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# *The Emigration of the Brownes from Clonoulty to Australia – Part I (1853-1857)*

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By Richard Reid

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County Tipperary's most prominent contemporary monument to the Irish/Australian connection is in Ballagh. On 23 October 1988 Australia's then Ambassador to the Republic unveiled a large stone memorial in this village to 13 men transported to Sydney in 1816 and one man hanged, as the inscription states, for a "defiant protest against increasing military coercion when the landlords abused the law".<sup>1</sup> Much of Ireland's thinking about the Australian connection in Australia's bicentennial year emanated from what Professor Donal Akenson has described accurately as a "melange of people from prison ships, of Irish rebels, of Ned Kelly, and of wild colonial boys".<sup>2</sup>

Ireland's bicentennial gift to Australia – a computer data base and microfilm of the Irish convict petitions against transportation preserved in the Public Record Office in Dublin – added official weight to this romantic vision of Irish/Australian origins. The more prosaic reality of the Clonoulty/Australia connection is hinted at on the Ballagh monument in a reference to the "abiding links" forged between that village and far-away New South Wales.

One place where the non-convict aspect of those links is evident is at Galong cemetery 200 miles south-west of Sydney. Galong cemetery is dominated by the burial plots associated with the Ryan family of Clonoulty and their immediate kin by marriage. Transportee Edward ("Ned") Ryan, given the place of honour on the list on the Ballagh memorial after Patrick Keogh who was hanged for his "defiant protest", is commemorated here by a large family vault built by his son, John Nagle Ryan.<sup>3</sup> Beside this vault, running down half the length of the cemetery wall, is a four-deep line of 15 graves towered over by two sculptures of angels. The angels mark the last resting places of Ned Ryan's Irish-born niece and nephew – Anastasia and Lawrence Barry Ryan.

None of the Ryans, Dargans, McKays or Brownes buried in this carefully orchestrated tribute to Irish kinship and success in the Australian bush came to Australia in chains.<sup>4</sup> In Clonoulty, as in Ireland in general, the main story of the emigration to and settlement in 19th-century Australia is that of free emigration. Convict "Ned" is now revered as the "Patriarch of the Lachlan" for his generosity, his accumulation of large tracts of land and the building of Galong Castle, today incorporated into Galong Redemptorist Monastery. But more typical of the nature and composition of the "abiding links" between Clonoulty and New South Wales is Edward Browne, buried in the last row of the great Ryan plot because of his marriage to Bridget Ryan, one of Ned's many nieces.

Edward Browne came to Australia in 1857, 17 years after the end of convict transportation to New South Wales.<sup>5</sup> It is estimated that approximately 50,000 Irish were sent to Britain's Australian colonies as convicts between 1788 and 1868, the vast majority of them to New South Wales or Tasmania before 1852.<sup>6</sup> By contrast, Edward Browne was one of those 162,753 free Irish immigrants who, during the next 18 years from 1853 to 1870, swamped the residual Irish convict population.<sup>7</sup> Significant Irish free immigration to Australia began in the late 1830s with



the advent of assisted emigration from Britain and Ireland, paid for by colonial governments desperate to find a working-class population for a growing economy which could not be supplied by convict labour.

From the start the Irish were a key element in this assisted stream. Between 1853 and 1859 70% of all the Irish who arrived at an Australian port were assisted immigrants.<sup>8</sup> New South Wales relied heavily on this form of immigration, particularly during the 1850s when the lure of gold made Victoria a more attractive destination. Only in 1852, the first year of the gold rushes, did assisted immigrants arriving in Sydney Harbour account for less than 68% of all immigrants from United Kingdom ports.<sup>9</sup>

Government emigrants from Tipperary featured prominently among Irish arrivals in Sydney. The published county figures of the NSW Immigration Agent reveal that between 1841 and 1886 at least 11,627 Tipperary people received an assisted passage to New South Wales, placing the county just under 2,000 immigrants ahead of its nearest rival, county Clare.<sup>10</sup> Beyond these gross county figures the passenger lists of the NSW Immigration Board between 1848 and 1870 record the origins of the Tipperary assisted emigrants, and the barony with by far the largest immigration rate per thousand to Sydney of its 1851 population was Kilnamanagh Lower, west of Cashel in the south-centre of the county.<sup>11</sup> More detailed scrutiny of these lists shows that this Kilnamanagh emigration was dominated by the parish of Clonoulty, a link long sensed from the work of Father Max Barrett and others, but never fully explored through the New South Wales free immigration material.

Approximately 434 Clonoulty immigrants passed through Sydney Head as assisted immigrants between 1848 and 1870, a number equivalent to 30% of the total population decline of the parish between 1851 and 1871.<sup>12</sup> Allowing for the fact that many others from the parish must have found their way on a government ship, or as full fare-paying passengers, to the gold colony of Victoria during these years, there is ample support for Professor Oliver McDonagh's feeling that, in terms of 19th century emigration, Clonoulty was indeed an Australian parish.<sup>13</sup>

During the 1850s people in Clonoulty waited as eagerly for letters from long forgotten places in the modern Irish perception of emigration such as Ballarat and Bendigo as much as from Boston or Baltimore. Among the letter-writers from Australia were members of the Browne family from the townland of Clonoulty Hill.

From this correspondence four letters have survived from the 1850s. Written at various dates between April 1854 and August 1857, they hint at the social composition of this exodus from a rural Tipperary parish to the golden colonies at the far end of the earth. Read in combination with colonial immigration records, they also reveal something of how that long and difficult journey was accomplished.<sup>14</sup> Four of the ten children of Edward Browne and Betty Ryan born between 1817 and 1835, and whose baptisms are recorded in the Clonoulty parish register, left for Australia at the height of the gold rushes – Maryanne and Eliza in 1853 for Sydney, John in 1854 for Sydney and Edmund (Edward) for Melbourne in 1857.

What may have drawn Mary Anne and Eliza initially to Australia, apart perhaps from the common sight of Clonoulty emigrants leaving the parish for Sydney and Melbourne in the early 1850s, were their personal family connections in the colonies. In 1840 possibly the first Brownes to come to Australia arrived in Sydney as "bounty" immigrants on the *Lady Clarke*.<sup>15</sup> They were William Browne, his wife Mary (*nee* Daly) from Cahir and their ten-year-old daughter, Eliza. The immigration "entitlement certificate" for this family records William as the son of James Browne, a farmer, and his wife, Mary Daly, both of Clonoulty.<sup>16</sup>

William's Clonoulty origins are confirmed by an entry in the Clonoulty baptismal register for 18 September 1806 and his parents, James Browne Snr. and Mary Daly, are both commemorated



on a gravestone in Clonoulty cemetery.<sup>17</sup> It is likely that James Snr. had two other sons born too early for the parish register. These were James and Edward, the father of the later Australian emigrant Brownes. Both James and Edward Browne had large families born at Clonoulty Hill between 1815 and 1835.<sup>18</sup> Their father James Snr. began the division of his farm between them in 1816 and, according to the Primary Valuation of 1850, they both possessed houses and substantial holdings in Clonoulty Hill.<sup>19</sup>

In 1845 the "bounty" system was suspended. When assisted emigration resumed in 1847 selection of the emigrants became the total responsibility of a British government agency, acting on behalf of the colonial authorities the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners. All applicants for a government passage to New South Wales had to obtain application forms from the Commissioners' agents, fill them up and forward them to London, where final selections were made. Encouraged perhaps by their uncle William in New South Wales, it was by application to the Commissioners that Maryanne and Eliza Browne obtained an assisted passage on the *Telegraph*.

