Irish Migration to Queensland, 1885-1912

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The immigration of the Irish to Queensland over the years 1885 to 1912 was part of a general inflow of people from the British Isles and some European countries in response to a definite campaign by the Queensland Government to secure increased population. Oueensland, on gaining separation from New South Wales in December 1859, was the last of the eastern Australian Colonies to achieve self-government. It was regarded as a Colony of rich potential, with a diversity of natural resources and a potential for decentralised settlement. The urgent need was for population to develop its resources and to provide labour for the multifarious needs of expanding settlement. Prominent among such needs were construction, transport, communications, and all the usual demands created by the exceptional rate of urbanisation that was a feature of Australian growth in the latter half of the nineteenth century 1. Fluctuations in demand, occasioned by depression and drought, were extreme, as the Colony was directly dependent on its pastoral, agricultural and mineral resources. But 'Government policy and economic opportunities available ensured that the two fundamental pre-requisites of colonial development — a rapidly rising population and substantial capital investment were present in Queensland for most of the period' (1860-1915)². The population rose by nearly 85 percent between 1881 and 1891³. Until 1890, 'immigration made by far the greatest contribution to population growth, providing almost 70 per cent of the new population, in contrast to about 40 per cent for Australia as a whole' 4.

In the regulation of an expanding economy, the Queensland Government saw its immigration policy as playing a key role ⁵. In the 1880s, though differing in external policies for the development of the Colony, both the McIlwraith and Griffith governments pursued a similar policy on immigration. 'During the 1880s

Queensland was the immigrant colony of Australia' 6. Early in the decade the legislature passed the Act which with its subsequent amendment, was to encourage and regulate the flow of immigrants into Queensland, ensure their suitability and direct them to avenues of employment awaiting them. The Immigration Act of 1882 repealed the Acts of 1872 and 1875 and, with modifications introduced to meet changing circumstances, was to remain in force throughout the period under discussion. Government assistance for emigration was extended to specific occupational categories which were considered most in demand in the Colony of Queensland 8. The Act further provided for nominated passages, whereby persons resident in Queensland wishing to obtain passages for their friends or relatives in the United Kingdom, or on the continent of Europe, could do so under the provisions of section nine. This provision was often used by the Irish in Queensland to bring out remaining members of families or other relatives 9. As in the United States of America and other countries to which the Irish went, those who formed an advance guard acted as an attraction to others to follow. Systematic saving to provide for these nominated passages became part of their economy of wage-earning and expenditure ¹⁰. The Act also made provision for the Governor in Council to authorise free passages for farm labourers and female domestic servants 11. Persons could be engaged in Europe for employers in the Colony and were the so-called 'indented labourers'. Furthermore, it was the duty of the Agent-General to despatch emigrants by ship direct to Brisbane, or to the northern ports of the Colony, in such proportions as the Minister should from time to time direct 12. Immigrants were landed at Cooktown, Townsville, Mackay, Rockhampton, Bundaberg and Maryborough, as well as other ports. Herein lies a noteworthy difference between

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IRISH and EMERALD International Tug-of-War Teams, 1912



Queensland and the southern Colonies, where migrants were preponderantly disembarked at the one principal port and found their way to other sectors of each Colony from there. This had an influence on the pattern of dispersal of the Irish. Many who came absolutely without means had to take whatever jobs offered at the port of landing. Hence, many of the poorer Irish, even if they wished, had little opportunity to move beyond Sydney or Melbourne. McCarthy says of Australia as a whole that the cities 'were the points of entry and of permanent residence for most immigrants' ¹³. Queensland's variation on this theme was that the location of its cities allowed greater decentralisation 14. Amendments to the original 1882 Act were intended to allow for ad hoc restrictions and extensions as changing circumstances might demand. Immigration into Queensland began at a high level in 1885, reflecting a period of rapid expansion and optimistic encouragement of migration. This high level, with some fluctuation, was maintained until 1887, when a steady decline became apparent, until the immigration nadir was reached in 1893, the worst year of a period of ruinous depression for the young Colony, when every movement of expansion either came to a standstill or visibly withered.

