers to identify and publish arguments which criticised and challenged every facet of South Australia's unique colonisation system and persuaded people across the breadth of Britain. In order to achieve betterment, ordinary people like Spicer, made migration decisions based on information in newspapers. This thesis has established that the expansion of the newspaper industry, which coincided with South Australia's enactment and settlement, was crucial for enabling the colony's advancement. The power of the press to influence ordinary people is not underestimated.

The verse from 'Emigration' presents an insightful representation of the prevailing motivation in Britain for migration. It reinforces the findings, advanced in this thesis, that the types of people that Wakefield and his supporters sought as settlers for South Australia (agriculturalists with some capital, and hardworking and morally upstanding labourers) sought opportunities to improve their social and financial situation. They did not dream of a utopia or El Dorado, they merely sought 'to find a fitting home,' they desired betterment. This study has revealed that the prevailing responsibility for elevating migrant hopes lay with the unofficial advertising and publicity. Written discourse, in newspapers specifically, heightened the anticipation for a new and prosperous life in the colonies. Considering the number and circulation of newspapers across Britain, it is not unexpected that the 'rage for all sorts of emigration, transportation, and colonization schemes' explored in this

[2] These are discussed in the Introduction.

research and referenced in the poem were promoted in newspapers that were accessible to these people.[3]

The poem also highlights that ordinary people thought about plans 'to benefit the nation' and asked 'Why should I not propose some plan.'[4] Wakefield's systematic colonisation plan was advanced during a period when solutions for overpopulation, unemployment and underemployment were being suggested and debated throughout the British Isles. The concepts of colonisation and emigration outlined in this study were recommended and publicised. An analysis of the way that these ideas were debated in the literature has shown that from the early 1830s newspapers not only provided information but, more importantly, also engaged with their readers. They actively sought to influence prevailing attitudes and provided ordinary people with an outlet for involvement in topical issues. More telling, however, the poet's words reinforce a dominant premise in this thesis that ordinary people were apprised of migration opportunities that could 'benefit the nation'. They were, as John MacKenzie argued in *Propaganda and Empire*, aware of Britain's Empire. More importantly, the poet's 'every man' was informed about the empire, more than fifty years earlier than the period that MacKenzie referred to, from 1880.

The poem's publication in newspapers that were interested in the question of migration reinforces this evaluation. Newspapers played a significant role for the diffusion of information about the British Empire and settler colonialism. They were not merely the providers of information. Editors and proprietors actively engaged in influencing readers through targeted statements and ordinary people were provided an outlet for contribution. During the years that coincided with the prosecution of South Australian colonisation, newspaper editors and proprietors were often appointed as official emigration agents. Newspapers that specifically targeted the working and lower classes also flourished during this period. The ability of these classes to access printed information was expedited and exploited. This finding strengthens MacKenzie's premise that a broad 'social and cultural occurrence' facilitated wide-scale migration.[5]

The experiences of ordinary people like Spicer, exemplify this argument. The classes encouraged to South Australia were informed about empire through the ubiquitousness of published migration information. Far from being ignorant and

[3] 'Third Report upon Emigration from the United Kingdoms, 1827', *Edinburgh Review*, January, 1828, No. XCIII, 218.
[4] 'Emigration', in *Staffordshire Advertiser,* Vol. XLI, Saturday 10 October, 1835, 4.
[5] John MacKenzie, ''Comfort' and Conviction: A Response to Bernard Porter', *The Journal of Imperial and Commonwealth History*, 36(4), 2008, 659-668.

parochial, ordinary people made conscious decisions about their settlement destinations, often based on what they read in newspapers. This reinforces MacKenzie's premise that a widespread colonial influence among these classes occurred and that Britain's relationship with its empire was significant.[6] The amount and frequency of published migration information and advertisements which targeted these classes provides compelling evidence that the lower and working classes encouraged to South Australia were able to bridge the literacy barriers previously seen to be insurmountable.

An extensive analysis of newspaper advertisements in this study has revealed that government agencies recognised the influence that newspapers wielded over migration decisions. As such, they were seen as a significant means for government and colonial officials to implement the resettlement of superfluous British populations. Wakefield's idea for colonially based agents and the appointment of emigration agents throughout Britain were methods that the British government used to facilitate every aspect of colonial migration. The organisation and administration of migration was devolved throughout the country and among ordinary people. Once South Australia was settled, it was these people who were the primary official advertisers and promoters of migration opportunities for the government. Agents facilitated the business of empire building and newspapers were the preeminent vehicle for this promotion.