This left Liverpool for Sydney on 21 June 1853, arriving there after a voyage of just under three months on 18 September.<sup>20</sup> The journey was not entirely free. Both women had to pay a passage contribution of one pound and provide themselves with a full chest of sea clothes suitable for the various climatic regions through which the *Telegraph* would have to pass before it reached the temperate coast of New South Wales.<sup>21</sup>

According to the Clonoulty baptismal register Maryanne was 30 and Eliza 28 when they arrived in Sydney in 1853: to the Immigration Board each said she was 27.<sup>22</sup> Neither had any need for this small deception, because single women up to the age of 40 offering to emigrate as domestic servants (as the Browne sisters stated themselves to be) were quite acceptable to the Commissioners.<sup>23</sup> Moreover, in 1853 in particular they faced little likelihood of rejection. The Commissioners responded to the large imbalance in single male emigration brought about by the Australian gold rush in 1852 by virtually excluding all single males from the Sydney assisted emigration.<sup>24</sup>

Of the 58 Clonoulty emigrants accepted for New South Wales in 1853, 23 were single females selected on application to the Commissioners. Only one Clonoulty single male obtained a passage in this way. For a payment of 8 pounds, virtually half the fare, John Moloney, a grocer's assistant, was allowed to accompany his four sisters to Sydney.<sup>25</sup> Possibly the Commissioners accepted him as a useful escort for these young women. In 1853 73% of all Irish assisted emigrants to Sydney were women, a balance in favour of females never equalled before or after in the history of assisted emigration to the colony.<sup>26</sup>

The first move in John Browne's journey to Sydney as an assisted emigrant took place just before his sisters' arrival. On 12 September 1853 James Finn deposited four pounds with the Immigration Department under the N.S.W. Remittance Regulations of 1852 to bring John Browne, stated by Finn to be 23, to Sydney on a government ship.<sup>27</sup> These Regulations enabled residents of N.S.W. to sponsor their friends and relations for an assisted passage on payment of approximately one-third of the cost to the government of bringing out the emigrant. Of the 44,188 Irish assisted who arrived in Sydney between 1848 and 1870, 59% were nominated in the colony under the Remittance Regulations, particularly after 1854.<sup>28</sup>

Much Irish emigration in the years after the Great Famine to North America has been associated with the process of so-called "chain migration". In this system earlier immigrants saved to send back money or pre-paid tickets to bring out friends or other members of the family. Chain-migration was given official sanction and assistance in New South Wales through the official Remittance Regulations. Irish immigrants of the 1850s and 1860s sometimes



arrived in the colony carrying money from home with which to pay the sponsorship requirement of a friend or relative, particularly in the 1850s, perhaps for those single men unlikely to be selected by the Commissioners.<sup>29</sup> John Browne's nomination money, however, was clearly not being carried by his sisters; they were still on the high seas when James Finn sent for him. Who, then, was this James Finn, and what was his relationship to John Browne?

One Finn family appears as contemporaries of the Brownes in the Clonoulty parish register. This was the family of Patrick Finn and Margaret Finn on 28 February 1828. One of the sponsors at this baptism was James Browne, most likely emigrant John Browne's uncle.<sup>30</sup>

In 1850 Patrick Finn was a substantial farmer in Clonoulty, holding 50 acres of top-rated land.<sup>31</sup> The parish register provides further confirmation of the friendly relationship between the Finns of Srahavarella and the Brownes of Clonoulty Hill. Patrick Finn was recorded in the register as the sponsor for two Browne baptisms – that of Sarah Browne, daughter of Edmund and Betty Ryan (and sister of John, Maryanne and Eliza in 1833), and Patrick, son of James Browne and Mary Kennedy in 1838.<sup>32</sup>

Little is known about the emigration of the Finns to Australia. They were certainly there by 1856 when John, Maryanne and Eliza Browne wrote from Melbourne to their brother Patrick and sister Bridget that "Paddy Finn and family is well".<sup>33</sup> At that time they also met James Finn, John's sponsor under the Remittance Regulations. Patrick Finn and his wife eventually settled on the land at Menangle near Campbelltown not far south of Sydney.<sup>34</sup> Another reference to the fairly close links between the Brownes and the Finns comes from a letter written at the end of the century (in 1899) from Edward Browne to his brother Patrick, who took over the family farm in Clonoulty Hill in the mid-1850s. Edward wrote of "our Cussons Patrick Finns Family", of how the "old people" [Patrick and Margaret Finn] were dead and that James and Hugh Finn had both done moderately well in the colony.<sup>35</sup>

John Browne left Clonoulty in late April 1854. By 29 April he was on board the ship *Araminta* berthed next to the Government Emigration Depot at Birkenhead on the Mersey. In Irish history the port of Liverpool is forever associated with the flight of hundreds of thousands from Ireland to North America during the Famine and immediate post-Famine period of 1847 to 1855. The miseries of the journey to America – the often storm-tossed crossing of the Irish Sea on an open deck; the exploitation of poverty-stricken emigrants at Liverpool by shippers and their agents; the dangers, crowdings and general discomforts of the voyage; the problems and further exploitations on arrival at New York – have all been well documented and described by MacDonagh and Coleman.<sup>36</sup>

It was not until the worst years of the Irish/American emigration had passed that the Commissioners began directing some of their official colonial-assisted departures through the port. This was done from Birkenhead on the far side of the Mersey away from the trickery and roguery practised on emigrants in Liverpool itself. The Birkenhead Government Emigration Depot was opened in January 1852, and 2,736 Irish passed through the Depot in its first year of operation.<sup>37</sup> At Birkenhead the Irish were able to rest from the rigours of the journey from home, a journey whose Irish Sea segment was viewed by the Commissioners as the worst part of the whole trip to Australia.<sup>38</sup> In fact every aspect of this government-assisted emigration, once the emigrants had reached the Depot, was in stark contrast to the experiences of those Irish making their own way to America, and the basic outlines of the organisation of the voyage were reflected in John Browne's letter home from the *Araminta* to his brother Patrick in Clonoulty.<sup>39</sup>

John had little to say about his experience in the Depot itself. What is clear, however, was that the Depot authorities were vigilant in enforcing the clothing requirement expected of each assisted emigrant:

"I was surprised at Ned and Edmond Ryan for the leave my trousers out of the Trunk and two pairs of Stockings As I did not Know but the had all Right until the day of examination I had to go out the street and pay 7 Shillings for a Coardiddy trousers And that same was a bad one ..."<sup>40</sup>

