Out of the Mainstream: Spanish Migration to Colonial Australia

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the group of Spaniards who migrated to the Australian colonies in the nineteenth century. Southern-European migration to colonial Australia has been broadly researched in the case of Greeks and Italians mainly because their modest numbers in the 1800s dramatically increased in the following century. Spaniards, however, did not migrate to the antipodes as often as Greeks and Italians in the twentieth century. Still, in the previous century, their numbers were quite similar. This fact is noteworthy because nineteenth-century Spain still maintained some colonies in the Caribbean and in the Pacific, where migration was encouraged by authorities, and had historical and economic ties with its Latin American ex-colonies, which were preferred by Spanish migrants. Therefore, what were the motivations of the group of Spaniards who headed to the Australian colonies? The purpose of this research is then two-pronged: to investigate these motivations together with their migration experiences and to fill the gap in current research.

The main focus of this research is to provide a wide-ranging account of the Spaniards who migrated to Australia in the colonial period, identifying their motivations and type of migration and analysing their occupations, social behaviour and degree of assimilation. Therefore, family reconstruction and prosopography methodologies were used to construct a database of the key life events of this population. This data was analysed using both a quantitative approach and a qualitative approach which has allowed the identification of patterns and connections.

As a result of this research, some significant conclusions can be drawn: the first Spanish settlers to colonial Australia were convicts who established themselves in the colonies after serving their terms. Although migration to the Australian colonies was discouraged by the Spanish authorities, the strength of some pull factors, such as the gold rushes, attracted the first Spaniards to Australia. The lack of official incentives was overcome by some private initiatives, including the establishment of a Catholic religious mission in Western Australia and the chain migration in Victoria. In these two private initiatives, the combination of charismatic and reliable pioneers who offered financial support, and job opportunities were pivotal to their success. This investigation also examines and analyses valuable information on assimilation and transregionalism. In conclusion, this research on Spanish migration to colonial Australia will shed some light on Spanish migration, settlement and transcultural lives in colonial Australia.

Master by Research Student Declaration

“I, Eva Maria Gil Guerrero, declare that the Master by Research thesis entitled Out of the mainstream: Spanish migration to colonial Australia is no more than 60,000 words in length including quotes and exclusive of tables, figures, appendices, bibliography, references and footnotes. This thesis contains no material that has been submitted previously, in whole or in part, for the award of any other academic degree or diploma. Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis is my own work.”

Signature

Date

10 March 2020

Dedication

To my husband, Francisco Marco, our children, Darío and Valerio, my lovely mother-in-law, Sita, and my dear parents, Carmen and Juan Manuel, for their unconditional support throughout this project.

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I would like to thank my supervisors Ass. Prof. Dianne Hall and Dr. Karina Smith for their guidance and support throughout my research. Their academic knowledge and expertise have been essential to fully comprehend some peculiarities of the Australian colonial society and different perspectives on ethnicity and gender.

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My gratitude to the personnel of the Public Record Office of Victoria (PROV) and the Bendigo Regional Archives Centre (BRAC) for their assistance during my visits. Also, to the Bendigo Family History Group, whose members provided me with valuable information about Bendigo in the nineteenth century.

I want to acknowledge the great help and generosity of Mr. Ben Parer and his father, Dr. Michael Parer, descendants of the Parer family in Australia, who hold part of the family archive. They have provided me with valuable sources to complete this research. I also want to thank Anne Richardson for her help with the Clota branch of the family.

Special thanks to Mr. James Lerk who is investigating the tomato growing industry in Bendigo and made me aware of the role of some Spaniards in the success of this industry in the late nineteenth century.

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List of Abbreviations

Archives and Institutions

AHN	Archivo Histórico Nacional (Spain)
BDM	Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages
NAA	National Archives of Australia
NSWSA	New South Wales State Archives
PROV	Public Record Office Victoria
QSA	Queensland State Archives
SLV	State Library of Victoria
TNA	The National Archives of the UK

Colonies and States

NSW	New South Wales
QLD	Queensland
TAS	Tasmania
VDL	Van Diemen’s Land
VIC	Victoria
WA	Western Australia

Introduction

Scant attention has been paid to the group of Spaniards who migrated to the Australian colonies between 1788 and 1901. This thesis analyses this group from a multidisciplinary perspective, examining their demographic characteristics, occupations and possible motivations for migration and settlement. It also examines – as far as the sources allow – the adjustments that Spaniards made to adapt themselves to the host society, such as changes in their names or occupations, in order to emphasise their assimilation and cultural experiences.

This study investigates the characteristics of migrants from Spain, a country that presents historical particularities. In the international context, only Portugal and Spain had extensive empires during the early modern era. By the first half of the nineteenth century, most of these Spanish colonies had gained their independence, although Spain still maintained some possessions in the Caribbean and the Pacific region. Therefore, in the context of European migration patterns in the nineteenth century, Spaniards followed the Atlantic routes towards Central and South America, while a small group headed to the Philippines. This research will shed light on the motivations that led some Spaniards to migrate to Australia, so far away from the Spanish traditional migration destinations.

Spanish migration to colonial Australia has been under researched as most studies of European migration and settlement in Australia focus on the majority of white settlers who came from Britain and Ireland.[1] Non-British migration and settlement have been studied in some surveys, such as the classic *Non-Britishers in Australia* (1927) by Jens Lyng and *The Australian People* (1988), an exhaustive encyclopedia devoted to settlers from all origins and edited by James Jupp. In the first case, the author includes a succinct reference to the Spanish monks Rosendo Salvado and Joseph Serra, of New Norcia Benedictine mission, and to some members of the Parer family in Melbourne.[2] Jupp's

[1] Major works include: Robert Bowden Madgwick, *Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851,* 2nd impr. with foreword (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1969); Patrick O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia* (Kensington: New South Wales University Press, 1986); Wilfred David Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia: A Demographic History, 1788-1988* (Canberra: Demography Program, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1994); Eric Richards, *Britannia's Children: Emigration from England, Scotland, Wales and Ireland since 1600* (London: A&C Black, 2004); Lindsay Proudfoot and Dianne Hall, *Imperial Spaces: Placing Irish and Scots in Colonial Australia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2011); Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre, eds., Indigenous and Colonial Australia, vol. 1 of *The Cambridge History of Australia* (Port Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

[2] Jens Lyng, *Non-Britishers in Australia: Influence on Population and Progress* (Melbourne: Macmillan in association with Melbourne University Press, 1927), 132-135.

encyclopedia devotes two sections to Spaniards: “Spanish” and “Basques”. The Spanish part, by Barry York, provides the Spanish historical background and then concise data on Spanish immigrants, focussing particularly on the twentieth century.[3] Basques are given a section where their immigration as labourers for the Queensland's sugar industry is outlined.[4] The “Australian Ethnic Heritage Series”, issued by the Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies of the Australian National University, is a collection of short popular books that focuses on migration and experiences of specific ethnic communities, such as Afghans, Germans or Lebanese. One of these books is devoted to Spanish communities and it offers a general overview of their migration, experiences and cultural awareness, almost exclusively focussing on the second part of the twentieth century.[5] For example, this book does not mention any of the Spanish convicts, and Spanish gold diggers and the Catalan Parer family who migrated to Melbourne in the nineteenth century are only briefly described. Therefore, it does not allow for a study of the hundreds of Spanish who arrived and settled in Australia during the nineteenth century. Finally, there are also some general studies on immigration where Spanish are not even mentioned.[6]

Academic research on non-British European migration to Australia was pioneered by two scholars from the Australian National University, Wilfred D. Borrie and Charles A. Price, at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century. In 1954, Borrie, a specialist in demography and population trends, published a study of Italians and Germans in Australia, focusing on their “assimilation”.[7] One chapter of his study is devoted to non-Britishers in Australia, and the part explaining European migration concentrates on Germans and Scandinavians. As for southern Europeans, only Italians and Greeks are analysed, and Spaniards and Portuguese are not mentioned.[8] At the end of his career, after he retired, he published *The European Peopling of Australasia*, a demographic

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3 Barry York, “Spanish,” in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, ed. James Jupp (North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1988), 690-692.

4 William A. Douglass, “Basques,” in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, ed. James Jupp (North Ryde, NSW: Angus & Robertson, 1988), 181-183.

5 Albert Jaime Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1982).

6 Kenneth Stanley Inglis, *Australian Colonists: An Exploration of Social History, 1788-1870* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1974); Geoffrey Sherington, *Australia's Immigrants 1788-1988* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1980).

7 Wilfred David Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia: A Study of Assimilation* (Melbourne: Cheshire for Australian National University, 1954).

8 Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 32-48. It is remarkable what Borrie explains about French: “There were other groups who were more numerous than the Italians in 1891 (e.g. French-born, 4,261) but they never became the nucleus of an expanding minority” (p. 35).

account of European migration to both Australia and New Zealand from 1788 to 1988.[9] Despite its detailed tables and graphs, Spain is not covered in the nineteenth-century section.

In 1954, Charles A. Price, also a demographer, published a study on Maltese migration in the nineteenth century. In this essay, Price stresses that not only economic conditions but also political, social and cultural factors play a significant part in people's decisions about emigration. He uses the Maltese case as an example of this combination of factors and the “power of non-economic factors.”[10] Price contributed to migration studies with his focus on ethnicity, especially in his essential book *Southern Europeans in Australia*, where he includes a large amount of data about regional origins and social backgrounds in different southern European countries.[11] His characterisation of ethnic groups in Italy, Greece and the former Yugoslavia is remarkable and pioneering. Unfortunately, despite the title of the book, his detailed work on southern Europeans regional origins is only superficial in the case of Spain. Furthermore, people from the Iberian Peninsula are totally missing in the parts devoted to migration and settlement in Australia. The explanation of this is highlighted in the Appendices, in which Price explains: "Unfortunately, it was decided at the time to omit the few Spanish, Portuguese, and southern French involved; though these were examined later by way of naturalisation certificates, the full records have not been examined and these small groupings are not in the major analyses and figures."[12] The number of Iberians and southern French remained low in the first half of the twentieth century compared to other Mediterranean groups, however in the late nineteenth century, their numbers were similar. According to Price, in 1891 the estimated southern European population of Australia was 3,900 Italians, 1,000 Spanish, Portuguese and Southern French, 600 Greeks and 200 Maltese among other nationals from this part of Europe, that amounted to 6,000 altogether. The picture for 1921 is quite different, Italian-born people lead the list with 5,550 people, followed by 4,600 Greeks, 1,700 Spanish, Portuguese and Southern French combined, and 1,350 Maltese. The number of Italians, Greeks and Maltese increased dramatically during the twentieth century, while the group constituted by Spanish, Portuguese and

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9 Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia*.

10 Charles A. Price, *Malta and the Maltese. A Study in Nineteenth Century Migration* (Melbourne: Georgian House, 1954).

11 Charles A. Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963).

12 Charles A. Price, *The Methods and Statistics of Southern Europeans in Australia (1890-1940)* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1963), 2-3.

Southern French declined to 1,500 in 1947.[13] The number of Greek and Italian migrants continued to soar in the years after the end of the second world war.

This sharp rise in the number of some southern Europeans, such as Italians, Greeks and Maltese, explains the proliferation of academic studies about them which was also encouraged by Australian multicultural policy from the 1970s. For example, research on migration from Italy includes comprehensive studies that cover Italian migration, presence and contribution since the foundation of the colony.[14] As for the Italian settlement in colonial Australia, there are also some studies focussing solely on this period, although more frequently they extend over a broader span, usually from the first settlements until the Second World War.[15] Greek migration has also been widely studied, especially for the twentieth century, although the majority of the studies on Greek presence in Australia devote a chapter covering the first settlers.[16] As for colonial

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13 Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 11.

14 The amount of studies published on Italian migrants in Australia is vast, so only a sample of them are referenced. Nino Randazzo and Michael Cigler, *The Italians in Australia* (Melbourne: AE Press, 1987); Rob Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia. Our Italian Heritage* (Richmond, VIC: Greenhouse Publications, 1987); William A. Douglass, *From Italy to Ingham: Italians in North Queensland* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1995); Gianfranco Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003); Julia Church, *Per l'Australia. The Story of Italian Migration* (Carlton, VIC: Italian Historical Society (COASIT), 2005); Loretta Baldassar and Ros Pesman. *From Paesani to Global Italians: Veneto Migrants in Australia* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2005); Francesco Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity* (Cham, Switzerland: Palgrave Macmillan, 2018). This last book incorporates the latest trends in migration studies, with a transcultural and transnational approach.

15 Jacquie Templeton, "'Italy is Whoever Gives us Bread'. Migration Between Lombardy and Victoria, 1850-1914," in *Home or away? Immigrants in Colonial Australia*, ed. David Fitzpatrick (Canberra: Division of Historical Studies and Centre for Immigration and Multicultural Studies, Research School of Social Sciences, Australian National University, 1992), 39-63; Charles D'Aprano, *From Goldrush to Federation: Italian Pioneers in Victoria: 1850-1900: The Story of the First Wave of Italian Migration to Australia* (Pascoe Valley South, VIC: INT Press, 1995); Daniella Volpe, *From Tuscany to Victoria: The Life and Work of Pietro Barachi, Carlo Catani and Ettore Checci* (Melbourne: Victoria Italian Australian Institute, 2005); Joseph Gentilli, Carlo Stransky, and Charles Iraci. *Italian Roots in Australian Soil: Italian Migration to Western Australia 1829-1946* (Marangaroo, WA: Italo-Australian Welfare Centre, 1983); Tito Cecilia, *We did not Arrive Yesterday: Outline of the History of the Italian Migration into Australia from Discovery to the Second World War*, trans. Moira Furey, Moreno Giovannoni, and Walter Musolino, trans. ed. Moira Furey (Red Cliffs, VIC: Scalabrinians, 1987); Desmond O'Connor, *No Need to Be Afraid: Italian Settlers in South Australia between 1839 and the Second World War* (Kent Town, SA: Wakefield Press, 1996); Jacqueline Templeton, *From the Mountains to the Bush: Italian Migrants Write Home from Australia, 1860-1962* (Crawley: University of Western Australia Press, 2003).

16 As in the Italian case, the literature on Greek migration is also extensive, so only some samples are referenced. Charles A. Price, ed., *Greeks in Australia* (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975); Michael P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia," PhD thesis (University of Adelaide, 1971); Gillian Bottomley, *After the Odyssey. A Study of Greek Australians* (St Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 1979); Josef Vondra, *Hellas Australia = Ellada Australia* (Camberwell, VIC: Widescope, 1979); John Yiannakis, *Megisti in the Antipodes: Castellorizian Migration and Settlement to Western Australia, 1890-1990* (Carlisle, WA: Hesperian Press, 1996); George Kanarakis, *In the Wake of Odysseus: Portraits of Greek Settlers in Australia* (Melbourne: Greek-Australian Archives Publications, 1997); Anastassios M. Tamis, *An Illustrated History of the Greek in Australia* (Melbourne: Dardalis Archives of the Greek Community, La Trobe University, 1997); Yiannis E. Dimitreas, *Transplanting the Agora: Hellenic Settlement in Australia* (St Leonards, NSW: Allen & Unwind, 1998); Andros Kapardis and Anastassios M. Tamis, *Afstraliotes Hellenes: Greeks in Australia* (North Melbourne, VIC: River Seine Press, 1998); Nicholas Doumanis, "The Greeks in Australia," in *The Greek Diaspora in the Twentieth Century*, ed. Richard Clogg (New York:

Australia, some research has targeted the first period of Greek settlement explaining the process by which Greek people developed communities that would lay the foundation for the later massive postwar Greek migration.[17] Geographically, this extensive literature on the Italians and Greeks covers both national and regional aspects in the sending and the host societies. Moreover, diverse approaches to migration have been applied providing analysis of broad social, economic, cultural and political aspects.

Comparatively, studies on Spanish migration and presence in Australia are scarce. Robert J. Mason states that "Spaniards are most frequently considered as an interesting aside to the more numerous Italian migrants."[18] The only two broad surveys available that cover the relationship between Spain and Australia with a historical view do not include specific chapters on migration, although some information on Spaniards in Australia can be found in books written in Spanish.[19] Carlos M. Fernández-Shaw was the Spanish Ambassador in Australia between 1989 and 1993 and gathered much data about official relationships between the two countries. Research on Spanish migration and settlement in English also includes the book *Spanish in Australia*, by Albert J. Grassby, as part of the "Australian Ethnic Heritage Series", and the chapters mentioned earlier dedicated to the Spanish and the Basques in Jupp's encyclopedia.[20] Some other studies have targeted the migration of certain groups from Spain, such as Catalans and Basques. The Catalans and their settlement in Australia was studied by United States-based scholar William A. Douglass, providing some statistical data, such as numbers, regional distribution and occupations; this work includes valuable quantitative information but lacks any social, cultural or biographical approaches.[21] This same scholar

St. Martin's Press, 1999), 58-86; Anastassios M. Tamis, *The Greeks in Australia* (Port Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Joy Damousi, *Memory and Migration in the Shadow of the War: Australia's Greek Immigrants after World War II and the Greek Civil War* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

17 Hugh Gilchrist, *The Early Years,* vol. 1 of *Australian and Greeks* (Rushcutters Bay, NSW: Halstead Press, 1992); Anastassios M. Tamis, *1830-1958*, vol. 1 of *Historia ton Hellenon tes Australia / History of the Greeks in Australia* (Fitzroy, VIC: Ellikon Press, 2000); Reginald Appleyard and John N. Yiannakis, *Greek Pioneers in Western Australia* (Nedlands, WA: University of Western Australia Press, 2002); Denis A. Conomos, *The Greeks in Queensland: A History from 1859-1945* (Brisbane, QLD: Copyright Publishing, 2002).

18 Robert J. Mason, "Women on the March: Radical Hispanic Migrants in Northern Australia," *Labour History* 99 (Nov 2010): 149; Robert J. Mason, "Agitators and Patriots: Cultural and Political Identity in Queensland's Spanish Communities, 1900-1975," (PhD thesis, University of Queensland, 2008).

19 Ignacio García, *et al*, *Some Historical Ties between Australia and the Spanish World* (Newton, NSW: Sociedad Cultural Española, 1988); Carlos M. Fernández-Shaw, *España y Australia. Quinientos años de relaciones* (Madrid: Dirección General de Relaciones Culturales y Científicas, Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de España, 2000).

20 Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia*; York, "Spanish," in *The Australian people*, 690-692; Douglass, "Basques," in *The Australian people*, 181-183.

21 William A. Douglass, "The Catalan Factor in Australian Immigration History," in *Travellers' Tales, Real and Imaginary, in the Hispanic World and its Literature*, ed. Alun Kenwood (Melbourne: Voz Hispanica,

researched the Basque contribution to the sugarcane industry in North Queensland in the first half of the twentieth century, alongside the Italians, in a systematic review.[22] Unfortunately, Douglass' focus mainly on Basques and Italians means he does not cover the Catalans and other Spaniards that were recruited in 1907 for the North Queensland sugar industry. The last study targeting this first half of the twentieth century is Mason's interesting paper "Women on the March", which centres on Hispanic women's political activism in rural northern Australia during this period based on their previous transnational political experience in Spain and Argentina.[23]

In the second half of the twentieth century, some assisted Spanish migrants reached Australia and their experience has been investigated by researchers. Garcia studied the Spanish Migration Scheme between Australia and Franco's Spain, which constituted the first official initiative to send assisted Spaniards towards Australia in the years 1958-63. Hughes analysed Spanish migration and culture in South Australia in the 1960s; and Pérez-Olleros focused on the Spanish women's expedition to Australia in 1961 and their settlement experience.[24] With a wider scope, Mason studied the Queensland's Spanish communities from 1970 to 1975 following a cultural and political approach.[25] Unfortunately, three of these four interesting and remarkable studies on Spanish migration to Australia and their experiences remain unpublished. Finally, some biographies on Spanish settlers in Australia were published which adds some insights but lacks the necessary analysis of migration patterns and depth of scholarly engagement.[26]

This modest quantity of studies on migration in twentieth century Australia is far more than those published on colonial Australia, which is the aim of this thesis. It is true that

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1992): 51-65.

22 William A. Douglass, *Azúcar amargo: vida y fortuna de los cortadores de caña italianos y vascos en la Australia tropical* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco, 1996); see also Diane Menghetti, "The Cannecutters," In *Australians 1938*, ed. William Gammage and Peter Spearrit (Broadway, NSW: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon, 1987), 273-282.

23 Mason, "Women on the March," 149-163.

24 Ignacio García, *Operación Canguro: The Spanish Migration Scheme, 1958-1963* (Jamison Center, ACT: Spanish Heritage Foundation, 2002); Alison May Hughes, "La inmigración española a Australia del Sur [manuscript]: el establecimiento y el mantenimiento de la cultura española de los inmigrantes españoles de los años 60" (B.A. Hons. thesis, Flinders University, 2005); Ana Pérez-Olleros, "So far: the October 1961 Spanish women's expedition to Australia and their process of adjustment in a new country" (Master's Thesis, University of Sydney, 1990).

25 Mason, "Agitators and patriots."

26 Carmen Castelo, *The Spanish Experience in Australia* (Jamison Centre, ACT: Spanish Heritage Foundation, 2000); Albert Jaime Grassby and Marji Hill, *Spanish Australians* (South Yarra, VIC: Macmillan Education Australia, 2000); Rafaela López, *Orígenes: The Presence and Contribution of Victorians of Spanish and Latin American Origins, 1901-2001* (Footscray, VIC: CELAS (The Spanish Latin American Welfare Centre Incorporated), 2001).

the number of Spaniards in colonial Australia was never large, but it is also true that its study has been neglected and a systematic review is needed. The Spanish presence is only noted in some histories, such as that of the New Norcia mission in Western Australia, where the Spanish monk and bishop Rosendo Salvado tried to convert the Aboriginal people of New Holland.[27] His religious and philanthropic task has been the focus of some monographs, but its significance as a form of migration is yet to be fully explored. Rosendo Salvado arrived in the colony of Western Australia together with Joseph Serra in 1846, where they founded the New Norcia Mission. Salvado was sent back to Europe several times for different reasons, one of them was raising money and recruiting new religious people for the mission. Between 1850-1853, during an enforced stay in Rome, he wrote down an account of his task and experiences in Australia. These *Memoirs*, written in Italian, were quickly translated into Spanish and French but remained unknown to English speaking readers until translation in 1977.[28] Its English publication led to interest from Australian scholars and in 1980 George Russo published *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness*, which is not only a biography of Salvado's life and mission but also an analysis of the colonial authorities policies and attitudes towards Aboriginal people.[29] Further information on Salvado's life and legacy in New Norcia was covered by monographs or collective works on both sides of the world.[30] These studies are essential in understanding this section of Australian history and they name Salvado's efforts to bring out people from Europe, especially from Spain and Italy, which can be considered a form of sponsored migration, albeit by a religious institution. This aspect of the New Norcia mission needs further investigation as its potential from a migration point of view is still unexplored.

Apart from the New Norcia mission, the research available on nineteenth-century

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[27] Charles Manning Hope Clark, *The Beginning of an Australian Civilization, 1824-1851*, vol. 3 of *A History of Australia* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1973), 356-358.

[28] Rosendo Salvado, *The Salvado Memoirs: Historical Memoirs of Australia and particularly of the Benedictine Mission of New Norcia and of the Habits and Customs of the Australian Natives*, trans. and ed. Edward J. Stormon (Nedlands: University of Western Australia, 1977). There are some early publications on New Norcia written by religious related to the Mission, such as James Flood, *New Norcia: The Remarkable Aborigines Institution of the Australian Commonwealth Situated in the State of Western Australia* (London: Burns & Oates, 1908); or Stephen Lennon, *The Story of New Norcia: The West Australian Benedictine Mission* (New Norcia, WA: Benedictine Community of New Norcia, 1950).

[29] George Russo, *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness: The Life and Times of Bishop Salvado* (Melbourne: Polding Press, 1980). This book is an essential reference for posterior studies, despite some mistakes in the Spanish history context.

[30] Antonio Linage, *Rosendo Salvado, or the Odyssey of a Galician in Australia*. (Santiago de Compostela: Xunta de Galicia, 1999); Maria Jesus Lorenzo Modia and Roy Boland Osegueda, eds., *Australia and Galicia: Defeating the Tyranny of Distance* (Jannali, NSW: Antípodas Monographs, 2008); Théophile Bérengier, *New Norcia: History of a Benedictine Colony in Western Australia, 1846-1878*, transl. Peter Gilet (Northcote, VIC: Abbey Press, 2014).

Spanish migrants is principally biographical, focusing on individuals such as the first Spanish settler in Australia, de Arrieta, or the convict Spanish woman who was assigned to him, Adelaide de la Thoreza.[31] There is also one family, the Parers, who have been studied more extensively. The Catalan Parer family settled in Melbourne in the mid-nineteenth century and ran successful hotels and cafes. There are two books published about them, one written by the descendants of the family.[32] These descendants have been actively involved in researching their family genealogy, collecting an archive including many family pictures and information. Besides this, they facilitated the publication of books by creating the publishing company "Alella", which is the name of the town in Spain where the Parers originally came from. However, in the book *The Anton Parer Pyrenees Pilgrimage* (2016), by Benjamin Parer, only twenty-seven pages are devoted to the first Parers in Australia, while the rest is an account of the trip that some Parer descendants made to the land of their ancestors in 2015. The first Parer settlers started what could be considered as the only example of Spanish chain migration in the nineteenth century and attracted to Australia other Catalan families, such as the Clota and the Barbeta families, linked to them by kinship, although this aspect, or further information on these other families, is not mentioned in the cited books.

Undoubtedly, these studies shed some light on a few aspects of Spanish settlement in Australia but are insufficient to build a systematic study of the Spanish migration to Australia in the nineteenth century. In this research, 407 Spanish immigrants to the Australian colonies have been identified, and information collected on them including valuable details on their lives and experiences. Apart from the socio-demographic data obtained, this thesis covers other fundamental approaches and aspects. Among them, the link between the decision to migrate and the socio-political background in the sending nation; the cultural differences among the Spaniards (Andalusians, Basques, Catalans, Galicians); why these Spaniards chose Australia as their destination; the cultural adjustments that they made to fit into the new society – such as changing their names and choice of marriage partner. This was particularly important for women's experiences and changes in their identity after their arrival.

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[31] Susan Ballyn, "Jean Baptiste Lehimas de Arrieta: The First Spanish Settler?" *La Trobe Journal*, no. 68 (Spring 2001): 42-50; James Cameron, *Adelaide de la Thoreza, a Chequered Career* (Sydney, 1878); Lucy Frost, "Una convicta española: Adelaide de la Thoreza in Botany Bay," In *From the Edges of Empire: Convict Women from Beyond the British Isles*, ed. Lucy Frost and Colette McAlpine (Hobart, TAS: Convict Women's Press, 2015), 220-234.

[32] Ann Wright, *The Parer´s of Catalonia: An Australian Pioneering Family* (Churchill, VIC: Alella Books, 2016); Benjamin Emmanuel M. Parer, *The Anton Parer Pyrenees Pilgrimage* (Churchill, VIC: Alella Books, 2016).

The method implemented to collect and systematise data from different sources was the creation of a database and a Word document. Each Spanish person was given the same code in both files, which allowed the linkage of information. The database of Spanish migrants was created through searches in historical archives including the National Archives of Australia, the Public Record Office of Victoria, the State Library of Victoria, the Bendigo Regional Archive Centre and the State Archives and Records in New South Wales. The specific primary source documents targeted were: Births, Deaths and Marriages indexes; Passengers lists; Naturalisation records; Census records; Land Registry records; registers of Male and Female Prisoners; Hospital records; Wills and Probates records; Inquests into Death records; and Cemetery records. Most of this data was accessed online through indexes and digitised records on Ancestry.com. On the other hand, a Word document was created to store life events and experiences gathered from other primary sources, such as colonial and local newspapers via Trove website. Besides, some Spanish migrants' descendants also provided access to their own family archives. Information in the database and the Word document was linked and analysed using both family reconstruction and prosopography methodologies. This has allowed not only a demographic approach, but also a sociological one which provides a better understanding of the motivations, behaviour, personal experiences and mentality of this group. Furthermore, my background as a Spanish historian and a migrant in Australia has led me to highlight certain aspects that otherwise would have been difficult to appreciate, such as the importance of the Spanish family surnames.

It is important to note that this research only includes the Spanish migrants whose nationality could be confirmed in any of the sources mentioned. Almost 900 migrants with Spanish surnames were traced in colonial Australia, but only slightly over 400 could be proved to be Spaniards.

The wide geographic area and time frame covered in this study – Spaniards in Australia in the nineteenth century – has been chosen to provide the first panorama of Spanish migration, settlement and transcultural lives in colonial Australia. Thus, this thesis will help redress a gap in current migration historiography and will lay the foundations for further in-depth research on some of the topics covered.

The question underpinning this research is: Why did some Spaniards choose to migrate to colonial Australia? To answer this question, the Spanish and Australian historical background in the nineteenth century are examined in Chapter One as the basis for establishing the weight of the so-called "push-pull" factors. This chapter is divided into

two parts: the first one, where an overview of the socio-economic characteristics in the sending country is given, as well as the main migration patterns and destinations; and the second part, in which the British colonies in Australia are studied to elucidate what factors attracted migrants to their shores.

