“THE QUEENSLAND IMMIGRATION SOCIETY”

A Notable Experiment In Irish Settlement

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(Read by Rev. O. K. Oxenham, D.C.L., State Director, Catholic Immigration, at the meeting of the Royal Historical Society of Queensland on 28 November 1963.)

When the new Colony of Queensland was proclaimed in 1859, it brought in its train another new administrative division of territory which the advisers of Queen Victoria did not have in mind. A new Roman Catholic diocese of Brisbane was necessary. The fact that the British Government felt that a new colony was viable north of the Tweed was sufficient evidence in Rome of the need for a new diocese. As well, it was Roman policy to open up new dioceses as soon as a new colony was established to save a bishop from having two administrations with which to deal. The Catholic population at the time of the 1861 census was 7,676 out of a population of 36,059. Most of these were Irish born or the children of Irishmen. The number of those who gave Ireland as their place of birth in the 1861 census was 5,537, the rest of the United Kingdom, 11,163. The man nominated by Rome for the new see on 14 April was James Quinn.

QUINN — AND O’QUINN

James Quinn has confused those who would like to write his biography by using two names, Quinn and O’Quinn. He was born Quinn, and called himself Quinn most of his life. His brother, Matthew, who became bishop of Bathurst, always called himself Quinn. James, however, towards the end of his life—he died in 1881—decided in a burst of Hibernian fervour at the time of the Daniel O’Connell centenary celebrations to adopt the O. Sometimes he remembered to use it, and sometimes he did not.

He was a man of interesting background. Born on 17 March 1819, at Rathbawn, near Dublin, he came from a
comfortable farming family. He was educated privately and at a small school in Dublin till at a very early age he was sent to Rome to study for the priesthood. There he remained many years, obtaining a Doctorate of Divinity in 1845 and being ordained in 1847. On his return to Dublin he distinguished himself by his devotion to the sick during an outbreak of cholera which followed on the Great Famine. He was appointed first rector of the college of St. Laurence O'Toole, founded to prepare students for the University abortively established by John Henry Newman. He was a chaplain at Baggot St., the foundation house of the Sisters of Mercy. He assisted in the founding of the first Mater Misericordiae hospital and accompanied the first Sisters to France where they trained for nursing. When Sisters of Mercy sailed for Scutari with Florence Nightingale during the Crimean War, it was James Quinn who organized in Ireland. He was a well-known figure in Dublin at an early age; and, since Irish influence was dominant in the colonial churches, it was not surprising that his was the name suggested for the new bishopric in the new colony of Queensland. He was consecrated in the University Church in St. Stephen's Green in Dublin on 29 June 1859.

NOTION OF GRAND SCALE IMMIGRATION

He did not sail for his mission for another eighteen months. Those were leisurely days, but Quinn was not idle. He had some thousands of souls to care for and one of the largest dioceses in Christendom, but he had no priests to look after it. There were two priests in the territory, but they belonged to the old diocese of Sydney and were to return to it. Quinn travelled through Ireland and the Continent looking for priests, religious and financial support. When he finally sailed for Australia in the "Donald Mackay" on 10 December 1860, he took with him five priests and six nuns, with the assurance of more to follow. However, his period of travelling was productive in another field. He conceived the notion of grand scale emigration to his new diocese. He had learned all there was to know about the colony, and the thing that most impressed him was the small population in that vast land. He was accustomed to the opposite in Ireland and he saw more of it on the Continent. He saw the solution of both problems as being fundamentally simple. It was one of transport. Speaking to the Select Committee on Immigration of the Legislative Assembly in 1863, he told about his activities in 1860:

"I had peculiar facilities for procuring such a population; less than two years before, I had been passing through
the city of Milan, and a gentleman of very respectable family there suggested to me that, if he met with encouragement, he would induce about 3,000 persons to emigrate from about Como. I brought a detailed proposal from him to the Government of this colony; the answer I received was that the Government preferred to leave such things to private enterprise.’”

Since the bishop’s own private enterprise was under investigation, he savoured the irony of that reply.

“WHERE IS BRISBANE?”