These examinations were carried out before emigrants were allowed to embark, and they were expected to make good any deficiencies themselves. The purpose of these regulations was to ensure that each emigrant had sufficient clothing to withstand a long voyage through a variety of climatic conditions ranging from tropical heat to extreme cold. That John was instantly able to rectify the deficiency in his sea chest shows that he was no poverty-stricken Famine emigrant. Once on board the *Araminta* John was impressed by the provision made for the emigrants:

"Dear Patt this is a fine Ship and every Thing Kept very regular . . .  
My comrades are in good health And our births are near each other . . .  
This ship has three mainmasts our Births are near the Second its best  
Part of the Ship our number and name is on every birth . . ."<sup>41</sup>

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In embarking the emigrants no mad scramble was permitted for the so-called best berths. Each, where possible, was allotted a bunk and mess table along with people from the same district. The Emigration Officers, the Commissioners' agents at the ports responsible for all aspects of embarkation and departure on government ships, tried in their berthing arrangements to create a sense of ease and harmony among those who were to be constant companions for three long months at sea.<sup>42</sup> However, in a memorable passage, John managed to convey the inevitably stifling nature of these berths which were to be an emigrant's only personal space:

"We are all in a rank along two sides of the Ship one man in each birth And births over head its often we Aught think of Death for the are like Coffins only there is no lids To see us lying down you would Think we were all dead people for all That the dont think of death one will say To the other how are you in your Coffin The hole of them will laugh Then the are all pleasant young men . . ."<sup>43</sup>

John also reassured any in Clonoulty who might have been anxious for their single unaccompanied daughters on such ships:

". . . every thing is Kept regular heir Marrid men are all part in one part and the Females in another part young men in Another part for themselves young woman Are as well cared heir as if the were with Pearent at home . . ."<sup>44</sup>

As we shall see, the voyage of the *Araminta* was not free from problems. But by the standards of the time it was a well organised and carefully supervised experience, and John Browne was not the only assisted emigrant to give the emigrant authorities credit for this achievement. After a voyage as an assisted emigrant on the *David McIvor* in 1858, Englishman Henry Wellings had nothing but praise for the system:

"A piece of advice 'gratis' – if you have the cash go Cabin – if not become an emigrant on a Government ship run by the Land and Emigration Commissioners not steerage in a private ship . . . you will be better fed and cared for you will find yourself more comfortable and clean than in any private ship and free from all imposition".<sup>45</sup>



Before setting out on the journey to Australia it is likely that most of the assisted emigrants from Ireland had during their lives travelled no further than their local market town. To ease their inevitable apprehensions it was the Commissioners' policy to call forward those allocated to a particular ship in groups of people from the same parish or area. Few Clonoulty emigrants made the long journey to Sydney alone.

Of the 434 who went as government emigrants to New South Wales between 1848 and 1870, 404 (93%) travelled in groups or families of two or more. Other parishes such as Quin, county Clare, showed a similar pattern of group travel.<sup>46</sup> John Browne was no exception; with him on board the *Araminta* were a related group of Careys, like John all going out under the Remittance Regulations - Jeremiah, his wife Mary from Upperchurch and his brother and sister, John and Catherine. In his letter from the *Araminta* John Browne passed on last messages from the Carey's to their relatives in Clonoulty:

"Jur Carey Desires To let John Kenedy know that he has wrote to his father and to Matt Dwycr of Rossmore tell John Kenedy that Jur Carey Desires him to careful of his father he Hope that he will see them once more in a foreign land with him".<sup>47</sup>

This solicitude shown by Jeremiah for his father Michael Carey may have had something to do with the fact that Michael was a widower.<sup>48</sup> Jeremiah and Mary Carey, however, embarked not as man and wife but as single individuals. This ruse would not have gone undetected for long. Mary was pregnant and bore the child on the voyage. Close questioning by the Surgeon Superintendent and the Matron in charge of the single females most probably revealed her relationship to Jeremiah fairly early on in the voyage as they were, according to the Sydney Immigration Agent, "treated" as man and wife by the Surgeon.<sup>49</sup> On arrival the Immigration Board's clerk recorded the following beside the entry for Jeremiah Carey:

"Passed as single man until two months ago. States he was married in the Parish of Drumbane by Reverend Father Maher."<sup>50</sup>

And this comment beside Mary Carey:

"Obtained passage by personating Bridget Carey, her husband's sister, who had emigrated previously to the arrival of the Passage Certificate".<sup>51</sup>

This passage certificate was the official notification given to a nominator in the colony for sending home to their friend or relative. On receipt of the certificate from Australia the nominee sent it to the Commissioners who, after checking that the individual sending in the certificate was indeed the person named in it, offered him or her a passage. In Mary Carey's case a local priest, magistrate and doctor would all have certified to the Commissioners that she was Bridget Carey, the person sent for by the nominator. The Careys were sponsored by Jeremiah's brother-in-law, Richard Shanahan, living at Murrurundi in the Hunter Valley of New South Wales.<sup>52</sup>

What drove the Careys to this deception, and why were local officials and clerics willing to assist them? The Careys were undoubtedly fairly poor and perhaps anxious to leave Ireland as soon as possible. Jeremiah's father Michael may well have been the Michael Carey shown on the Primary Valuation of 1850 as living in a house valued at 14/- and renting a small garden of 14 perches in the townland of Brockagh. Jeremiah may have been the Jeremiah Carey renting a cabin valued at 5/- in this same townland.<sup>53</sup> This possibility is strengthened by the fact that in Brockagh there were a number of holdings and two houses occupied by the widows Ellen and Honoria Shanahan, possibly relatives of that Richard Shanahan who nominated the Careys.<sup>54</sup>

When Richard sponsored Jeremiah and his sisters he may not have known of Jeremiah's marriage.

On receiving the certificates the newly wedded Jeremiah and Mary decided to take advantage of the fact that Bridget Carey had already received a passage from the Commissioners. As Mary was now a Carey she could simply pass as Bridget for the purposes of applying to the Commissioners. But for the complication of her pregnancy, which reached term during the voyage, the impersonation would probably have gone undetected. Any other approach might have led to a refusal to accept the couple as the nomination documents had described a single man and his sisters. It was not uncommon for priests and magistrates to connive at such deceptions; no doubt they sympathised with the efforts of those like the Careys to extricate themselves from poverty by emigrating.<sup>55</sup>

Impersonation was not the only deception practised on the Commissioners by assisted emigrants and evident in the Clonoulty emigration chain associated with the Brownes and the Finns. In his *Araminta* letter John Browne wrote that he regretted:

“. . . poor James Dunne that he is not along with us might be all for the better let him Keep up his courage for we will Meet again if god gives us life let him not leave home for a day or two before the time”.<sup>56</sup>

This last phrase suggests that James was also Australia-bound but had not managed to travel with his friends to join the *Araminta*. James and John would undoubtedly have met again, as James Dunn arrived in Sydney aboard the *Columbia* less than two months after John.<sup>57</sup> He was one of the few Clonoulty emigrants to travel without others from the parish during the 1850s and 1860s. John Browne may have been telling him to keep his “courage up” because he might have expected to have travelled with the others on the *Araminta* as he had been sponsored under the Remittance Regulations on 10 August 1853 by James Finn,<sup>58</sup> a month before Finn put down the deposit for John Browne. This apparent delay in his being called forward to a ship may have been the result of a tardy response on his part to the Commissioners when he received his passage certificate from the colony.