The immigrants came to a Colony where Government-sponsored migration had been in operation for twenty-four years. The

population at the time of Separation was estimated at 25,000, of whom 7,000 were in Brisbane ¹⁵. Table One shows that the majority of the inhabitants of the new Colony were to be accounted for by this migration. There was thus no large already established population into which the migrants had to seek to intergrate. Most of the early Queenslanders (to use the term in its correct chronological applicability) were themselves recent migrants faced with similar difficulties. This consideration is worth noting where the Irish community is concerned and where a comparative study is attempted between Queensland and other countries and colonies where the Irish settled. Madgwick makes the following observation for Australia as a whole:

But the main reason for the ready integration of the Irish seems to be in the fact that in Australia, the Irish shared in the development of the country in a way they did not do in America. By the time of the great Irish emigration, the American economy was already well advanced. The Irish therefore came as foreigners who had to justify themselves in the eyes of the settled population ¹⁶.

This observation would seem to be truer, at least statistically, for Queensland than for the other Colonies of eastern Australia. The fact of the relatively large number of foreign-born (the great majority of whom were Germans) is worthy of comment. By the

final decade of the century, Queensland had the largest population of foreign European origin of all the Australian colonies ¹⁷. This is significant not only for the texture of later Queensland society, but had its own peculiar modifying effect, even if largely intangible, on other racial groups seeking at the same time to establish a viable mode of adaptation to the new environment.



Patrick and Elizabeth Talty

Table One reveals that, for the Irish, the ratio of adults to children was markedly greater than for any other group. This trend was maintained until the early years of the twentieth century. It suggests some interesting speculations. For example, was the Irish population more mobile, with a larger element less inclined to become settled than other groups? Did most of the Irish adult migrants marry in Queensland? If so, did they inter-marry with other groups to any significant extent? Only a closer analysis of more detailed data can throw light on such questions. As can be seen from the graphical representations of Tables Two and Three, Irish migration assumes a different outline in the second graph, from the first. From being consistently the most numerous group after the English in the pre-1898 period (in 1896, the number of Irish migrants exceeded the total for England), there is a definite decline in relative numbers for most of the 1898-1912 period. It will also be seen that there was a shift in composition of the Irish migrant body in the latter period, relatively more coming in family groups.

In his Report for 1897, the Agent General in London stated that a Lecturer and Emigration Agent from his office had recently visited Ireland and had received very little co-operation from the authorities. The press in Cork was found decidedly unfavourable to emigration, 'one editor declining to admit to his paper any matter that savoured of sympathy with it' 18. The Bishop and leading clergy of Cork were visited, 'who, although showing no opposition to a scheme of emigration, did not seem inclined to encourage it' 19. Although the wages ruling in Ireland were not more than from £7 to £12 a year, 'Mr. Lyons does not report hopefully of domestic servant emigration' 20. Two years later, the emigration lecturer was still experiencing the same difficulty. 'In some districts great opposition was encountered to people leaving for the colony; there seems to be a preference shown for emigration to the United States rather than any of the British colonies' 21.

The lecturer continued to Northern Ireland to 'make known the advantages of free passages by the S.S. "Jumna" on the 21st March for farm labourers and female domestic servants' 22. Here he discovered that Queensland's cause was being prejudiced by competition from Canada — ships leaving directly from Derry for that country. There was also recruitment in progress for the South African war. Further to these incidental observations, a large contributory factor to the falling off of Irish migration to Queensland lay in the changed state of the country.

Variation in total migration is shown by the figures in table form:

Year From	the 26 Counties	From the 6 Cou	inties Total
1852 - 60	791,648	219,710	1,011,358
1861 - 70	697,404	152,432	849,836
1871 - 80	446,326	177,607	623,933
1881 - 90	616,894	153,812	770,706
1891 - 1900	377,017	56,509	433,526
1901 - 10	266,311	79,713	346,024 ²³

As the figures show, the heaviest migration was that of the decade following the Great Famine of the late 1840s; also, migration remained at a high level until the end of the decade 1881 - 1890. These were years of endemic poverty, with severe local famine ²⁴, many evictions in the rural areas and a generally disturbed state in the country as a whole. Emigration then fell for the decade 1891 - 1900, by nearly 50 per cent, with a further fall-off, in the twenty six Counties, for the next decade. Though these figures apply to the overall picture of emigration from Ireland and though there was fluctuation in the numbers going to the various countries of destination (the U.S.A., Britain, Canada, South America, the colonies of Australasia) ²⁵, the general pattern of this data is reflected in the Queensland figures.