Following these pull factors, in Chapter Two the Spanish who settled in Australia are studied in several groups. In the first part, the focus is on early settlers, in particular the twenty-five Spanish convicts found in the sources and their lives after arrival in Australia. In the second section, the role of the New Norcia mission - established in Western Australia in 1846 - as an agent of Spanish missionary migration is analysed. In the third part, the focus is on Spanish gold seekers who came to Australia. Finally, the last section is dedicated to the only case of Spanish chain migration in colonial Australia, which took place in Victoria during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Finally, the third chapter of this research focuses on Spanish migrants' culture and identity to determine what cultural choices they made and the level of assimilation they achieved. Aspects such as changes in names, command of English, participation in social events and associations and relationships with other groups within the host society are targeted. One section is then devoted to Spanish women's identity in Australia, including changes in their personal identity as they lost their Spanish family surnames and adopted their husbands' surname.

Chapter One. Historical background

Spanish migration to colonial Australia was basically an exception. As stated at the title of this thesis, this migration flow was “out of the mainstream”. Then, what was that mainstream? The answer to this question involves a closer examination of Spanish migration movements in the nineteenth century and its characteristics, including motivations, numbers and destinations. This information will provide a framework for a comparison between general Spanish migration and Spanish migration to Australia.

In this first chapter, apart from those migration movements, the Spanish and colonial Australian historical background in the nineteenth century will be examined as the basis for establishing the weight of the so-called “push-pull” factors on the Spanish migration to the British colonies in Australia. Therefore, this chapter is divided into two parts: the first one, where an overview of the socio-economic characteristics in Spain will be given, as well as the main migration patterns and destinations; and the second part, in which the British colonies in Australia will be studied to elucidate what factors attracted migrants to their shores.

1.1 Spanish historical context

Compared to other European countries, Spain was a late starter in the mass emigration movement and emigration remained at a modest level in the nineteenth century. The available official data on Spanish emigration from the 1880s onwards shows that the annual medium migration rate in these two last decades stayed at 3.4‰, whereas in the period 1901-1910 it doubled reaching 7.0‰ (see Table 1). This trend was similar in other southern European countries such as Italy and Portugal, although the rates were a bit higher.[1]

[1] Blanca Sánchez Alonso, *Las causas de la emigración española, 1880-1930* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995), 172.

	1851 -60	1861 -70	1871 -80	1881 -90	1891 -1900	1901 -10	1913
Ireland	14.0	14.6	6.6	14.2	8.9	7.0	6.8
Norway	2.4	5.8	4.7	9.5	4.5	8.3	4.2
Sweden	0.5	3.1	2.4	7.0	4.1	4.2	3.1
Denmark	na	na	2.1	3.9	2.2	2.8	3.2
England	2.6	2.8	4.0	5.6	3.6	5.5	7.6
Scotland	5.0	4.6	4.7	7.1	4.4	9.9	14.4
Germany	na	na	1.5	2.9	1.0	0.5	0.4
The Netherlands	0.5	0.6	0.5	1.2	0.5	0.5	0.4
Belgium	na	na	na	0.9	0.4	0.6	1.0
France	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.1	0.1	0.2
Italy	na	na	1.1	3.5	5.0	10.8	16.3
Spain	na	na	na	3.4*	3.4	7.0	10.6
Portugal	na	1.9	2.9	4.3	5.6	6.5	13.9

* 1882-1890

na: not available

Table 1. European migration 1851-1913. Annual medium rate per 1,000 inhabitants (borders in 1914). Source: Blanca Sánchez Alonso, *Las causas de la emigración española, 1880-1930* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1995), 172.

Nineteenth-century Spanish migration has been rarely studied as a whole. The period better covered by scholars is the one between 1880 and 1900, mainly due to the availability of data and the beginning of mass migration.[2] According to Devoto in the case of emigration to Latin America, which was the region that received the most significant number of Spanish migrants in the 1800s, the nineteenth century might be divided into two periods, the first one covering approximately four-fifths of the century, which corresponds to colonial migration, and the second period covering the remaining twenty years which could be seen as part of the bigger mass migration movement affecting both sides of the Atlantic. This scholar also points out that the Spanish migratory movement towards Latin America may be part of the same migration process in both periods that

[2] Some studies on the topic include: Sánchez Alonso, *Causas emigración española;* César Yáñez, *La emigración española a América, siglos XIX y XX: dimensión y características cuantitativas* (Colombres, Asturias: Archivo de Indianos, 1994); Salvador Palazón Ferrando, *Capital humano español y desarrollo económico latinoamericano: evolución, causas y características del flujo migratorio (1882-1990)* (Valencia, Spain: Institut de Cultura Juan Gil-Albert, 1995); Samuel L. Baily and Eduardo J. Míguez, eds., *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003).

date back to the previous century.[3]

As a nation-based approach, my research requires an analysis of the macrostructural socio-economic changes experienced in Spain in the nineteenth century. However, emigration was not equal across the nation. On the contrary, it was restricted to certain regions: the Cantabrian Sea-Bay of Biscay area, Catalonia, Levant and Canary Islands. A closer regional examination is therefore necessary to understand the motivations and destinations chosen. To finish this section, a third analysis will focus on the receiving countries and areas and what elements acted as pull factors, especially in Cuba, Algeria and Argentina as the main destination countries.

Throughout the nineteenth century, economic, demographic and social transformations affected Europe and its population. Agricultural improvements, industrialization and demographic modernization were led by Great Britain and spread to other Western European countries, such as France and the Netherlands, early in the century, whereas Spain experienced them later. These changes also caused two unprecedented events in Europe: a sharp growth in population – which rose from 188 million in 1800 to 420 million in 1900 – and as a consequence, vast regional movements and mass migration.[4]

Within Europe, north-western countries began the emigration exodus in the first half of the nineteenth century, while eastern and southern European countries were incorporated into the process later, around the last quarter of that century. This geographical shift in the origins of mass emigration is coincident with the economic modernization in different regions and countries.[5] Other factors are to be found in the receiving countries, such as job opportunities and official policies, which had an impact on the destinations and the type of migration.

In the case of Spain, the shift towards capitalism, due to demographic modernization, agricultural technical improvements and industrialization, started late in the nineteenth century and so did mass emigration. Despite the modest number of Spanish emigrants in comparison to other northern European countries, there were significant emigration flows from Spain to some destinations, such as the Spanish colony of Cuba, the Republic

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3 Fernando J. Devoto, “A History of Spanish and Italian Migration to the South Atlantic Regions of the Americas,” in *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 37-39.

4 José C. Moya, “Spanish Emigration to Cuba and Argentina,” in *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), 10.

5 Blanca Sánchez Alonso, “La emigración española a la Argentina, 1880-1930,” In *Españoles hacia América. La emigración en masa, 1880-1930*, comp. Nicolas Sánchez-Albornoz (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 206-207.

of Argentina or the French colony of Algeria. Both elements, that is, factors of economic modernization and migration flows, will be analysed.

In the nineteenth century, the Spanish population increased from 10.5 million in 1797 to 18.5 million in 1900, an increase of 75%. However, this demographic rise was one of the lowest in Western Europe due to the persistence of the traditional demographic system in Spain, with high birth and death rates. The transition away from a traditional demographic system started earlier in Northern and Western Europe, where the death rates fell thanks to improvements in hygiene and the decrease of epidemic diseases. In the Spanish case, this demographic transition commenced late in the nineteenth century. Furthermore, Spanish demographic growth was uneven, being marked in northern areas, such as Galicia, Asturias, Cantabria, the Basque country and Catalonia, and also in the Canary Islands.[6]

This population growth needed a similar increase in agrarian production. In the first half of the nineteenth century, this was achieved thanks to the agrarian reform which allowed a shift in the land possession by overcoming the *ancien régime* feudal structures. Liberal bourgeois revolution in Spain allowed the abolition of the seigneurial regime and a series of confiscations of lands belonging to the Church and other lands of communal property.[7] In practice, this translated into an increase in private property and more land available for cultivation. The rise in the production was mainly due to this extension in cultivated land, more than to a modernization in techniques or structures that had allowed an increase in productivity. Spain continued to be a mainly agricultural country throughout the nineteenth century. In the second half of the century, the extension of cultivated land stopped, and peasants started a slow exodus to the cities. Slow or absent modernization of agriculture and protectionist laws in the last two decades of the nineteenth century meant that the rural flight was limited, and so was the growth in urban population.

On the other hand, the underdeveloped industrial sector was unable to absorb the population of small landowners, leaseholders and day labourers who headed to Catalonia, Madrid or Biscay in search of work. Limited investments, due to the investors' preferences for land or sectors like railway or mining industry, and a reduced consumer market are among the main causes of the modest Spanish industrialization. Therefore, the imbalance between the rise in population and the scarce job opportunities led some

6 Moya, “Spanish Emigration,” in *Mass Migration*, 10.

7 Joseph Harrison, “The Agrarian History of Spain, 1800-1960,” *The Agricultural History Review* 37, no. 2 (1989): 180-187, accessed 7 June 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40274667?seq=1#metadata_info_tab_contents.

Spaniards to migrate looking for better living conditions.

Other reasons for migrating might be found in an unequal hereditary system, the evasion of military service and clandestine emigration. The hereditary system in many regions in Spain benefited the first-born child, who received the family patrimony. Consequently, migration rates were higher among those not favoured by this system. Military service, which lasted for three years, could only be avoided by finding a substitute or paying a high amount to the State. Some young people preferred to emigrate to escape that service and they did it in a clandestine way. Undocumented emigration was also usually chosen by people who could not pay the high fees claimed by the authorities or fulfil all the requirements.[8] In the last quarter of the nineteenth century young Spaniards who wished to migrate had to pay 15 pesetas and submit a certificate of baptism, a certificate of completion of the military service or the payment of a 1,500 pesetas fee to avoid it and a certificate proving that they were not involved in any court case or serving a sentence. These documents had to be endorsed by their town major or by a public notary.[9] These complicated immigration proceedings encouraged clandestine migration. Female migration accounted for approximately 21% of the total migration at the end of the nineteenth century and women usually migrated together with their families or in order to join other members of their families (husbands, brothers or parents).[10]

Finally, land holding systems were considered a key factor explaining the migration differences by region. In the north of Spain, particularly in the Cantabrian sea area, smallholding was dominant because families practiced partible inheritance and subsequent divisions led to minuscule portions of lands not sufficient to support a family. There is a positive correlation between smallholding and migration due to the fact that these owners could easily sell their properties to defray the costs of the trip.[11]

Sources on the number of Spaniards who eventually emigrated are limited and only cover the last part of the century. The Spanish Geographical and Statistical Institute started to register the annual inwards and outwards number of Spanish passengers in

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8 Sánchez Alonso, C*ausas emigración española*, 105-107.

9 Blanca Sánchez Alonso, "Una nueva serie anual de la emigración española: 1882-1930," *Revista de Historia Económica*, year 8, no. 1 (1990): 140, accessed 10 June 2019, https://e-archivo.uc3m.es/bitstream/handle/10016/1790/RHE-1990-VIII-1-SanchezAlonso.pdf%3bjsessionid=2DFF86F7DC4D4CA015517D743A1353F7?sequence=1

10 Julio Hernández Boge, "Mujeres en la emigración exterior española de finales del siglo XIX," *Xeográfica. Revista de Xeografía, Territorio e Medio Ambiente* 1 (January 2001): 90-92, accessed 12 February 2020, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/287760190_Mujeres_en_la_emigracion_exterior_espanola_de_finales_del_siglo_XIX.

11 Sánchez Alonso, C*ausas emigración española*, 222-223.

1882. Among the difficulties in validating these numbers are that the Institute only registered outward-bound passengers from Spanish ports, therefore omitting important foreign ports such as Bordeaux, Lisbon or Gibraltar. They also only counted legal exits, so they did not count clandestine migration.[12] Official numbers for the period 1888-1900 state that an average of more than 15,400 Spanish people emigrated each year and did not return.[13]

In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, emigration was low due to the Peninsular War (1808-1814) and the process of independence of many of the Latin American colonies (1812-1824). This latter effected the most economically dynamic regions in Spain, due to the subsequent collapse in the colonial system, triggering a first migration movement to South America, especially towards the remaining colony of Cuba from the 1830s onwards.[14] Simultaneously, there was a flow of Spaniards from the Levant region to the French colony of Algeria, mainly for temporal and seasonal work.[15] Factors such as proximity, good communications and work opportunities maintained the migration flow to Algeria throughout the rest of the century. The development of some young Republics in the Americas also attracted Spanish labourers to Argentina, Uruguay or Brazil, and this was coincident with the beginning of the mass migration movement around 1880. Numbers for Latin America in this last twenty years of the century show that approximately 80% of Spanish migrants crossed the Atlantic towards Cuba (58%) or Argentina (22%), whereas the remaining 20% emigrated to other destinations, such as Brazil or Uruguay.[16] Again, the sending regions were those on the north coast of Spain, with a stronger presence of migrants from Galicia, Catalonia and the Canary Islands.

A closer analysis of the socio-economic particularities by region is essential to understand the differential migration patterns. As stated, the majority of Spanish migrants came from the coastal areas, particularly from the north and east, from the region of Galicia to the province of Almeria, and from the two Spanish archipelagos. In the case of Latin America, the pioneering migration flow came from the Basque country and Asturias

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12 Mª Ángeles Sallé Alonso, coord., *La emigración española en América: historias y lecciones para el futuro* (Madrid: Fundación directa, 2009), 14, accessed 20 June 2019, http://www.fundaciondirecta.org/Documentos/memoria_espanola_def.pdf.

13 Sánchez Alonso, C*ausas emigración española*, 129.

14 Jesús A. Valero-Matas et al., "El pasado vuelve a marcar el presente: la emigración española," *Papeles de Población* 21, no. 83 (January/March 2015): 47, accessed 13 February 2020, http://www.scielo.org.mx/pdf/pp/v21n83/v21n83a3.pdf.

15 Germán Rueda Hernanz, "Demografía y Sociedad (1797-1877)," in *Historia Contemporánea de España, siglo XIX*, coord. Javier Paredes (Barcelona: Ariel, 2004), 314-315.

16 Sallé Alonso, *Emigración española en América*, 27.

and prepared the way for subsequent larger immigration.[17] For example, the two main causes for migration from the Basque region between 1876 and 1881 were to improve their fortune (approximately 32%) and join kin or friends (approximately 30%).[18]

Regions: 1. Andalusia; 2. Aragon; 3. Asturias; 4. Basque Country; 5. Catalonia; 6. Estremadura; 7. Galicia; 8. Leon; 9. Levant; 10. New Castile; 11. Old Castile

Map 1. Regions and provinces of Spain. Source: José C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 9.

Catalonia also provided an early migration flow towards the Americas.[19] Early Catalan traders settled in Cuba and Puerto Rico setting up their businesses during the first half of the nineteenth century. These early migrants acted later as "callers" for other workers from the same region to work in their businesses. Simultaneously, another type of

[17] Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz, "Medio siglo de emigración masiva de España hacia América," in *Españoles hacia América. La emigración en masa, 1880-1930*, comp. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 21-22.

[18] Emiliano Fernández de Pinedo, "Los movimientos migratorios vascos, en especial hacia América," in *Españoles hacia América. La emigración en masa, 1880-1930*, comp. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 117.

[19] César Yáñez Gallardo, "Cataluña: un caso de emigración temprana," in *Españoles hacia América. La emigración en masa, 1880-1930*, comp. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 123-142.

migrant also headed to America from Catalonia. They were artisans from industries that were affected by industrialization and had become redundant. They headed towards Cuba and Puerto Rico, and in larger numbers to the independent countries of Latin America from the 1850s.[20]

Finally, the Canary Islands have a tradition of migration to Latin America, mainly because of their geographical position on the route towards this continent from Spain. An early migration wave in the nineteenth century started around 1830 and lasted until mid-century. The causes for this migration wave are to be found in the loss of colonial trade and the ruin of the grapes. The subsequent crisis affected small-scale grape growers and labourers who migrated mainly to Cuba. Between 1835 and 1850, 15,700 people from the Canary Islands emigrated to this Spanish colony. Their main characteristics were their agricultural profile and a strong family component, that is, migrants belonged to the families who had already made the journey. In the second half of the nineteenth century, other young Latin American republics, such as Argentina or Uruguay, also attracted Canary labourers by the system of "contratas" (contracts) to work in plantations.[21]

The last region to be examined is the south-east of Spain and will be analysed together with its preferred and almost unique destination, Algeria. Algeria was colonized by France from 1830 to 1962 and in the early years, the coastal territory was divided into three parts: Oran, Alger and Constantina. In the first stages of French colonization, Spanish agricultural labourers were the main type of migrants in Algeria and clandestine migration was also important. Between 1850 and 1865, improvements in the Spanish economy – caused by the end of the drought and rail construction – reduced the number of migrants. In the next twenty-five years, the number increased again mainly motivated by factors such as agricultural seasonal unemployment in the south-east of Spain and higher wages in Algeria. During the last two decades of the century, competition with Moroccan labourers, caused a decrease in the salaries and Algeria lost part of its appeal as a destination, particularly among seasonal and temporary migrants.[22] In any case, migration to Algeria used to be a familial one, that is, labourers moved with their

[20] Yáñez Gallardo, "Cataluña: emigración temprana," in Sánchez-Albornoz, *Españoles hacia América*, 123-142.

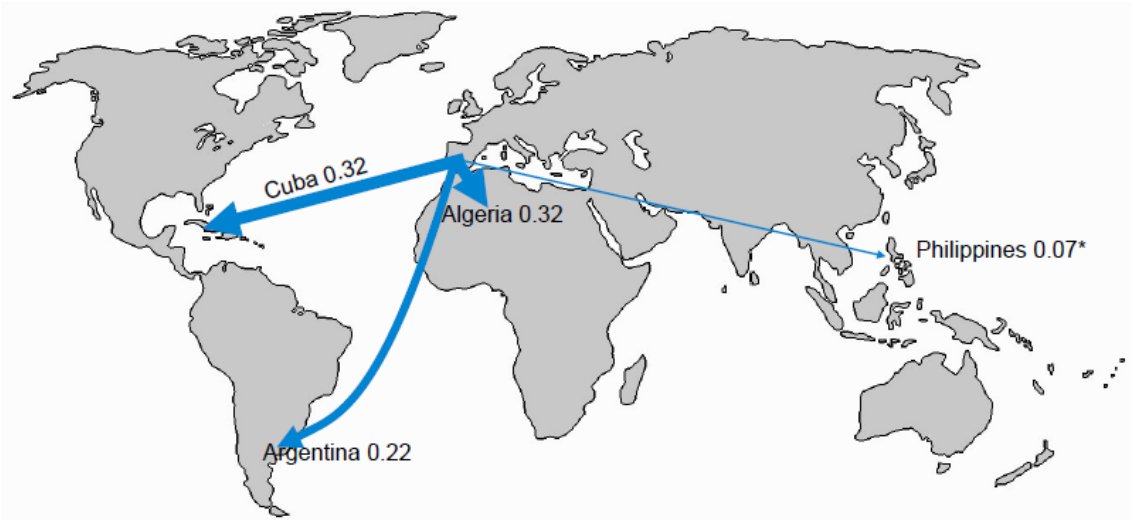
[21] Antonio M. Macías Hernández, "Un siglo de emigración canaria," in *Españoles hacia América. La emigración en masa, 1880-1930*, comp. Nicolás Sánchez-Albornoz (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1988), 166-202.

[22] José Fermín Bonmatí, *Españoles en el Magreb, siglos XIX y XX* (Madrid: MAPFRE, 1992), 17-48.

families.[23]

There were three types of migration, namely, seasonal, temporary and permanent migration. Seasonal migration was linked to the agricultural calendar and was also common for Spanish migrants heading towards Latin America. Regarding temporary migration, it involved a longer stay for reasons such as work in road building or railroad infrastructures. Women were also involved in this type of migration and some single women decided to migrate to Algeria to work as dressmakers, maids or laundress and earn some savings to invest in a dowry.[24] In the last place, permanent migration coexisted with the other two types in both Algeria and Latin America. It was usually supported by a previous settlement of kin or friends.

To complete this Spanish historical background, a final analysis of the pull factors in the receiving countries is needed. Elements that attracted migrants to Algeria have already been examined, therefore, the other two main destinations – Cuba and Argentina – will be explained.



Map 2. Spanish migrants to some countries in millions (1882-1900). Source: Data from Ricardo Robledo, "Crisis agraria y éxodo rural: emigración española a ultramar, 1880-1920," in *La crisis agraria de fines del siglo XIX*, ed. R. Garrabon (Barcelona: Crítica, 1988), 219.

* Number of Spanish in the Philippines according to the 1894 census. Source: Florentino Rodao, "La comunidad española en Filipinas, 1935-1939," PhD thesis (Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2014), 29, accessed June 24, 2019, https://eprints.ucm.es/23171/.

[23] Fermín Bonmatí, *Españoles en el Magreb*, 92.

[24] Fermin Bonmatí, *Españoles en el Magreb*, 147.

In the case of Cuba, in the first third of the nineteenth century approximately 4,250 Spaniards migrated to this Spanish colony, mainly from coastal Catalonia and the Cantabric area for trading and construction or as artisans.[25] In addition, after the emancipation of many of the Spanish colonies in America, many Spanish loyalists settled in Cuba instead of returning to Spain.[26] From the 1830s, the expansion of the sugarcane industry and the Spanish official position of replacing African slaves with white free immigrants, entailed a sharp rise in immigration. They came in large numbers from the Canary Islands – 41.5% of all Spanish emigrants to Cuba in 1862 – and from the north of Cantabric. Cuba became then the preferred destination among Spanish migrants.[27] In the last third of the century, immigration was first deterred by the "Guerra de los Diez Años" (Ten Years War) initiated in 1868 between Cuban emancipists and Spain. Slavery was officially abolished in 1880 and it caused a decline in the sugarcane industry. Both facts meant a considerable reduction in the number of Spanish migrants heading to Cuba. From 1886, the Spanish authorities tried to increase migration by paying the expenses of Spanish labourers wanting to settle with their families. This initiative encouraged migration which remained high until the beginning of the Cuban independence war in 1895.[28] Many Spaniards, particularly administrative personnel and military forces, were repatriated after the definitive independence of Cuba in 1898.

Regarding Argentina, after its independence at the beginning of the nineteenth century, relationships between the new nation and its former mother country were distant if not resentful. In the first half of the 1800s, some pioneering Catalan entrepreneurs established their businesses in Buenos Aires and started successful migration chains supported by Argentinian consuls in some Spanish towns. For example, these consuls succeeded in attracting immigrants from Mataró, a town near Barcelona, creating a social network of information and assistance. This migration movement was maintained in the second half of the century and was fostered in the last two decades of the century by better and more frequent communications, especially after the Genoa steamships called at Barcelona, as no direct route was available.[29] Apart from this Catalan migration mainly to urban areas, Spanish from Galicia, the Basque Country, Navarre and the Canary

[25] Jordi Maluquer de Motes, *Nación e inmigración: los españoles en Cuba (ss. XIX y XX)* (Oviedo, Spain: Ediciones Júcar, 1992), 28.

[26] Moya, "Spanish Emigration," in *Mass Migration*, 16.

[27] Maluquer de Motes, *Españoles en Cuba*, 30-45.

[28] Maluquer de Motes, *Españoles en Cuba*, 43-50.

[29] José C. Moya, *Cousins and Strangers: Spanish Immigrants in Buenos Aires, 1850-1930* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 62-64.

Islands migrated to Argentina in increasing numbers as the century progressed and official Argentinian policies encouraged migration of Europeans to work in its flourishing export-oriented pastoral economy. For example, the Basques moved to the pampas to work as shepherds in the sheep-business boom that took place in Argentina from the middle of the century.[30]

To sum up, in Spain the macrostructural context and microsocial factors interacted to create an emigration pattern: people from specific areas, that is, the Cantabrian Sea, Catalonia, Levant and Canary and Balearic Islands, moved to Latin America – mainly to Cuba and Argentina, but also to Uruguay and Brazil – and Algeria in search of better job opportunities either seasonally or permanently. Agriculture and commerce were the fields with the highest demand. The support of family and friends already settled in the receiving region proved essential in the choice of a destination. Likewise, official policies played an important role, and agents and consuls provided information to potential migrants in the sending regions. In this outline, the role of people's agency in the decision of migrating has not been analysed for the main receiving countries because it would have surpassed the length and scope of this thesis, but it will be examined for the Australian case in Chapter Three.

1.2 Australian historical context

No secret lies behind the affirmation that modern Australia is a country of immigrants. What Geoffrey Blainey defined as “the tyranny of distance” acted as a powerful deterrent to the arrival of newcomers from Europe, when compared to the closer route from Europe to North America, where job opportunities were also available.[31] Nevertheless, Australia was the first non-American destination of choice for intending European migrants and the fifth on the global list of immigrant arrivals in the period between the nineteenth century and the first third of the twentieth century (see Table 2).

Destination	**Years**	**Arrivals**
United States	1821-1932	32,244,000
Argentina	1856-1932	6,405,000
Canada	1821-1932	5,206,000

[30] Moya, *Cousins and Strangers*, 53.

[31] Geoffrey Blainey, *The Tyranny of Distance: How Distance Shaped Australia’s History* (Melbourne: St Martin’s P., 1968).

Brazil	1821-1932	4,431,000
Australia	1821-1932	2,913,000
Cuba	1901-1931	857,000
South Africa	1881-1932	852,000
Chile	1882-1932	726,000*
Uruguay	1836-1932	713,000
New Zealand	1821-1931	594,000

* Incomplete series

Table 2. Worldwide immigrant arrivals to selected destinations (nineteenth and twentieth centuries). Source: A.E. Lattes, *Migraciones hacia América Latina y el Caribe desde principios del siglo XIX* (Buenos Aires: CENEP, 1985), cited in Samuel L. Baily and Eduardo J. Míguez, eds., *Mass Migration to Modern Latin America* (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 2003), xiv.

In the nineteenth century, because the Australian colonies were part of the British empire, the vast majority of immigrants arrived from Britain and Ireland. Non-British European migrants made up approximately 9 per cent of the white population by 1901. Within this last group, the most significant number of migrants moved from the north-western region of Europe – around 70,000 – with around 6,000 from southern Europe. This trend within the non-British European group reversed from 1890 to 1940, when migrants from the south were dominant, particularly from Italy and Greece.[32] In this section, the factors that stimulated migration and settlement to colonial Australia from non-British European countries will be examined.

The first fleet from English ports arrived in Australia in 1788 starting both the convict and free settlement to Australia. During the first forty years, convict settlement was dominant in New South Wales and Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania), with transportation of convicts in place until 1840 and 1853 respectively. Most of the convicts were natives of the British Isles, but a significant number – yet to be determined by further study – were born elsewhere and sentenced either in the United Kingdom or other parts of the British Empire.[33] For example, some Spanish convicts transported to Australia were tried in Gibraltar. After serving their term, most emancipated convicts stayed in Australia and worked as servants, labourers, retailers or small landowners becoming “first settlers”.

[32] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 9-10.

[33] Sue Ballyn, “The British Invasion of Australia. Convicts: Exile and Dislocation,” in *Lives in Migration: Rupture and Continuity*, ed. Martin Renes (Barcelona: Australian Studies Centre, University of Barcelona, Spain, 2010), 19-21, accessed 10 March 2019, http://www.ub.edu/dpfilsa/2ballyn.pdf.

Members of the army and administrative staff were also among the first settlers and they were eligible for grants of land. Officials received not only bigger holdings but also convict labourers and servants as a result of the convict assignment system.[34] One important group inside this military force were the Peninsular war veterans. They were demobilised after Napoleon's defeat and their useful military skills were appreciated in Australian penal colonies which were administered by the military.[35] Apart from military and government officials, the number of free migrants until 1830 was negligible.[36]

In the period between 1830 and 1850, free settlement was progressively increasing while the Australian territory under the British crown was extended. The Swan River settlement, in Western Australia, was founded in 1829; Port Phillip, in Victoria, in 1835; and Adelaide, in South Australia, in 1836.[37] The foundation of new colonies did not entail a rise in convict population, as these were not penal colonies during this period. Only Western Australia was constituted as a penal colony for a short time in the second half of the nineteenth century. During this twenty-year period, the number of transported convicts was exceeded by that of free migrants.[38]

Free settlers were in high demand as agricultural labourers, pastoralists and domestic servants. The problem was how to attract this labour force to the Australian colonies as, despite the job opportunities, the long distance and more expensive passage diminished its appeal in favour of the closer America. To overcome this obstacle, government-assisted migration schemes were in place in Great Britain and Ireland. The number of non-British and Irish European migrants in these early years of colonization was of very limited significance. In the second half of the nineteenth century, from 1861 to 1901 more than 400,000 assisted migrants reached Australia, about half of the total arrivals.[39] These schemes targeted British nationals and the assistance schemes to migrants from continental Europe were scarce and limited to northern Europeans. The most significant example of financial assistance provided to people from southern Europe was in 1891 when 340 agricultural labourers came from Italy to work in the Queensland sugar-cane

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34 Stuart Macintyre, *A Concise History of Australia* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 36.