More interesting was the fact that Finn deposited only four pounds for James Dunn and set down his age as 35.<sup>59</sup> Under the regulations this was the sum demanded for a single agricultural labourer aged between 14 and 40.<sup>60</sup> When James Dunn appeared before the immigration clerks on board the *Columbia* in Sydney Harbour he duly stated his age as 35 years. If indeed, as he also stated, he was the son of James and Winifred Dunn of Clonoulty, baptised on 26 May 1813, then he was not 35 but 41.<sup>61</sup> Passing himself off as 35 saved 2 pounds as the deposit sum required for an emigrant between 40 and 50 was 6 pounds.<sup>62</sup> If, as is likely, James Dunn owed James Finn for the deposit in the first place then he was two Pounds better off all round!

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At Birkenhead the Emigration Commissioners also catered for the spiritual needs of the emigrants according to their own denominations. Just before the *Araminta's* departure, as John Browne relates, the Catholics were visited by the local priest:

“. . . we had the priest on yesterday heir in The caple which he got up himself his name is Brown, a fine priest he told us what to do and how to act with the protesttans and gave us leave to eat meat on friday he was with all the Catholick for about two hours advising them Their is about 200 Catholicks or more heir. He gave us his blessing and wished us a safe voyage . . .”<sup>63</sup>





Father Brown had not obtained these facilities for administering Mass to departing Catholics without insisting on his right to do so. Just five months after the opening of the Depot in January 1852 the Commissioners received a letter from Brown, the parish Priest of St Werburgh's, Birkenhead, alleging that the Roman Catholics passing through the Depot were being treated as "felons and paupers" in matters of religious observance.<sup>64</sup> According to him, the Depot authorities had explicitly refused to allow the Catholics to leave the Depot to attend his church, despite the fact that large numbers of government emigrants could be seen every evening in the streets of Birkenhead!<sup>65</sup>

This was the first in a protracted correspondence on this and related issues evident in the Commissioner's files between 1852 and 1854. The Commissioners referred the matter of Catholic emigrant attendance at St Werburgh's to their Port Emigration Officer at Liverpool, Captain Patey. In his response Patey declared himself at a loss to understand the good Father's complaints.<sup>66</sup> He felt that as the Protestants did not leave the Depot for religious purposes it would be better if the Catholics were ministered to in the building. However, he denied that orders had been given to prevent them leaving the building.

Indeed, Fr. Brown came to the Depot and no restriction was placed on the emigrants in the Depot itself. The emigrants were also at liberty to attend Mass outside if they wished.<sup>67</sup> In replying to Fr. Brown, the Commissioners declared that it was strictly against their policy to interfere with the religious observance of any group of emigrants.<sup>68</sup>

In May 1853 Father Brown renewed his attack on religious arrangements at the Depot. He went over the head of the Commissioner and addressed his complaints to the Colonial Secretary, the Duke of Newcastle. Brown now alleged that a full system of proselytism aimed at the Catholics was being pursued at the Depot. He further claimed that this continued on board ship during the voyage.<sup>69</sup> Surely, he argued, in what was a fairly direct allusion to the potential disaffection of Irish Catholic emigrants subjected to such evangelical harassment, it was important for these particular emigrants "to carry with them sentiments of affection and loyalty, and not of bitterness, towards their father-land".<sup>70</sup> What seems to have been the problem for Brown, virtually from the opening of the Depot, was the existence in the building of a Protestant chapel and reading room set up by the Church of England.

These rooms were not part of the Government Depot itself, but had been given to the Church of England rent free by the Harbour Board.<sup>71</sup> It had been, perhaps, a little disingenuous for Captain Patey to claim to the Commissioners in May 1852 that the Protestants did not have to leave the depot to attend services. At that time he must have been aware that Reverend Welch, appointed by his bishop as a chaplain to the Church of England emigrants, had set up these facilities virtually at once.<sup>72</sup>

Being in the same building as the depot, with access to them gained by a door from the Depot for which Reverend Welch had the key, it would have been easy to assume that the official sanction of the Commissioners had been given for this arrangement.<sup>73</sup> Brown was certainly quick to draw the authorities' attention to it and his assumptions emerged easily from that atmosphere of greater animosity and tension which existed between Protestants and Catholics in the 1850s. The result of these protestations from Fr. Brown to the Commissioners was his eventual appointment as the official Roman Catholic chaplain to the Depot.<sup>74</sup> The Commissioners were all too aware of the potential for religious tension at their Depots and had asked Parliament to vote stipends to permit them to appoint chaplains to minister to the various denominations.<sup>75</sup> When John Browne of Clonoulty encountered Fr. Brown saying Mass on the *Araminta* he was seeing the result of the Commissioners' efforts to defuse possible complaints from Irish Catholics in the pervasive atmosphere of mid-19th century Anglo-

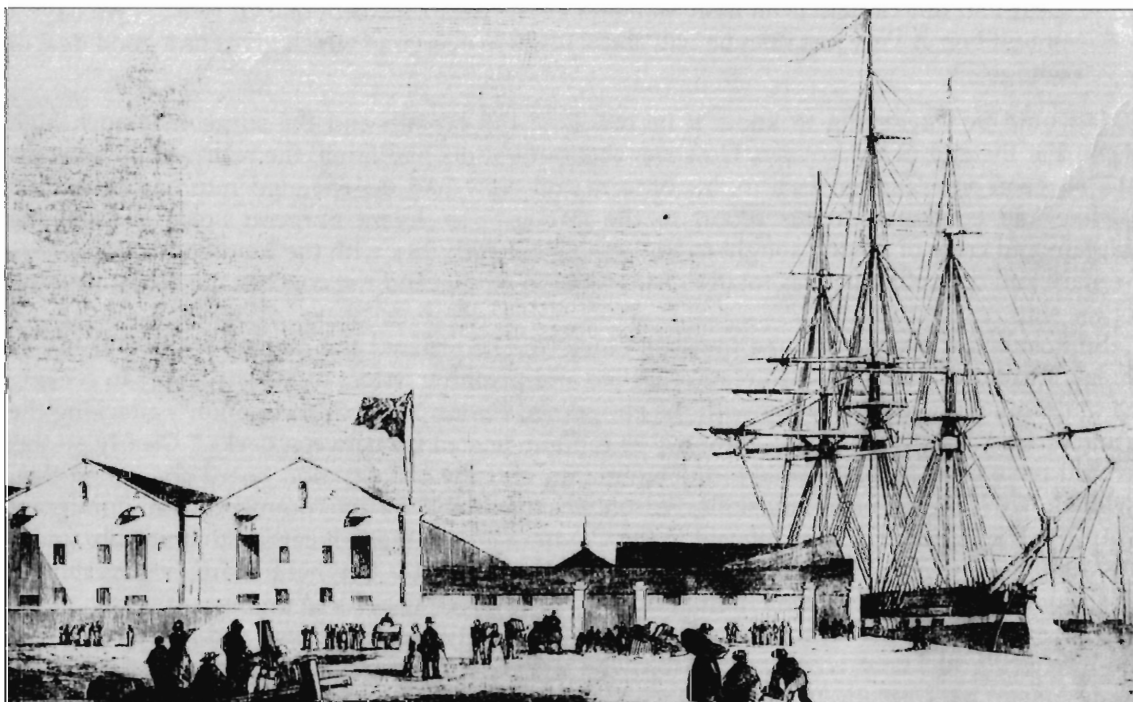
Protestantism at the port. Whatever their own personal religious prejudices, in their official capacity the Commissioners sought to promote harmony and tolerance on a long voyage in a confined space occupied by individuals from diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds.