He arrived in Brisbane on 10 May 1861. Quinn was then a missionary bishop, but his experience till that moment contained nothing to prepare him for the first sight of his episcopal city. Baroque Rome, Georgian Dublin, Victorian London were no introduction to a raw frontier town; and his first reported remark on seeing his new home was: “Where is the city of Brisbane?” However, James Quinn was not one to lose time on useless regret; he decided to see his diocese as soon as possible. In July and August he toured the Burnett, South Burnett, Mary and Brisbane Valleys. In November and December he was on the Downs and the Condamine. He was conscious of the stretching horizons that he had not yet crossed and that few had gone before him.
The good land unused and falling, not to farmers, but to pastoralists, was constantly in his mind in contrast with the crowded rural properties of his homeland, Ireland. He told the Committee:

"Before I left home, distress existed to a great extent in Ireland. I arrived here in May 1861, and after my arrival learned by letter and through the Press that the distress had increased to such a degree as to amount to famine in several parts of the country."

Seeing the spaces and remembering the famine, he determined to fill some of those spaces with Irishmen.

**PROBLEM OF LOGISTICS**

However, he still saw the problem as one of logistics, not politics. He had cause for optimism, since the immigration regulations then in force provided for migration from Europe on most generous terms. The first Queensland Parliament faced a problem similar to the one before Bishop Quinn. They ruled a land without people; and their first concern was to find people for the land. To do this quickly, the first Parliament provided one of the most liberal schemes for assisted migration the Colonies had heard of at that time. Like most 19th century official plans, it was tied to the sale of Crown Land. In fact, it was introduced—one cannot help thinking—almost casually into the *Alienation of Crown Lands Act of 1860*. Section 20 of this Act reads:

"It shall be lawful for the Governor with the advice of the Executive Council to issue to any adult immigrant who shall have come direct from Europe to the colony of Queensland but not at the expense of that colony or to the person who shall have paid the passage of such immigrant a Land Order for the amount of £18 and after such immigrant shall have resided not less than two years continuously within the said colony and if not previously a British subject shall have been naturalized then to issue to such immigrant a further Land Order for the amount of £12 provided that two children over the age of 4 and under the age of 14 respectively shall be reckoned as one Statute adult under the Act provided also that every such immigrant shall have complied with and shall be of the class comprised within the immigration regulations for the time being in force in the said colony."

Section 23 of the same Act reads:

"It shall be lawful for the Governor with the advice aforesaid from time to time to make or alter in accordance with the provisions of this Act such regulations as may be
necessary to give effect to the same and all such regulations shall be published in the Government Gazette and when so published shall have the force of law and a copy of the same shall be laid before Parliament within fourteen days after the publication thereof or if Parliament be not then sitting within fourteen days after its next meeting for the despatch of business.”

A LETTER TO HERBERT

It seemed all very simple. There were people in Ireland who needed to emigrate; the colony of Queensland was prepared to pay Land Orders to the eventual value of £30 to attract immigrants from Europe. It seemed that the Queensland Government and the Irish would-be emigrants had merely to be brought together. This Bishop Quinn was prepared to do. Early in December he wrote to R. G. W. Herbert, the Colonial Secretary, complaining that the Queensland Immigration Agent in London, Mr. Henry Jordan, was not collecting migrants in Ireland. The Premier replied asking evidence to support this claim. The bishop sent a deputation, consisting of Father Duhig and C. B. Lyons, to wait on him and put the case more fully. Herbert replied courteously that an occasional ship might call at Dublin or Cork to pick up any Irish emigrants who wished to come to Queensland. However, Bishop Quinn had much larger plans in his mind and the numbers he wanted to see come to the colony could not be accommodated in an occasional ship making a stopover in Cork. On 6 February 1862 he wrote to Herbert to say that he had already sent to Ireland the passage money for 131 persons and that soon he would have enough for a full shipload. The total, £3,500, he had collected from Irishmen in the colony and in Ireland itself. He believed that with the aid of the Land Orders from the migrants he had personally sponsored he could repeat the process indefinitely. There were plenty of Irishmen willing to sail and he could pay their passages. He wrote:

“It is not one but a succession of vessels that should start from Irish ports, following each other close enough to satisfy the demand for emigrants in Ireland as far as the funds for free and aided emigration would permit. What I requested (through Duhig and Lyons) was that one of the Government vessels might be placed at my disposal. . ”

He received no reply in writing till 7 May 1862, and considering the shock the last statement must have given to the colonial government, it is not surprising. The close co-operation of government and private individual in immigration was nothing new in Australian history, but the cool suggestion
that the Colonial Secretary should put a government vessel at the disposal of a Roman Catholic bishop in the middle of the 19th century must have startled Herbert. Naturally, he did not comply with the request, though he gave cautious approval to other proposals of the bishop. No doubt, this is what Quinn intended.

ESTABLISHED HIS OWN MACHINERY

Since he was organizing large-scale migration, and since the Government was not going to do his organising for him, Quinn had to establish his own machinery. He founded the Queensland Immigration Society. He did so with a minimum of publicity and formality. The newspapers did not note its inception, nor did the bishop himself force it on the public. He was in Sydney when the first announcement of it was made through the Catholic pulpits a few days after his letter to Herbert. Writing to his brother Matthew in Dublin on 14 February, he said in passing:

"The establishment of our Society was announced from the altar here last Sunday."

A prospectus was drawn up and published in Brisbane and sent to Ireland. The prospectus is a typical 19th century document and has much of the magnification and rhetorical exaggeration of contemporary style. The purposes of the Society were more succinctly stated by Quinn in his evidence before the Select Committee on Immigration of 1863. In reply to the Chairman asking his intention in setting up the Society, he replied:

"The motives that prompted me to originate the Queensland Immigration Society soon after my arrival in this colony were:

First—to alleviate the distress then prevailing in Ireland;
Second—to procure for this colony a population capable of developing its great resources and of supplying an urgent demand for labour in it;
Third—to procure for single females immigrating to this Colony sufficient protection, which was not secured to them under any existing system of immigration.

This last was an interest of Quinn's. He was dissatisfied with the conditions on board many migrant vessels. The number of illegitimate children reported from passages and the report required from the ships' officials concerning the maintenance of order during the voyage were a source of embarrassment to the Government and of wrath to Quinn and many other public men. When his own Society was
coming under fire for other reasons, and Quinn knew that attack from the Government was imminent, he collected with unbecoming glee all the news he could of scandals on government ships.

'SIXTIES WERE TOUCHY TIMES

The purpose of the Society might be stated simply as to bring Irishmen to Queensland, but the patriotic motives mentioned by the bishop were sincere. He possessed always the pride of citizenship and consciousness of public duty in a bishop, which is so notable in his present successor. Another doubt which arose in many minds was on the score of the religion of the Irishmen. The 1860's were touchy times, and the possibility that Bishop Quinn was using public money to build a Roman Catholic colony in Queensland was feared. This may seem neither likely nor practicable now, but the 1860's were different times, and such fears had long been associated with Irish immigration into the Australian colonies. In the 'forties, when the distress was far more general in Ireland than in other parts of the United Kingdom, many more Irishmen had been willing to emigrate than Englishmen or Scots. The proportion of Irish Catholics rose to a level many found alarming, and the fact that it was being done at public expense was the last straw. Many official and unofficial protests were made and eventually it was necessary to work out a balance according to the proportions of each nationality in the total population of the United Kingdom. That great Scot, John Dunmore Lang, a man of generous heart and generous wrath, expressed the fears of the community in the title of a book published in 1847:

"The Question of Questions! Or: Shall This Colony be Transferred into a Province of Popery?"

This was how many looked at the Queensland Immigration Society. Quinn denied vehemently that his purpose was sectarian. The prospectus stressed that people of any religion might share the benefits of his Society, and the bishop repeated this declaration in his evidence before the Committee.

"It was also decided that the Society should extend these advantages not merely to the people of Ireland then in distress, but to peoples of all parts of the British dominions who wished to avail themselves of them, and to people of every denomination without distinction."