35 Christine Wright, *Wellington's Men in Australia: Peninsular War Veterans and the Making of Empire c. 1820-40* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 4.

36 Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 14.

37 Lisa Ford and David Andrew Roberts, “Expansion, 1820-50,” in *The Cambridge History of Australia*, volume 1, eds. Alison Bashford and Stuart Macintyre (Port Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 137-140.

38 Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia*, 49, table 3.1(a).

39 Borrie, *The European Peopling of Australasia*, 130.

fields.[40] Therefore, Australian colonial financial assistance to migrate to Australia had no impact as an attraction factor for Spanish migrants in that period.

Nevertheless, in the second half of the nineteenth century, new circumstances acted as pull factors sufficient for some potential migrants from southern Europe to be willing to pay for an unassisted passage. The most potent and obvious attraction factor was the gold rushes, but other elements, such as the establishment of successful pioneers who started processes of chain migration as well as the improvement in shipping routes, played a significant role. In addition, job opportunities were also available in Australia and, although this element by itself was not powerful enough to compete with other destinations, its combination with the above-mentioned factors could be determinant for some potential migrants.

The discovery of gold turned Australia into a preferred destination for many Europeans in search of their fortune. The gold rush in Victoria, which started in 1851 and remained the most important group of goldfields in Australia, was followed by new discoveries in other colonies all around the country throughout the second half of the century. Thousands of gold seekers arrived in the Australian colonies and the non-Indigenous population trebled in only ten years after the first gold discovery.[41] Although the pre-gold rush balance between those from the United Kingdom and those from Europe was maintained, migration from southern Europe became observable for the first time.[42] Some early gold diggers had previously been sailors serving with British vessels who jumped ship when reaching Australia, such as the Greek Nicholas Megne or the Spanish Joseph M. Vasquez.[43] Others came directly from Europe in one of the many ships which sailed towards Port Phillip, mainly from British ports. Most of the gold miners were sojourners who planned to return to their countries after having amassed a fortune, but some of them stayed and turned to other occupations after the gold ran out.[44]

A few of these southern European settlers became the pioneers of chain migration from their home villages or towns in a process which progressively increased by the end of the nineteenth century and beyond. Pioneers who sent enthusiastic letters home or

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40 Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 8-9.

41 Macintyre, C*oncise History of Australia*, 86.

42 Charles Manning H. Clark, *A Short History of Australia* (London: Heinemann, 1963), 128.

43 Leonard Janiszewski and Effy Alexakis, "The "Golden Greeks" from "Diggers" to Settlers: Greek Migration and Settlement during the Australian Gold Rush Era, 1850s-1890s," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies (Australia and New Zealand)* (special issue, 2017), 161, accessed 27 June 2019, http://hdl.handle.net/2328/37397; Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia*, 44-46.

44 Inglis, *Australian Colonists*, 35.

visited from abroad played a potent role in promoting the migration of kin and friends, in many ways superior to migration agents. In fact, Price estimated that over the period between 1890 and 1940 only 7% of Mediterranean Europeans came to Australia outside a chain process.[45] However, there were differences in the scale of these migration chains: around 60% of them attracted less than five people – the nuclear family and one or two friends –, about 25% gave rise to small migration chains – between 5 and 20 individuals –, and only the remaining 15% produced large migration chains.[46] The case of the Catalonian Parer family, who settled in Melbourne in the late 1850s, falls into this last category.

Finally, other elements had an effect on migration such as the shipping routes and cost of the fares. In the case of Australia and the south of Europe, the "tyranny of distance" acted as a deterrent which was overcome in part by the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. In the Mediterranean, the number of boarding ports offering a route towards Australia was limited. The majority of ships were British, and most called at Naples and only a few at Gibraltar. French vessels heading towards New Caledonia left from Marseilles and called at some Australian ports. Finally, at the turn of the century, German liners started a route towards Australia which called at Genoa and Naples.[47]

In 1891 the estimated southern European population of Australia was 3,900 Italians, 1,000 Spanish, Portuguese and Southern French, 600 Greeks and 200 Maltese among other nationals from this part of Europe, that amounted to 6,000 altogether.[48] In the following chapters, the case of the Spanish migrants who chose Australia as their destination will be analysed.

[45] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 109.

[46] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 133.

[47] Gentilli, Stransky, and Iraci, *Italian Roots in Australian Soil*, 41-43.

[48] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 11.

Chapter Two. Migration and settlement

This chapter examines the 407 Spanish migrants identified in the records from nineteenth-century Australia. Most of them belong to one of these groups: convicts, monks based at the New Norcia Catholic mission in Western Australia, gold seekers, and Catalan people who settled in Australia following the pioneering Parer family. Therefore, this chapter has been divided into these four groups.

2.1 Early settlers and convicts

This first section is devoted to Spanish early settlers and convicts who were the first Spaniards to live in Australia after its settlement by the British. In this study I have considered as early settlers those Spaniards who arrived in the colonies before 1850 and did not head to the New Norcia mission in Western Australia (these migrants will be covered in the next section). Almost all the first Spanish settlers in Australia were convicts who remained in Australia after serving their term. Only two Spaniards migrated to Australia as free settlers before 1850, they were Juan Baptiste Lehimaz de Arrieta and Joseph Fogg. Apart from the free settler de Arrieta and the convict woman Adelaide de la Thoreza, whose lives were researched by some scholars, the rest of these Spanish early settlers and convicts have not yet been studied. To redress this gap, this section covers the life events of the first two Spanish settlers, and then explores the group of twenty-four Spanish convicts and the trajectory of three of them after conviction.

The first Spanish free settler in Australia is said to be Juan Baptiste Lehimaz de Arrieta, an ex-contractor to the British Commissariat during the Peninsular War against Napoleon, who arrived in Australia in 1821.[1] Demobilisation of British army after the defeat of Napoleon in 1815 drastically reduced the need for army personnel which forced them to look for different employment. Some Peninsular War veterans chose to start a career in colonial administration and relocated to New South Wales (hereinafter NSW).[2] In fact, three governors in this colony had served in the Iberian Peninsula, they were Sir Thomas Brisbane, Sir Ralph Darling and Sir Richard Bourke. De Arrieta was the only

[1] Judith Keene, "Surviving the Peninsular War in Australia: Juan de Arrieta - Spanish Free Settler and Colonial Gentleman," *JRAHS* 85, no. 1 (Jun 1999): 36-46, accessed 30 June 2019, https://link-gale-com.ezproxy.slv.vic.gov.au/apps/doc/A55805884/ITOF?u=slv&sid=ITOF&xid=1c222d10; Ballyn, "Jean Baptiste Lehimas de Arrieta," 42-50.

[2] Keene, "Juan de Arrieta," 37-38; Wright, *Wellington's men in Australia*.

Spaniard identified who migrated to Australia with the Peninsular War veterans and he was part of the colonial elite. De Arrieta was seen as an asset to the colony for his knowledge of viticulture and olive cultivation and shortly after his arrival in Sydney he was granted 2,000 acres of prime land at Camden Park, which he called Morton Park. The colonial government also provided him with the labour of six convicts, and one of them was the Spanish woman Adelaide de la Thoreza.[3] Despite the richness of the soil in Morton Park and the facilities provided by the colonial authorities, de Arrieta failed as a farmer. The most likely reasons for this failure are his lack of knowledge about cultivating wheat and tobacco – which were his main crops –, his erratic treatment of the convicts assigned to him as well as some external incidents, like fires or floods. De Arrieta had married Sophie Spearing in 1828 and they had two children, Louisa and Walter Lehimaz. After de Arrieta's death in 1838, Morton Park was sold by his heirs.[4] De Arrieta's lack of success resulted in a lost opportunity for the introduction of Spanish crops.

The other Spanish early free settler in Australia was Joseph Fogg, who arrived in Port Philip in 1838. In his naturalisation record he stated that he migrated from London on the *Grecian*.[5] He was born in Valencia (Spain) about 1813 and the circumstances of his move first to England and to the Australian colonies later remain obscure. Fogg is an English sounding name, which may be due to an anglicisation or he may have been born in Spain from a British father. His parentage may have been disputed or illegitimate, which would mean that he would need to apply for naturalisation. His year of birth coincides with the end of the Peninsular War and the exit of the British army from Spain. This might be related to his emigration to Great Britain but the evidence could not be found.[6] Between 1841 and 1846, he lived in Melbourne, were he married Eliza Bullan, and in 1847 the couple returned to Sydney.[7] They had three children: Jane, Joseph Henry and Mary Ann. As for his profession, when he became naturalised, he said he was an eating-house (restaurant) keeper, although from 1858 onwards he worked as a butcher in St.

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3 Keene, "Juan de Arrieta," 41.

4 Keene, "Juan de Arrieta," 44.

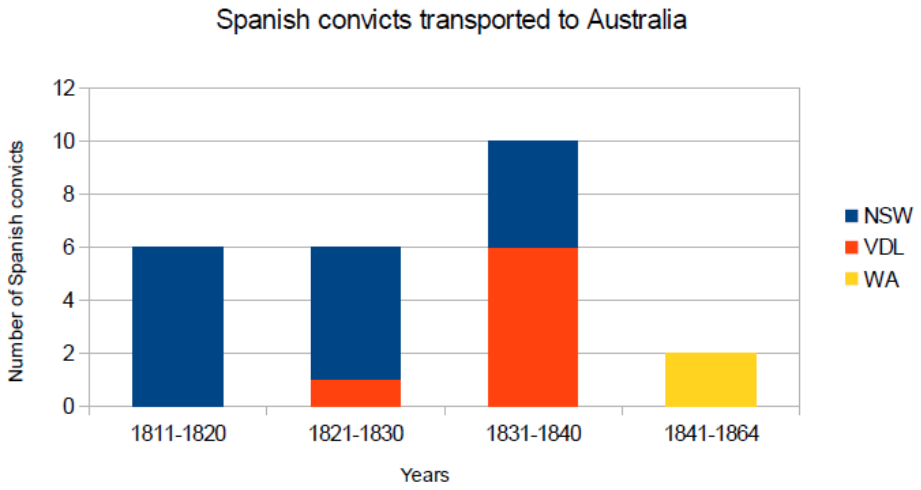
5 NSW State Archives (henceforth NSWSA), NRS 1042 Naturalisation Index 1834-1903, [4/1200] Joseph Fogg, 13 May 1854, p. 516, reel 129.

6 Demetrio Ramos Pérez, "Fases de la emigración española a América," *Anuario de Historia de América Latina* 13, no. 1 (1976), 155-156, accessed 2 July 2019, https://doi.org/10.7788/jbla-1976-0116; Manuel Valera Candel, "Actividad científica realizada por los liberales españoles exiliados en el Reino Unido, 1823-1833," *Asclepio, Revista de Historia de la Medicina y de la Ciencia* 59, no. 1 (Jan-Jun 2007), 131-166, accessed 14 December 2019, https://doi.org/10.3989/asclepio.2007.v59.i1.220.

7 NSW, Registry of Births, Deaths and Marriages (henceforth BDM), Marriage Index, reg. no. 4438/1841.

Leonards, North Shore (Sydney).[8] He was fined on some occasions for allowing his pigs to stray in public.[9] He died in 1872, when he was about 60 years old, from the accidental injuries caused "by a wheel of a cart passing on to him."[10]

De Arrieta and Fogg were the first Spanish free settlers in the Australian colonies, but not the first Spaniards to live in this continent. Spanish sailors Manuel Soto and Francisco Schea were tried in 1812 in Southampton, together with the Portuguese sailor Manuel Gomes, and were sentenced to transportation for life. They arrived in Australia on the ship *Fortune* on 11 June 1813.[11] There are 24 convicts in my database of Spanish settlers in nineteenth-century Australia, who were transported for offences committed within the British territories. All but one were men, and the one woman was Adelaide de la Thoreza. As for the place where they were sentenced, sixteen of them were tried in the United Kingdom, specifically in London (eight), and Middlesex (four). Outside Britain, four Spanish were sentenced in Gibraltar, three in Trinidad and one in Calcutta. Six Spanish arrived in Australian colonies between 1811 and 1820, another six between 1821 and 1830, ten between 1831 and 1840 and only two after 1841. These two last Spanish convicts were sent to Western Australia, but the majority of them served their sentences in New South Wales (see Figure 1).



8 *Sands Directories Sydney and New South Wales, Australia, Sydney Directory for 1858-9,* p. 60, http://cdn.cityofsydney.nsw.gov.au/learn/history/archives/sands/1858-1869/1858-1859-part1.pdf, accessed 19 February 2020.

9 "Water Police Court," *Sydney Morning Herald,* 18 May 1858: 3.

10 NSWSA, NRS 1783 Sydney City Coroner: Registers of Inquests and Inquiries, reel 1391, [2/768].

11 NSWSA, NRS 12188 Convict Indents, 1788-1842, [4/4004]. microfiche 634.

Figure 1. Spanish convicts transported to Australian colonies (1813 and 1864).

For the early convicts, a connection between the presence of the British in Spain during the Peninsular war and the sending of some Spanish convicts to Australia was sought. Between 1811 and 1815, there were 85 people who were tried by the British at their "Spain Court Martial" in Spain and sentenced to transportation to Australia.[12] Such a punishment was given to those who deserted repeatedly (not to the enemy) or who were convicted of habitual theft with no violence.[13] These convicts destined for Australia were picked up by six convict vessels that called at Spain on their way to Australia: four of them stopped at Isla de León (Cadiz, Andalusia) and the remaining two at Oiartzun (Guipuzka, Basque Country).[14] None of these convicts was Spanish, except for Antonio Martine, whose nationality could not be found.

The group of 24 Spanish convicts transported to the Australian colonies was not homogeneous, although some similarities can be traced. Almost half of them were seamen, and the rest had diverse occupations, ranging from unskilled type of jobs – three labourers, two servants, one bullock-driver, one housemaid and one soldier – to more skilled tradespeople – two tailors, one shoemaker, one merchant and one captain, although two Spaniards claimed to be soldiers as well as their main occupation. The origins of the Spanish convicts are also diverse: 20 were born in Spain, of whom seven did not specify in what city or region, four came from Andalusia, three from Murcia, two from Madrid, and four from other regions. Out of the current Spain borders, three were born in Spanish America (one in Cuba, one in Peru before independence, and one in Spanish Main) and another came from the Philippines (see Table 3).

[12] The National Archives of the UK (henceforth TNA), HO10 Home Office: Settlers and Convicts, New South Wales and Tasmania, pieces 1-4, 6-18, 28-30.

[13] Oman, Charles. *Wellington's Army 1809-1814* (reprint of the 1913 London edition, Project Gutenberg eBook, 2018), 237-238, accessed 9 July 2019, http://www.gutenberg.org/ebooks/56318.

[14] Convicts Records of Australia webpage, https://convictrecords.com.au/, accessed 30 September 2018.

	Seaman	Labourer	Military	Servant	Tailor	Bullock-driver	Housemaid	Merchant	Shoemaker	TOTAL
Spain	3	1	1	1				1		7
Andalusia	1		1		2					4
Baleares	1									1
Cantabria	1									1
Castilla y León		1				1				2
Extremadura										0
Madrid		1					1			2
Murcia	1	1							1	3
Cuba				1						1
Peru	1									1
Spanish Main	1									1
Philipines	1									1
TOTAL	10	4	2	2	2	1	1	1	1	24

Table 3. Spanish convicts transported to Australia by place of origin and trade (nineteenth century).

The offences they committed, and their sentences were also different. The offences range from fraud and stealing to stabbing and the sentences were established accordingly: eleven were sentenced to life transportation, seven to seven years transportation and four to fourteen years transportation. There was one convict sentenced to eight years and another sentenced to ten years.

Finally, the fate of these Spanish convicts and their lives as ex-convicts could only be traced in some cases. In the group sentenced to seven years, three obtained a certificate of freedom and three more a ticket of leave, the remaining case could not be found. As for the men sentenced to eight and ten years, the former died before the end of the service and the later obtained a certificate of freedom. In the group of four sentenced to fourteen years, two obtained conditional pardons, one escaped and the remaining one could not be found in the records. Finally, of the group of eleven sentenced to life, two

obtained conditional pardons, two more got a ticket of leave, one died while convicted and the remaining six outcomes could not be found.

These Spanish people also had different experiences as convicts. Joachim Sevilla, a merchant convicted in London in 1856 and sentenced to fourteen years transportation for possession of felonious documents had a family back in Spain and escaped from Fremantle in 1862 after having paid a large sum of money to the Captain and also to the boat's crew of the *Mary Harrison*.[15] The fact that there is no more information about him in the sources might indicate that he succeed. Joseph San Martin, a captain tried in London for stealing nine £5 notes, was sentenced to life transportation in 1836.[16] While serving at Port Macquarie, he was severely stabbed by another prisoner who was considered "a lunatic".[17] In the trial, it is not indicated whether San Martin had recovered from his injuries, and the sources do not provide more data on him.[18] Finally, another convict, Gregorio Guinea of Burgos, transported for life to Van Diemen's Land (hereinafter VDL) in 1835 for cutting and maiming a man with a knife, absconded twice while serving his master.19 Again, the lack of data does not allow to know more details about his life.

Life after conviction meant a big change and adjustment in these convicts' lives, and they were more likely to be charged and convicted again.[20] This was the case of two Spanish emancipists. They were Philip Narboy, a sailmaker initially sentenced to seven years, who absconded from his master in Hobart Town and was confined for another month;[21] and John Connor, a mariner from Menorca, who served seven years, and on his release committed larceny and was sentenced to another seven years period.[22]

Some other ex-convicts had to change their occupation and earn a living in a different way. For example, Manuel López, a vineyard labourer from Madrid, served his fourteen years period in New South Wales and became a shepherd, working for many years in the Queanbeyan district. He became ill and died in gaol aged 76, having just been

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15 James Hugh Donohoe, *The Forgotten Australians. The non-Anglo or Celtic Convicts and Exiles* (North Sydney: J.H. Donohoe, 1991), 102-103; and "General Intelligence," *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 15 August 1862: 2.

16 "Trial by Jury," *Colonial Times*, 1 March 1836: 5; and NSWSA, NRS 12189 Convict Indents, 1788-1842, [X639], microfiche 721.

17 "Law Intelligence Supreme Court, Sydney," *Sydney Herald,* 12 October 1841: 2.

18 There is evidence that a J. S. Martin was living in Hobart in 1849, but it cannot be confirmed if he is the same person. "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 24 November 1849: 8 (afternoon).

19 Tasmanian Archives, TA151 Colonial Secretary's Office, CSO1 General Correspondence, CSO1/1/814, p. 87.

20 Robert Hughes, *The Fatal Shore* (London: Collins Harvill, 1987), 588.

21 "Hobart-town," *Hobart Town Gazette and Van Diemen's Land Advertiser,* 22 March 1823: 2.

22 NSWSA, NRS 12210 Butts of *Certificates of Freedom*, *1827-1867, 9 October 1837*.

sentenced to fourteen days imprisonment under the Vagrancy Act.[23] Another Spanish ex-convict, John Perez de Castanos, was a labourer from Cartagena (Murcia) sentenced to fourteen years and transported to Van Diemen's Land in 1836. He married and settled in Hobart, where he worked as a teacher of languages and guitar. He advertised his private lessons at home as the Polyglot Academy offering tuition of the French, Italian and Spanish languages, “according to Ferrari's comparative method (Hamiltonian).”[24]

Other convicts continued to work in the same occupation that they had before their imprisonment. For example, the Cuban Isaac Brown was a servant convicted for seven years for fraud. After serving his term in VDL, there is some evidence that he worked for different masters as a servant.[25] Being a man of colour probably did not give him many opportunities in the colonial society. Furthermore, particularly in VDL, most emancipists were usually discriminated against by the free population.[26] With regard to the seamen, there is no information about their profession in Australia after their conviction, which suggests that they might have gone back to sea and left Australia.

There are three Spanish convicts whose lives in Australia were more visible. They were the housemaid Adelaide de la Thoreza, the shoemaker Jose de Torres and the tailor John Mariano Munoz. The former has been the subject of modern historical research, while the two latter struggled to fit into the host society after serving their terms and tried to make a living out of their professions. Their trajectories will be looked in more detail below.

Adelaide de la Thoreza was a Spanish convict whose life has been extensively researched by Susan Ballyn and Lucy Frost.[27] This Spanish woman was born in Madrid but lived in London when she was imprisoned for stealing some sheets and sentenced to 7 years transportation to the colony of New South Wales. After serving her term, she settled in that colony where she married and had children. De la Thoreza’s life would have remained unnoticed if it had not been unveiled by a clergyman, Rev. James

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[23] "Extraordinary Discovery of Human Remains," *Mercury,* 5 July 1875: 3; and "Death in the Jail," *Queanbeyan Age,* 17 May 1876: 2.

[24] "Advertising," *Colonial Times,* 29 May 1846: 1.

[25] "Commercial and Markets," *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser,* 13 February 1847: 2.

[26] Hughes, *The Fatal Shore*, 593.

[27] Cameron, *Adelaide de la Thoreza*; Susan Ballyn and Lucy Frost, “A Spanish Convict, her Clergyman Biographer, and the Amanuensis of her Bastard Son,” in *Chain letters. Narrating convict lives*, eds. Lucy Frost and H. J. Maxwell-Stewart (Carlton South, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 2001), 91-104; Frost, “Una convicta española,” in *From the Edges of Empire*; Susan Ballyn and Lucy Frost, *Who was Adelaide de la Thoreza? A Spanish Convict in Colonial Australia (1808-1877)* (Barcelona: Edicions + Bernat, 2018).

Cameron, who knew her in her old age and published her biography in 1878, soon after her death. In his account he said that she had aristocratic origins and belonged to a liberal family who fell into "disgrace" after the Spanish "Trienio Liberal" (a period of three years of liberal rule) and the restoration of the absolute king Ferdinand VII into his throne thanks to the intervention of the "Holy Alliance" in 1823. She was supposed to have become an orphan and ended up moving to London and living with a wealthy lady. She was victim of a conspiracy plotted by a jealous woman for the love of a man and was finally falsely indicted and sentenced to transportation.

This romantic and highly improbable story sparked the interest of researchers who wanted to discover what was true in her story and whether it was her invention or Cameron's, as he had waited until after her death before publishing her biography. The evidence shows that Adelaide was a servant at the house of Martha Davies, a dressmaker, in London and that she was indicted for stealing six sheets from her mistress in 1829. She was found guilty and transported for seven years to New South Wales, where she arrived on board of the *Lucy Davidson*. She was assigned to the Spaniard Juan Baptiste de Arrieta, possibly a large contractor to the British Army during the Peninsular War, who was granted prime land at Camden Park.[28] Adelaide became pregnant only ten months after starting at De Arrieta's property. He returned her to the Female Factory at Parramatta where her son, Alfred Smith, was born. Adelaide claimed that the father was a fellow servant who drowned shortly afterwards, but Ballyn and Frost speculate that the real father was De Arrieta.[29] Adelaide had her son baptised at St John's Church of England, Parramatta, stating that Alfred was the son of Adelaide De Theorisa and John Smith. Shortly after this she relinquished him to George and Ann James.[30]

Some years later, in 1836, after serving her term, Adelaide married the ex-convict John Masters. They settled in Richmond, opened a small confectionery shop and had two children, Adelaide and Thomas. They moved to Windsor, where John Masters worked as a painter and eventually left his family. Some years later, Adelaide's illegitimate son, Alfred Smith, as an old man, gave an extensive account of the life at Richmond in his time, which was published by the *Windsor and Richmond Gazette* as a series called "Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite, Mr. Alfred Smith". In this story, he said that he knew that Mrs Masters was his real mother, and that he was presented to her

[28] Keene, "Juan de Arrieta," 41.

[29] Ballyn,and Frost, "A Spanish Convict," in Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters*, 101.

[30] Ballyn,and Frost, "A Spanish Convict," in Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters*, 103.

once. Although Adelaide did not seem to have much contact with her eldest son, she managed to live near him and eventually, her two sons, Alfred and Tom, worked together. One of Alfred's daughters was named Adelaide.[31]

Alfred's account also made some reference to another Spaniard, Mr Menease, who was his godfather.[32] Mr Menease left Richmond after losing his crop and moved to Prospect, where he had a vineyard belonging to his wife's father, Mr Stranger.[33] Following this scarce data, further research has shown that Mr Menease was Portuguese-born Christopher Moniz. He married Keziah Stranger in 1831 in Hexham, Newcastle (NSW) and they lived in Richmond, where he ran the *Welcome Inn* in 1837, and in Prospect, where he was granted a license to retail liquors at the *Madeira Inn*.[34] According to Smith, the name Moniz had been corrupted and changed into Menease. Although Moniz's nationality could not be found in any official document, he was said to be a Portuguese man who kept a public house in 1840 when a man called William Steward tried to defraud him.[35] Furthermore, two of the three public houses he kept, in Prospect (1839) and in Parramatta (1844), were called Madeira Inn, which gives some validity to the story.[36] From Adelaide's story two facts become apparent: first, her biography by Cameron shows an invented identity in her life before transportation which was common among ex-convicts;[37] and her real life in Australia is an example of the difficulties that an alien convict woman had to address in Australia. Her story will be further analysed in Chapter Three, in the section on women's identity.

A Spanish convict who succeeded in settling in Australia was Jose de Torres. He was tried at Gibraltar Criminal Session on 17 May 1831 for highway robbery of a watch and was sentenced for life.[38] He was sent to Tasmania on the ship *Lord William Bentick* arriving in 1832. In his convict file it is said that he was 21 years old, a shoemaker, and born in Alamazoron, Spain.[39] Alamazoron does not exist, and it is highly likely that he

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31 Ballyn,and Frost, "A Spanish Convict," in Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters*, 91-104.

32 Ballyn,and Frost, "A Spanish Convict," in Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters*, 101.

33 "Some Ups and Downs of an Old Richmondite, Mr Alfred Smith," *Windsor and Richmond Gazette,* 6 August 1910: 14.

34 NSWSA, NRS *14401 Publicans' Licences Index 1830-1861, [4/68],* reel *5053, licence 94, 30 June 1837; and* NSWSA, NRS *14401, [4/70], reel 5055, licence 150, 17 June 1839.*

35 "Supreme Court — (Criminal Side)," *Australian*, 3 November 1840: 3.

36 NSWSA, NRS *14401, [7/1501], reel 1236, licence 329, 28 June 1841.*

37 Ballyn, "Convicts: Exile and Dislocation," in Renes, *Lives in Migration*, 22.

38 Tasmanian Archives, CSO1/1/610, p. 13913.

39 Tasmanian Archives, TA60 Convict Department, CON84 Northern Tasmania – Alphabetical Register of the Appropriation of Convicts in the North, 1833-1835, CON84/1/1.

was from Almazarron, a town in Murcia. Corruption in names are frequent and this was a clear example. On his convict file he is named as Jose de “Tarres”, and when he married Margaret Galvin in 1844, his surname appears as De-Torres.[40] Shortly after, on his children’s birth records, his surname had changed to Detores and would remain like that.[41] Although sentenced for life and serving his sentence at Port Arthur, de Torres was granted conditional pardon in 1849.[42] By that time, he had already married Margaret Galvin at the Catholic church of St. Joseph in Launceston.[43] They had six children, two of whom died at a young age.[44] He was also running an establishment as a shoemaker, which was located on Elizabeth St in Launceston.[45] He was even employing apprentices, although he had many problems with them, such as absconding from work and robberies.[46] Troublesome employees were probably all he could obtain from the scarce labour market, as the gold rush had attracted many workers towards the goldfields. In fact, in 1852 he was obliged to give up his business as boot and shoe maker.[47] Instead, he started a new enterprise as hotel keeper of the *Exchange Wine Vaults Inn*, changing its name into *Gold Digger's Return*.[48] Despite being “the focus of attraction for Christy's bats, and the greasy-pole” at Christmas in 1852, this new business only lasted a year.[49] He returned to his shoemaker business in 1853. The reason given was that he wanted to “retire from the public line.”[50] De Torres reopened his establishment as shoemaker and put many ads in the local press to give notice of this fact.[51] But he did not succeed and in a short time, in 1855, he became insolvent.[52] He needed to sell all that he had to clear his debts, so he sold a weatherboard cottage, ten allotments of land and his shop.[53] De

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40 Tasmanian Archives, TA85 Registrar – General’s Department, RGD37 Registers of Marriages in all Districts, RGD37/1/3, no. 949, 1844.

41 Tasmanian Archives, TA85 Registrar – General’s Department, RGD33 Registers of Births in Hobart, Launceston and Country Districts, RGD33/1/23, no. 741, 1845.

42 TNA, HO10/51 List of Convicts, 1841; and TNA, HO10/40 Ledger Returns Tasmania, 1849.

43 Tasmanian Archives, RGD37/1/3, no. 949, 1844.

44 Tasmanian Archives, RGD33/1/23; and Tasmanian Archives, TA85 Registrar – General’s Department, RGD35 Registers of Deaths in Hobart, Launceston and Country Districts, RGD35/1/22.