Edmund Curtis, in referring to Parnell's campaign to secure 'land for the People and Home Rule for Ireland', remarks that before Parnell's death he had gained the first but not the second 26. Land purchase was officially put in operation in the 1890s, by the Balfour Act of 1891, and a further Act of 1896 whereby the claims of the selling landlords were met by the issue of Land Stock backed by the British Treasury 27. An Act of 1903 offered a bonus to landlords who would sell, so facilitating the sale of entire estates, and enabled tenants to purchase on easy terms. Curtis also observes that the 1890s were good years for the farmer compared with the disastrous 1880s and that the first decade of the twentieth century was better still 28. Though the country was far from prosperous and offered few avenues of employment to any redundant popula-tion, a measure of stability had been achieved. This would seem to be reflected in the changing features in the migration of the Irish to Queensland in the first decade of this century. The pattern of immigration into Queensland over these years continued to be influenced by the changing circumstances of the new State. Extremes of economic fluctuation affected an economy directly dependant on primary production, overseas markets and overseas investment ²⁹. There was a rapid upswing after the recovery of the mid-1890s and by the turn of the century, the Queensland Government was again holding out extensive inducements to attract population 30. In the peak year of 1900, Irish migration, though still about half the English figure and double the Scottish, was less than the Continental total, now being augmented by Scandinavian migration. A rapid downswing of the economic level in Queensland with a total cessation of migration soon followed the brief boom, the direct cause being the prolonged drought of the early 1900s which severely hit the pastoral and dependant industries. Migration was reduced, as in 1892, to nominted passengers 31, no others being admitted for a period of several years. By 1906, recovery was under

way, though there was still considerable unemployment 32. The immigration figures began to show a definite upswing, culminating in the peak year of 1911, when 14,171 newcomers of European origin entered Queensland — the largest annual total for the whole period under consideration (the previous peak year being 1887, with a total of 11,715). Where the Irish contributed substantially to the 1887 figure, their contribution to that of 1911 was only slightly in excess of the continental total and had increased only marginally on the 1900 level. Annual Irish figures for migration from 1906 on show ups and downs with only a gradual overall gain, where both English and Scottish figures evince a continous rise (see Graphs). The most remarkable feature of this third phase of heavy migration (before the cessation caused by the First World War) is the large proportion of Scots 33, over half the English figure and five times the Irish. Where for each of the previous peaks the number of English was approximately double the number of Irish, by 1911 the English figure was over nine times the Irish 34.

Another factor bearing on the overall composition of Irish immigration was that from 1907, the Government altered its policy by allowing passages of £5 per adult to farmers possessing a capital sum of not less than £50. This change could not have benefited Irish immigration to Queensland, as very few Irishmen would have been able to take advantage of this change ³⁵. The Immigration Agent's Reports from 1907 onwards list the amounts deposited by intending passengers with the Government Savings Bank ,with the qualification that this does not represent all the money introduced annually by the immigrants into the State, as sums were also handled by other financial institutions ³⁶. This third wave of emigration thus possessed a complexion differing significantly from the two waves occurring earlier in the 1885 - 1912 period, where the

ed, these were now made readily and conveniently available to the
Irish nearer their homeland. An analysis of shipping lists shows
that the greater number of Irish immigrants to Queensland during
these years, 1906 to 1912, were nominated, coming out to join
relatives and frieds already established in the Colony. Family groups
were also more prominent than in the earlier years. In 1912, there
occurred retrenchment of Government expenditure on immigration,
hence the decline from the peak figure of 1911 37. The outbreak
of the First World War in 1914 occasioned another break in the
flow of migrants into Queensland. By 1912, this period of forma-
tion in state-hood was passing, to be followed by consolidation and
the emergence to leadership of native-born Queenslanders. With
the wave of migration at the end of the period, new elements were
again introduced, in which the Irish contribution was relatively
unimportant.
The period 1885 - 1912 offers a certain homogeneity to the
researcher. The early pioneering stage had passed by 1885, the
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vast majority of each national group came under one form or

another of assisted passage, either free or at concession rates where

no resources beyond their health and capability to work were required. As far as the opportunities for casual labour were concern-