In all of this protest, too, Quinn was sincere. He was not aiming to make Queensland a Roman Catholic colony, but he must have been aware of the fact that few others would
make use of his Society. He was interested, not in increasing the proportion of Roman Catholics, as in seeing that it was not decreased.

FINANCING THE PROJECT

About the financing of the project, the Prospectus states:

"The Society, created in the first instance by the charitable donations of the Irish Catholics of Australia, is intended to become self-supporting by the immigrant paying all the expenses connected with his or her passage, and, in addition giving towards the funds of the Society. Such a donation it is reasonable to require of immigrants, as it is by the contributions of humane and generous persons that the Society which takes them was brought into existence. It is but just that they should aid in extending the same benefit to others. A sufficient time will be allowed them after arrival to pay the expenses of their passage and donation."

". . . The Society earnestly appeals to Irish Catholics of Australia for aid to enable it to accomplish the good work undertaken. It is necessary to make a large outlay at the commencement for offices, agency, fees, etc. Besides, many will be prevented by death and other causes from ever paying either their passage money or the donation promised to the Society."

There are a number of matters raised by this document. First, there is no suggestion that any of the donors should receive any profit from their contributions. Quinn was not running a bounty house, dealing in migrants. He was later embarrassed by a circular published in Ireland, and tendered in evidence before the Select Committee by the Premier, in which one of the Irish officers of the Society, Rev. Patrick Dunne, offered a profit of 100 per cent. Fr. Dunne was always indiscreet, presumptuous, optimistic and precipitate, and Quinn specifically repudiated this letter. Yet it plagued him to the end. Second, there is the seemingly anomalous position whereby the Society collected the Land Order of £18 for introducing the migrant, collected the full passage eventually from the passenger, and then took a donation as well, all in the name of charity. This sounded remarkably like having your cake and eating it and part of your neighbour's as well. It was this question that provided the occasion for winding up the Society in the end. Many people were deceived by the apparent rapacity. A disgruntled cleric wrote to the Archbishop of Sydney, Dr. Polding:

"Persons emigrating under the auspices of the Bishop had to pay £8 each to his brother in Dublin (Matthew
Quinn, Irish organizer) before taking their passage and to sign a forfeiture of their Land Order besides. On their arrival in the colony they had to make their Land Orders available to the Bishop and had each to give him besides a promissory note for £6 payable at the end of six months. The bishop and his brothers made an agreement with certain shipowners to have their emigrants taken out to Queensland from Ireland and everything found for £15/14/- each, thus making a gain of £16/16/- on each poor migrant."

The figures quoted are accurate, except that the Land Order was only nominally worth £18, but the conclusion drawn was unjust, though many drew it. Out of the sixteen pounds, sixteen shillings profit, Quinn had to pay another £15/14/- for the next immigrant. The whole point of his enterprise was that he should make it self-continuing by having one shipload pay for the next one. In this way he hoped to solve the problem that had wrecked all previous attempts — how to keep going. Allowing for the sharp depreciation of the value of Land Orders — for which he is frequently blamed — he had little margin for running expenses, and, in fact, needed to pay his own money into the Society to keep it afloat.

HERBERT'S APPROVAL

Whatever the ethics of the financial arrangements for the Society, they would seem surely to be unacceptable to any official scheme run by the Government on public money; yet these arrangements had the specific approval of the Premier, a fact of which the Immigration Agent, Jordan, seems not to have been informed. On 7 May 1862 Herbert wrote to the Bishop:

"It is the opinion of the Government that the Society formed under your auspices for the purposes of promoting emigration to Queensland is essentially of a private character, and, therefore, that it is not desirable that it should receive the official recognition or sanction of the Government. I may, however, state that the amended prospectus accompanying your letter appears to be in accordance with the existing regulations, although, of course, I must not be understood to commit the Government to an approval of any further details of management which the Society may adopt, and, with which I am not at present acquainted.

"The Government feel that your Society would stand in the same position as any other firm or company now undertaking the importation of immigrants and that the Land Orders handed to the Society on account of the
persons imported might, with propriety, be made transferable upon delivery.