45 "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 13 August 1851: 2 (afternoon).

46 For example: "Police," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 21 January 1852: 44; and "Local," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 9 June 1852: 364.

47 "Advertising," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 23 June 1852: 498.

48 "Licensing meeting," *Launceston Examiner,* 8 September 1852: 5 (afternoon).

49 "Local Intelligence," *Cornwall Chronicle,* December 29, 1852: 879.

50 "Advertising," *Cornwall Chronicle, 23* March 1853: 233.

51 "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 14 October 1854: 3 (afternoon).

52 " Local Intelligence," *People's Advocate or True Friend of Tasmania,* 9 August 1855: 2.

53 "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 23 December 1854: 3 (afternoon). "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 1 September 1855: 6 (afternoon); and "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 11 August 1855: 6 (afternoon).

Torres and his family then left Launceston in December 1855 and headed to Sydney.[54] Afterwards, there is no trace of him until his death in Forbes (NSW), in 1876.[55]

De Torres life is quite unusual, because after being a convict, he achieved a respectable position as a shoemaker and an elector in Launceston.[56] From this comfortable position, he quickly fell into disgrace and had to sell all his possessions. Too many expenses and high credit may be the cause for his quick insolvency. There is also an episode that might have affected his public reputation and his business. Early in 1854, two people were brutally killed in Launceston, one of whom was the Spanish former convict Jose Labrador, who had been granted a conditional pardon in 1852.[57] The two men were found dead with their throats cut in a paddock. The Spaniard had his hands tied behind him.[58] De Torres advertised a £20 reward in the *Cornwall Chronicle* to any person who may lead the perpetrator to conviction. He also insinuated that the cowardly murderer might have been an English man.[59] This comment led to acrimony and an Englishman complained to the editor of the newspaper and suggested that De Torres was trying to use the reward as a shield for a Spaniard who had been seen gambling with the murdered and who had disappeared.[60] The editor apologized for the publication of De Torres words and added: “By what Authority, we ask Mr Detores, does he presume to charge the most cruel and cold blooded murders ever committed in this country upon an Englishman?”[61] The case remained unsolved despite the £100 reward offered by the police and the £400 reward offered through a subscription raised by the inhabitants of Launceston.[62] Although we cannot be sure how this episode influenced Detores’ disgrace and his quick departure to Sydney, it is a good example of the potential for discrimination based on ethnicity in this period.

John Mariano Munoz, of Malaga, was sentenced to seven years gaol in Gibraltar Criminal Session in December 1834 and transported to New South Wales on the ship

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54 NSWSA, NRS 13278 Inward Passenger Lists, 1854-1922, [X93] reel 402, accessed 18 March 2019, http://marinersandships.com.au/search.htm.

55 NSW, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 6021/1876.

56 "Municipal Election," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 15 February 1854: 3.

57 Tasmanian Archives, TA60 Convict Department, CON31 Conduct Registers of Male Convicts arriving in the Period of the Assignment System, 1803-1843, CON31/1/28, no. 538; and Tasmanian Archives, TA60 Convict Department, CON56 Registers of Conditional Pardons issued, 1842-1856, CON56/1/2, no. 1096.

58 "Local Intelligence," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 25 February 1854: 4.

59 "Advertising," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 25 February 1854: 4.

60 "To the Editor of the Cornwall Chronicle," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 4 March 1854: 4.

61 "Local intelligence," *Cornwall Chronicle,* 1 March 1854: 4.

62 "Reward!" *Cornwall Chronicle,* 11 March 1854: 4.

Norfolk, arriving in February 1837.[63] The cause of his conviction was “aiding and assisting”, although the details and circumstances of his case remain unknown. Information on his convict indent stated that he was a tailor, aged 22, born in “Mallacca” and single. It also specifies that he practised the Roman Catholic religion and was able to read and write in Spanish. A physical description is also given: ruddy complexion, brown hair and dark grey eyes, with a small scar on his forehead and a burnt scar at the back of his right hand.[64] He was released in 1842 after serving his sentence, although the exact place where he served it could not be found.[65] After being released, he settled in Goulburn (NSW) where he lived until his death in 1880. Throughout this period, from 1842 to 1880, the amount of data available about his actions and experiences show his determination to earn a living in a respectable manner and to fit in the Australian society. This long period of almost 40 years could be divided into three stages: the first one from 1842 to 1856, showed he was dedicated to forming a family, earning a living as a tailor and purchasing some land;[66] during the second period, from 1857 to 1866, Munoz initiated an intense public life, participating in horse races, social events and political meetings;[67] finally, from 1867 to his death in 1880, he left some of the activities to focus on political matters and social events.[68]

From this research into the early Spanish settlers and convicts in Australia some conclusions can be drawn. To begin with, the first Spaniards to arrive in Australia were convicts sentenced to transportation mainly in Great Britain but also in Gibraltar. Most of these convicts had been seamen, but there were also other professionals. After serving their term, many of these ex-convicts remained in Australia, although the lack of data about some seamen suggests that they might have enrolled in other vessels and left Australia. Despite the scarce data, there is valuable information on some Spanish emancipated convicts in Australia which illustrates the difficulties that ex-convicts faced as well as the decisions they made to fit into the host society. Finally, regarding the early free Spanish settlers, the fact that only two were found in the sources and that they came from Britain indicates the lack of any flow of migrants from Spain until the establishment of the New Norcia mission.

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63 TNA, HO11 Home Office: Convict Transportation Registers, HO11/10/391 Convicts transported, p. 403.

64 NSWSA, NRS 12188, *[3/6398]*, microfiche: *731*.

65 NSWSA, NRS 12188, *[3/6398]*, microfiche: *731*.

66 As an example of his business: "Advertising," *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, *5* May 1855: 3.

67 For example: "Mummell Races," *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 17 March 1858: 2.

68 For instance: "Election of Alderman," *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle*, 6 March 1869: 4.

2.2 New Norcia

The phenomenon of migration has long been addressed from many scholarly fields and perspectives, including that of religion. In the Protestant English sphere, the role of religion in migration has mainly focused on the different Protestant branches and the evangelical communities founded during the Great Awakenings in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Advocates of these religious groups left Europe destined for English-speaking areas where they aimed to find a space for the construction and expansion of their religious identity. In this context, examples could be found in the Lutherans from Prussia or the German-based Moravian Church, both established in South Australia in the nineteenth century.[69]

In this intersection between religion and migration, missionary histories have only recently been included in migration history. This area of research has been approached from different disciplines, like history, sociology or theology, applying different lenses to the binary "Mission and Migration". The sociological point of view adds concepts like faith and religion to aspects such as identity and transnational networks, whereas the historical lens focuses on the processes and changing patterns in the missionary field.[70] As the object of this research – Spaniards in colonial Australia – is based on ethnicity and not on religion, the sociological perspective will prevail.

The New Norcia mission in Western Australia is the only case of religious migration to colonial Australia by Spaniards. Founded by the Benedictine monks Rosendo Salvado and Joseph Serra, its success in converting Aboriginal Australians has attracted scholarly attention. Research into Salvado's life, mission and legacy in New Norcia has been published in numerous monographs and collective works on both sides of the world.[71] Nevertheless, in the context of missionary migration, there is still potential for further study and this research aims to establish the strength of this mission as a pull factor for Spaniards in comparison with other factors of attraction.

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[69] Felicity Jensz, "Religious Migration and Political Upheaval: German Moravians at Bethel in South Australia, 1851-1907," *Australian Journal of Politics and History* 56, no. 3 (2010): 351, accessed 2 August 2019, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8497.2010.01558.x.

[70] Kari Storstein Haug, "Migration in Missiological Research," *International Review of Mission* 107, no. 1 (Jun 2018): 279-284, accessed 8 August 2019, https://doi.org/10.1111/irom.12222.

[71] Salvado, *The Salvado Memoirs.* Russo; *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness*. This book is an essential reference for posterior studies, despite some mistakes in the Spanish history context. Linage, *Rosendo Salvado.* Lorenzo Modia and Boland Osegueda, *Australia and Galicia*; Bérengier, *New Norcia*.

Founded in 1846, the New Norcia mission hosted the biggest community of Spaniards on Australian soil in the colonial period. Despite their humble beginnings, with the Spanish monks Salvado and Serra starting the mission, at the end of the nineteenth century it was a flourishing community that has managed to attract 193 Spaniards to Western Australia. This amount exceeds the number of Spaniards who migrated to Victoria in the only case of chain migration found in the colonial period. There are differences though as a number of the New Norcia Spanish men either returned to Spain or left for other missions from Australia. Factors explaining this migration success and its characteristics will be explored below.

Year of arrival	No. of Spaniards at New Norcia	No. of Spaniards who remained in Australia
1849	31	8
1853	40	12
1855	3	2
1856	3	Not known
1869	32	31
1885	3	2
Total	193	57

Table 4. Number of Spaniards who migrated to the New Norcia mission (nineteenth century) and number of those who remained in Australia. Compiled from data in Bérenguier, *New Norcia*.

As stated above, Rosendo Salvado arrived in the colony of Western Australia together with Joseph Serra in 1846, where they founded the New Norcia Mission.[72] The promoter of this enterprise, the Irish-born Catholic bishop of Perth, John Brady, had previously gone to Rome to recruit Catholic monks and priests for his recently created episcopal see and for his projected missions.[73] At the same time, the Spanish monks Salvado and Serra had written to the Secretary of the Propagation of the Faith and offered themselves as missionaries in any part of the world. They were immediately allocated to Western Australia and sent to Bishop Brady.[74] Therefore, it could be said that the foundation of

[72] Clark, *Beginning of Australian Civilization*, vol. 3 of *A History of Australia,* 356-358.

[73] Patrick O'Farrell, *The Catholic Church in Australia. A Short History: 1788-1967* (London: Geoffrey Chapman, 1969), 64.

[74] Bérengier, *New Norcia*, 47.

New Norcia by these two Spanish monks was fortuitous.

A key factor in the success of the New Norcia mission was Salvado's determination to continue his missionary task and his personal charisma. After overcoming many hardships, New Norcia was built up and remained as the only self-supported mission in Western Australia. This was achieved thanks to his organizational skills and his efforts in communicating with the Aboriginal people and in understanding their culture, which was quite unusual at that time. Salvado also used his growing popularity in Europe, fostered by the publication of his *Memorie storiche* (Historical memoirs) about Australia, to raise funds and recruit religious people for his mission.[75] In 1869, only 23 years after its foundation, there were 72 monks living in New Norcia abbey and all of them were Spaniards.[76] His fame also led the Holy See to offer him diverse ecclesiastical posts, such as bishoprics in Puerto Rico or in Perth, but he rejected the proposals and remained committed to his New Norcia mission. In conclusion, Mgr. Salvado can be considered as a successful pioneer in the missionary field in Australia.

In the light of this data, some parallels between this missionary migration and chain migration can be traced. According to Price in his study of southern European migration to Australia, fortuitous circumstances and the figure of a successful pioneer are key factors in chain migration, and more than 90% of Australia's southern Europeans arrived through chain migration before the First World War.[77] In the New Norcia case, Salvado's pioneering figure was followed not only by his family and kin but also by his brothers in faith, which multiplied the possibilities.[78] In addition, in New Norcia, essentials such as accommodation and provision were also covered. Finally, religious identity and vocation were added to the shared ethnicity and cultural values in this transnational context.

On the other hand, given the nature of the Benedictine mission as an institution, supported by the higher ecclesiastic hierarchy, the missionaries' migration can be also considered a form of sponsored migration, although by a religious institution. Salvado's efforts to bring along missionaries from Europe, especially from Spain and Italy, had been accompanied by the search of financial resources. A large quantity of the money raised

[75] Bérengier, *New Norcia*, 94-95.

[76] Bérengier, *New Norcia*, 115.

[77] Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 278.

[78] Mgr. Rosendo Salvado's brother, Fr. Santos Salvado, migrated to New Norcia in 1869. Bérengier, *New Norcia*, 25.

was used to buy land and construct buildings in the mission, but also some money was allocated to the missionaries' passage to Australia. The Counsel of Propagation of the Faith, in Rome and in Lyon, was an important financial source, which raised funds from other religious institutions or from private generosity. For example, in 1849, the Spanish ambassador to the Holy See, with the consent of Queen Isabella II, granted the missionaries for New Norcia free passage to Australia in the Spanish war ship *La Ferrolana*.[79]

Finally, in this characterization of the Spanish religious migration to Australia the vocational and missionary aspects cannot be overlooked. Spain had long held the leadership of Catholic missions in America and in the Philippines between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. In the 1800s, the advance of liberalism resulted in the confiscation and sale of church properties in Spain including abbeys and monasteries that were then closed. This fact did not remove the missionary tradition among the Spanish religious orders. Many monks moved to monasteries belonging to their orders in Italy or France, as did Salvado and Serra, who moved to La Cava, in Naples. On the other hand, the expansion of the colonial world towards Asia and Africa provided new territories for missionaries under the leadership of the Holy See, so that the Catholic church and the missionary spirit remained alive and continued throughout the century.

2.3 Gold seekers

In the first half of the nineteenth century small amounts of gold were found in the Australian colonies by lone shepherds working the pastural properties. However, it was not until 1851 that the first rush started when alluvial gold was discovered in Victoria.[80] The first gold diggers arrived at the gold fields from the same colony or from the adjoining ones and in the next ten years approximately 584,000 people from all parts of the globe headed to Victoria in search of their fortune.[81] In Europe, news about the discovery of

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[79] Bérengier, *New Norcia*, 91. The group of missionaries who arrived in Australia on the ship *La Ferrolana* numbered thirty-nine, distributed as follows: priests: one Irish, one Italian and five Spanish; lay-brothers: seven Italian and twenty-four Spanish. The last person was Dom Serra, co-founder of the New Norcia Mission. Roman Rios, and Peter Hocking, eds., *History of the Benedictine Mission and Abbey 'Nullius' of New Norcia* (Reservoir, VIC: Morning Star Publishing, 2017), 75.

[80] Geoffrey Blainey, *The Rush that Never Ended: A History of Australian Mining* (Parkville, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 1963), 20.

[81] Richard Broome, *The Victorians. Arriving* (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme & Weldon Associates, 1984), 72.

gold in Victoria first arrived at the beginning of 1852.[82] In the following months, subsequent news about the richness of these fields generated a gold rush that had different responses from each European nation. In this chapter we shall examine the case of the Spanish miners who joined the Australia gold rushes.

The information about the discovery of gold in Victoria reached the Spanish press early in the year 1852. The newspaper *El Áncora* of Barcelona published an article on 23 January 1852 about the riches to be found in the gold diggings at Ballarat. The source of this piece of news was a series of letters from Melbourne dated 6 October 1851, that had arrived in Barcelona via Mumbai. This newspaper reported that gold had been found in Buninyong near Ballarat, and that gold there was more abundant than in Sydney and California. It also repeated the extraordinary gold discoveries of some who had become rich in a few days and how this affected towns and cities in the Australian colonies, such as Sydney, which became deserted as people were heading to the mines.[83]

Among those who first arrived at the diggings were some Spaniards who were already living in the Australian colonies when the gold rush started. John Mariano Munoz, for example was an ex-convict who had settled in Goulburn (NSW) and was earning a living as a tailor. In the early 1850s, the gold rush affected Goulburn and its inhabitants, and as the *Herald* wrote in 1851:

> The once busy bustling town of Goulburn is now reduced to a hitherto unknown state of quietness. Shops are lacking customers, some are closed, men are scarce, husbands have left wives, servants quitted their employment…[84]

Following this gold fever, by 1852 Munoz had left Goulburn and gone to the Victoria diggings. We do not know whether he found gold, but he started buying some land in 1854, and by the following year he had bought one acre of land and some horses, so it is reasonable to assume that he had success on the gold fields.[85]

Other ex-convicts who went to the gold fields were Joseph Romero and Joseph de Torres. Romero was sentenced to ten years transportation in Trinidad, in the southern Caribbean, in 1835 and served his sentence in Tasmania. In 1852, he sent six ounces of

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[82] Blainey, *History of Australian Mining*, 37.

[83] *El Áncora* (Barcelona), 23 January 1852: 11, Hemeroteca Digital.

[84] Cited in Ransome T. Wyatt, *The history of Goulburn, N.S.W*. Goulburn (NSW: The municipality of Goulburn, 1941), 114.

[85] NSWSA, AGY-1773 Surveyor General [1], NRS 13844 Indexes to Registers of Land Purchases, 1856-1870, roll 1725.

gold from Mount Alexander where he was living to his wife, Maria Romero, who lived in Adelaide.[86] Joseph de Torres, after serving his sentence in Tasmania, established himself as a bootmaker in Launceston by 1850.[87] Two years later, he issued a notice in the local newspaper informing readers that "he is obliged to give up his business, on account of the great difficulty of executing orders, arising from the scarcity in the labour market; and also wishes to inform his friends and the public that he has taken the *Exchange Wine Vaults*.[88] This establishment was an inn in Launceston and when he took over the license he changed the name to *Gold Digger's Return*, probably wishing to attract the gold seekers who came back from the diggings.[89] De Torres did not head to the Victorian rushes as many did, but remained in Launceston until 1855, when he moved to Sydney with his wife and their three children.[90] In 1863, his son James died in the town of Forbes (NSW), where gold had been discovered two years before, so De Torres might have moved there with his family.[91] This time we could not find whether he preferred the more certain wealth to be made from catering for the miners, as he had done in 1852, or devoted himself to mining.

While there were certainly Spaniards living in Australia who profited from the gold fields, few Spanish people migrated specifically for gold. This is worth investigating, because news of the gold rushes was widespread in Spain. The press in Spain echoed the news about the Australian diggings that appeared on the British newspapers, like the *Morning Herald* or *The Times*. By mid-1852, *La Gaceta de Madrid*, which was the official gazette in Spain, reported that news had arrived from Great Britain about the amount of gold that had arrived from Australia. This newspaper had a wide circulation and official status. In 1837 by Royal Decree, it was decided that it would be issued daily and that it would be the official mode of communication of the Government, so all the legislation would come into force after having been issued at *La Gaceta*.[92] In the context of the first Carlist war in Spain (1833-1840), between supporters of Queen Isabella II and supporters of her uncle Carlos, the crown decided to promote the circulation of *La Gaceta* in all the Spanish

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86 "Arrival in Adelaide of the First Gold Escort Direct from Mount Alexander," *South Australian Register,* 20 March 1852: 3. It could not be confirmed if Maria Romero was Spanish born.

87 "Advertising," *Launceston Examiner,* 13 August 1851: 2.

88 "Advertising," *Cornwall Chronicle (Launceston),* 23 June 1852: 498.

89 "Licensing Meeting," *Launceston Examiner,* 8 September 1852: 5.

90 NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X93] reel 402.

91 NSW, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 4358/1863.

92 Sara Núñez de Prado, "De la Gaceta de Madrid al Boletín Oficial del Estado," *Historia y Comunicación Social* 7 (2002): 154, accessed 23 August 2019, https://revistas.ucm.es/index.php/HICS/article/view/HICS0202110147A.

provinces and sold the rights by auction, so they could spread the news that was in the royal interest. In a period where only the main cities had newspapers, this meant the creation of the first journal in many Spanish provinces. Furthermore, it was compulsory for all the towns to subscribe to *La Gaceta*.[93] So when *La Gaceta* wrote that "none of our readers ignored the great wealth extracted from this British Eldorado…" this meant that the news of the gold rushes was spread throughout Spain.[94] By mid-1850s all provinces had a Gazette where the news about gold was published.

During the first half of 1852, when news about the gold in Victoria arrived in Europe, all the leading Spanish newspapers as well as *La Gaceta*, included this news. In Madrid, for example, the news appeared in *La España*, *El Heraldo*, *El Diario Español*, *La Ilustración*, *La Esperanza*, *La Época*, or *La Nación*. In Barcelona, news about the gold in Australia was issued by *El Sol*, *El Áncora*, and *La Actualidad*. Press in other regions repeated this information, such as *Diario de Palma* (in Palma de Mallorca, Balearic Islands), *La Revista Salmantina* (Salamanca, Old Castile) or *El Faro de Vigo* (Pontevedra, Galicia).[95] Even thematic journals, such as *La Revista Semanal de Agricultura*, informed their readers about the decline in Australian grazing because shepherds were leaving their post to move to the mining districts.[96]

Despite the reporting of endless wealth to be found on the Australian gold fields in Spanish newspapers, there were only ever a handful of Spaniards heading to Australia in search of gold. This was also the case with the gold rush in California, where the number of Spaniards and Portuguese migrating to the United States in that period was "insignificant."[97] Why did Spaniards decide not to search for their fortune on the Australian gold fields as other Southern Europeans had done? The main reason might be the lack of direct connection between Spain and the Australian colonies. None of the vessels heading for Australia stopped at any Spanish port. The Peninsular & Oriental Steam Navigation Company won a contract for a regular service between London, Spain and Portugal in 1837. In the 1840s, they secured new contracts to connect Great Britain to Egypt and India. This last line was extended to Australia in 1852, linking Singapore

93 Núñez de Prado, "Gaceta de Madrid," 154-159.

94 *La Gaceta de Madrid*, 12 Feb 1853: 3, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica.

95 All these newspapers can be accessed online on Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica, by MInisterio de Cultura y Deporte (website: https://prensahistorica.mcu.es/es/inicio/inicio.do) or on Hermeroteca Digital, by Biblioteca Nacional de España (website: http://hemerotecadigital.bne.es/index.vm)

96 *Revista Semanal de Agricultura*,10 May 1852: 12, Hemeroteca Digital.

97 Ralph J. Roske, "The World Impact of the California Gold Rush, 1849-1857," *Arizona and the West* 5, no. 3 (Autumn, 1963): 227, accessed 26 August 2019, https://www.jstor.org/stable/40167071.

with Adelaide, Port Phillip and Sydney. This service did not have any stopover in Spain, as it called at Gibraltar, Malta, Alexandria and Suez before heading to India.[98] This meant that Spanish passengers would need to either head to Britain before embarking for Australia or depart from one of the Mediterranean ports. One explanation for the Spanish gold seekers travelling mainly from English ports might be that in the Spanish press, news reported that dozens of ships departed from England to Australia's goldfields "loaded with migrants, and there are so many men wishing to move to the country of gold, that there has been a rise in the fares."[99]

Apart from this shipping route from Great Britain, there were other possibilities for Spaniards in nearby countries, where private shipping companies sent their ships to Victoria. The most significant case was the German shipping company J.C. Goddefroy and Son, whose vessels sailed to Australia from Hamburg during the gold rush, reaching its peak in 1854 at 42 vessels.[100] Six men with Spanish names were found travelling from Hamburg to Victoria between 1853 and 1860, although we could not confirm whether they were Spaniards and if they were gold diggers.[101] Nevertheless, most of the Spanish-born gold seekers arrived in Australia from Great Britain, although the precise arrival details for some migrants have not been found. There are also two documented cases of Spanish sailors who jumped ship on arrival to Victoria, in the 1860s.[102]

One of the consequences of the gold rush was the lack of labourers in cities and farms in all the colonies, as they left their jobs for the diggings. This forced some company agents in Sydney and Hobart to look for replacement workers in Europe. In 1855, in Sardinia, they advertised the significant advantages available for people who migrated to these cities. As an inducement, they also offered to advance money, probably for the fare.[103] In the case of Spain, also in 1855, the Spanish consul in Sydney, Antonio Arrom de Ayala, and the Colonial Government discussed the emigration of suitable labourers from the northern provinces of Spain to Australia to be employed in public works. It was regarded as essential that these male migrants were accompanied by a proportionate

98 "Parte Política," *El Heraldo* (Madrid), 18 March 1852: 2, Hemeroteca Digital.

99 *Diario de Palma*, 23 June 1852: 3, Hemeroteca Digital.

100 John Perkins, "German Shipping and Australia before the First World War," *Australian Economic History Review* 29, no. 1 (Jan 1989): 44, accessed August 30, 2019, https://doi.org/10.1111/aehr.291003.

101 PROV, VPRS 7667 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (Foreign Ports) [Microfiche Copy of VPRS 947], 1852-1923, P0000, unit 1.

102 *Victoria Police Gazette*, 14 January 1864; and *Victoria Police Gazette*, 13 April 1868.

103 *La Gaceta de Madrid*, 14 December 1855: 4, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica.

number of females.[104] However, this initiative was dismissed by the Spanish authorities who recommended that Arrom de Ayala discontinue this scheme because it was much more convenient for the Spanish Crown that the Spanish people migrated to its own colonies, namely, Cuba, Puerto Rico and the Philippines.[105]

Despite this frustrated attempt to send Spaniards to Australia and the difficulties in making travel arrangements, the widespread news in the press about the riches of the goldmines in Australia acted as a powerful pull factor, and some Spaniards did come to Australia as gold seekers. One newspaper report published in Brisbane in June 1854 was titled “A walk in Melbourne” and explained the diversity of people in that city, including Spaniards:

> English, Chinese, Irish, Yankees, Scotch, Germans, French, Spaniards, Malays, Tahitians, New Zealanders, Russians, Niggers, and fifty other scions or cuttings from the original human stock, assuming that Adam and Eve were originals[106]

According to the census of November 1857, the number of non-British overseas-born diggers working on the Victorian Goldfields was almost 35,000 people, which accounted for around 20% of the total population of the region. One out of every four of these foreign immigrants came from continental Europe, that is, around 9,200 persons. The Germans were the largest group, slightly above 50%, followed by French diggers and 3,536 otherwise undifferentiated Europeans. Interestingly, in this group of Europeans there were very few women, only 105, which indicates that the migrants were mainly single men or married men who travelled alone.[107]

The Spaniards working in the goldfields would belong to this last group of unidentified Europeans, but how many came to Australia? Where did they dig for gold? Who were those Spaniards? Some information about them can be found in the contemporary press. News about Spaniards working in a particular gully or reef is recorded in some newspapers. While information about individual identities is scarce but some are still available in the “Criminal Court” section of the local press. Misspelling of Spanish names makes it harder to check this data against information in the archives, which has been done to shed some light on their lives and whether they stayed or left. Considering both sources, the contemporary press and the information in the archives, the questions

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[104] “Legislative Council,” Sydney Morning Herald, July 28, 1855: 7.

[105] Fernández-Shaw, *España y Australia*, 169.

[106] "Colonial Extracts," *Moreton Bay Courier,* 3 June 1854: 4.

[107] Broome, *The Victorians. Arriving*, 81.

mentioned above have been addressed.

Spaniards can be found at some of the most famous diggings in the Goldfields region of Victoria. In the 1850s and 1860s, they were present in the Castlemaine mining district, specifically in the Castlemaine and Fryer's Creek divisions, and in the Maryborough area. A few of them could also be traced in the Bendigo and Ballarat areas. There were also some Spaniards in Queensland in the 1870s, following the gold rush at that time.

Australian current states		**Spaniards**
Victoria	Ballarat	8
	Bendigo (Sandhurst)	6
	Castlemaine	8
	Maryborough	3
	Other	9
New South Wales		6
Queensland		2
Not recorded		5
Total		47

Table 5. Identified Spanish miners per region in Australia (nineteenth century).

The first Spanish gold seekers arriving in Victoria would probably have followed others to the rich and vast Mount Alexander goldfields, where the gold was shallow and easy to find. As early as December 1853, two unnamed Spaniards showed a third person a gold nugget weighing more than 118 ounces that they had found at Gosling's Gully, in Castlemaine, after having worked there for four days.[108] Only a few months later, also in Castlemaine, the Prussian engineer Jacob Brache intended to prove that quartz rock was richer in gold than gravel and hired 22 men from many nationalities, including Chileans, Peruvians, Spaniards and Italians to help him in his enterprise.[109] The coincidence in place may suggest that they were the same Spaniards, although this cannot be proved.

[108] "Mining Intelligence," *Illustrated Sydney News,* 7 January 1854: 6.

[109] Blainey, *History of Australian Mining*, 64.

In 1856, the *Mount Alexander Mail* released two pieces of news about Spaniards in the diggings around Castlemaine. In the first one, it was said that a party of two Spaniards and an Englishman were working in Forest Creek for almost a year and "have done well; their claim is nearly worked out."[110] As for the other news, the periodical informed its readers in December that two unnamed Spaniards had been charged with using insulting language in Spanish to one Francisco Mogicha, who might have also been a Spaniard, and his wife at Campbell's Creek. The insulting language was not recorded by the Court, but it was explained that the defendants placed a horn before the complainant's tent, which was "a monstrous insult in their own country".[111] Although not clarified in the newspaper, in Spain the horns are a symbol of infidelity. In the end, the Bench fined the defendants 5s each and associated costs. Two years later, in 1858, some Spaniards discovered a new reef, named Dead Cat Reef, in Sailor's Gully, within the Forest Creek area.[112]

One of the Spaniards working in the goldfields in the Castlemaine district was Francis Rodrigo, who was charged with manslaughter in April 1854 and tried by the Castlemaine Criminal Court one month later. Rodrigo shot one of the four men that he and one of his mates found working at their claim on Specimen Hill, in the Fryer's Creek division. These four men were at the Spaniard's claim, digging for gold and trying to steal it. Rodrigo shot four times at the claim from a distance and struck one of the men, Charles Bell, who died eight days later. The case caused much controversy because the dead man was escaping when he was shot. In the end, the jury gave a verdict of not guilty, based on "justifiable homicide" and the Spaniard was discharged.[113] Three years later, in 1857, Rodrigo was residing at Forest Creek and appeared in the newspapers for having stabbed his wife and her mother. His wife, Catherine, was not seriously wounded but Rodrigo's mother-in-law, Catherine Lonsdale, died from the wound. In the tent where this terrible event happened were also three Spaniards, Antonio Saragosa, St. Jago (sic) Palanco and Albert Lucas.[114] Rodrigo managed to escape, and the newspapers did not include any other information about him being apprehended.