A well-established field of study into nineteenth century newspaper advertising and publishing has expanded our knowledge of this industry. Scholars, such as Terry Nevett, Aled Jones and Patricia Hollis have ascertained that newspapers transformed British society during the nineteenth century. From a grassroots push for unrestricted access to knowledge, this study has revealed how rapidly the newspaper press expanded so that by mid-century society's reliance on oral traditions for migration information had shifted to an acceptance of written discourse. Newspapers gave the lower and working classes a voice and facilitated participatory democracy among those who previously had been excluded. In this way, the expansion of the newspaper industry enabled the involvement of ordinary people in the facilitation of colonial settlement and the promotion of the British Empire. It negated government micromanagement of widespread migration.

[6] John MacKenzie, 'Another Little Patch of Red', *History Today*, August, 2005, Volume 55, Issue 8, ProQuest Central, 20-26; Bernard Porter, *The Absent Minded Imperialists: Empire, Society, and Culture in Britain*, Oxford University Press, Oxford, 2004, 228.

The people who supported South Australia such as Robert Gouger and George Fife Angas, and colonial officials like Frederick Elliot, recognised the overwhelming community push for representation and involvement, and the role that newspapers played in facilitating it. However, this study revealed that, although the government used newspapers to convey migration information in official advertisements, there is little evidence that they monitored or controlled the information that newspapers published about South Australia. Rather, newspaper editors and proprietors wielded the power and influence for inculcating the communities they served. Unofficial news and commentary greatly overshadowed the official campaigns by government, appointed agents and colonial officials. Effectively, by mid-century the government was at the behest of the newspaper. It could neither control its content nor regulate its circulation. The poet's 'every man' was ultimately the driving force for the empire.

In the case of South Australia, this research has revealed that newspapers were not only a dominant vehicle for official government advertising which promoted migration but also that editors directed information and published commentary with the specific intention of influencing readers about their migration choices. From the early 1830s the published word, especially in newspapers, was instrumental for promoting the British Empire and ordinary people were involved in the projection of the empire. The poet's 'every man' influenced his compatriots through the pages of newspapers to undertake opportunities for colonial settlement. This was pivotal for the success of the South Australian colonisation project. Newspapers spread news about migration opportunities and migrant experiences among a far wider audience than previously seen and helped to extend Britain's empire across the globe.

The methodology used in this thesis which links the expanded advertising publicity (particularly in newspapers) and literature with the desire of its authors' to influence populations and achieve personal gain from migration has provided a fresh approach in this field of study. Other avenues for inquiry into the way that advertising facilitated Britain's empire during this era are possible. For example an exploration of the ways that publicity targeted distinct groups such as women. Alternatively, the analysis of newspapers from a particular community or region when evaluated with passenger arrivals may reveal quantitative data about their direct influence for promoting migration. By establishing that ordinary people were provided with the means for community involvement through newspapers, this thesis concludes that they facilitated the business of migration and through the literature they maintained an ongoing role in extending the British Empire to South Australia.

Glossary

ANU	Australian National University
CLEC	Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners
CUP	Cambridge University Press
BPP	British Parliamentary Papers
MUP	Manchester University Press
NLS	National Library of Scotland
OUP	Oxford University Press
PRO	Public Records Office
SLSA	State Library of South Australia
SRSA	State Records (South Australia)
SL of V	State Library of Victoria
UWA	University of Western Australia

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Colonial Department to George Grey, 20 November 1843, CO 13/35.

Colonial Office to Lt. Colonel Robert Torrens, 27 April 1835, CO 396/1.

Conversazione Club Minutes, 19 August 1835-26 January 1836, CO 386/141 C669699.

Elliot to Brock, 24 October, 1837, CO 386/20.

Elliot to Lieut. Low, 20 November 1837. CO 386/20.

Elliot to Mr. Simpson, 6 November, 1837, CO 386/20.

Elliot to Mrs. Dawson, 10 November, 1837, CO 386/20.

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George Fife Angas to Sir George Grey, 23 July 1838, CO 13/3.

Hindmarsh to Colonisation Commissioners, 30 May 1837, CO 13/6.

Hindmarsh to Glenelg, 2 April 1838, CO13/10.

J. F. Burden to George Stephen, 9 January 1836, CO 13/5.

Lieut. George Grey to the Commissioners for Colonizing Southern Australia, 17 July 1835, CO 396/1.

Memorial from William Wyatt to Viscount Glenelg, 5 August 1836, CO 13/5.

R. W. Hay to Brown, 8 May 1835, CO 13/3.

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S. Walcott to Rev. T W Teasdale, 20 November, 1840, CO 386/25.

S. Walcott to Richard Henry Hartley, 16 September 1840, CO 386/25.

S. Walcott to William King, 16 September 1840, CO 386/25.

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South Australian Colonial Office to Lachlan, Sons 18 January 1841, CO 386/16.

South Australian Colonial Office to McLeod, 27 January, 1841, CO 386/16.

South Australian Colonial Office to Messrs John Flemming & Sons, 18 January, 1841, CO 386/16.

South Australian Colonial Office to Mr H. Capper, 27 January, 1841, CO 386/16.

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