The period 1885 - 1912 offers a certain homogeneity to the researcher. The early pioneering stage had passed by 1885, the contours of Queensland's society were established and, while throughout this period it was primarily a society dominated by immigrants ³⁸, these immigrants entered a young colony conscious of its new freedom, as a political state with its opportunities and its drawbacks. Because they started so nearly as equals, the able and enterprising among the newcomers found a fluid context in which their capabilities for leadership in politics and commerce could surface. The typical features of nineteenth century Irish migration which characterised the Irish settlement of Queensland had passed.

TABLE ONE 1861 - 85 ³⁹						
	English	Scottish	Irish	Foreign	Total	
Adults	65,952	14,645	37,317	11,880	129,794	
Children	16,656	4,006	4,664	3,638	28,964	
1 to 12 Infants	3,213	779	976	583	5,551	
Totals	85,821	19,430	42,957	16,101	164,309	
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N.B. In Queensland, the total population in $1861 = 30,059^{40}$ In Queensland, the total population in May, $1886 = 322,853^{41}$

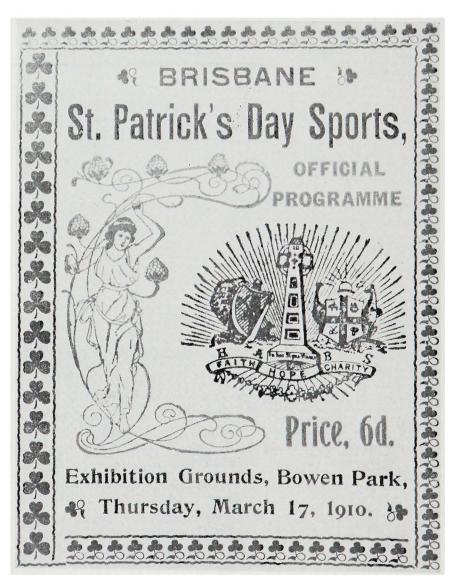


TABLE TWO

The following figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the Agent-General, listing all those dispatched to Queensland through the emigration agencies in the British Isles and Europe. (Q.V.P. 1886 - 1898)

					% of	Other
Year	Total No.	English	Scottish	Irish	Irish	Europeans
1885	11,620	6,322	1,572	2,980	25.7	746
1886	10,630	6,414	1,481	2,178	24.9	<i>55</i> 7
1887	11,715	6,657	1,598	2,726	23.3	734
1888	7,983	4,787	1,077	1,869	23.4	250
1889	6,515	3,818	881	1,632	25.0	184
1890	3,101	1,549	352	1,045	33.7	155
1891	2,909	1,299	263	892	30.7	455
1892	654	380	26	204	31.2	44
1893	13	2		7	53.8	4
1894	123	$(43\frac{1}{2})^*$	(8)	$(24\frac{1}{2})$	25	$19^{\frac{1}{2}}$
1895	106	34	6	53	50	13
1896	276	11	35	113	40.9	17
1897	638†	252	84	215	33.7	43

- * Figures for nationality given only in terms of statute adults (i.e. every child under 12 years of age was classed as a $\frac{1}{2}$ statute adult) (Q.V.P. 1895, II p. 989). In addition, for 1894, 174 land order warrants were issued to full payers, for whom Nationality is not stated (Q.V.P., 1895, II, p. 989).
- † This number also includes 44 Queensland children who were returning from Paraguay (total returning from Paraguay = 53) (Q.V.P., 1898, II p. 695).
- N.B. This table has been compiled from the data submitted by the Agent-General in London rather than from the information supplied by the Immigration Agent in Brisbane, as no Immigration Agent's reports are given for the years 1893 1896.