The Fryer's Creek division of the Castlemaine mining district was south of the Castlemaine division and, apart from Francis Rodrigo, there were other Spaniards in the

[110] "Forest Creek, No. 6," *Mount Alexander Mail,* 13 June 1856: 6.
[111] "Castlemaine Police Court," *Mount Alexander Mail,* 5 December 1856: 4.
[112] "Forest Creek," *Mount Alexander Mail,* 19 November 1858: 4.
[113] "Castlemaine Criminal Court." *Mount Alexander Mail,* 17 June 1854: 2.
[114] "Murder at Forest Creek," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 25 June 1857: 3.

area. In April 1859, *The Argus* reported that “a new reef has been discovered in Spring Gully, in the rear of Cornishtown, by some Spaniards, which promises to be as rich as any in the Fryer’s Creek district.[115] In December that year, the *Mount Alexander Mail* informed their readers that in Spring Gully, in the Fryer’s Creek division, some companies were working at the Spanish and Cornish Reef, opened by a party of Spaniards three or four years before, “who crushed as much as eight or ten ounces to the ton, from quartz near the surface.”[116]

Occasionally, the word “Spaniard” or “Spanish” appears in the name of a gully or reef suggesting a possible connection with Spaniards working or living in the area, although more information is not provided. For example, there was a Spaniard’s Reef in Long Gully, in the Fryer’s Creek division, and in 1860 *The Colonial Mining Journal* stated that there was favourable news about this reef.[117] Another example can be found in the Caledonia area of the St. Andrews Division, still in the Castlemaine district, where a Spanish Gully can be found. Some parties were working there in 1860 and doing very well thanks to many rich gold seams. One man was said to have found a nugget of gold and quartz weighing 19 ½ oz., however his nationality was not provided.[118] Finally, in 1866, news about the “Spaniard’s Claim” in Bendigo, near Spring Gully reported that it was still being worked and producing 15 dwts to the ton from crushing the surface stone.[119]

West of Castlemaine, in the central area of the gold fields region, Maryborough was a rich digging that became a permanent town.[120] In the early 1860s, a party of Spaniards was working at one of its mines – Blucher’s Reef – and the local press provides some details about their activity, although their names were not recorded. In June 1861 they crushed 30 tons from lots no. one and two at Hansom and Co.[121] One month later, they continued working in lot no. one, where “their quartz is shaping pretty well.” They had around 50 tons to crush in sixteen days’ work. [122] In September, they were still crushing

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115 "Mining Intelligence," *Argus,* 13 April 1859: 4.

116 "Fryerstown Police Court," *Mount Alexander Mail,* 9 November 1859: 2.

117 "M'Ivor," *Colonial Mining Journal, Railway and Share Gazette and Illustrated Record,* 6 September 1860: 10.

118 "Extracts from the Mining," *Geelong Advertiser,* 1 March 1860: 3.

119 "Mining Intelligence." *Bendigo Advertiser,* 18 May 1866: 2.

120 Blainey, *History of Australian Mining*, 58.

121 "Serious Disturbance at Native Dog Creek — The Europeans Hunted," *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 10 June 1861: 3.

122 "Bluche’s Reef," *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 8 July 1861: 2.

in lot no. one and getting out “good stone.”[123] They continued working the following year, and in April 1862 they completed the building of a “fine whim”, which would let them rise the number of tons crushed.[124] In December 1862, in a meeting of the shareholders of Blucher’s Reef, they “determined to offer 14% on the net yield of gold to any person erecting efficient pumping machinery… The Spaniards claim on the same reef is the only one working under water and has paid £1 per day per man in their last crushing.”[125]

In December 1863 some Spaniards were still living at Blucher’s Reef. An episode related to these Spaniards was reported on the press. A party of Spaniards and English attended a German picnic and were travelling back to their home at Blucher’s Reef in a spring-cart when a miner called M’Cullough was stabbed by a Spaniard named Joseph Duest.[126] The trial and verdict have unfortunately not been found. Some later news suggests that some Spanish people were still working there in 1867, as in September it was reported that the Spanish group’s holdings had yielded 71 ½ oz from 106 tons.[127] This information indicates the existence of a party of Spaniards who lived and worked together and did not mix much with the rest of the community.

In the well-known goldfields of Ballarat and Bendigo, news about Spaniards are scarcer and provided mainly in the section of crime reports in the press. In the Ballarat region, the first information dates back to December 1854, when a Spaniard miner called Pergo was tried in the Police Court of Ballarat for participating in the Eureka stockade together with Patrick Sheady, Joseph Ellis, and Romeo, an Italian. Pergo, who needed an interpreter in French, was seen 100 to 150 yards from the stockade, near a tent and without arms. Mr. Morgan, an auctioneer, testified in his favour and declared that Pergo had been working for him for three weeks, he was always at his work and did not attend the meetings. The Spaniard was discharged together with Sheady and Romeo.[128]

In 1855, three Italians and one Spaniard were charged with having assaulted and robbed a man at Magpie Gully, but no names are given.[129] In 1863, the Spaniard Emanuel Fornaris was sentenced to seven days’ imprisonment with hard labour by the Creswick Police Court for wounding Michael Cleary, although no more information on the case was

[123] "Maryborough Gold Escort," *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 11 September 1861: 2.
[124] "Mining at Maryborough," *Geelong Advertiser,* 17 April 1862: 3.
[125] "By Electric Telegraph," *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 5 December 1862: 4.
[126] "Melbourne News," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 30 December 1863: 3.
[127] "Mining Intelligence," *Ballarat Star,* 4 September 1867: 2.
[128] "Ballaarat," *Argus,* 12 December 1854: 4.
[129] "Local Intelligence," *Age,* 28 December 1855: 4.

provided.[130] Also in Creswick Police Court, in 1861, the Spaniard Benito de la Cruz was tried for forcibly entering a lady's home and remaining there without her consent. When the Bench asked him whether he had any question for her, he asked the lady, through the interpreter, whether she would marry him. The complainant declined and the Bench sentenced Benito to fourteen days imprisonment, considering that he had been tried on another occasion for using bad language to the same lady. The news in the newspaper concluded "Whether a fortnight in the lock-up will cool the passion of our "Benito" is another question."[131] Three months later, there was a "Banito Croize" departing from Victoria to Otago (New Zealand) on a ship called *Genii*.[132] Again, misspelling in the names makes it difficult to confirm whether this was the same person. If it was Benito, he would have been following the thousands of people from Australia who headed to the latest gold rush in New Zealand in the second half of 1861.

On the Bendigo goldfield, the first news of Spanish activity dates from 1854, when the Spaniard M. Manuel opened the North Growler's reef, in the Waranga North division. It was reported that Manuel worked the reef to a depth of 50 ft with fairly good results, and afterwards he left for Whroo, in the same division, where he remained until his death.[133] Although his death record could not be found, in 1870 Manuel was still alive and he and his party had taken up an old claim on the Johnson's line with very fair prospects of gold.[134] In 1856 three Spaniards living in the Epsom diggings tried to pan for gold in a rich claim belonging to two Englishmen. A confrontation took place between the British and the Spanish intruders.[135] Also in 1856, Pedro Pasquale, a Spaniard, assaulted Maselino Calatan (sic) in Bendigo and was fined ten shillings.[136] In 1859, the Spaniard Antonio Nevares or Navaris was found guilty of having stolen a cake of gold from Mr Andrew Bannerman inside the gold office of the Bank of New South Wales in Bendigo. He was sentenced to six months' imprisonment with hard labour.[137] Finally, in 1863, the Spanish miner Carlos Fernando was working at Caledonia Gully, in the Heathcote division of Bendigo district. One night he quarrelled with an Italian mate named Carajati, who had been insulting him. As a result, the Spaniard got stabbed, although not

130 "News and Notes," *Star,* 5 December 1863: 2.

131 "An Ardent Lover," *Argus,* 6 June 1861: 5.

132 PROV, VPRS 948 Outward Passengers to Interstate, UK and Foreign Ports, 1852-1923, P0001, unit 21.

133 "The Rushworth Mines," *Murchison Advertiser and Murchison, Toolamba, Mooroopna and Dargalong Express,* 13 September 1918: 4.

134 "Whroo," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 10 February 1870: 2.

135 "Fracas at Epsom," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 26 June 1856: 3.

136 "Court of Petty Sessions," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 16 June 1856: 2.

137 "Municipal Police Court," *Bendigo Advertiser, 3* August 1859: 2.

severely.[138] The naturalisation records note that there were two more Spaniards who had lived in that town.

The lack of data in the Ballarat and Bendigo areas, as well as the fact that there are not reefs or gullies named after Spaniards, may indicate that there were fewer living in those goldfields. Furthermore, the nature of the news about them may suggest that they did not gather in parties in a systematic way like the Spaniards working in the Castlemaine area. In addition, the information found suggests that they were more inclined to gather and work with Italians, probably because of similarities in language and culture, and because both nationalities were equally despised by the British.

In the 1870s, new gold discoveries led miners to the north of Australia, and there were a few Spaniards among them. In 1870, many diggers gathered at a new reef discovered at Cawarral, in Queensland. Among them were Greeks, Italians, Spaniards, Germans, Dutchmen, Englishmen, Scotsmen and Irishmen, who disputed the available claims.[139] In 1875, in an article appeared in the *N.T. Times* and repeated in the *Adelaide Observer* it is said that near Port Essington, in the Northern Territory, Spaniards in the seventeenth century found so much gold that it fitted out a large expedition, but they were never heard of again, probably because they fell into the hands of the "natives".[140] Whereas this information is obviously legend and cannot be confirmed, there is a case of a Spaniard named Manuel Yons or Joss who was killed by Indigenous people while prospecting in a ravine on the Gilbert River in Queensland in 1878. Although no more information on the case could be found, it is interesting that his was not the only death in this area, as the newspaper said: "it is extraordinary that more murders have not been committed in this part of the country, the blacks having every advantage of the whites, owing to the conglomerate overhanging and intersecting the ravines, from which close, by and unseen, they can hurl their spears or waddies upon the unfortunate miners."[141] The Spaniard Manuel was obviously encroaching on the Aboriginal Australians' territory, which indicates that the Spanish, like other Europeans, were also involved in dispossession of Indigenous peoples. Finally, the Galician sailor Joseph Merrey Vasquez jumped ship on arrival to Townsville, North Queensland, and headed to the Croydon

[138] "Heathcote Police Court," *McIvor Times and Rodney Advertiser,* 27 November 1863: 2.

[139] "Telegraphic Intelligence," *Northern Argus,* 21 February 1870: 2.

[140] "The Northern Territory," *Adelaide Observer,* 22 May 1875: 6.

[141] "[From our own Correspondents.] Georgetown," *Queenslander,* 1 June 1878: 262.

goldfields in the late 1870s or early 1880s.[142]

No information about Spanish gold seekers could be found in the press in New South Wales. The only data available comes from the naturalisation records, where three Spaniards were recorded as miners with no further information: two of them arrived in Australia in the 1850s and the other one in 1871. As the place of residence is not provided, it cannot be confirmed where in New South Wales they worked.

Among the Spaniards who came to Australia in search of their fortune, Francisco de Paula Pena stands out because he was the only Spanish miner moving around the colonies for gold whose life could be traced. He was born in Cadiz around 1834 and arrived in Australia in 1852 on the *Orient*. He obtained naturalised status in 1862 in New South Wales stating that he was "wishing to purchase land", some days after marrying Ellen Allen.[143] They married in St. Charles Borromeo Catholic Church in Ryde, Sydney, and they lived in Ryde until she died in 1869.[144] Apart from the years of his marriage, Francisco moved all around the Australian colonies working on different goldfields. He was in Victoria in 1858, and then he went to Port Curtis (Queensland).[145] Three years later he had left letters unclaimed at Kiandra (NSW).[146] After the death of his wife, in 1869, he resumed his activity as a gold seeker. He moved to Gulgong and Parkes (both in NSW) in the seventies and to Queensland in the nineties, where he died in 1905.[147] All the towns named were known at the time for having held gold diggings. While wandering around between gold fields was common among single men at the time, his case is unique among Spaniards as he is the only one we have found who moved to another colony. The other seven miners who could be traced stayed in the same mining district in Victoria.

Undoubtfully, gold was the objective of these Spaniards coming to Australia during the gold rush era. Among the forty-seven Spanish miners whose identity could be found, eight claimed to be miners on their arrival to Australia, including Isidoro Arenas and

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142 Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia*, 44-46.

143 NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1202], p. 41, reel 130; and "Family Notices," *Empire* (Sydney), 18 August 1862: 1.

144 NSW, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 5896/1869.

145 PROV, VPRS 948, P0001, unit 16.

146 "No. 4. List of Letters Returned from the Country, and now Lying at this Office Unclaimed," *New South Wales Government Gazette,* 12 March 1861: 614.

147 "No. 22. List of Letters Returned from the Country, and now Lying at this Office Unclaimed," *New South Wales Government Gazette,* 17 December 1873: 3531; "No. 14. List of Letters Returned from the Country, and now Lying at this Office Unclaimed," *New South Wales Government Gazette,* 3 August 1875: 2299; *and* QLD, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 1905/C/3007.

Esteban Parer, who arrived in Melbourne in 1858 and were two of the pioneers of the only Spanish migration chain in Australia in the nineteenth century that will be covered in the next chapter.[148] Another group of twelve Spaniards claimed that they worked as miners when they became naturalised. Gold also attracted the Spanish mining engineer Henry Rosales, who arrived in 1853 having heard of "the large scopes (sic) of country that were allowed and thought by the scientific working of the lands that I should have no difficulty in making my fortune." [149] He did face some difficulties but, after winning a prize for the best essay on the origin of quartz veins and their distribution, he became a manager for different mining companies, like New North Clunes and Victoria companies, or the Walhalla Gold Mining Company, where he served for more than ten years, starting in 1865.[150] Finally, late in the nineteenth century, the Catalan entrepreneur Emilio de Faro extended his hotel business in Victoria by investing in gold mining companies, such as North Jennings Gold, Copper, and Silver.[151]

Marital status					**Death**	
Single	Married before	Married in Australia	Widower	Not Found	Death in Australia	Not Found
1	2	16	1	27	11	36

Table 6. Identified Spanish miners' marital status and death data (nineteenth century).

As previously stated, changes or misspellings in names make it difficult to trace the life events of the Spaniards found in the goldfields. Despite these problems, we could find some information about their marital status and deaths (see Table 6). All the forty-seven miners found were men and around one-third were married. Sixteen of them married in Australia and none of the brides had Spanish surnames. Two of the Spaniards were previously married, and they brought their families to Australia. They were Martin Bofill and Salvador Raurich, who travelled together with their wives and a daughter each from

[148] PROV, VPRS 7666 Inward Overseas Passenger Lists (British Ports) [Microfiche Copy of VPRS 947], 1852-1923, unit 1.

[149] *Gippsland Times*, 12 August 1875: 3.

[150] *Gippsland Times*, 12 August 1875: 3.

[151] "Mining Meetings," *Launceston Examiner,* 14 January 1898: 3.

Plymouth to Melbourne in 1862.[152] Bofill later became a farmer and Raurich returned to Spain the following year with his family.[153] Death records of these men are useful to confirm whether they remained in Australia or left. In light of the information found, it can be asserted that approximately one third of them stayed in the Australian colonies, either because we found their death record or because they were admitted to hospitals in their old age.

The presence of Spanish women in the goldfields is not evident in any of the cases studied. The only two miners' wives who travelled to Australia with their husbands and children did not appear to have lived on the gold fields, Mrs Bofill's husband became a farmer in Waanyarra (Victoria) although he might have worked as a miner previously.[154] Mrs Raurich came to Australia with her husband and a baby girl, Catherine, who died shortly after arrival and was buried at Waanyarra.[155] The couple stayed in Australia only for one more year and left for London, presumably returning to Spain. Only one Spanish woman could be traced in the goldfields in the second half of the nineteenth century. Her name was Louise Hernandez, Spanish by birth, who in 1883 was sentenced to gaol for twelve months with hard labour for stealing money and some silver from an Italian named Giovanna Depizzi. She was said to be a middle-aged woman residing in Bendigo, in Bernal street.[156] There is no more information available except that she died from disease in Bendigo in 1891.[157] Inevitably, her case raises the question of how a Spanish woman ended up in Bendigo. One possibility might have been that she travelled to Australia with her parents or her husband, but none of the Spanish miners in our records have the Hernandez surname or similar. Therefore, the question remains unsolved, and shows that there were people who arrived and lived in Australia for which few if any official records survive.

In conclusion, migration from Spain to Australia during the gold rushes was minimal partly due to lack of support from the Spanish government and difficulties in travelling to the antipodes. Despite these issues, news about the wealth of the Victorian gold fields

[152] PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1.

[153] PROV, VPRS 948, P0001, unit 26.

[154] Certificate of Naturalisation, 13 March 1893, National Archives of Australia (henceforth NAA), CA1329 Chief Secretary's Office, Victoria, A712 Letters Received, Annual Single Number Series with Letter Prefix or Infix, 1893/W1065.

[155] VIC, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 9472/1862.

[156] "Sandhurst Wines," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 3 November 1883: 2.

[157] "Sandhurst or Bendigo?" *Bendigo Independent*, 28 April 1891: 2.

spread by Spanish newspapers acted as a powerful pull factor for some Spaniards who finally migrated to Australia in the second half of the nineteenth century. The information found indicates that most of these Spanish miners travelled alone and headed to the diggings in the Victorian goldfields. They usually gathered with compatriots and other foreigners, particularly Italians, and about thirty per cent married in Australia, although their wives had all British or Irish surnames. The data obtained also showed that their mobility was limited, and they mostly remained within the same mining district. Finally, around half of them stayed in Australia, and some even obtained naturalisation.

This research is the first study of this collective of Spanish miners in Australia and the information provided might lay the basis for further research on Spanish gold seekers in a particular town or goldfield or for a comparison with other alien groups of miners.

2.4 Chain migration

In the second half of the nineteenth century, some Catalan entrepreneurs started the only case of Spanish chain migration in colonial Australia. This chain was initiated by some members of the Parer family who settled in Melbourne and attracted other kin and friends from their hometown, Alella, located about 20 km north of Barcelona. They successfully ran restaurants and hotels in Melbourne city centre. As time went by, the community grew and some other Spaniards living in the city joined the Catalan group and founded some associations. A second nucleus of Catalans settled in Bendigo and thrived in the tomato growing industry. It is within this group that we find that the presence of Spanish women was noticeable for the first time in Australia, as many women migrated with their parents, brothers and husbands. In this section, I shall examine this process, starting with the pioneering Parer family, their successful businesses in Melbourne, and how they attracted their extended family and other townsfolk. Next, I shall consider other Spaniards who joined this community and the associations they founded and their social behaviour within that society. Finally, I shall analyse the Catalans who participated in the tomato growing industry in Bendigo at the end of the nineteenth century.

The Parer family as pioneers of the Catalan chain migration in Melbourne

The nucleus of this chain migration was the pioneering Parer brothers, who belonged to

a large family. Their father was Pau (Pau/Pablo Parer i Renom),[158] who ran a flour mill in Alella and married twice. His first wife was Eulalia (Eulàlia/Eulalia Bosch i Millet) who he married in 1822 and they had five children before her death in childbirth in 1834. That year, Pau remarried Ignasia Xicola (Ignasia/Ignacia Xicola i Pujol) and they had nine children together.[159] Only eleven of Pau Parer's fourteen children survived. Eight of these children came to Australia and so did the children of two of his daughters who remained in Spain. By 1854, both Pau Parer and Ignasia Xicola had died, leaving their oldest son – Antonio – in charge of the flour mill and nine of their siblings. Antonio was helped by his cousin Josefa Arenas, who eventually married him.[160]

In Catalonia, the hereditary system meant that the bulk of the family wealth and properties went to the eldest son, while the rest of the males in the family needed to find their living elsewhere. That is precisely what carried the second eldest son – Joseph – to migrate to South America first, and eventually to end up in Australia with his half-brother Francisco. After their arrival in 1855 to the end of the century, three periods can be traced. The first one, from 1855 to 1875, was when the Parer family males strove to build their hospitality business; the second, from 1876 to 1890, was when they had made a fortune and reached a good position within the Melbourne society triggering the migration of the rest of the family; and third, from 1891 to 1900, when the family investments extended to other colonies.

In the first period, from 1855 to 1875, twelve members of the Parer family migrated to Australia. Pau Parer's second son, Joseph (Josep/José Parer i Bosch), was the first one to arrive in Australia and he can be considered the pioneer who initiated the chain migration. Joseph was born in Alella in 1829, left his homeland around 1848 or 1849 and migrated first to Montevideo, in South America, in search of his fortune in the goldfields.[161] His half-brother Francis (Francesc/Francisco Parer i Xicola) joined him a year later, and they spent some time in that region before deciding to return home. They had an offer to pay their passage home by working on the Greek ship *Telemacho*, which

[158] In this section of Chain Migration, I am providing not only the names by which the Spanish people in this research were known in Australia but also their real Spanish or Catalan names (including their second surname if possible) in brackets. In the case of Catalan people, I have written their first names in both Catalan and Spanish separated by a slash. Besides, Catalans usually put an "i" (which means "and") between their two surnames, which I have maintained. The Spanish system of family names will be explained in Chapter Three, section "Spanish Women´s Identity". I include this information on family names only in this section on Catalan chain migration because this is the only group for which the second family name was available.

[159] Wright, *The Parers of Catalonia*, 4.

[160] Wright, *The Parers of Catalonia*, 14.

[161] Àlex Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia per accident," *Alella Magazine*, no. 347 (May-June 2017): 26.

travelled around Cape Hope and arrived in Sydney in March 1855. This indirect route to Spain left them exhausted, so they decided to stay in Australia and wait for another European ship to take them back home.[162] We might also speculate that during that period they learnt about the gold discoveries in Australia. In the beginning, Joseph and Francis Parer earned their living in Sydney by selling oranges, other fruits and Catalan pastries. Soon after they had earned enough money to start to sell eggs, lard, cow's milk and chicken. They even rented an orchard for the breeding of the chickens and began selling part of their produce in Melbourne.[163] This poultry business stopped abruptly when their livestock was wiped out by disease.[164] In February 1858, Joseph was still in Sydney and obtained his naturalisation in New South Wales, where he had purchased some land.[165] Later in 1858 Joseph and Francis Parer moved to Melbourne where they settled and initiated their hospitality business. Their beginning was humble as it is said they lived in a tin hut on Swanston street near St Paul's Cathedral.[166] This fact may suggest that they had lost their livestock late in 1857 or early in 1858 and headed to Melbourne soon after.

The next brother to join them was Stephen (Esteve/Esteban Parer i Xicola), who arrived in Melbourne in February 1858 from Gravesend. In the shipping records he is noted as a Spanish single miner, aged 18.[167] He was accompanied by his cousin Martin (Martin Arenas i Xicola). The fact that he was said to be a miner, which was very improbable because Alella was an agrarian and fishing town, is significant because he might have learned about the goldfields through his brothers and was travelling to try his fortune. The first Parer nucleus was completed by the arrival of two more brothers – John (Joan/Juan Parer i Xicola) and Phillip (Felip/Felipe Parer i Xicola) – at the beginning of 1860s.[168]

It should be noted that the first two Parer brothers to migrate – Joseph and Francis – left

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[162] Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia," 26. The Parer brothers were first thought to have arrived in Australia in search of their fortune in the goldfields. The discovery of a story by Esteve (Stephen) Parer – the third brother to arrive in Australia – has changed this information. Stephen Parer visited the International Exhibition held in Barcelona in 1888, and his story was published in 1889 by the Spanish newspaper *El Noticiario Universal*.

[163] Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia," 26.

[164] Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/2017/11/13/tin-hut-catering-near-melbournes-st-pauls-cathedral/, accessed 31 August 2019.

[165] NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1201], p. 125, reel 129. Joseph arrived in Sydney in 1855 by the ship *Telemaco*.

[166] Wright, *The Parers of Catalonia*, 10-14.

[167] PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1.

[168] Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia," 26. In this article, Asensio states that John and Phillip arrived in Australia in 1861, although I found Mr. John Parer travelling from Sydney to Melbourne in February 1860. "Clearances.— February 4," *Empire,* 6 February 1860: 4.

their homeland in 1848 or 1849 and the following one – Stephen – left in 1858 because in both cases their departure coincided with subsistence crises in Spain. An insufficient crop in 1847 caused a lack of food for almost one month, whereas the next crisis, in 1857, resulted in food scarcity for 34 days on average.[169] These crises might have acted as a push factor for the first Parer brothers, whereas the thriving colony of Victoria might have attracted them not only for the gold rush, but for the rising population and the business opportunities that that population created.

The first hospitality business that the Parer brothers initiated was *The Duke de la Victoria* restaurant, in 1858, and some more premises were added to this one in the next few years. *The Duke de la Victoria* appeared for the first time in the press in May 1858, when they advertised for a waiter, and it was then located at 109 Bourke street east.[170] It is said that the restaurant was named after the Spanish field marshal and liberal leader Baldomero Espartero.[171] Espartero was granted the *Duque de la Victoria* (Duke of the Victory) title by Queen Isabella II after defeating the Carlists, supporters of her uncle Carlos during the civil war known as First Carlist War (1833-1839). Therefore, the Parer brothers might have upheld liberal ideas, in contrast to the absolutism defended by the Carlists.

At the beginning of 1860, *The Duke de la Victoria* moved to 95 Bourke street east, closer to the city centre.[172] On 2 March 1860, the Parer brothers advertised this establishment in the *Argus*, providing details about the services they offered and the targeted clients:

> The public are informed that the old-established and well-known RESTAURANT, The DUKE de la VICTORIA has been REMOVED to those new and commodious premises, No. 95 Bourke-street east, a few doors above the Theatre Royal, where visitors to Melbourne will find first-rate accommodation, on the most reasonable terms, combined with attention and civility. Suppers every night after the closing of the theatres. Apartments for families and single gentlemen. Cobb's coach office right opposite.
>
> FRANCIS PARER, proprietor[173]

[169] Pedro Díaz Marín, "Crisis de subsistencia y protesta popular: los motines de 1847." *Historia Agraria. Revista de Agricultura e Historia Rural*, no. 30 (Aug 2003): 31, accessed 20 September 2019, http://repositori.uji.es/xmlui/bitstream/handle/10234/146332/2003%2c%2030%2c%2031-62.pdf?sequence=1.

[170] "Advertising," *Argus,* 14 May 1858: 1.

[171] Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia," 31.

[172] Wright, *The Parers of Catalonia*, 12.

[173] "Advertising," *Argus,* 2 March 1860: 7.

The restaurant was advertised in the press – mainly in the *Age* and also in the *Argus* – almost every day for the first month after its opening and every Saturday after that in *Bell's Life in Victoria and Sporting Chronicle* for the following three months, until July 1860.[174]

In 1861 the familiar hospitality business was expanded, and two new establishments were opened. The first one was the *Spanish Restaurant*, at 40 Bourke street east, which was first advertised with this text:

> PUBLIC NOTICE- The SPANISH RESTAURANT, 40 Bourke street east (opposite Cobb's coach office), will be OPENED on Thursday, 14th February.
>
> The proprietors, in soliciting the support of a generous public, beg to state that they have taken the above extensive premises, which they have, regardless of expense, fitted up as a first-class restaurant, for the people. The meals supplied will be of the very best quality, and at the lowest prices. They have also furnished the large and well-ventilated bedrooms with iron bedsteads, which, with the whole of the beds and bedding, are quite new.
> Parties from the country will find every accommodation.
> Private dining rooms.
> Meals, 1s. each, pastry and pudding included.
> E. PARER and ARENAS, Proprietors.[175]

The next establishment to be inaugurated by the Parer family was the *Parer's Hotel del Universo*, and it was owned by Joseph Parer. On 4 September 1861, Joseph appeared in the *Age* to register that the *Central City Hotel*, in Collins street, had been transferred to him from S. Bleoll.[176] Only three days later, Joseph advertised it with a new name, *Parer's Hotel del Universo*. The ad offered the following information:

> PARER'S HOTEL DEL UNIVERSO, Cafe, and Restaurant, 46 Collins Street east, near the new Bank of Victoria – Joseph Parer begs to acquaint the public and inhabitants generally that, having taken the above premises, he intends to carry on the same on the most liberal principle, and every article supplied guaranteed to be only of the first quality. Large furnished room for meetings and private parties. Luncheon, six days, 5s.; dinner, six days 8s.; board, per week, 21s.[177]

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[174] Information obtained searching *Trove* website.