The *Araminta* finally set sail from the Mersey on 3 May 1854 and after a voyage of 87 days reached Sydney Harbour. There it was placed instantly in quarantine at the NSW Government Quarantine Station at North Head.<sup>76</sup> John Browne's first experience of Sydney, therefore, would not have been the familiar sight of Sydney Cove but a tent on a bare hillside. Measles had broken out on the passage and three children, two of them Irish, died of the disease. By 5 August, after the emigrants had had a chance to clean their clothes and the ship had been fumigated, the *Araminta* was released from quarantine and sailed up the harbour to the government anchorage point off Bennelong Point.<sup>77</sup>

On reaching the anchorage the single females were disembarked and taken to the Female Immigrant Depot, the old convict barracks, at the top of Macquarie Street. Maryanne and Bessy Browne would have been taken there on their arrival in 1853. Once there single women could leave to join their relatives and friends or use the facilities of the institution as a labour exchange to find employment as a domestic servant.

In this way the NSW government offered a basic measure of support to single women during those difficult early days in the colony.<sup>78</sup> Of the 92 single females on the *Araminta*, 63 of them Irish, eight were forwarded to other government depots at Parramatta, near Sydney, and Maitland in the Hunter River valley over 100 miles to the north.<sup>79</sup> Of the 84 who entered the barracks, exactly half left to join friends. The rest hired out as servants.<sup>80</sup>

The New South Wales Immigration Agent, Captain Henry H. Browne, was of the opinion that the immigrant females on the *Araminta* were "much inferior to the class usually selected".



*The depot at Birkenhead, where emigrants sailed for Australia – a drawing made in 1852.*

Nonetheless they readily obtained employment at “highly remunerative wages” because of the “scarcity of female domestic servants”.<sup>81</sup> In Browne’s language “inferior” meant “inferior Irish”. His published complaints on this matter led to the demand by the Sydney Celtic Association in 1856 for an official enquiry into the apparently anti-Irish attitudes of the Immigration Agent.<sup>82</sup>

John Browne, as a single male immigrant, along with the families, was entitled to avail himself, if he wished, of two weeks’ full board on the *Araminta* while he attempted to obtain work.<sup>83</sup> He was, however, free to leave as soon as the immigration clerks had recorded his personal details and the Immigration Board had interviewed him. The Board’s questions aimed to discover whether the immigrants had been treated according to the provisions of the contract – the Charter Party – between the Emigration Commissioners and the *Araminta*’s owners. This was an important part of the assisted emigration system; any serious complaints which emerged from these inquisitions were fully inquired into at once by the Board before the immigrants were permitted to land.

If any accusations against the crew, the Surgeon-Superintendent or other minor officials appointed for the duration of the voyage by the Commissioners were substantiated, these individuals stood to lose either the whole or part of their payments and gratuities. In cases where the ship had been short-provisioned with food or water, the owners could be fined up to half the charter fee, which was in any case retained by the Commissioners until they heard from the colony that the ship had arrived and had been cleared without complaint.<sup>84</sup>

Despite the fact that the immigrants expressed themselves satisfied with their treatment on the *Araminta*, the ship was never chartered again by the Emigration Commissioners for a voyage to Sydney. Writing home before the *Araminta* had left Liverpool, John Browne had praised the captain, his crew and the Surgeon-Superintendent:

“Dear Patt our captain is an irish Man and all our sealors except one Or two . . . we have a surgent heir A very just man he will show Justis to everyone which gives us a good deal of courage”.<sup>85</sup>

It would be interesting to know if he still held the captain and the surgeon in such high regard at the end of the voyage. However the immigrants had fared, the relationship between the surgeon and Captain Fearon, his officers and crew had degenerated into one of mutual dislike and contempt. In his report to the Immigration Agent Surgeon Lowe accused the captain and crew of having sought to undermine his authority with the immigrants, for whose welfare and discipline he was totally responsible in all that did not concern the actual running of the ship.<sup>86</sup>

So hostile did Fearon become towards Lowe that he ordered the mate, a relative of his, to break into Lowe’s cabin and to read offensive and insulting letters to the surgeon.<sup>87</sup> In seeking to undermine Lowe’s authority with the emigrants, Fearon had a “Procimation”, attacking the surgeon and asserting his own authority as captain, posted up between decks.<sup>88</sup> Clearly all this would have been highly visible to the emigrants, and the Immigration Board concluded that, while Lowe lacked conciliatory skills, Fearon was unsuitable for the command of an immigrant ship. Such a judgement, once relayed to the Commissioners, made it certain that no ship under his command would ever be chartered again. The Board also withheld Fearon’s government gratuity to which a favourable report entitled the captain of an assisted immigrant vessel.

In the context of this acrimonious struggle for authority between Lowe and Fearon it would be interesting to know whether John Browne signed the certificate of appreciation from the emigrants to the Captain. Fearon produced this document in his defence before the Board, but he could have saved himself the trouble as they regarded it as totally unreliable:



“... but to such a document the Board attribute little consideration seeing that these addresses were easily obtainable and are not unfrequently written by the person in whose favour they are made”.<sup>89</sup>

This disruptive situation was not all that Immigration Agent Browne considered wrong with the *Araminta*. Far from finding her, in John Browne’s words, “a fine ship”, he considered the ship’s layout as further disqualifying it for future use in carrying government immigrants. The *Araminta*, a “North American Ship”, possessed a “long poop” or “roundhouse” which took up such a portion of the deck space that it made it difficult for the single females to be supervised properly.<sup>90</sup> The prevention of unnecessary communication between the single females, the single male emigrants and the crew was considered of cardinal importance by the Commissioners.<sup>91</sup> They wished their ships to arrive in a small, gossip-ridden colonial port such as Sydney without the slightest hint of any untoward behaviour having taken place on the voyage.