"Any agreement that might be made between the Society and the immigrant for the repayment of the passage would be of a private character, and not necessarily under the control of the Government."

It is interesting that these careful and courteous paragraphs cover all phases of the finances but one—the donation; but, if the repayment is of a private character, the donation is more so, and unlike the surrender of the Land Order, takes place after the arrival in the colony, with no assurance that it will be made. It is a genuine donation. Herbert made it clear that he was leaving room for change in the future, but the Queensland Immigration Society had received the green light. It was on the way, and Quinn had some right to feel that it would continue for many years, so long as the colony prospered.

A TRAGIC EXODUS

Conditions in Ireland gave him further reason to think that Irish immigration would continue for some time. The emptying of Ireland in the 19th century, especially after the Great Famine, is one of the remarkable facts of modern history. The causes were tragic, but the fact is what concerned Quinn most. Since hundreds of thousands could not live in Ireland, he would have them in Queensland. There was a particular situation in Ireland which interested him. The situation began before he left his first homeland. It was in the Barony of Geashill, outside Tullamore, Co. Offaly, then King's County. This great estate was in constant turmoil. In 1857 there were 120 tenants whose properties were held on long-term, even life, leases, contrary to usual Irish practice. Very many of the tenants were in arrears going back over many years. The owner, Edward St. Vincent, third Earl of Digby (Ireland), sixth Baron Digby of Sherborne, and ninth Baron Digby of Geashill, came into his estates on the death of his predecessor, but not into a fortune. The money was left to other relations, while the estate was entailed to him. He had land and position, but no money. His only way of getting it was from the estate, but his predecessor, the exact opposite of the fictional figure of the rackrenting Irish landlord, had allowed the estate's finances to fall into a state of disorder. In particular, he could not raise much revenue, if the long-term leases remained unchanged. He had to buy them out, collect arrears, and increase rents. The tenants could not afford this at the best of times, and the times were not the best. Digby resorted to wholesale eviction, a proce-
dure which was not so common at this time as fiction would have us believe. So uncommon was it that it created a scandal in press, pulpit and Parliament. However, Digby was within his rights, and the fault was not all his, and the mass evictions continued for some time. They came to a peak about the winter of 1861. This was most unfortunate, since the winter was unusually severe and a blight in two preceding potato crops had meant general want. Most of the newspapers spoke of famine.

HUNDREDS HOMELESS

It was in these unhappy conditions that hundreds of people around Tullamore found themselves homeless. By June 1861 one newspaper was able to list 50 families which had been officially evicted. There were many more who simply left. Their fate was the subject of concern in the national newspapers, but there was someone nearer at hand who took a more practical interest. He was Father Patrick Dunne, then President of St. Bridget’s Minor Seminary in Tullamore. He had spent some years in Australia, where he was the first priest on the goldfields at Ballarat. He retained his love for Australia and immediately saw a chance to serve both Ireland and Australia in the Geashill situation. He knew Quinn and his plans. He decided to make as many as possible of these evictees the first patrons of the Queensland Immigration Society. He toured the towns and villages around Tullamore urging the dispossessed to travel to Queensland and offering passages to those who could not pay. By Christmas 1861 he had left the Seminary and was at work organising the sailing of the first ship.

THE ERIN-GO-BRAGH

This was the notorious Erin-go-Bragh. From 17 August 1861, a Dublin shipper had been advertising the Queensland Land Order scheme in the Freeman’s Journal. From 26 November 1861, Fr. Dunne advertised for the Society, with an inaccuracy characteristic of all agents of the time, but most of all, of him. On 28 December he announced that the ship was to be “that splendid ship” the Erin-go-Bragh, one of the “noble fleet of clippers” of the Black Ball line. Those who eventually spent six months on her trying to reach Brisbane had qualifications to make about the “splendid ship” and the “noble clipper.” She started badly by taking nearly a fortnight to travel from Liverpool to Cork. It was bad weather for sailing, and she spent most of her time put in at Holyhead. Dunne had arranged a special train to take 400 emigrants from Tullamore to Cork several days before and
was embarrassed by having to house them till sailing day. The Black Ball Line contributed 2/- per day per head, sixpence more than the law provided. Matthew Quinn came from Dublin to supervise the sailing which was from Cobh, then Queenstown, in Cork Harbour, on 7 February 1862.