[175] "Advertising," *Herald,* 13 February 1861: 1.

[176] "Quarterly Licensing Meeting," *Age*, 4 December 1861: 6.

[177] "Advertising," *Argus,* 7 December 1861: 8.

This last investment proved to be a failure, although the cause for this is unknown, and a distress warrant had to be put in. Associated with this, Joseph Parer executed a deed of assignment to his creditors in September 1862.[178] Finally, in December that year, the *Hotel del Universo* was transferred from Joseph Parer to Michael Fetherston, with the liberty to change the name of the house to the *Sandhurst Hotel*.[179]

The other two establishments, *The Duke de la Victoria* and the *Spanish Restaurant*, were run by the family for a long period. Probably, the failure in the last investment in the *Hotel del Universo* stopped the brothers' expanding further into new enterprises. They improved their premises but did not invest in new ones for more than 20 years. For example, in 1875, *The Duke de la Victoria* was extended after having acquired and then remodelled the *Temple of Pomona*, in 91 Bourke street east.[180] This newly refurbished hotel and restaurant was located in a central position, in 91, 93, and 95 Bourke street east and for this reason the Parer brothers advertised it targeting families visiting Melbourne from the country or adjacent colonies.[181] The hotel had accommodation for one hundred lodgers every night.[182] Again, after an initial advertising campaign, it was periodically advertised, not only in Melbourne, but also in newspapers out of Melbourne, like the *Avoca Mail* or *The Gawler Standard* (South Australia), which was also usual among other establishments. By that time, they were known as the Parer Brothers.

The success of the Parer's businesses led to a second period, from 1876 to 1890, in which they expanded their investments and sponsored the migration to Australia of the rest of the family and some kin and friends. The scale of the business achieved by the Parer brothers at *The Duke* and their underlying philosophy was evident in an article issued in 1879 in the *Age* and titled "Melbourne restaurants." Chapter III is dedicated to Bourke street and its cheap restaurants and it is stated that "The best of the cheap eating houses is undoubtedly the *Spanish Restaurant*, or *The Duke de la Victoria*, opposite the Academy of music." The article explains that there were thirty-two people employed in the house, and nine cooks were constantly in the kitchen. The dining room had nineteen tables and an average of six hundred people had dinner there daily. On special occasions, like the Melbourne Cup day, two thousand people had been served. Apart from its large scale, *The Duke de la Victoria* offered good quality facilities and reasonable

[178] "Saturday, September 20, 1862," *Argus,* 20 September 1862: 5.
[179] "Advertising," *Argus*, 25 September 1862: 1.
[180] "Advertising," *Age,* 12 May 1875: 1.
[181] "Advertising," *Herald,* 22 May 1875: 2.
[182] "Advertising," *Avoca Mail,* 20 March 1877: 3.

prices for all budgets. According to the author of the article, they offered:

> the snuggest "boxes" for supper I have seen out of London… For hot supper a shilling is the uniform charge, and a clean and comfortable bedroom can be had for a shilling.

The proprietors had a system of issuing tickets for shilling meals at ten shillings a dozen, which favoured customer loyalty. Bed and board could be had for 20 shillings a week with three meals a day, but larger bedrooms were also offered, like "a large front bedroom looking on to Bourke street, and three meals a day from the bill of fare, for 30s. a week."[183] This information suggests that the philosophy underpinning the Parer Brothers' success was to offer a wide range of services of good quality and reasonable prices.

Apart from this information on the services offered at *The Duke de la Victoria*, it is interesting to note the kind of food served at the restaurant. The bill of fare had an English style although some Spanish specialities were also on offer. For example:

> a feature of this house is its Spanish wine, exported by members of the family in Spain to the brothers in Melbourne. The red wine is better than any colonial wine I have tasted; and the white better than many high-priced sherries.[184]

The Parer Brothers owned a farm to supply the bulk of the fruit and vegetables to their establishments. Tomato and other sauce were produced at this garden in large quantities, approximately "400 dozen quart bottles every year."[185]

By that time, the Parer Brothers had made a large fortune thanks to their hospitality businesses and therefore were able to provide work and economic support to family and kin coming from Catalonia. The Parer family was directly related to other Catalan families and some members of these families also migrated to Australia.[186] Particularly, the women in the Parer family, sisters of the Parer brothers already in Australia, married into the Barbeta, Rubira, Clota, Cabus and Triado families. Other relatives' surnames were Bosch, Puig, Arenas, Codina and Sans. Members of this extended family migrated to Australia as the Parer Brothers' business continued to thrive.

Period	**Adults**		**Children**	
	Men	*Women*	*Boys*	*Girls*

[183] "Melbourne Restaurants," *Age,* 26 July 1879: 6.

[184] Ibid.

[185] Ibid.

[186] The Parer family tree is detailed on Appendix 1 (only the first two generations in Australia).

1855	2	0	0	0
1856-1860	2	0	0	0
1861-1865	2	0	0	0
1866-1870	2	0	0	0
1871-1875	4	0	0	0
1876-1880	4	4	1	0
1881-1885	3	2	2	0
1886-1890	4	3	1	2
1891-1895	4	1	0	0
1896-1900	3	1	0	0
Total	**30**	**11**	**4**	**2**

Table 7. Parer and extended family migration (second half of the nineteenth century).

For the first twenty years after the arrival of Joseph and Francis Parer brothers, that is from 1855 to 1875, ten more members of the family arrived in Melbourne (see Table 7). They were all single young men including the remaining three bachelor Parer brothers – Stephen, Philip and John – and some cousins and nephews. Another characteristic is that they travelled in groups of two or three, except for Pedro Arenas, who said to be a miner and did not start in the hospitality business until some years after his arrival.[187] Furthermore, in 1867, Francis Parer accompanied two members of the family to Melbourne from Plymouth. They were his cousin Salvador (Salvador Parer i Puig), 23 years old, and his nephew Augustine (Agustí/Agustín Barbeta i Parer), 16 years old, who were said to be artists.[188] The only Parer brother who stayed in Alella was the eldest one, Antonio (Antoni/Antonio Parer i Bosch), who eventually also migrated to Australia.

This trend changed substantially in the period from 1876 to 1890. In these fifteen years, four Parer siblings moved to Victoria with their families. They were the three youngest sisters – Eulalia (Eulàlia/Eulalia Parer i Xicola), Josefa (Josepa/Josefa Parer i Xicola) and Juana (Joana/Juana Parer i Xicola) – and the eldest brother – Antonio.[189] Only the two surviving sisters – Rosa and Teresa – did not migrate to Australia and remained in

[187] PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1; *and* State Library of Victoria (henceforth SLV), Sands and McDougall's directories, year 1880, p. 256, accessed 21 February 2020, http://cedric.slv.vic.gov.au/R/FDQ2FIS6JXJV4U1I3YRA6M8VLGL51XQ4BF43HBHE49BJ3KTV1S-03368?func=search.

[188] PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1.

[189] PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1; and PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1.

Catalonia, however some of their sons came to work in the family hospitality business in Australia. For the first time, Parer women and children arrived in Australia to start a new life.

The reason for this change probably lies in the economic possibilities opened by the first Parers in both, the hospitality and the farming businesses. The hospitality business reached a first peak in 1875 with the extension of *The Duke de la Victoria*, its hundred bedrooms and its thriving restaurant. They employed several cooks and waiters either for this restaurant or for the *Spanish restaurant*. These restaurants were supplied with their fresh produce from the orchard which Francis Parer had started at Box Hill and this continued to expand. Eventually, Francis's success growing tomatoes would lead to new job opportunities for his countrymen. This episode will be explained in detailed in the third part of this section.

These economic opportunities were undoubtedly decisive for some members of the Parer family when they chose to move to Australia. But the key event that might have triggered their decision to migrate could have been the triple wedding celebrated at Alella in October 1878.[190] The bridegrooms were three Parer brothers: Stephen, who was marrying for the second time, Phillip and John. They married three fellow country women: Josefa Clota (Josepa/Josefa Clota i Raull), Rosa Parer (Rosa Parer i Arenas) and Teresa Burgues (Teresa Burgues i Ferrant) respectively. This triple wedding was surely a big event for the families with extensive opportunities to talk about the Parer family business in Australia and its new enterprises.

Hotel or Restaurant name	**Address**	**Ownership**	**Years**
The Duke de la Victoria (from 1875 known as Parer Brothers' Restaurant and Hotel)	91, 93, 95 Bourke Street	Parer Brothers Salvador Parer and Marcus Clota	1858-1891 1891-1914
Hotel del Universo	Collins street	Joseph Parer	1862
The Spanish Restaurant and Victoria Baths	299 Bourke street (was 158 Bourke street)	Estevan Parer and Martin Arenas Augustus Barbeta	1862-1874 1875-1883
Imperial Hotel	4 Bourke street	John Arthur Parer	1883-1903
Barbeta's Turkish Baths	Bourke street	Barbeta Brothers	1884-1886

[190] Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246866813/facts, accessed 15 November 2019.

Parer's Crystal Café and Hotel (formerly Nissen's Café in 1885)	198-200 Bourke street (pre-1890 was 103 Bourke street east)	Parer Brothers	1885-1950
Bull and Mouth Hotel	293 Bourke street	Rubira family	1886-post WWI
Yarra Family Hotel	430 Flinders street	Michael Parer Clota and Rahola	1886-1887 1887-1888
London Hotel	15 Market street (William street)	John A. Parer and William Higgins	1887-1888
Old London Tavern	99 Elizabeth street	Francis Parer	1887-1888
Royal Arcade Hotel	303 Little Collins street	James Triado	1888-1892
Hosie's Hotel	1-4 Elizabeth street	Augustus Barbeta and Michael Parer	1888-1898
Exchange Hotel	255 Little Collins street	John A. Parer and William Higgins	1890-1902
Gippsland Hotel	Swanston street	John A. Parer and William Higgins	1891-1911
Rubira's Café and Pie Shop	305-307 Bourke street	James Rubira	1891-1927
Albion Hotel	292 Bourke street	Joseph Parer	1891-1892

Table 8. Some of the hotels and restaurants owned by the Parer family and relatives in Melbourne (second half of the nineteenth century). Source: Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/2017/10/18/parer-hotels-restaurants-in-central-melbourne/, accessed 7 September 2019.

In this second period, which lasted until 1890, the arrival of the new members of the family coincided with a propitious moment for new investments in the hospitality industry in Melbourne. As shown in Table 8, in the 1880s at least nine new establishments were owned by the Parers and their relatives. The *Barbeta's Turkish Baths*, owned by the Barbeta brothers, the *Bull and Mouth Hotel*, owned by the Rubira family, or the *Royal Arcade Hotel*, owned by James Triado, are some examples. All these premises were in the city centre. The period of time that these properties were operated by the families was short in some cases. It is notable that five of these establishments were started around 1888, which was the year of the *Melbourne Centennial Exhibition*. This suggests that it was just a quick investment to make money out of this remarkable celebration.

As for the Parer Brothers, in October 1885, they bought the *Nissen's Café*, at 103 Bourke street east, with the allotment of land which had 33ft. frontage facing Bourke street and

extending back to Little Bourke street.[191] The price paid was £32,750, approximately £1,000 per foot, which was considered a high price at the time.[192] The Parer brothers invested another £20,000 more in enlarging and improving this premises, which was luxuriously decorated. They added an additional storey, which allowed them to offer 80 bedrooms and suites of rooms for families. The café could accommodate more than 200 people and included an ornamental fountain in the centre. Before their opening, some members of the Parliament of Victoria were invited to a supper.[193] This remodelled establishment was renamed *Crystal Café and Hotel* and became known as the *Crystal Palace*, it was the symbol of the Parers' success and fortune and was run by the family until 1950. It was also a meeting place for Spaniards, which will be discussed in the next part of this section.

In the ten last years of the nineteenth century, which is the third period, both migration and businesses seem to decrease. In that decade, nine members of the family moved to Australia, all adults. There were seven men and two women, who were Francisca Ros (Francesca/Francisca Ros) – John Parer's second wife – and Angeletta Parer (Angela Parer i Arenas) – Antonio Parer's youngest daughter who never married. By that time, the second generation of the Parer family born in Australia amounted to around twenty-five children.[194] If we add the sixteen children born in Spain who immigrated, that means that this second generation had more than forty members in Australia. Reproduction vitality was fundamental to keep both the community and the business thriving.

Finally, the family business in Melbourne were reduced to four new investments, two of which were started by John Arthur Parer and his partner William Higgins. They were the tenders for one of the bars and refreshment counters at the *Centennial Exhibition* in Melbourne in 1888, earning enough money to invest in the hospitality industry shortly thereafter.[195] In this decade, new hotels were also bought in other colonies, such as West Australia, as the *Parer's Restaurant* in Kalgoorlie, or Tasmania, like the *Smelters Hotel*.[196] This reduction in investments in Victoria is likely also to be the result of the economic crisis suffered in this colony in the 1890s.

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[191] "Intercolonial News," *Launceston Examiner,* 10 October 1885: 2.

[192] "High Price for Property," *Southern Argus,* 14 October 1885: 2.

[193] "A New Hotel and Café," *Argus,* 14 October 1886: 6.

[194] See the Parer family tree on Appendix 1.

[195] Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/2018/02/16/parer-higgins-serve-alcohol-to-the-world/, accessed 9 September 2019.

[196] Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/, accessed 12 September 2019.

Building a Catalan and Spanish community in Melbourne

The Parer brothers' success attracted not only kin but other people from their town and the surrounding area who received support on arrival. Furthermore, in Melbourne, they became the nucleus of the Catalan community which eventually acted as a magnet for other Spaniards already living in the city. From the 1880s, the Spanish community became visible in public acts and gatherings.

The number of Spaniards living in Victoria in the second half of the nineteenth century is represented in Figure 2. This shows the people who could be traced in each period, although the actual number was higher, as according to the 1891 census, there were 147 Spanish males and 61 females living in Victoria, but only about half of them could be traced.[197]

[197] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Data Archive, Len Smith, Time Rowse and Stuart Hungerford. Historical and Colonial Census Data Archive (HCCDA). ADA Dataverse, 2019, vol. 1, p. 65, accessed 21 October 2019, doi: 10.26193/MP6WRS.

Map 3. Selected Spanish migrants' regions of origin (nineteenth century).

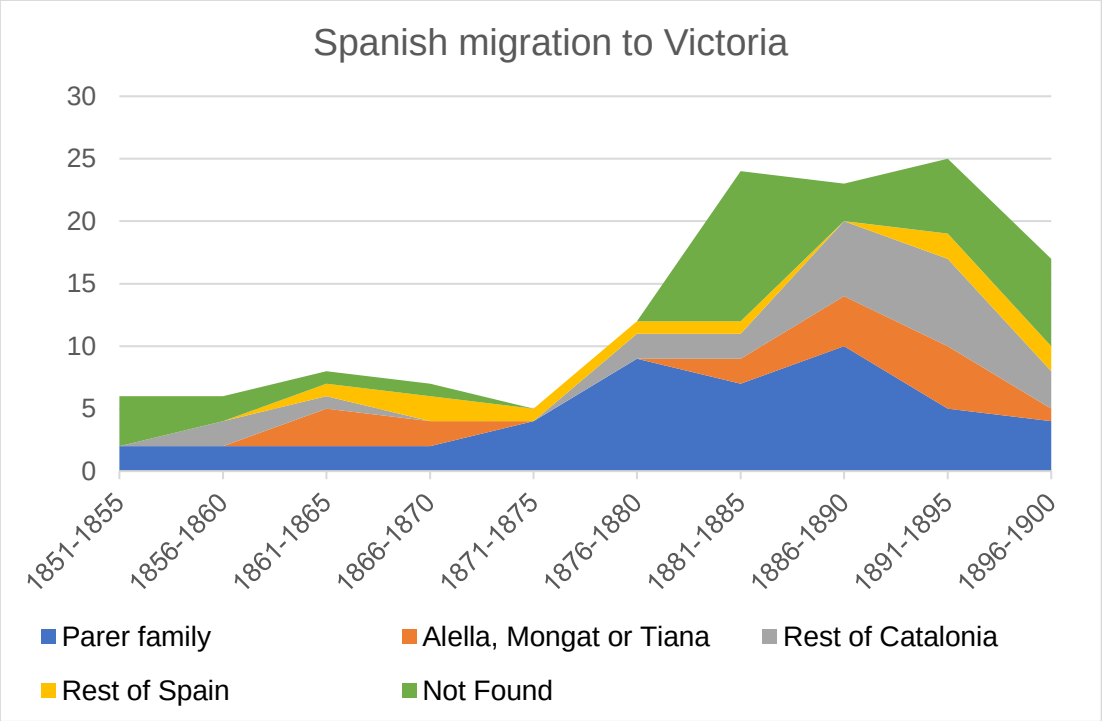

Figure 2. Number of Spaniards migrating to Victoria by origin (second half of the nineteenth century). Gold seekers are not included.

In Figure 2, the number of Spaniards who migrated to the colony of Victoria are represented in a timeline and given a colour that corresponds with their place of origin. The groups selected were four: first, the Parer family; second, people from Alella, Mongat and Tiana, which are the towns where the Parer extended family came from, but excluding the Parer family members; third, migrants from the rest of Catalonia; and fourth, migrants whose origin was in the rest of Spain. From the graph two facts become apparent: first, the number of Spaniards migrating to Australia was very low until 1875 and it rose significantly in the following twenty years, decreasing a little from 1895 to 1900; second, the Catalan are by far the largest group of Spanish settlers in Victoria, especially in the last twenty-five years, coinciding with the Parer family migration.

Analysing the graph by groups, excluding the Parer family because it has already been analysed in the previous section, the group of Catalans from Alella, Mongat and Tiana, which totalled 17 people, arrived in two major periods. The first one took place in the

1860s, when five men migrated to Australia, and second from 1885 to 1895, when about a dozen migrants moved to Victoria. In both periods, the people from these Catalan towns worked in the Parer, Barbeta and Arenas businesses as cooks, waiters or storekeepers. The Parer family, particularly Stephen Parer, assisted newcomers offering them lodging and work. The Parer family preferred to sponsor their kin and friends from these towns rather than hiring local people in Melbourne.[198] For example, Francis Ripoll, from Alella, arrived in Melbourne in 1862.[199] He worked as a waiter in the Parer´s businesses, married Emily Cochaigne in 1890 and rented a house in Fitzroy, where the Spanish community used to live.[200] After some years, Ripoll was a cook still working for the Parers in Bourke street and he had managed to buy a house in Fitzroy.[201] Other people from these towns initiated their own hospitality businesses, like Antonio San Miguel, from Alella. He was employed by Martin Arenas in Victoria and Arenas lent him some money to start a new business in Sydney in 1877. San Miguel obtained the licence of the *Australian Hotel* in Druitt Street in Sydney and three years later he had repaid the money to Arenas. Furthermore, Martin Arenas and his wife were living at San Miguel's *Australian Hotel*.[202] Finally, he moved back to Melbourne and worked as a cork merchant, but this business was not associated with the Parer family.[203]

Besides this group of Catalans from Alella, Mongat or Tiana, the number of Catalans born elsewhere in this region was also on the rise from 1875 to the end of the century. This group totalled 23 people in these fifty years, although there were sure to have been more Catalans migrating to Australia whose names or origin could not be found. The first Spanish person to become naturalised in Victoria was Peter Gras-y-Fort (Pere/Pedro Gras i Fort), in 1858, who said he was a restaurateur in Melbourne.[204] This Catalan from Reus (Tarragona) was the first Spaniard to make his fortune catering for gold diggers in Melbourne, where he held a publican licence for the *Spanish Hotel*, in Elizabeth street, in 1858.[205] Shortly afterwards, he advertised that he had opened the new bar of the *Spanish Hotel, Café and Restaurant*, where "he will supply ales, wines and spirits of the finest quality, at prices usually moderate to those, which has procured him the celebrity

198 Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia," 26-27.

199 PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1. He travelled with other two Catalans, Josep Tous and Pera Salvado.

200 PROV, VPRS 2336 Microfilm Copy of Rate Books, 1858-1901, P0000, units 13 and 14; and VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 4455/1890.

201 PROV, VPRS 2336, P0000, units 15 and 16.

202 "Licensing Business. Central Police Court," *Sydney Morning Herald,* 16 June 1880: 6.

203 "News of the Day," *Age,* 28 February 1895: 4.

204 Certificate of Naturalisation, 26 February 1858, NAA, A172, 1858/F1743.

205 "Publicans' Cases," *Age,* 10 March 1858: 5.

his restaurant possesses."[206] This establishment was located in 113, 115, 117 and 119 Elizabeth street, and the previous advertisement suggests that he had been in the restaurant business for some time, although his arrival and his first connection to the Parers could not be found.[207] Within this group, some people worked in the hospitality industry, including the Parer's business, but there were others who had other professions, like Leandro Coy, who was a famous opera singer or Manuel Molinas, who started as a hotel keeper, became a clerk and finally worked as a Government interpreter. This group of Catalans includes a good number of labourers employed in growing tomatoes in Bendigo which will be analysed in the next section.

The next group in the graph is the Spaniards migrating to Australia whose origin was outside of Catalonia. They amounted to only ten people and most of them worked the land as labourers, gardeners or farmers. They moved to Australia alone throughout the period and came from different parts of Spain. Peter Telechi (Pedro Telechea), for instance, was a sailor from Bermeo (Biscay) in the Basque Country and arrived in Australia in 1874. He was a labourer who lived in Williamstown and owned a yacht called Katie, named after his wife.[208] The only exception found is Joseph Gilnott, a grocer from Valencia who was living in Maryborough in 1867, which suggests that he came earlier probably attracted by the gold rush.[209] In 1870 he married the Irish woman Hannah Ryan and sometime in that decade they moved to Melbourne and made friends with the Parer family, as they travelled together to Spain in 1878 and back to Melbourne the following year.[210] In this trip back he was said to be a grocer, but shortly afterwards he started a new career in the hospitality business associated with the Parer family.[211]

In the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, the Catalan community in Melbourne which had grown around the Parer family became visible in the public sphere:

> The Spanish are now so numerous in Melbourne that they almost form a colony of considerable importance, and they have recently established a dancing club, naming it

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206 "Advertising," *Argus,* 3 April 1858: 8.

207 *The Spanish Restaurant*, in 113 Elizabeth street was operating in September 1856, looking for a man cook. "Advertising," *Argus,* 30 September 1856: 1.

208 Certificate of Naturalisation, 22 February 1897, NAA, A712, 1897/F1796; SLV, Sands and McDougall's directories, year 1890, p. 1047, http://cedric.slv.vic.gov.au/R/FDQ2FIS6JXJV4U1I3YRA6M8VLGL51XQ4BF43HBHE49BJ3KTV1S-03368?func=search, accessed 23 February 2020; "Brighton Yacht Club," *Caulfield and Elsternwick Leader*, 28 March 1891: 5.

209 "Maryborough Police Court," *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 6 February 1867: 2.

210 "Shipping Intelligence," *Argus,* 22 March 1878: 4; and PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1.

211 "Advertising," *Argus,* 18 June 1881: 11; and "Police. Central Police Court," *Sydney Morning Herald,* 22 February 1882: 7.

"The Barcelona Quadrille Club".[212]

By the beginning of the 1890s they were a well-known group which organised events like the theatre party held in 1891 for the presentation of the *prima donna signorita* Emilia Guidotti.[213] They also raised money and sent it to Spain to help those affected by the flooding in the southeast of the country in 1891.[214] Finally, they participated in other events representing Spain, such as the *World's International Tug of War Tournament* held in Melbourne in 1892. Spain's team was called "*Ne plus ultra*" and the captain was James Triado.[215]

In the 1890s the financial crisis struck Victoria and the subsequent economic depression affected many entrepreneurs.[216] Some Catalan businessmen became insolvent and some left for other colonies in search of better opportunities. Most of the Spaniards who left Victoria headed to Western Australia, probably because of the last gold rush of the century. For example, Salvador Guardiola from Vilaseca (Tarragona, Catalonia), who arrived in Australia in 1889 and became naturalised in 1893, left Melbourne in that year for Perth where he opened a restaurant called *The Spanish Restaurant*. He had been working as a barman for the Parer Brothers and he stated that he was the manager of this restaurant "from Parer Bros. Melbourne", so he took advantage of the good reputation this establishment had in Victoria and copied not only the name but also the style.[217] His success was reported in the press: "The name of Guardiola is now as well-known in Perth, as Parer Bros. in Melbourne."[218] Some years later, Guardiola repeated the formula opening a *Crystal Café* in Perth.[219] Other Catalans who left for Perth were the brothers James and Joseph Vila, from Tiana.[220]

Due to the economic crisis, some Spaniards became insolvent but stayed in Victoria. For example, Emilio de Faro, from Barcelona, started as a storeman and soon became a

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[212] "The Vienna Bakery," *Table Talk*, 30 July 1886: 16. This news reached Spain and were published in the newspaper *La Ilustración* in Barcelona: "Parer's Café Cristal," *La Ilustración*, 30 October 1887: 730, Hemeroteca Digital.

[213] "Alexandra Theatre," *Table Talk*, 13 November 1891: 15.

[214] "Floods in Spain Relief Fund," *Age,* 16 October 1891: 7; and "Floods in Spain Relief Fund," *Argus,* 21 October 1891: 5.

[215] "Advertising," *Age*, 16 January 1892: 12. The words "*Plus Ultra*" appear in the coat of arms of Spain.

[216] Geoffrey Blainey, *A History of Victoria* (Port Melbourne, VIC: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 147-148.

[217] "News and notes," *West Australian,* 11 December 1893: 4.

[218] "Spanish Restaurant, Hay-Street," *Inquirer and Commercial News,* 28 December 1894: 9.

[219] "News and notes," *West Australian,* 5 December 1901: 6.

[220] "Family notices," *Daily News (Perth, WA),* 2 June 1896: 2.

hotel keeper. In 1894, he became insolvent as the owner of the *Albion Hotel*.[221] Away from the hospitality business, the Catalan John Antonio Martinez, sailmaker, became insolvent in 1893 and abandoned his profession to work as a railway employee, becoming insolvent once again in 1896.[222] The economic crisis had a negative effect on the number of Spaniards living to Victoria, that amounted for 208 in 1891 and decreased to 176 in 1901.[223]

Catalans in the tomato growing industry in Bendigo at the end of the nineteenth century

One of the secrets of the Parer's success was the combination of good quality food in their meals and reasonable prices. To achieve this, they owned a farm which supplied *The Duke de la Victoria* with fresh fruits and vegetables. These were produced at a garden in Box Hill, where one of the pioneering brothers, Francis, had bought 40 acres of land in 1870.[224] Almost a decade later, this garden had 3,000 fruit trees and was also producing around 400 dozen quart bottles of tomato sauce every year.[225]

One of the regular customers of *The Duke* was J.P. Carolin, an entrepreneur from Bendigo, and its mayor for two terms. Carolin became interested in tomato growing and visited the Francis Parer's farm in Box Hill to see his tomatoes and other vegetables under cultivation.[226] He decided to start his own garden in Bendigo and brought some Spaniards to help local growers with irrigation.[227]

The key person in Carolin's cultivation enterprise was Joseph Ferrer, from Alella, who had migrated to Australia with his wife, Maria Fontcuberta in 1891.[228] Ferrer was an experienced farmer and shortly after his arrival he was working for Carolin engaging labourers to work in his garden in White Hills (Bendigo). One of these was Juan Bosch, who arrived in Melbourne in 1891 and was employed in the kitchen at Parer Brothers. Some months later, he was engaged by Ferrer to work for J.P. Carolin in Bendigo for 20s

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[221] "Criminal Court," *Age,* 21 August 1894: 7.

[222] "New Insolvent," *Argus,* 18 December 1893: 5; and "New Insolvents." *Argus,* 10 August 1896: 5.

[223] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Data Archive, Smith, Rowse and Hungerford. HCCDA, vol. 1, p. 65 (census 1891), and vol. 2, p. 23 (census 1901), accessed 21 October 2019, doi: 10.26193/MP6WRS.

[224] Parer, *The Anton Parer*, 22, 27.

[225] "Melbourne Restaurants" *Age,* 26 July 1879: 6.

[226] Parer, *The Anton Parer*, 22, 27.

[227] Betty May Jackman, *Mayors of Bendigo 1856-2001* (Bendigo, VIC: Betty May Jackman, 2003), 105.

[228] M. Mercé Compte-Barceló, "Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia, l'heroi de Bendigo," *Alella Magazine*, no. 347 (May-June 2017): 33-34.

a week, but he was dismissed five months later because there was not enough work for him as Ferrer had engaged five Spaniards to work for Carolin for 11s per week.[229] Indeed, Ferrer had travelled back to Spain, to his home town, in 1892 and had brought seeds, tools and labourers.[230] This information suggests that Carolin and Ferrer started their garden enterprise in Bendigo with workers already in Australia and after the first successful crop, Carolin sent Ferrer to Spain to recruit more labourers.