The table terminates at 1897, as thereafter full-paying passengers are not included in the totals for nationalitys supplied by the Agent-General.

TABLE THREE

The following figures are taken from the Annual Reports of the Queensland Immigration Agent, listing all those arriving by ships from Europe who had disembarked at Queensland ports (Q.V.P., 1899 - 1913).

					% of	
Year	Total No.	English	Scottish	Irish	Irish	Others
1898	895	260	81	421	47.0	133
1899	1,697	590	250	312	18.3	445
1900	3,198	1,257	325	749	23.1	887
1901	1,263	634	179	338	26.8	112
1902	769	418	88	222	28.9	41
1903	378	152	74	119	29.9	33
1904	264	122	21	81	30.7	40
1905	357	305	10	27	7.5	15
1906	734	557	80	68	0.9	29
1907	1,710	1,266	154	253	14.8	37
1908	2,584	1,918	252	206	7.9	208
1909	4,399	3,026	477	435	9.9	461
1910	7,896*	4,683	1,957	410	5.2	846
1911	14,171†	8,199	4,414	890	6.3	623
1912	7,083‡	4,323	1,687	283	3.9	790

- * With this figure (7,896) have been included 249 Russians who paid their own passages from Manchuria (Q.P.P., Third Session, 1911 12, II, p. 665).
- † Including 479 Russians who paid their own passages from Manchuria (Q.P.P., First Session, 1913, II, p. 271).
- Including 390 Russians who paid their own passages from Manchuria (Q.P.P., Second Session, 1913, II, p. 271).
- N.B. This table is not simply continuous with Table Two, as the Agent-General's lists comprise those *dispatched* from Europe in a given year, whereas the Immigration Agent records those *arriving* in Queensland in any given year.

Some Specific Features of Irish Migration to Queensland, 1885-1912, based on a sampling of the passenger lists in the Registers of Arrivals 12.

From the Annual Reports of the Agent-General and of the Queensland Immigration Agent, it can be deduced that, of all European migrants leaving for Queensland ports over the years 1885-1912, some 91 per cent received Government assistance for their passage either partially or wholly. The largest category was that of nominated passengers (a total of 46,990); the second largest that of free labourers and domestic servants (25,763). From the Shipping Lists, according to the sampling taken, the majority of Irish in the earliest period, 1885-1888, were among the free passengers (83.6 per cent of Irish total, these forming 16.9 per cent of all free passengers). In later periods, the majority of the Irish were nominated, belonging almost exclusively to this category in the final phase considered, 1905-1912. [Percentage of Irish nominated of all Irish: 16.4 per cent (1885-1888; 59.9 per cent (1889-1893); 50.3% (1894-1904); 91.9 per cent (1905-1912) 43]. The Irish were poorly represented among the small proportion of full payers. In the two earlier periods, the Irish were predominantly young unmarried adults, over 80 per cent being in the age group 16-25 years. (The familial aspect of Irish migration, prominent in overseas studies, is supported by the numbers of what are evidently brothers and sisters, or cousins, coming out together). In the latest period, more family groups appeared. [Marital status of Irish Immigrants: 96.4 per cent unmarried (1885-1888); 95.7 per cent (1889-1893); 94 per cent (1894-1905) 44.] In the years 1885-1888, the ratio of female to male was approximately 2.5:1; among the free migrants during the period 1889-1893, this ratio was approximately 3.5:1; while for the total number of Irish during these latter years, the average was reduced to 1.3:1 45. In the second migration wave, 1894-1904, the ratio of female to male was 1:1:2, the earlier disportion in favour of females then disappearing.