Hence the importance they attached to the physical layout of ships in helping or hindering supervision of the female emigrants. Agent Browne also found that eight crew had been allocated bunks in this “roundhouse” and that all that separated these sailors from the single females at the gangway to the between decks area was a “deal plank”.<sup>92</sup> This arrangement had permitted conversations between the crew and the single women after they had gone below for the night, a situation which had given the surgeon much trouble.<sup>93</sup>

Another undesirable feature of the *Araminta* was, in the Immigration Agent’s opinion, the badly ventilated and narrow between-deck area.<sup>94</sup> It was here that John Browne would have slept in his coffin-like berth. Agent Browne described this deck as “dark”, “without stern-windows” and possessed of a “sour smell” which he found characteristic of North American built ships. This lack of stern ports meant that air could only circulate by way of the gangway from the upper deck.<sup>95</sup> What should be remembered in relation to this fairly rigorous official scrutiny of the events surrounding the passage of the *Araminta* to Sydney is that they are in no way unusual. Many government ships and their officials were subjected to even greater examination, and sometimes severe penalties were imposed on both individuals and owners when the Commissioners’ regulations were not carried through in a proper manner. As has been said, assisted emigrants to Sydney and other Australian ports enjoyed a standard of care not available in the steerage passage to either colonial or other destinations from the United Kingdom in the mid-19th century.

The last of the children of Edward Browne and Betty Ryan of Clonoulty Hill to reach Australia in the 1850s was their youngest son, Edmund (Edward), born in February 1835.<sup>96</sup> No part of Edward’s passage was paid for by the colony. By 1856 his brother and sisters had left Sydney for Victoria, and they wrote to the family in Clonoulty from the *Carriers Arms*, Elizabeth Street, Melbourne in November of that year. Aside from all the news about family and friends, they mentioned that it was difficult for single men to obtain an assisted passage to Victoria.<sup>97</sup>

Indeed, the assisted scheme to Melbourne was dominated by single women as the colony tried to correct the gender imbalance brought about by the huge influx of male goldseekers in the early 1850s.<sup>98</sup> However, for Edward the difficulty of procuring an assisted passage was irrelevant; his brother John Browne had won Edward’s fare from the earth many times over:

“... you would have some quantity of Gold such as John have Just now the poor fellow has earned it well, he has nocked about better than I had expected we are admiring the large nuggets of Gold just now I have had the pleasure of holding a little bag of Gold in my hands more than I ever see in my life if you were with him you would have double . . .”<sup>99</sup>



Not surprisingly they would write to Edward:

“... I wish you Ned to Come your passage we could pay ...”<sup>100</sup>

Edward Browne wasted little time in taking up the offer. He landed in Melbourne on 14 July 1857.<sup>101</sup> One of his last family acts in Clonoulty must have been as sponsor at the baptism of his nephew, the first child of his brother Patrick and young wife, Bridget Carey, on 23 February 1857.<sup>102</sup>

Edward Browne's emigration to Victoria in 1857 was fairly typical of the way in which a significant number of Irish were reaching the “gold colony” in the mid to late 1850s. In general the availability of government assistance was crucial to the willingness of the Irish to emigrate to Australia from the 1830s to the 1880s.<sup>103</sup> Seventy-seven per cent of all immigrants arriving in Sydney during those years did so on government ships, and it is unlikely that the other 23% contained many Irish.<sup>104</sup>

Statistics from a five-year period – 1848-1852 – for which an ethnic breakdown is available indicate that the Irish made up just 4% of the unassisted immigrants arriving in the colony of New South Wales.<sup>105</sup> But in the five-year period 1855-1860 approximately 42% of the Irish reaching the Australian colonies did so by paying their own fare.<sup>106</sup> As Irish women had no difficulty in obtaining a passage to Melbourne from the Emigration Commissioners, it is likely that the majority of these fare-payers were Victorian-bound Irishmen, like Edward Browne, whose relatives or friends had subsidised the journey.<sup>107</sup>

From the perspective of the micro-history of the parish of Clonoulty, this story of the emigration of Maryanne, Bessy, John and Edward Browne to Australia is of great significance. The survival of their letters home, and an analysis of the information they contain in the context of the various passage arrangements available to the Australian colonies, broadens our understanding of this local emigration-in-action through the experiences of one family.

Their comments and news about other Clonoulty emigrants open a window on the reality of a process often written about in abstract statistical terms. While the story of the Brownes has its own unique personality, it reveals with some precision how some of the people of one Tipperary parish became part of the great Irish “diaspora” of the 1850s.

## FOOTNOTES

1. For the full text of the Ballagh monument's inscription see the front cover of Max Barrett, C.S.S.R.: *Because of These* (Toowoomba, Australia, 1992).
2. Donald Harmon Akenson: *Small Differences: Irish Catholics and Irish Protestants, 1815-1922: An International Perspective* (Montreal, 1988), p. 60.
3. For the story of the Ballagh incident which led to the transportation of the 13 and their subsequent lives in colonial New South Wales see Barrett: *Because of These*, and the same author's *King of Galong Castle: the story of Ned Ryan* (Galong, NSW, 1978), and Niamh Brennan, “The Ballagh Barracks Riot of 1815”, in *Irish Convicts*, Bob Reece (ed.) (Dublin, 1989). The most scholarly overview of early Irish settlement in the region south west of Sydney from 1800 to 1840 remains James Waldersee's *Catholic Society in New South Wales, 1788-1860* (Sydney, 1974). Waldersee made use of Barrett's at that time unpublished work on the Ryans of Galong.
4. A fuller description of some of those buried in this graveyard can be found in W.D. Creede, C.S.S.R.: *Galong Cemetery: Place of Prayer and Peace* (Galong Monastery, no date).
5. Although transportation to Sydney ceased in 1840, it was continued to Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) until 1852 and to Western Australia until 1868.
6. Akenson, op. cit., p. 60.



7. For a breakdown of British and Irish total departures from all ports to Australia, see R. Reid: "Aspects of Irish Assisted Emigration to New South Wales, 1848-1870", unpublished Ph.D., Australian National University, 1992, Vol. 2, p. 1, Figure 1.1, Regional Origins of UK Emigrants to Australia, 1853-1870.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 3, Figure 1.3, Regional Origins of UK Emigrants to Australia, 1853-1859, Showing Percentage Assisted for Each Region.
9. *Ibid.*, p. 4, Figure 1.4, Numbers of Immigrants to N.S.W. Showing Percentage Assisted and Numbers and Percentage of Irish Assisted, 1838-1870.
10. See annual Immigration Agent's Reports, 1841-1886, *N.S.W. Parliamentary Papers*.
11. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 121, Figure 5.1, Origins of the Tipperary/N.S.W. Emigrants and Baronial Rates per Thousand of the 1851 Population.
12. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 122, Figure 5.2, Comparison of N.S.W. Emigration Rates from Parishes of Clonoulty, Tipperary and Thurles, and Vol. 1, pp. 125/126.
13. O. MacDonagh: "The Irish in Australia: A General View", in *Ireland and Irish-Australia: Studies in Cultural and Political History* (London, 1986), p. 160.
14. The four letters are:
  - A. John Browne (Birkenhead, England) to his brother Patrick Browne (Tipperary), 29 April 185[4?].
  - B. John, Maryanne and Bessy Browne (*Carriers Arms*, Elizabeth Street (Melbourne) to their brothers including Pat and their sister Bridget Browne (Tipperary), 16 November 1856.
  - C. Ned [Edward] Browne (England) to his brother Pat Browne (Tipperary), 17 April 1857.
  - D. [Edward], John, Maryan and Bessy Browne (Beechworth, Hurdle Flat), to their brother Patrick Browne (Tipperary), 28 August 1857.