Ferrer was a seasoned and innovative farmer and his skills and character together with Carolin's financial support resulted in the successful tomato growing industry in Bendigo. This industry was carried out by labourers from Catalonia, mainly from the Alella area, and lasted for various decades. In fact, Ferrer bought his own land in Kerang (north of Bendigo) and started his own horticulture business again with labourers from Spain. In the nineteenth century, 18 Spaniards could be found related to this tomato growing industry, and this number increased considerably in the first two decades of the following century.

In conclusion, this section presents the stages and factors involved in the Catalan chain migration in Melbourne in the second half of the nineteenth century. The first stage entailed the Parer brothers' success in the hospitality industry, which was a result of factors such as chance, hard work and business skills. Twenty years after their settlement, the chain migration from their hometown and region started to increase. In this case, the key elements were not only sponsorship and job opportunities but also more personal qualities, like trust and support. The success, character and charisma of the pioneering Parer brothers persuaded their country fellowmen to migrate to the antipodes, very far from the easier and better-known destinies preferred by Spaniards, such as Cuba or Argentina. The Parers also provided a sense of community in Melbourne with frequent gatherings and events which attracted other Catalans in the city. Finally, at the end of the nineteenth century a second Catalan chain migration focus was initiated in Bendigo around the tomato growing industry. In this case, the job opportunities and economic support was offered by J.P. Carolin and the unifying and reliable person was the gifted Catalan orchardist Joseph Ferrer.

[229] "An Extraordinary Case," *Bendigo Independent,* 9 September 1892: 3.

[230] Compte-Barceló, "Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia," 34.

Chapter Three. Identity and assimilation

Throughout the second chapter of this thesis the Spanish migrants to Australia have been analysed in groups. These analytical groups were based on either their motivation for moving, like the New Norcia mission or the gold rush in Victoria, or a type of forced migration, for example, in the case of the convicts, or chain migration to Victoria in the last third of the nineteenth century. This categorisation also allows for an analysis of the historical and geographical particularities of a particular colony and period, as there were obviously very different circumstances surrounding the migration of monks to the New Norcia mission in Western Australia compared with gold seekers in Victoria. It is also important to note that not all the Spaniards who came to Australia in the nineteenth century fall under one of these groups, but the number of outliers is not very high.

This third chapter examines the identity and assimilation of Spaniards in Australia during the period under study. Therefore, they are analysed as a group including those who were not in any of the above-mentioned categories. The whole group of Spaniards included in this study amounts to 407 people. This chapter is divided into three parts: in the first section, their identity as Spanish people in the nineteenth century is studied as a base for determining the adjustments made to conform to the host society; the second part is devoted to the relationship among Spaniards and between Spaniards and other ethnic groups; and in the third section, Spanish women and their identity is analysed.

A necessary step before examining this group of Spaniards is to establish the conceptual framework of the analysis conducted in this chapter. The concepts of identity and assimilation are linked in the study of migration but require separate consideration. In the first place, identity is a multifaceted term which can be studied from different perspectives and classified as in turn personal identity and collective identity. Among the factors which determine identity are gender, race, ethnicity, class and education. In this historical research, identity has been analysed taking into account two considerations. First, according to social theorists like Giddens and Bauman, the nature of identity nowadays differs from that in the nineteenth century.[1] Whereas in today's globalised world identities tend to be hybrid and characterised by mobility and fluidity, in the modern

[1] Anthony Giddens, *Modernity of Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1991); and Zygmunt Bauman, *The Individualised Society* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 2001), cited by H. Easthope, "Fixed Identities in a Mobile World? The Relationship between Mobility, Place and Identity," *Identities: Global Studies in Power and Culture* 16, no. 1 (2009): 61-82, accessed 25 November 2019, http://handle.unsw.edu.au/1959.4/unsworks_35006.

period the identity of individuals was influenced to a large extent by the place of birth and the parents' social position and remained relatively stable.[2] In Bauman's words it was a matter of "soil and blood."[3] Second, despite the fact that identities were more static in the 1800s, in the case of migrants, changes to identity were likely to occur on a larger scale, as the cultures and values that were brought into contact by migration were often very different. In this study, British and Spanish cultures and values differed substantially, although the term "British" embraced different ethnic groups in turn. In the nineteenth century English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish were all politically British but mostly they would not have identified as the same group. In this section about identities, a distinction between Irish and the rest of the British will be made in order to analyse similarities between Spanish and Irish in certain aspects, such as religion.

Secondly, the term assimilation implies the "adoption of the majority culture," at least in public spaces.[4] In the Australian case, Borrie defined assimilation as a process in which non-British groups, due to being small minorities in "an environment which has had relatively little economic, social or cultural flexibility, had to conform substantially to the patterns of the majority."[5] Furthermore, in the nineteenth century, as the non-Britishers in Australia were a small percentage of the population, migrant assimilation was usually considered to be a one-way process.[6] Throughout this process, newcomers from Spain were compelled to make important adjustments to conform to the dominant British culture, particularly in language, social customs and religion. However, as this research shows, there was still space for retaining part of their own culture, especially in the private sphere. As the latest trends in migration studies show, new approaches like "transregionalism" and "transculturalism" provide wider perspectives on the concept of assimilation and they have been used in this research as far as the sources allow.[7] Both terms were proposed by Hoerder and built on the "transnationalism" concept developed by Nina Glick-Schiller in 1992. "Transregionalism" was suggested by Hoerder as a way of reflecting the shift in migration studies from national to local and regional approaches, whereas "transculturalism" focuses on the multi-layered cultural space created by people

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2 Easthope, "Fixed Identities in a Mobile World?," 66.

3 Zygmunt Bauman, "Soil, Blood and Identity," *The Sociological Review* 40, no. 4 (1992): 679.

4 James Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian Immigration* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 22.

5 Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, xiii-xiv.

6 Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, xii.

7 Dirk Hoerder, "Historians and Their Data: The Complex Shift from Nation-State Approaches to the Study of People's Transcultural Lives," *Journal of American Ethnic History* 25, no. 4 (2006): 85-96, accessed 9 July 2018, http://www.jstor.org/stable/27501745.

living in two or more differing cultures.[8] In this study, particularities in cultures and regions within Spain have been acknowledged with special attention to Catalonia, as Catalan people constituted a significant part of the Spanish migrants.

Ideally, an in-depth study of individual migrant's identity and assimilation would require a qualitative methodology based on personal interviews and biographical studies. The nineteenth century time frame excludes that possibility and most descendants in Australia have very little information about their Spanish ancestors. Therefore, most of the data was collected from archives and newspapers, being fragmentary and incomplete, and subjective aspects such as attitudes and feelings could only be traced in a few cases. Nevertheless, the analysis of the available data provides some evidence about how Spaniards adapted to colonial Australia society.

3.1 Migration experience

In this section I have analysed the process of migration focusing on the individuals in three moments: before migrating, in the moment of migrating and after settlement. In order to establish the changes in identity and the degree of assimilation achieved by the Spanish migrants, first it is necessary to define their characteristics before they departed. The second step is to try to determine the circumstances of their migration, that is, what type of migration they followed. The third is to analyse their lives in Australia and identify the degree of assimilation achieved by looking into the adjustments and changes they made to fit into the host society. And finally, the last part of this section is devoted to the business connections between Spain and Australia that were promoted by some Spaniards living in Australia.

- *Spanish migrants' demographic data*

In the first chapter of this thesis I established the push and pull factors that might have triggered the decision to migrate among some Spaniards in the nineteenth century. But who were those Spaniards who finally settled in Australia? In order to answer this question, socio-demographic factors like their sex, age, marital status, regional origin within Spain, occupation and economic status are examined.

The gender distribution of Spanish migrants in colonial Australia was quite unbalanced, as 92% were men and only 8% were females. This distribution is below the average ratio

[8] Hoerder, "Historians and Their Data," 91.

among non-British Europeans, which was approximately one woman for every three men – or 25%.[9] The Spanish gender imbalance was more marked because of the New Norcia mission, populated by monks who did not start a family. For example, if we take the census of Victoria for 1891, the proportion of Spanish females rises to 29%, which was above the average, whereas Greek and Italian women only amounted for 8% and 10% respectively.[10] Most of these Spanish females migrated together with other members of their families, such as husbands or parents. This group of Spanish female migrants will be further analysed in the section "Spanish women's identity."

According to their age on arrival, Spaniards have been divided into three groups: children, ages from 0 to 15; young adults, ages from 16 to 29; and mature, older than 30 (see Table 9). Although 16 years of age cannot be considered an adult in today's view, in the 1800s it was common for adolescents to work as labourers or in the family trade. Thus, their capacity to work has been the criterion used.

Age on arrival	No.
Between 0 and 15	16
Between 16 and 29	79
Older than 30	31

Table 9. Age of Spanish migrants reported on arrival (nineteenth century). Retrieved from passenger lists.

In light of this data, the large number of young adults was significantly more numerous than the other categories. It also shows that only a few children moved to Australia with their parents and most of them belonged to the families in the Catalan chain migration in Melbourne. The majority of Spanish newcomers were single young man ready to work in sectors such as the mining or the catering industries. They were also highly mobile. In fact, only 12 individuals stated that they were married on arrival. This was also the trend among Italian and Greek migrants to colonial Australia.[11]

Spanish migration to Australia was clearly dominated by Catalan people. Approximately, two in every three Spanish natives whose origin within Spain could be traced came to Australia from Catalonia. This is not a surprise if the chain migration is considered, and

[9] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 34; and Michael P. Tsounis, "Greek Communities in Australia," in *Greeks in Australia*, ed. Charles A. Price, (Canberra: ANU Press, 1975), 30.

[10] Australian Bureau of Statistics, Australian Data Archive, Smith, Rowse and Hungerford. HCCDA, vol. 1, p. 65.

[11] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 142.

it is important to note that the main source for regional origin data was the naturalisation records, and the group of Spaniards who applied for naturalisation was overwhelmingly led by the Catalans living in Melbourne. As for the rest of the regions in Spain, Andalusia, the Basque Country and Galicia are represented most often. All of these four regions were traditionally areas of emigration in the nineteenth century, as they were heavily populated and located on the coast (see Chapter One). Natives from the Canary Islands, another important focus of emigration, are underrepresented, and only two cases could be found.

Furthermore, half of the Spaniards came from rural areas and the rest stated that they had come from a city, although this information might be misleading as some migrants had hailed from smaller towns but in their naturalisation records, they said they were born in the nearest big city. For example, some of the members of the Parer family declared that they were natives of Barcelona, instead of Alella. In addition, most of the rural areas mentioned by the Spaniards were close to an urban nucleus. Probably causes for the migration from rural areas include the unequal hereditary system, that favoured the first-born male (see Chapter One) together with recurrent agricultural crisis. The phylloxera for instance, ravaged European grapes and was the cause for many Italian gardeners deciding to migrate to Australasia in the late 1800s.[12] This pest reached Spain and spread throughout the country in the last twenty years of the nineteenth century, including the well-known viniculture area of Alella. Despite this fact, a direct connection between the phylloxera and the Spanish migration of orchardists to Australia could not be found.[13] What is evident though is the relationship between the ruin of the vine-growing industry in Bendigo due to the phylloxera and the opportunity that this brought for the tomato-growing industry in which the Spanish orchardists worked.[14]

The occupation of the Spaniards on their arrival to Australia was only recorded in a few cases in the shipping documents. Apart from the group of convicts and the monks heading to New Norcia, there were seven miners, six seamen, three farmers, two labourers, two merchants, two artists, one cattleman, one clerk and one singer. When compared to the occupations recorded on the naturalisation records, some differences are noticeable. In these records, the more frequent occupations are mining, gardening, hotel keeping or cooking (see Figure 3). Except for mining and gardening, it is not very

12 "Italians in Australia," *Sunday Times,* 29 April 1906: 3.

13 “Intereses vinícolas,” *La Rioja* (Logroño, Spain), 13 March 1896: 1, Hemeroteca Digital.

14 “Story of Bendigo,” *Argus*, 26 July 1913: 7.

likely that these were their original occupations in Spain, so probably they worked in those professions after arrival. However, as it was mentioned in the chain migration section, Spanish gardeners were encouraged to migrate by tomato-growing entrepreneur J. P. Carolin and use their skills in Australia. Other significant groups were seamen and traders, especially cork merchants. Finally, in general, Spanish artisans, such as tailors or carpenters, did not migrate to Australia in large numbers. The only examples found are either convicts who settled in after serving their terms or monks in New Norcia who learned a profession to help their community.[15] Spanish artisans usually migrated to Latin America which was not only closer but where they could find both job opportunities and a network of kinship.[16]

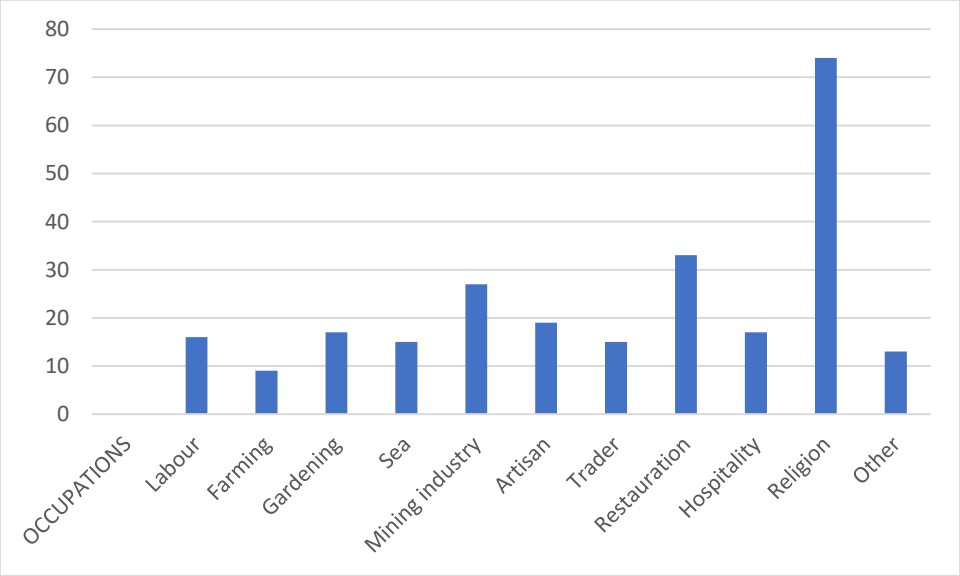

Figure 3. Spaniards' main occupations in Australia in numbers (1813-1910).

In the dataset there is a group of 37 Spaniards who changed their occupation while living in Australia, but it is likely that this number was higher, although more information is not available. In regional areas of Australia, most of these Spaniards declared they were miners on arrival and decided to engage in land activities after the gold rush instead of moving towards other goldfields. For example, George Rivas, from the Balearic Islands, arrived in New South Wales in 1871 from New Zealand and became naturalised eight

[15] "The Native Mission of New Norcia, Victoria Plains," *Herald,* 4 January 1868: 3.

[16] César Yáñez Gallardo, "La emigración catalana a América. Una visión de largo plazo, in *La emigración española a Ultramar, 1492*-1914, ed. Antonio Eiras Roel (Madrid: Tabapress, Grupo Tabacalera, 1991), 179-184, accessed 3 December 2019, http://hdl.handle.net/10261/77017.

years later as a miner.[17] In 1889, ten years after his naturalisation, he bought 160 acres of land in Cassilis, a regional town in New South Wales, starting his activity as farmer and grazier.[18] Probably, he had been working as a miner or labourer and saved enough money to buy land, establishing himself as a grazier in the Cassilis area for the rest of his life.[19] But buying extensive plots of land and farming in Australian rural areas as a sole form of livelihood was not very common among Spaniards, as it happened to Italians.[20] Unskilled migrants who had been attracted by the gold rush usually enjoyed high rates of geographical and occupational mobility. Changes in occupation were frequent at the time in regional areas, and the obituary of Frank Harritable in 1916 in the *Bendigo Advertiser* offers a good instance:

> Mr. Frank Harritable, a well-known and highly respected resident of the Sebastian district, died yesterday morning at the advanced age of 96 years. A native of Bilbao, Spain, the deceased gentleman came to Melbourne as a seaman in 1858, and decided to remain in this State. He went to the McIvor diggings for 12 months, and afterwards followed up a number of rushes in various parts of Victoria, including the Whipstick, Raywood, etc. Many years ago he went to Sebastian, and worked there as a miner in both alluvial and quartz claims. Later he commenced farming and speculating, and was tolerably successful. He built the White Horse Hotel, Sebastian, and carried on the business for many years. The late Mr. Harritable was one of the promoters and original directors of the Frederick the Great Gold Mining Company, and also of the Bruhn's Tribute Company, at Sebastian, both of which mines proved rich gold producers. During latter years he was chiefly engaged on the land.[21]

In Melbourne though, work changes occurred mainly within the catering industry and were facilitated by kin and friends already in the business. For example, Joseph Gilnot, from Denia, Valencia, was a grocer on the goldfields, in Maryborough in 1867.[22] Some years later, he might have become acquainted with the Parer and Arenas families, as in 1878 we find him and his wife travelling to Spain with some members of these families.[23] Gilnot and his wife returned to Australia the following year in the same ship with some of the Parer extended family members. He again declared himself to be a grocer, whereas the other Spaniards said they were farmers.[24] In 1880, Gilnot had moved to Carlton and had taken the license for the Victoria Hotel.[25] In 1882, he was living in New South Wales and had some business with Martin Arenas, who transferred him the license to the

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17 Certificate of Naturalisation, 10 January 1879, NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1205], p. 276, reel 130.

18 "Cassilis," *Maitland Mercury and Hunter River General Advertiser,* 8 June 1889: 4.

19 "Obituary," *Mudgee Guardian and North-Western Representative,* 25 August 1927: 14.

20 Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia*, 103.

21 "Obituary," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 2 May 1916: 5.

22 "Maryborough Police Court," *Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser,* 6 February 1867: 2.

23 "Shipping Intelligence," *Argus,* 22 March 1878: 4.

24 PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1.

25 "Advertising," *Herald,* 20 November 1880: 3.

Australian hotel.[26] His death could not be found but his wife died in Melbourne, which suggests that they had moved back to Victoria.[27]

A large group, 31% of the Spanish sample mostly from Catalonia, were self-employed and initiated their own businesses, mainly as traders or in the restaurant and hospitality sectors. This group of entrepreneurs flourished in Melbourne in the 1880s and were characterised by their dynamism, as they frequently changed their investments looking for the best profit. As discussed in the previous chapter, when the economic crisis hit Melbourne in the early 1890s, some of them moved to other states, prioritising Western Australia due to the last gold rush of the century.

The graph of occupations held by Spaniards in Australia shows a remarkable prevalence of people devoted to religion, due to the New Norcia mission. The percentage of people working in the agricultural sector was below the Spanish average, where between 63% and 71% of the population worked in this sector in the second half of the nineteenth century.[28] Another remarkable fact is the small quantity of Spanish migrants who worked as shepherds or graziers, given that in Australia pastoral activities were important and Spaniards were skilled shepherds, particularly in the merino sheep. Finally, in Spain labour was characterised by irregularity and seasonal work in different activities, including harvesting, shepherding and mining.[29] In Australia, fragmented data does not allow a complete analysis, but the information found suggests a similar trend.

Once these socio-demographic factors have been analysed, it seems that migrants from Spain tended to be single young men, coming from coastal regions of Spain, principally from Catalonia, and whose previous working skills were not relevant in Australia, except for some miners, gardeners and the New Norcia monks. Their socio-economic background could not be clearly traced, but the available data reveals that most of the Spanish newcomers were peasants or belonged to the working class, like the Parer family. Just a few exceptions were found among people of liberal professions, such as the engineer Henry Rosales, the opera singer Leandro Coy or the botanist Antonio de la Camara.

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26 "Police. Central Police Court," *Sydney Morning Herald,* 22 February 1882: 7.

27 "Advertising," *Age,* 27 July 1897: 1.

28 Carmen Sarasúa, “Trabajo y trabajadores en la España del siglo XIX,” *Working papers, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, Unitat d’Història Econòmica*, no. 7 (2005): 6, accessed 19 November 2019, http://www.h-economica.uab.cat/papers/wps/2005/2005_07.pdf.

29 Sarasúa, “Trabajo y trabajadores,” 7.

- *Migration Patterns*

What migration patterns did Spaniards follow? All the Spanish migrants in Australia were unassisted by government migrant schemes, as there was no official support from the British colonies to encourage migration from Spain. Among Spaniards, there are some obvious differences. For example, convicts came to Australia because of a transportation sentence, so their migration was forced. Gold seekers paid for their fares and left Europe mainly from British ports, although some of them might have sailed from other continents. For example, Juan Bautista Rojo migrated first to California in 1849, following the gold rush in the area, before moving to Australia. Although this was common at the time, Rojo was the only Spaniard found who came from California. There was also another group of miners who were previously seamen and jumped ship on arrival. In the case of New Norcia, monks had their fares paid either by the Spanish crown or thanks to the money raised by bishop Salvado and other religious people and travelled from Spain.[30] Finally, in the case of Catalan chain migration to Victoria, families helped pay their relatives' fares, and they usually set sail from Marseilles to Australia (see Table 10).

Port of embarkation		Migrants
Europe	United Kingdom	49
	France	31
	Spain	62
America	United States	3
	Uruguay	2
	Argentina	1
Asia	India	5
	Sri Lanka	2
	Philippines	1
Pacific	New Zealand	4

Table 10. Port of embarkation of Spanish migrants reported on arrival (nineteenth century). Retrieved from passenger lists.

For a prospective Spanish migrant, the trip to Australia was both expensive and difficult, so privately sponsored Spanish migrants were the larger group. This includes the New Norcia missionaries, who mostly departed from Cadiz in British vessels, and the Catalan people who joined their kin in Australia and travelled from Marseilles through the Suez Canal taking advantage of the French route towards New Caledonia. The rest of the

[30] Russo, *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness,* 67, 69.

Spaniards in the dataset sailed mainly from British ports, such as London, Plymouth or Gravesend. In a few cases, only the last part of the route could be found, which brought Spaniards from Asian British colonies, like India or Sri Lanka towards Australia.

It is noticeable that there is a lack of a flow of Spaniards from Central and South America, which were their first migration choice, to Australia. This may be due to the lack of passenger shipping routes and the difficulty distinguishing between the names of Spanish and Latin Americans, as they share the same surnames. The Catalan Parer brothers, for instance, emigrated first to Latin America and later they arrived in Australia from Montevideo (Uruguay).[31] The case of the Philippines is also noteworthy, as only one Spaniard could be traced coming from that archipelago. Commerce between the Philippines and Australia was frequent in the colonial period and this Spanish colony supplied tobacco and sugar mainly to New South Wales and Victoria, although this trade was controlled by British companies.[32] Contemporary sources name some "Manilamen" in Victoria in the gold rush period as early as 1856, but the problem lies again in the similarity between the surnames of Indigenous people from the Philippines and Spaniards.[33] Despite this difficulty, the lack of a flow of Spanish migrants from the Philippines to Australia might be explained by two factors: the low number of Spanish colonials in the Philippines, and the high percentage of them who worked for the colonial administration, such as members of the army and civil servants, who had secure careers.[34] Therefore, despite the proximity between the Philippines and Australia, Spanish colonials did not need to look for job opportunities elsewhere.

As for spatial distribution within Australia, the colony that received the largest number of Spaniards was Victoria, with 51%. The second destination was the colony of Western Australia (28%) and the third was New South Wales (17%) (see Figure 4). This distribution is explained by the strength of pull factors such as the gold rush and the chain migration in the colony of Victoria and the New Norcia mission in Western Australia. In

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31 Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/2018/02/11/the-first-parers-to-arrive-in-australia/, accessed 15 October 2019.

32 Archivo Histórico Nacional (henceforth AHN), Ultramar, 439, Exp. 4 – 9, *Noticias sobre el comercio de Australia*, 1860. Manuel M. de Artaza Montero, "Filipinas: Imperio, independencia y *path dependence" SEMATA, Ciencias Sociais e Humanidades* 23 (2001): 274, accessed 11 December 2019, http://www.usc.es/revistas/index.php/semata/article/view/174/33.

33 "Geelong" *Argus,* 13 October 1856: 5. Renato Perdon in his research about Filipinos in Australia does not mention these early settlers in Victoria and states that pioneering Filipinos arrived in Australia from the 1870s and were engaged in fishing and pearl diving in Northern Australia and Queensland. Renato Perdon, *Connecting Two Cultures. Australia and the Philippines* (Darlinghurst, NSW: Manila Prints, 2014), 58-63.

34 Rodao calculates that approximately 65% of Spanish colonials were engaged in these activities. Rodao, "Comunidad española," 29.

the case of New South Wales, the Spaniards settled earlier than in Victoria and worked mainly as labourers, farmers, seamen and miners. In this colony there is not a clear element of attraction, although the prospect of wealth and job opportunities are the more admissible.

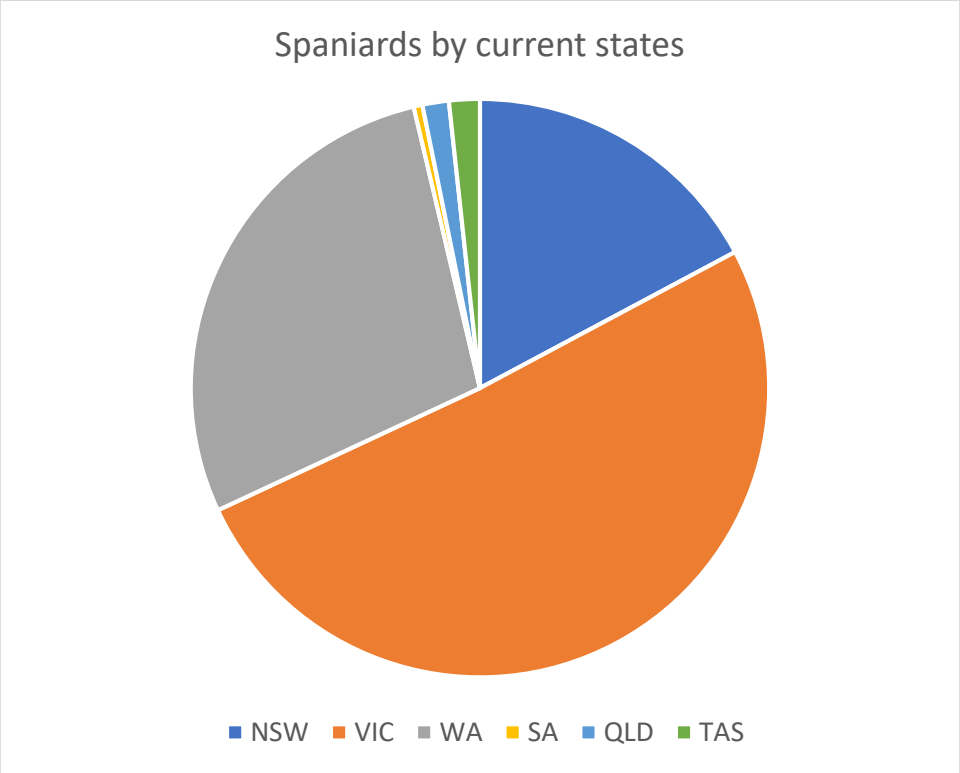

Figure 4. Percentage of Spanish migrants in each colony (1813-1910).

In Victoria, Spaniards concentrated in Bendigo and Melbourne. In Bendigo, settlement was initiated in the late nineteenth century and continued in the first half of the 1900s as a result of the tomato growing industry promoted by J. P. Carolin. Some of the Spanish orchardists successfully started their own businesses in this industry but moved to better irrigated areas, like Kerang, as Bendigo lacks stable and ongoing water resources.[35] As for Melbourne, Spaniards lived in two areas, in the city centre, mainly in Fitzroy, and in the south east of Melbourne, in suburbs like Surrey Hills. Within the chain migration group, many families lived in the city centre while running their catering and hospitality businesses and later in their lives they moved to the suburb of Surrey Hills or another in the same area. This fact might be related to the phenomenon of suburbanization

[35] Joseph Ferrer and Salvador Creus were living in Kerang when they became naturalised.

observed in Melbourne in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.[36] Inner-city suburbs such as Fitzroy, Carlton or Collingwood had become increasingly expensive, overpopulated, and with higher crime rates, creating a desire among middle and upper classes to move to peripheral suburbs in search of a country life.[37] Railway lines were expanded towards these new residential suburbs, such as the one connecting the city centre with Box Hill which was opened in between 1880 and 1885.[38] In these years of real estate boom, the Parer brothers not only invested in real estate in Dandenong, where they owned the Parerville Estate, but also bought properties at Box Hill and Surrey Hills where they were living by the early twentieth century.[39] In addition, most of them were buried in the Catholic section of the Box Hill cemetery.