Approximately four-fifths of the total Irish migration over the years 1885-1912 (for which information is available) was

Roman Catholic 46. The proportion of Protestants increased in the 1894-1904 period on the figure for the previous period, 1885-1893. Almost 100 per cent of the Roman Catholics over the years 1885-1904 were Irish or possessed Irish names (if listed as English or Scottish). Few of the Irish over the whole period, 1885-1912, had trades or special skills (e.g. miner, wheel-wright, carpenter, etc.). Among the immigrants, every Irish county was represented. but the majority came from the rural south and south-western counties of Clare, Tipperary, Cork, Kerry, Kilkenny and Galway ⁴⁷. Over the earlier years researched, the level of illiterarcy for the migrants as a whole was about 2 per cent 48. In the samples taken, the Irish formed 44.4 per cent of the illiterates (1889-1893) and 8 per cent (1885-1888). (The latter figure is no doubt due to the comparatively high illiterarcy rate in some English counties heavily represented in this sample). In the next periods, illiterarcy is almost negligible. In each of the two earlier periods 1885-1893 and 1894-1904, a little over 50 per cent of the Irish immigrants disembarked in Brisbane. This reflects substantially the same picture for the total migrant body coming into Queensland. Among the remainder, some landed at each of its northern ports, the largest number disembarking at Townsville and Rockhampton, again reflecting the general pattern in outline. It proved difficult and unreliable for the third phase, 1905-1912, to calculate percentages for ports of disembarkation, because of the small number of Irish (usually between eight and thirty) on most shipping lists and variations in disembarking procedures. However, for the years 1909-1912, the vast majority of all passengers landed in Brisbane.

Perhaps the final overall impression of the Irish migrants, over this quarter-century would be of a large group of young, unmarried, unskilled people of predominantly rural background, landed along the Queensland coast roughly in proportion to the important centres of population.

ENDNOTES

- 1. N.G. Butlin, Investment in Australian economic development 1861-1900 (Cambridge, 1964), pp. 6, 16. See also J. W. McCarthy, 'Australian capital cities in the nineteenth century', Australian Economic History Review 2 (1970), pp. 107-8.
- 2. J. R. Laverty, 'The Queensland economy 1860-1915' in D. J. Murphy, R. B. Joyce and C. A. Hughes (eds.), *Prelude to power* (Brisbane, 1970), p. 28.
- 3. As for endnote 2, p. 29.
- 4. As for endnote 3.
- 5. S. A. Rayner, The evolution of the Queensland Labour Party, (M.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland, 1947), p. 15.
- 6. R. Lawson, Immigration into Queensland, (B.A. thesis, Department of History, University of Queensland, 1963), p. 1.
- 7. For the Immigration Act of 1882 (46 Vic., No. 7) Queensland Statutes, I (Brisbane, 1889), p. 870. Also see Queensland Government Gazette, 1882, p. 779.

 For the Immigration Act of 1882 Amendment Act of 1884 (48 Vic., No. 18) see Q.G.G., 1884, p. 1643.

- For the Immigration Act of 1882 Amendment Act of 1886 see Q.G.G., 1886, p. 1078.
- For the *Immigration Act Amendment Act of 1887* (51 Vic., No. 5) see Q.G.G., 1887, p. 565.
- 8. For example, see section eight of the 1882 *Act*, which reads in part: Persons eligible as assisted passengers are farmers, farm labourers, vine-dressers, labourers, mechanics . . . and domestic servants: Provided that the word "labourer" shall be held to mean persons whose labour has been connected in some way with the land . . .
- 9. 'Report of the Agent-General for Queensland for the year 1899', Votes and Proceedings of the Legislative Assembly of Queensland, 1900, V, p. 624. The Report reads in part: The largest number of applications came from Ireland, which would make it appear that the Irish have a greater number of friends and relatives there than either the English or Scotch and therefore take a greater interest in the colony.
- 10. O. MacDonagh, A pattern of government growth, 1800-60—the Passenger Acts and their enforcement (London, 1961), p. 28-9, which reads in part: Nineteenth century Irish emigration to the new world was a peculiarly filial and co-operative venture.
 - See also M. L. Hansen, The immigrant in American history (Harvard, 1948), pp. 108-9.
- 11. See section fifteen of the Immigration Act of 1882.