The voyage was memorable, even for those days, as a bad one. Where about 100 days might be taken as not unusual for the trip, the *Erin-go-Bragh* took 25 weeks from sailing date. They sailed at the worst time of year. Dunne complained of shocking weather all the way, but we cannot avoid the suspicion that the ship was not the best handler on the seas. Three hundred miles out of Capetown a leak developed which required constant pumping to keep the ship afloat. Some of the emigrants attributed this to sabotage in Liverpool, but the old *Erin-go-Bragh* needed no one boring holes in her plates to sink her.

**HIGH DEATH RATE**

On 1 August 1862 she arrived in Moreton Bay, but her voyage was not at an end. The death rate on the ship was high, shockingly so, though not surprisingly so, considering the recent history of the passengers. The number of deaths on board was 51—4 single men, 5 married women, 5 single women, 19 boys, 14 girls, 8 babies. The percentage was 12.5, while the reputed average for the time was 1.7. Dr. Hobbes, the Quarantine Officer, might have feared some communicable disease, but there was none, apparently, since they were soon allowed to land. Three hundred and seventy-nine came ashore, and 319½ Land Orders were issued. This means that there were still about 40 young children aboard. She was evidently a family ship.

The *Erin-go-Bragh* was by no means the end of the Society. In the next 18 months the Bishop had a regular line in operation. Only two more came out under his charter, the *Chatsworth* and the *Maryborough*, but at least seven more arranged for by the Queensland Immigration Agent were filled mainly by Bishop Quinn’s passengers. The list of ships, dates, and approximate numbers is as follows:

JORDAN ASSERTS HIS AUTHORITY

By the time of the sailing of the Prince Consort Mr. Jordan had asserted his authority over all migration from the United Kingdom to Queensland under the Land Order scheme. This was a reasonable demand on his part. His administration would have been chaotic otherwise. At the sailing of the Duke of Newcastle he was present and spoke in a laudatory tone of Matthew Quinn and his organisation. Only a man so disordered as Mr. Jordan could praise the efficiency of Matthew Quinn. Both of them sent migrants 10,000 miles from their homes in the hope of getting a free block of land in the colonies, without registering accurately the persons entitled to Orders. This was galling to the efficient James Quinn. By the sailing of the Wanata, Jordan was gathering information for the suppression of the Society, and by the sailing of the Queen of the Colonies, it was all over.

Jordan opposed all private migration organisations. He had opposed the Government approval of the Society from the first. He complained that if he was Agent for the Colony he should have the right to supervise all arrangements. He further argued that to allow Quinn to operate on his own was to open the door to all the worst characteristics of bounty migration and pauper traffic. The instances he cited were inaccurate and inapplicable, but his fears were just. When he heard of the sailing of the Helenslee from Scotland on the very day the Erin-go-Bragh left Liverpool he was convinced. The Helenslee was a ship chartered by a group of migrants under John Philp, who were tired of waiting for Jordan to act and organised their own sailing. Despite the eminently respectable auspices under which the Helenslee sailed, Jordan was convinced that it was the first trickle of the flood of pauper emigration. He obtained first a monopoly of sailings for the Black Ball Line. This was Quinn's line at the time, but it put the sailings effectively under the control of Jordan, who had the power to grant or transfer the monopoly.