I am grateful to Mr Browne of Emerald Hill, Binnalong, N.S.W. for giving me access to his copies of these letters and to Dr. David Fitzpatrick of TCD for making available to me his careful typescript transcriptions of all four letters. Dr. Fitzpatrick is currently working on a major study of the emigration process from 19th-century Ireland based on Irish emigrant letters.

15. The "bounty" system involved a set passage payment per immigrant to the shipping company after inspection and approval by an Immigration Board at Sydney. Shippers speculated on being able to carry the emigrants to Australia more cheaply than the "bounty" payable. Potential emigrants were recruited by agents located in various places throughout Britain and Ireland. For a description of the policy aspects of the "bounty" operation, see R.B. Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851* (Sydney, 1969).
16. Entitlement Certificate, Browne family, *Lady Clarke*, arrived Sydney 14 August 1840, Archives Office of New South Wales (hereafter AONSW), original 4/4856, microfilm Reel 365.
17. Clonoulty parish register, typewritten transcript, p. 31. I am grateful once again to Dr Fitzpatrick for the information concerning the grave of James Browne Snr. and Mary Daly. These Brownes had a connection with the Ballagh convicts of 1816. In his original deposition to the Crown listing those involved with the destruction of the Ballagh dispensary Michael Dwyer, one of the Ballagh innkeepers, cited James and Edmond Browne. Neither of the brothers was eventually charged with the crime – Barrett, *Because of These*, p. 20.
18. Clonoulty parish register, pp. 32/33.
19. *Valuation of Tenements*, (Griffith's Valuation), Union of Cashel: Parish of Clonoulty (Dublin, 1850), p. 28. James Browne Senior: assignment of 80 acres to Edmond Browne, Registry of Deeds, Book 702, p. 32, No. 481408, cited by Barrett, *Because of These*, p. 22.
20. Immigration Board's List, *Telegraph*, arrived Sydney 18 September 1853, AONSW, original 4/4936, microfilm Reel 62. Departure and passage details, *Telegraph*, Fourteenth Annual Report of the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, 1854, Appendix No. 7, *British Parliamentary Papers*, 1854, Vol. 28.
21. For a fuller description of the personal passage requirements sought by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners from assisted emigrants, see Reid, op. cit., Vol. 1, Chapters 1 and 2.
22. Clonoulty parish register, p. 32, entries for Mary Browne (known as Maryanne), 14 May 1823, and



- Eliza Browne, 20 May 1825. Entries for Maryanne and Bessy Browne, Immigration Board's List, *Telegraph*, 18 September 1853.
23. Comparative Table shewing the Regulations to be Observed in the Selection of Emigrants for Free Passages to New South Wales, as published by the Land and Emigration Commissioners, in the years 1847 to 1851, in Immigration: Return to an Address of Mr O'Shannassy, p. 14, *Votes and Proceedings*, Legislative Council (Victoria, 1852).
  24. For the Commissioners' position on selection of males and females for emigration between 1852 and 1854, see Commissioners T.W.C. Murdoch and Fredric Rogers to British Colonial Secretary, 12 September 1855, Emigration, Australia, Letters to the Colonial Office, 1854-1871, CO 386/72, Public Record Office, London.
  25. *Ellenborough*, arrived Sydney 12 October 1853, entries for John, Hannah, Catherine, Sarah and Judith Maloney, AONSW, original 4/4931, microfilm Reel 61.
  26. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 170, Figure 8.5, Immigration Scheme Under Which Assisted Emigrants from the Parish of Clonoulty, County Tipperary travelled to Sydney, 1853-1855 and Vol. 2, p. 76, Figure 4.8, Percentage N.S.W. Assisted Emigrants Who were Female Compared with Percentage All Irish Female Emigrants, 1848-1870.
  27. Remittance Regulations, Supplement, *New South Wales Government Gazette*, 7 January 1852; James Finn nominating John Browne, 12 September 1853, Immigration Deposits Ledgers, 1853, AONSW, original 4/4576, microfilm Reel 2668.
  28. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 8, Figure 1.7, How the Irish Assisted Emigrants were Selected 1848-1870.
  29. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 226.
  30. Clonoulty parish register, pp. 239 and 655. These baptisms were sometimes recorded under the names Finn and sometimes under the name Vinn.
  31. Valuation of Tenements, Clonoulty, op. cit., p. 37.
  32. Clonoulty parish register, pp. 33/34.
  33. John, Maryanne, Bessy Browne to Patt and Bridget Browne, 18 November 1856.
  34. *J.J. Maloney, Early Menangle*, Australian Society of Patriots (Newcastle, NSW, 1929), p. 36: "Next in rotation was the house of Mr James Finn. He was the son of Mr Patrick Finn (a pioneer settler), but I am of the opinion he was born in Ireland . . . Mr Patrick Finn occupied the area lying between his son's farm and the road . . . He was a native of Tipperary, a very old colonist and one of the most respected men in the district". I am grateful for this reference, and his copy of this obscure publication, to Father Brian Maher, Parish of Aranda, Canberra.
  35. Edward Browne to Patrick Browne, 22 February, 1899, additional Browne letters in possession of Mr N. Browne, Binnalong, NSW.
  36. Oliver MacDonagh, *A Pattern of Government Growth, 1800-1860: the Passenger Acts and their Enforcement* (London, 1961). Terry Coleman, *Passage to America: A History of Emigrants to America in the Mid-nineteenth Century* (London, 1972).
  37. Commissioners T.W.C. Murdoch and Fredric Rogers to Colonial Office, 29 April 1854, Appendix headed "Depots employed by the Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners for the Reception of Emigrants sent out by Colonial Funds", Land and Emigration Commission, CO 386/118, Public Record Office, London.
  38. Commissioners T.W.C. Murdoch and Fredric Rogers to Colonial Office, 26 July 1854, Colonial Office/Emigration, Original Correspondence, CO 384/92, Public Record Office, London.
  39. John Browne to Patrick Browne, 29 April 1854.
  40. *Ibid.*
  41. *Ibid.*
  42. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 53.
  43. John Browne to Patrick Browne, 29 April 1854.
  44. *Ibid.*
  45. Copy of a Journal of a Voyage to Sydney, N.S.W., Henry Wellings, MI Mss 1963, Item 2, Mitchell Library, Sydney.



46. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 33, Figure 2.12, General Groupings in Which the Emigrants from the Parish of Quin, County Clare and the Parish of Clonoulty, County Tipperary Travelled to Sydney 1848-1870.
47. John Browne to Patrick Browne, 29 April 1854.
48. *Araminta*, arrived Sydney, 29 July 1854, Immigration Board's List, entry for Jeremiah Carey, AONSW, 4/4938, Reel 62.
49. The Agent for Immigration to the Colonial Secretary, reporting the arrival of the immigrant Ship "*Araminta*" and the disposal of the Immigrants by that Vessel, hereafter *Araminta* report October 1854, 12 October 1854, Colonial Secretary's Correspondence, Special Bundles, 1826-1934, AONSW, 4/1881.3.
50. Notation on Immigration Board's List, *Araminta*, arrived Sydney 29 July 1854, AONSW, original 4/4938, microfilm Reel 62.
51. *Ibid.*
52. *Ibid.*
53. *Valuation of Tenements* (Griffith's Valuation), Union of Cashel: Parish of Clogher, p. 9.
54. *Ibid.*
55. For elaboration of this point and some examples, see Reid, op. cit., Vol. 1, pp. 18/22.
56. John Browne to Patrick Browne, 29 April 1854.
57. *Colombia*, arrived Sydney, 20 September 1854, Immigration Board's List, entry for James Dunn, AONSW, 4/4937, Reel 62.
58. James Finn nominating James Dunn, 10 August 1853, Immigration Deposits Ledgers, 1853, AONSW, original 4/4576, Reel. 2668.
59. *Ibid.*
60. Remittance Regulations, 7 January 1852.
61. *Columbia*, Immigration Board's List.
62. Remittance Regulations, 7 January 1852.
63. John Browne to Patrick Browne, 29 April 1854.
64. Rev. E.F.C. Brown, St Werburgh's, Birkenhead to Emigration Commissioners, 19 May 1852, Emigration, Original Correspondence, C.O. 384/90, Public Record Office, London.
65. *Ibid.*
66. Captain Patey, Government Emigration Officer, Liverpool to Emigration Commissioners, 28 May 1852, Emigration, Original Correspondence, C.O. 384/90, Public Record Office, London.
67. *Ibid.*
68. Emigration Commissioners to Reverend E.F.C. Brown, 2 June 1852, Emigration, Original Correspondence, C.O. 384/90, Public Record Office, London.
69. Rev. E.F.C. Brown to Duke of Newcastle, 22 May 1853, New South Wales, Original Correspondence, Miscellaneous and Individuals, A-G, C.O. 201/470, Public Record Office, London.
70. *Ibid.*
71. Rev. W. Welch, Emigration Chaplain to Captain Schomberg, Government Emigration Officer, Liverpool, 26 May 1853, Emigration, Original Correspondence, C.O. 384/90, Public Record Officer, London.
72. Captain Patey, Government Emigration Officer, Liverpool to Emigration Commissioners, 28 May 1852.
73. Rev. W. Welch to Captain Schomberg, 26 May 1853.
74. Emigration Commissioners to Rev. E.F.C. Brown, 20 December 1853, Emigration, Entry Books of Correspondence, C.O. 385/27, Public Record Office, London.
75. Colonial Office to Emigration Commissioners, 22 March 1853, Emigration, Entry Books of Correspondence, Public Record Office, London. This letter notified the Commissioners that the Treasury had sanctioned payments of up to 200 pounds for religious instruction at the ports of Liverpool, Southampton, Plymouth and London.
76. *Araminta* report, October 1854.
77. The main evidence which suggests where this anchorage point for government ships was is





contained in the evidence of Constable Prince F. Little to the committee of inquiry on the collision between the *Emeli* and the *Williams*.

78. For a full description of the arrival facilities available at Sydney for single assisted women between 1848 and 1886, see NSW Immigration Agent to Emigration Commissioner, 2 July 1853, in Correspondence Relative to Emigration, pp. 3-5, NSW Legislative Council, *Votes and Proceedings* Vol. 2, 1853.
79. *Araminta* report, October 1854, "Disposal of the Immigrants".
80. *Ibid.*
81. *Ibid.*
82. For a full airing of the complaints by the Celtic Association against Captain Browne, see the evidence of witnesses from the *Report of the Select Committee on Irish Female Immigrants* (Sydney, 1859).
83. Notice on Free Emigration to Australia, Government Emigration Office, London, January 1848, p. 2, Circulars 1817-1851, Emigration, Original Correspondence, 384/87, Public Record Office, London.
84. For a typical chartering agreement between the Commissioners and ship owners, see Charter Party ship *Sirocco*, 5 May 1864, Ships Papers, *Sirocco* (2), AONSW, 9/6285.
85. John Browne to Patrick Browne, 29 April 1854.
86. *Araminta* report, October 1854, and Instructions for Surgeons of Emigrant Ships sailing under the Superintendence of Her Majesty's Colonial Land and Emigration Commissioners, Immigration – Return to an Address of Mr O'Shannessy, p. 21, *Votes and Proceedings*, Legislative Council (Victoria, 1852).
87. *Araminta* report, October 1854.
88. *Ibid.*
89. *Ibid.*
90. *Ibid.*
91. The restriction on communication between the crew and the single females was a provision of the Charter Party – see Charter Party, *Sirocco* (2), Clause 29, AONSW, 9/6285.
92. *Araminta* report, October 1854.
93. *Ibid.*
94. *Ibid.*
95. *Ibid.*
96. Clonoulty parish register, entry for Edmund Browne, 6 February 1835, p. 33.
97. John, Maryanne and Bessy Browne to their brothers including Pat and their sister Bridget, 18 November 1856.
98. Alan Martin, "Public Policy before Federation", *The Australian People* (Sydney, 1988), p. 73.
99. John, Maryanne and Bessy Browne to their brothers, including Pat and sister Bridget, 18 November 1856.
100. *Ibid.*
101. Edmond, John, Maryanne and Bessy Browne to their brother Pat, 28 August 1857.
102. Clonoulty parish register, entry for Edmond Browne, 23 February 1857, p. 34.
103. Patrick O'Farrell: *The Irish in Australia* (Sydney, 1987), p. 62.
104. Robin Haines and Ralph Shlomowitz, *Nineteenth Century immigration from the United Kingdom to Australia: An estimate of the Percentage who were Government-Assisted*, Working Papers in Economic History, No. 45 (Flinders University, Adelaide, 1990), p. 76.
105. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 6, Figure 1.5, U.K. Immigration to Sydney Showing Percentage of Unassisted Immigrants from England, Scotland and Ireland, 1848-1852.
106. Reid, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 3, Figure 1.5, Regional Origins of U.K. Emigrants to Australia, 1853-1859, Showing percentage Assisted for Each Region.
107. Seventy per cent of all Irish assisted immigrants arriving in Victoria between 1852 and 1859 were female. See David Fitzpatrick, "Irish Immigration, 1840-1914", *The Australian People* (Sydney, 1988), p. 561.