- 12. See section nineteen of the Immigration Act of 1882.
- 13. McCarthy, p. 107 (see endnote 1).
- 14. McCarthy, p. 113. In 1900, Brisbane had a population seven times greater than Rockhampton, the next largest Queensland centre. Sydney's population exceeded Newcastle's by a factor of nine. Perth and Melbourne had corresponding ratios of ten and eleven respectively, while Adelaide's was twenty-three.
- 15. T. A. Coghlan and T. T. Ewing, The progress of Australasia in the nineteenth century (Toronto and Philadelphia, 1903), p. 177.
- 16. R. B. Madgwick, *Immigration into eastern Australia*, 1788-1851 (Sydney, 1969), p. 236.
- 17. Refer Queensland Census for 1891, Q.V.P., 1892, III, p. 767. (There was little Italian migration before the end of the century.)
- 18. 'Report of the Agent-General for Queensland for the year 1897', Q.V.P., 1898, II, p. 697.
- 19. As for endnote 18.
- 20. As for endnote 18, p. 698.
- 21. As for endnote 9, p. 629.
- 22. As for endnote 21.
- 23. Commission on emigration and other population problems 1948-1954, Reports Dublin, 195?, p. 318. The 26 counties refer to those Irish counties which became Eire in 1922, while the 6 counties form the present Northern Ireland.
- 24. See T. P. Boland, The Queensland Immigration Society, (Ph.D. thesis, 1960, Gregorian University Rome), p. 81. As an example, Bishop O'Quinn, Bishop of Brisbane, commenced an immigration scheme originally directed towards assisting victims of famine and eviction in Geashill County Offaly.
- 25. As for endnote 23, pp. 124-5.
- 26. E. Curtis, A history of Ireland (London, 1968), p. 387.
- 27. As for endnote 26, p. 388.
- 28. As for endnote 27. Also see p. 24 of Report detailed in endnote 23.
- 29. Laverty, p. 28 (endnote 2).
- 30. Q.V.P., 1899, First session, p. 1252.
- 31. Queensland Parliamentary Papers, 1905, Second session, I, p. 718. Also see 1906, I, p. 1559.

- 32. Q.P.P., 1907, II, p. 297.
- 33. O.P.P., 1912, First session, II, p. 1256.
- 34. Refer p. 125 of the *Report* detailed in endnote 23. There are noticeable changes in the pattern of customary destinations in Irish emigration between the decades 1891-1900 and 1901-1910, emigration to the United States falling off by about one third, to Canada increasing almost fourfold and to other parts of Great Britain increasing in the ratio of about 3:2.
- 35. O.P.P., 1909, First session, pp. 545-6.
- 36. Government Savings Bank deposits grew from £2,082 in 1907 to £19,601.13.5 in 1912.
- 37. Q.P.P., 1913, Second session, II, p. 255, 271.
- 38. R. Lawson, An analysis of Brisbane society in the 1890s, (Ph.D. thesis, University of Queensland, 1970), p. 460.
- 39. Q.V.P., 1886, II, p. 902.
- 40. Laverty, p. 29 (endnote 2).
- 41. As for endnote 40.
- 42. As far as possible, representative shipping lists have been selected, but even within these ranges of years there are difficulties in co-ordinating information, e.g. occupation and religion are not given for full payers; occasionally nationality of full-payers is omitted. [Queensland State Archives, IMM/122-128].
- 43. Except for a special category of indented labourers introduced in 1907, of whom 123 of the year's total of 632 were Irish (437 English and 52 Scottish). This category dwindled to insignificance in the following three years and was then discontinued.
- 44. The percentages of adults (i.e. over 21 years of age) was significantly higher for the Irish over these years than for the English and Scottish, e.g. 98.5% compared with 79.7% for the English and 89.9% for the Scottish (1885-1888).
- 45. These figures should be seen in the light of the fact that for the colony as a whole, the male population was noticeably in excess of the female.
- 46. Religion of full payers not included in shipping lists. Religion not given in lists studied from 1906 onwards for any group of passengers.
- 47. As noted by other researchers, nineteenth century Irish migration was predominantly a rural phenomenon.
- 48. Q.V.P., 1886, II, p. 897. 'The free emigrants, with the exception of about 50 persons, were able both to read and write, or either to read or write only'. Elsewhere the Agent-General remarks that the illiteracy rate is about 1 in 50. After 1889, there is no comment on literacy in these Reports.