SHIPPING AGENTS COMPLAIN

His next step was to collect letters from shipping agents in Ireland complaining of the loss of business to them from Quinn’s cheap passages. What interested Jordan was not that they were cheap or that the agents were out of pocket, but that the bishop was charging on passages for which he claimed a Land Order. This Jordan never admitted as legal though he later adopted the practice himself, to the bitter amusement of Quinn. He wrote his complaints to A. W. Manning, Permanent Under Secretary in the Colonial Secre-
tary's Office. Manning had twice clashed with Quinn and his precipitation had resulted in embarrassment for himself on each occasion. He was still holding up recognition of the claims of the Maryborough passengers and Jordan's letters came as useful ammunition. He wrote to Jordan on 18 October 1862 criticising the injustice of the bishop's terms. On this ethical ground, he claimed the Government would refuse to recognise his claims. This was not the point Jordan had made, nor was it quite candid, since the Colonial Secretary himself had approved Quinn's financial arrangements. However, it was now law, since a Proclamation appeared in the Government Gazette on 13 September 1862 which amended the immigration regulations so that only those who applied for migration on forms supplied by Jordan's office were eligible for a Land Order. One of the statements on the form was a declaration that the intending migrant had not signed his Land Order over to another party. This struck at the roots of Quinn's Society and he was out of business.

**HERBERT'S ATTITUDE**

The reason why Jordan had to deal with Manning was that the Colonial Secretary was in England. When news of the new regulations reached England, he claimed to have had no part in their formation. He made no reference to his earlier part in approving the Society. He advised Jordan to put the regulations into effect, since it was a Government regulation. However, he did make certain concessions to Matthew Quinn, who wrote to him and waited on him in London. He spent ten days in the city in January 1863. In two interviews with Quinn Herbert justified his action, not on the grounds mentioned by either Jordan or Manning, but on the grounds that the Irish proportion of the migration was too high. Since he had already denied responsibility for this principle to James Quinn, it was hardly ingenuous. However, he agreed, on his own authority, that those already accepted by the Society should be allowed to claim Land Orders. These numbered about 450 and were brought out between the Hannah More, Golden Dream and Beejapore. This was the end of the Society migration, though the bishop seems to have used the last of the funds to help some passengers of two further voyages, the Fiery Star and the Sunda. On both of these Fr. Patrick Dunne sailed again. Despite a spirited and reasoned defence of his operation before the Select Committee, August-September, 1863, he was vindicated but not allowed to continue his migration. In the course of 18 months he had brought out from 3,000-4,000 migrants; so there may have been some justice in Herbert's claim that the Irish numbers
were higher than to be expected. Quinn observed sardonically that this was because he was more efficient.

**IRISH SETTLEMENTS**

It had been Quinn’s hope that these hundreds of families should settle on the land, forming strong rural communities. They came from the rural counties, King’s, Kilkenny, Cork and Kerry mainly. He thought it reasonable to expect that they would settle happily in the country here. Many did engage in work as rural labourers for some years after arrival, but the Irish tendency everywhere has been to drift early to the city. This proved an almost universal Australian trend. He did have some success, in which he took continuing pride. At least, four districts can still be recognised as Quinn establishments. The present Kerry Valley is almost exclusively an *Erin-go-Bragh* valley, though Kerry was not their first home. They settled first on the Logan near Waterford shortly after the arrival of the first two ships, the *Erin-go-Bragh* and the *Chatsworth*, 20-30 families. The land proved unsuitable for them, and in the early ’seventies almost all moved to the present Kerry Valley. It is said around Waterford that the bandicoots ate the Irish out, and the Germans came and ate the bandicoots out. Other rural valleys closely settled by Quinn migrants were Pine Mountain outside Ipswich, where many of the *Maryborough* families settled, the Drayton-Harristown area then outside Toowoomba, where the future Archbishop Robert Dunne organised a mixed group of settlers, and the Maryfield-Gladfield area outside Warwick. It was a disappointment to the bishop that he had to close down before more settlements were made further afield. He saw from the start the need to settle all over the colony and wanted to encourage it, but he had no resources left. His efforts were restricted to a few districts in the S.E. corner, but here they were lasting. All he established remained.

Last year the ABC-TV presented a documentary on the history and the present of the Barossa Valley in South Australia, where a homogeneous community of German migrants have remained on the land to make an interesting and colourful settlement. The work of Quinn and the enduring communities he has left could make just as interesting a film. The speaker wishes to suggest respectfully to the Society that it is in a position to do much valuable work in this medium and that the Queensland Immigration Society could serve as a useful beginning.