- *Changes and adjustments: assimilation and transculturalism*

Spanish settlement in the different Australian colonies was mainly conditioned by job opportunities, but little is recorded about what they expected in terms of integration or assimilation. Australian colonies were under British rule and British settlers had a quite distinct culture when compared to Spanish, including different language, religion and values. Therefore, Spanish natives needed to make substantial changes to fit into the host society. In the following paragraphs the scope of these adjustments will be presented through the analysis of the available data on their command of English language, their religion, the naturalisation records and the associations they joined.

To begin with, Spanish newcomers needed to interact in English and only a few of them could speak that language on arrival. There are some exceptions, like Henry Rosales, who was a mining engineer and the manager of the Walhalla Gold Mining company for more than 10 years. In a banquet celebrated in his honour in 1875, Rosales explained that he had studied various methods of mine management in different countries in Europe, including England, France and Belgium, before moving to Australia.[40] Also, the Spanish monks Rosendo Salvado and Joseph Serra who migrated to West Australia for the New Norcia mission studied English during their stay in the Benedictine Abbey of

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[36] Margaret Olive Indian, “Leisure in City and Suburb: Melbourne 1880-1900,” PhD thesis, Australian National University, 1980, iv, accessed 17 December 2019, https://openresearch-repository.anu.edu.au/bitstream/1885/10905/3/Indian_M_1980.pdf.

[37] Graeme Davison, *The Rise and Fall of Marvellous Melbourne* (Carlton, VIC: Melbourne University Press, 2004), 137-155.

[38] Indian, “Leisure in City and Suburb,” 8, figure 1.

[39] "Proposed Irrigation Colony at Dandenong," *South Bourke and Mornington Journal,* 29 June 1892: 2 (Weekly); Asensio, “Cap a Austràlia,” 28.

[40] “Banquet to Mr. Rosales at Walhalla,” *Gippsland Times* (Victoria), 12 August 1875: 3.

Downside, in England, just before setting sail for Australia, although their command of English was poor when they arrived.[41] Finally, the Spanish born Rev. Manuel Moran studied in England before arriving in Australia, so he mastered the English language.[42] There were other Spaniards who lived in England before arriving in Australia and who might have had a certain knowledge of English, like Adelaide de la Thoreza. The rest of the Spaniards examined could not speak the language on arrival and the ones who were involved in criminal trials needed interpreters. In the early years, these translations were made from English to French or Italian, as no Spanish interpreters were available. For example, in the case of the quarrel between the Spanish miner Carlos Fernando and the Italian miner Carajati, evidence was translated into French, which both could understand.[43] Nevertheless, after some time in the colonies, Spaniards usually gained an acceptable command of English. That is the case of the Parer family, whose members were in the hospitality business.

Despite their lack of fluency in English, most Spaniards adopted anglicised names after their arrival. Official and unofficial documents show a generalised change in the Spanish first names which were invariably translated to English. This way, Jose was translated to Joseph, Francisco to Francis, Pedro to Peter and so forth. Only a few showed certain resistances to this change, like the miner Juan Bautista Rojo, who always kept his Spanish first names. Another widespread change was the loss of the second surname, as Spanish people have two surnames. A few Spaniards lost their first surname instead of their second one, like Juan Rodrigues Montepensier, whose name was shortened to John Montepensier, or Esteban Rutllan Casas, whose children kept the surname Casas, instead of Rutllan.[44] There is also one example in which the two surnames were maintained by hyphenating them. This was the case of the Catalan brothers Joseph, Peter and Fernando Gras-y-Fort. For many though, the first surname was maintained with its original language as much as possible, although misspellings were very common. For example, the Spanish letter “ñ” was substituted by “n”, as in “Muñoz” which was changed to “Munoz”. Another common change was to amalgamate surnames which

41 Russo, *Lord Abbot of the Wilderness*, 22, 45.

42 "Rev. Manuel Moran," *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser,* 28 February 1939: 2.

43 “Heathcote Police Court," *McIvor Times and Rodney Advertiser,* 27 November 1863: 2.

44 The only document that shows John Montepensier’s full name is his marriage record, in 1877: NSW, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 3494/1877. He was generally known as “Monty”: "Some Local Inquiries," Daily News, 20 July 1907: 2. For Esteban Rutllan Casas, the information was obtained from the Blomfield family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/8724873/person/1983522422/facts?_phsrc=yLW2160&_phstart=successSource, accessed 22 February 2020.

consisted of two components, like Jose “de Torres” which was shown in many sources as Joseph “Detores.” In some cases, the anglicisation makes it difficult to trace the original surname. The Basque miner Frank Harritable, for instance, received his naturalisation under that name, but his death certificate recorded that he was the son of Jose Ygnacio Arratibel, so his original name would have been Francisco Arratibel, which is quite difficult to spell for an English speaker.[45]

All these changes show an anglicisation in the first names and variations in spelling in some last names which seem to have been adopted or accepted by Spaniards to fit into the new society, although a change for other reasons, like hiding identities cannot be discarded.[46] In addition, it was common to be known by a shortened version of names, like Antonio Joseph Triado, known as Tony, or Buenaventura Quiroga, known as Ben. Finally, it is also necessary to highlight that the New Norcia Spanish monks were not part of this general trend, as they maintained their religious Latin names. Becoming part of the host society was not a priority for the New Norcia community as they were under the Benedictine rule within their own monastery.

Another aspect of this topic is the names chosen by the Spanish migrants for their children. About 50% of them gave Anglo-Saxon names to their children, although a few of them gave a Spanish name to one of their children. For instance, John Joseph Griful Jorda and Amy Bolger had six daughters, whose names were Ivy Josine, Carmen Jno (sic), Josine Antonietta, Marie Bernardette, Amy Mary, Antonietta May. Only the second daughter had a purely Spanish name, whereas the rest seem to combine Anglo-Saxon and French names. In this case, Antonietta and Josine might have been family names as well, since they were given to more than one of the daughters. Furthermore, all the names are notably Catholic. More than 35% of the Spanish migrants chose for their children Spanish names in their families anglicising them. This is evident in the Parer family, as their descendants had first names that were common in the family like Joseph, Anthony, John and Francis. If we take the example of Stephen Parer, he married twice and had seven children, four of them bearing the names of Stephen’s own siblings,

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[45] Certificate of Naturalisation, 19 May 1870, NAA, A712, 1870/W5801; Petter/Jones family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/29858640/person/202109731652/facts?_phsrc=yLW2162&_phstart=successSource, accessed 28 October 2019.

[46] A story from my husband’s hometown (Caudete, Albacete, Castilla la Mancha, Spain) revealed the case of a Spaniard called Jose Esteve Ruiz, who was doing military service in the Philippines and escaped after a fight against his captain. He came to Australia in the early 1880s and stayed for a few years before moving to South America and, eventually, to Caudete where he died. All the efforts for finding any information about him in Australia were in vain. Unfortunately, he died long ago and his nephew, who was his closest relative, died as well.

another son was given his own name and his two younger daughters were called Henrietta and Mercedes, the latter a very Catalan name. The remaining 15% of Spanish settlers chose Spanish names for their children, and most of them either had only one child or were married to a Spanish woman. For example, Eusebio Clota and Josefa Tuxuera – both Catalan – had three children: Eusebio, Teresa and Annie Dolores. From this information it can be deduced that anglicised names were preferred by Spaniards married to a British or Irish woman and who were not part of the chain migration in Melbourne. Many of these anglicised names stand out as Catholic names though.

As for religion, although not stated on arrival, Spain was a country with a strong Catholic feeling. Spanish migrants continued practising Catholicism and only a few of them changed to another denomination, mostly as a result of marrying a non-Catholic, a practice also common among Irish Catholics (see Table 11). In particular, there were six Spaniards who married to Anglican partners and four of them baptised their children following this religious rite. Other Spaniards adopted other religious creeds, like the ex-convict John Perez de Castanos, who changed from Catholic to Baptist after marrying Bedelia Richardson, or Francisco Calbo, who is buried in the Presbyterian section of Melbourne cemetery.[47]

Religion	No.
Catholic	119
Anglican	6
Presbyterian	1
Baptist	2
Protestant	1

Table 11. Religion of Spanish migrants in Australia (nineteenth century).

The most plausible explanation for this change of denomination is their willingness to marry and form a family rather than remaining alone. As previously stated, migrants from Italy and Spain were mainly single men, and although they showed preference by Irish women because of their Catholic background, some Spaniards married women of other creeds. There is good evidence that many Irish Catholic women were willing to marry

[47] For John Perez de Castanos: Tasmanian Archives, RGD37/1/3, no. 1128, 1844. For Francisco Calbo: Genealogical Society of Victoria, Victorian Cemetery Records and Headstone Transcriptions, 1844-1997, https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=61309&h=158928&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=yLW2166&_phstart=successSource, accessed 29 November 2019.

non-Irish and even non-Catholic, but their inclination towards marrying Spanish migrants remains unclear.[48] Despite the fact that some Spaniards married a person of a different creed, there was still some space to maintain their Catholic traditions. For example, John Mariano Munoz, who married an Anglican woman and lived in Goulburn for almost forty years, was buried in the Roman Catholic section of Goulburn Old Cemetery.[49] At the end of his life, he increasingly participated in activities related to the Catholic church, particularly in relation to the Roman Catholic School in Goulburn.[50]

Despite having assumed that all the Spaniards were Catholics, there is the case of Rev. Manuel Moran, from Seville, who arrived in Australia in 1884 as a Church of England minister. He had moved to England when he was a boy and studied at the Highbury College in London to become an Anglican minister.[51] This suggests that his parents might have been Protestant, although not British citizens, as Moran had to ask for naturalisation in Australia.[52]

Becoming naturalised indicated not only a desire to settle in one of the Australian colonies but also the will to do so under the same rights as a British subject, although naturalised citizens did not qualify to hold a government office.[53] Before Federation, each colony passed separate, though similar, legislation with regard to naturalisations. The group of Spaniards that showed more inclination to improve their legal status in Australia were the Catalan people living in Melbourne in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most of them ran their own business and became British citizens which might have helped them with the legal aspects of their enterprises (see Table 12). Furthermore, within this Catalan community newcomers were assisted by those who had been living in Victoria for a long period. Particularly, one of the Parer brothers, Stephen Parer, was considered the “father of the colony,” as he acted as representant and mentor of the group.[54]

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48 O’Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*, 150-151.

49 Australia Cemeteries webpage, Goulburn Old General Cemetery, data compiled by Cathy Dunn, id. 1544, http://www.australiancemeteries.com.au/nsw/goulburn/goulburngnold.htm, viewed 31 October 2019. The name in the transcription is “Munn, ?”, but all the rest of the information is coincident.

50 "Friday, November 26," *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle,* 27 November 1869: 4; "Advertising," *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle,* 23 March 1872: 6.

51 "Rev. Manuel Moran." *Narandera Argus and Riverina Advertiser*, 28 February 1939: 2.

52 Certificate of Naturalisation, 27 March 1900, NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1213], p. 392, reel 138.

53 Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 25.

54 Asensio, “Cap a Australia,” 27.

Naturalization by colony	No.
Victoria	97
New South Wales	23
South Australia	2
Western Australia	47
Total	169

Table 12. Naturalisation of Spanish migrants in Australian colonies (1852-1910). Retrieved from naturalisation records.

On the other hand, in Western Australia, the New Norcia community of Spanish monks, despite having the intention of remaining in the mission for the rest of their lives, did not show the same interest for naturalisation. However, in 1895, the Resident Magistrate of York – in the electoral district of Moore to which the New Norcia mission belongs – visited the monastery to take the preliminary steps for naturalising around 45 monks who would eventually become voters. In the press, this fact was seen as a political move related to the assistance to the denominational schools of the Catholic faith rather than as an initiative of the monks.[55] Apart from this group, only two people related to New Norcia obtained citizenship in Australia; one was Isidro Oriol, a lay carpenter who worked for the mission from 1853. He married an Irish woman, Mary Lahey, and eventually settled in Perth, where he died in 1912.[56] The other was Ygnatius Boladeras, also a lay brother who established himself as a general storekeeper in Perth.[57] The group of Spaniards who applied for naturalisation in New South Wales was quite heterogeneous, both in origin and occupations. They do not seem to be linked to each other as there are intervals of time between their applications. John Antonia was for the only person naturalised in South Australia. He was originally from the Canary Islands and had arrived in that colony in 1850.[58]

Apart from becoming naturalised, another mode of conforming to the new society was to join local associations and participate in municipal matters. The activities deployed by

[55] "Bishop Gibney and the Education Question," *Western Mail,* 6 April 1895: 12; and "News and Notes," *West Australian,* 2 May 1895: 4.

[56] Western Australia (henceforth WA), BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 1630/1861; and WA, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 581/1912.

[57] "Legislative Council," *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News,* 14 June 1861: 2.

[58] His naturalisation was granted and published in South Australian Government Gazette on 28/08/1862, p. 706, accessed 4 February 2020, http://classic.austlii.edu.au/au/other/sa_gazette/1862/37.pdf, although in NAA appears as uncollected: NAA, A822 Memorials and Certificates of Naturalisations (unenrolled or uncollected) for South Australia, 1858-1864, 1864/ANTONIA J.

Spaniards in these fields reveal two factors: on the one hand, the degree of involvement in their local environment and their desire to fit into that background, and on the other hand their individual preferences, depending on the type of association chosen. For example, John Mariano Munoz, ex-convict and tailor at Goulburn (NSW), decided to become a member of the Goulburn community. So when a new building for the hospital of this town was required in 1848, he was on the list of subscribers and contributed five shillings.[59] This same amount was given by him in 1850 for the Goulburn Race Fund, and he had horses that participated in races in the area.[60] In addition, he joined the local friendly society Strangers' Friend Lodge of Oddfellows in 1854 and was an active member until his death in 1880.[61] As the local newspaper recalled on his death, he “took a prominent part in local political and municipal matters.”[62]

The most common types of association in the nineteenth century included those related to work, fraternity and sports. In the first type, fraternity lodges were a quite common kind of association in the Australian colonies brought by the British. The lodges of Odd Fellows, for example, provided different types of support to their members, such as sick pay and were very popular among artisans.[63] Spaniards did not show much inclination to join such associations, precisely because there were only a few Spanish craftsmen who migrated to Australia. Only 4 cases could be traced, like the already mentioned Mariano Munoz and that of another ex-convict, Joseph Fogg, a butcher for many years in Sydney, who joined the Loyal St. John’s Lodge of Oddfellows.[64] Also only a few Spaniards played an active role in organizations related to their work, such as the botanist Antonio de la Camara, who donated seeds and plants – some of them from Spain, like the *Carthamus* or bastard saffron – and also sent reports to the Acclimatisation Societies of New South Wales and Queensland. He was said to be the Australian correspondent of the Museum of Natural Sciences in Madrid.[65] Another example is the Catalan entrepreneur Antonio Clota, who was elected for some years President of the Café and Caterers’ Association of Victoria.[66]

The type of association preferred by Spanish people was sports clubs, although they had

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59 "Advertising," *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser,* 1 July 1848: 1.

60 “Advertising,” *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser*, 23 November 1850: 5.

61 "Advertising," *Goulburn Herald and County of Argyle Advertiser,* 4 February 1854: 2.

62 "Death of an Old Resident," *Goulburn Herald and Chronicle,* 9 August 1880: 2.

63 Geoffrey Blainey, *Odd Fellows: A History of IOOF Australia* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1991), 3.

64 "Family Notices," *Sydney Morning Herald,* 17 April 1872: 8.

65 "Saturday, September 30, 1871," *Argus,* 30 September 1871: 4.

66 “Mr. A. Clota," *Age,* 11 March 1940: 10.

to adapt to the sports available in colonial Australia, which were not the ones common in their country. Examples of sports clubs joined by Spaniards in Australia include cricket, horseracing and football in order of preference. Billiards, another leisure activity, was promoted by the Gras-y-Fort brothers in their *Bath hotel*, where they held fixtures in the early 1890s.[67] Other hotels which belonged to Catalans also had billiards rooms, such as the Parers' *Crystal Café*, in Melbourne, or the Martin Arenas' *Sydney and Melbourne Hotel* in Sydney.[68] In Spain, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, billiards was mainly played by the well-off although it became more popular at the end of that century.[69] Therefore, despite the fact that billiards were also known in Spain, Spanish entrepreneurs probably had them in their premises to attract customers, as this was a widespread leisure activity in the Australian colonies at that time.

As the Catalan community living in Melbourne grew, they established the "Barcelona Quadrille Club". It was a dancing club that held its first annual ball at the Protestant Hall in 1886.[70] The hall was decorated with "the flags of all nations, the Lusitanian being of course especially conspicuous."[71] There were about 150 guests attending the event and it is remarkable that on the list of names mentioned in the article there are only a few Catalan or Spanish names. In addition, the dances were "enlivened by the strains of the Bavarian band." This information suggests that, despite the name of the club, it was not established as a space for gathering and dancing of Catalan people, but as a way of socialising in line with the fashion of the well-off in Melbourne.

The Parer extended family became respectable individuals in Melbourne society and most of their members successfully navigated their British environment while reserving some space for their own Catalan traditions. In practice, this transcultural experience was possible by using differentiated behaviour in public and private spheres. In public, they conformed to the British conventions, like the English language, recreational activities and appearance. In their businesses, an important part of their public role, the Parer Bros. *Duke de la Victoria* dining rooms had been fitted up "in the latest London and Parisian style."[72] Also, the menu that they offered daily at their *Crystal Café* was English.

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67 "Billiard Fixtures," *Sportsman,* 6 September 1892: 4.

68 "The Day's News," *Herald,* 22 April 1886: 2; and *NSW, Government Gazettes, 1853-1899, no. 168 (13 March 1891): 1969*.

69 "El noble juego del billar," *Crónica meridional: diario liberal independiente y de intereses generales* (Almería, Spain), 17 April 1887: 1, Biblioteca Virtual de Prensa Histórica.

70 "The Vienna Bakery," *Table Talk*, 30 July 1886: 14.

71 Ibid. The reference to the "Lusitanian" flag might be a mistake of the journalist, as this word is a synonym for Portuguese, not for Spanish.

72 "Special Advertisement," *Herald*, 22 May 1875: 2.

As an example:

English Menu

Parer Brothers, Crystal Cafe, 200 Bourke Street.

Soup.- Kidney. Mutton Broth.

Fish.- Boiled Pike, Fried Sand Eels.

Entree.- Lamb Cutlets and Green Peas, Fillet of Beef pique a Bordelaise.

Joints.- Roast Lamb and Mint Sauce, Roast Pork and Apple Sauce.

Sweets.- Cabinet Pudding, Rice Custard, Rhubarb Pie.

Baked Tomatoes. Ingredients: Some bread crumbs, a little butter, onion, cayenne and salt. Bake the tomatoes whole, then scoop out a small hole at the top; fry the bread crumbs, onions, etc., and fill the holes with this as high up as possible; then brown the tomatoes with a salamander, or in an oven and take care the skin does not break.[73]

Nevertheless, there were distinct touches of their origin and traditions, but always within the boundaries of what was considered socially acceptable. For instance, in the “English menu” above there is a recipe of “baked tomatoes” which was typical of their Catalan gastronomy. As explained in the last chapter, the Parer were well-known for growing their own vegetables to supply their restaurants and their success with tomato growing was admired. Therefore, the Parer capitalised on this success and promoted this distinctive treat of their own culture.

Another common practice among the Melbourne upper class in that period was to give a name to their residential houses and names that reflected their origins in England, Scotland or Ireland were common.[74] Following that practice, the Parer family chose names for their homes which were evocative of their homeland, such as the “Barcelona terraces” and “Villa Alella” in Fitzroy, or “Gerona” and “Montserrat” in Surrey Hills. Other Spaniards also followed this practice, like Andres Fernandez, a sailor from Freygo – in the province of Orense – whose house was located in the suburb of Ormond, in Melbourne, and was named “Orense.”[75]

In the private sphere, the members of the Parer family born in Catalonia maintained their Catalan language although the generation born in Australia did not always take on this language as they attended school and integrated within the Melbourne society.[76] The family gathered regularly on Sundays in Fitzroy Gardens for picnics with singing and

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[73] “English Menu,” *Herald*, 25 October 1895: 3.

[74] Davison, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 138.

[75] "Advertising," *Argus,* 27 February 1950: 15.

[76] Catalan Footprint in Australia webpage, http://www.catalanfootprintinaustralia.net/scr/art/?id=40, accessed 10 November 2019.

dancing, presumably in their own language.[77] This is a clear example of the use of their traditions in public but within a private setting. These were also practiced within their residences. There is some evidence that shows that some Catalan culinary traditions and language was used in the kitchen of the Parer Bros. restaurants as many of their employees were Catalan.[78]

- *Business connections*

Despite the fact that many of the Spanish entrepreneurs started their businesses in the restaurant or hospitality industries, a group of them soon found a niche in the market for some Spanish products. This group of investors either promoted Spanish products from their establishments or diversified their businesses and started import companies. The Spanish goods for which there was a demand in Australia were wine and sherry, cigars, sugar and coffee, most of which was brought from Manilla.[79] Some Spanish entrepreneurs saw the potential of the market in the colony of Victoria for importing not only wine and cigars but also seeds and cork.

Some Spanish restaurateurs in Melbourne offered their customers Spanish products in their premises. For example, the Barbeta brothers, who run the *Hosie Hotel*, offered "Legitimidad" Habana cigars and were the sole agents in Australia for the Marquis S.D.F.P. Del Rio, Habana.[80] Their extensive advertising in 1885 must have given good results as the following year they were offering "Habana cigars and Spanish wine and sherry" at their Rubira and Barbeta *Hosie's Pie Shop, Hotel and Restaurant*.[81]

Another Catalan entrepreneur living in Melbourne, Peter Gras-y-Fort, proprietor of the Baths Hotel, offered wines and spirits at good prices. In 1893, apart from well-established brands like "Old Mountain Dew Whisky" or "Barriasson's Brandy," he also advertised "a healthy and palatable claret, termed Rioja," that could "be drunk at the moderate cost of 3s the bottle, or 36s the case."[82]

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77 Catalan Footprint in Australia webpage, http://www.catalanfootprintinaustralia.net/scr/art/?id=45, accessed 10 November 2019.

78 Catalan Footprint in Australia webpage, http://www.catalanfootprintinaustralia.net/scr/art/?id=36, accessed 10 November 2019.

79 AHN, Ultramar, 439, Exp. 4 – 9, *Noticias sobre el comercio de Australia*, 1860, 9.

80 "Advertising," *Herald,* 7 March 1885: 2.

81 "Advertising," *Herald,* 27 September 1886: 2.

82 "Cheap Wines and Spirits," *Herald,* 25 August 1893: 2.

Joseph Fontradona, Catalan orchardist, became naturalised in Victoria in 1892, and he stated that he was living in Wandiligong.[83] He seemed to have succeeded in the fruit growing industry as some years later, in 1917, he was the manager of the nut plantation at this town. He obtained from his father in Spain some products such as walnut fertilising pollen species and dried fruits, although in some cases the packages sent from Spain were pillaged in their way to Melbourne.[84]

Similarly, the Catalan orchardists who started the tomato growing industry in Bendigo (see Chapter Two), and in particular their leader Jose Ferrer y Guardia, wanted to import all their seeds, plants, implements and labourers from Spain.[85] He was both ingenious and meticulous at his work and, as he wanted this fruit growing enterprise to succeed, in a quick trip back to Spain he told some acquaintances "*lo quiero todo de aquí*" ("I want everything from here").[86] Therefore, given he believed Spaniards were especially skilled at agricultural tasks, he brought from his country all that was necessary to start this industry.

Finally, as the wine industry started to flourish in the Australian colonies, some Spaniards saw an opportunity of making money by importing cork from Spain. The Andalusian Mauri brothers (Joaquin, Joseph and Andres) started their cork trade in the 1880s in Melbourne and Sydney.[87] In the next decade, they joined with Antonio San Miguel and became "importers of corks, caramel, and all materials used by brewers; aerated water makers, wine and spirits merchants" in Melbourne.[88] Early in the twentieth century, this partnership dissolved when the Mauri brothers moved to Brisbane, where they continued their business with a new non-Spanish partner in a company named Mauri Bros and Thomson, Ld.[89] Meanwhile, Antonio San Miguel remained in Melbourne and formed the company Harrison San Miguel who were cork merchants and importers.[90] In Western Australia, at the end of the nineteenth century, the brothers Francis and Antonio Andinach

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83 Certificate of Naturalisation, 20 April 1892, PROV, VPRS 4396, P0000, unit 2, no. cert.: A.A. 3639.

84 "District News," *Alpine Observer and North-Eastern Herald,* 12 October 1917: 2.

85 Compte-Barceló, "Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia," 33.

86 Compte-Barceló, "Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia," 33.

87 SLV, Sands and McDougall's directories, year 1882, p. 595, http://cedric.slv.vic.gov.au/R/FDQ2FIS6JXJV4U1I3YRA6M8VLGL51XQ4BF43HBHE49BJ3KTV1S-03368?func=search, accessed 21 February 2020.

88 SLV, Sands and McDougall's directories, year 1893, p. 1217, http://cedric.slv.vic.gov.au/R/FDQ2FIS6JXJV4U1I3YRA6M8VLGL51XQ4BF43HBHE49BJ3KTV1S-03368?func=search, accessed 22 February 2020.

89 "Advertising," *Brisbane Courier*, 9 November 1905: 8.

90 "Advertising," *Age,* 3 February 1905: 10.

ran the Madrid Restaurant in Fremantle and also started a business as cork importers.[91]

In summary, there were some business connections between Spain and the Australian colonies promoted by Spanish settlers who used their kin and relationships in Spain to import either seeds and materials related to agriculture or products which were appreciated in the colonies, such as wine and sherry and tobacco. Finally, the cork trade attracted investors not only from Spaniards but also from Australians who formed partnerships with them.

3.2 Social interactions

In this section, social relationships between Spaniards and other groups in colonial Australia will be examined. As the Australian colonies were under British rule and the majority of the non-Aboriginal population was of British and Irish heritage, the interactions with this group will first be examined. First, a brief comment on English, Scottish and Irish ethnicities will be provided as a necessary context to explain the mentality of the dominant group and the prejudices that Spaniards faced in the host society. Next, social exchanges between Spaniards and other ethnic groups, such as Aboriginal people, Irish and Italians, will be analysed. The final part of this section is devoted to unveiling social connections among Spaniards.

Before migration, Spanish migrants' identity was shaped within the context of their homeland and was influenced by culture and place. In this regard, racial and ethnic identities, which include regional particularities, were important factors in the nineteenth century. During that century, race was believed to be based in the biological traits which defined a particular group. In the last third of the nineteenth century, in the context of imperialism and the widespread ideology of Social Darwinism, races were seen in a hierarchical pattern. Thus, it was commonly accepted that some races were superior to others.[92] According to this view, Caucasians – and more specifically Northern Europeans of Germanic origin, including English – were superior. In the British empire and its immigration colonies, like Australia, these groups were preferred. At the beginning of the twentieth century in Australia, this was codified in the series of laws known collectively as the White Australia policy. English and Scottish thinking generally ranked the suitability of ethnic groups as migrants to Australia according to their potential

[91] "Advertising," *West Australian,* 19 October 1903: 8.

[92] Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera*, 2.

assimilation, starting from English, and moving to Western Europeans, Central and Southern Europeans.[93]

As Marilyn Lake argues, at the end of the nineteenth century race was pivotal to Australian national identity and Australian politicians identified themselves with the perceived "racial genius of Anglo-Saxons for self-government."[94] In the international context, Anglo-Saxon elites believed in British supremacy, whereas the Spaniards were seen as incompetent when governing their colonies, which were believed to have been managed through tyranny. This ideology was spread by the contemporary press and was embedded in the popular thinking. One example can be seen at the onset of the Spanish-American war, in 1898, as crowds of people in the Australian cities showed spontaneous fervour and enthusiasm in support of the American "blood brothers," as they shared the Anglo-Saxon racial characteristics.[95]

In this context of imperialism, in the early years of the Australian colonies, Spaniards were named quite frequently in the press for their cruelty towards the Indigenous people of the Americas. This topic arose repeatedly and was used as a justification by the British for their own treatment of Indigenous peoples by arguing that the Spaniards were much worse to the inhabitants of their colonies than they were. As an example, in 1830 the Australian newspaper *Colonial Times*, issued in Tasmania, reported:

> This just right becomes so much more clearly established when we reflect that the British, notwithstanding the unprincipled transgressions of a few, as above noticed, have not, as the Spaniards of old, hunted down the savages of this Island with bloodhounds; they have never refused them food and clothing when asked for; the Government have never caused to endeavour to bring the natives to a peaceable and friendly understanding; the Aborigines have never been called upon, nor their persons seized, nor their native freedom curbed, that they might thereby be rendered slaves to us, and toil under a burden, and cultivate the soil. None of these things have been done; that native love of liberty which has warmed the breasts of Britons for centuries past, has, to the honor of the respectable classes of this Island, thrown a shield of protection round the sable inhabitants, which, upon due consideration, may seem to have been carried too far. The local Government particularly, in its humanity, has evinced an anxiety to promote the true interests of the Aborigines.[96]

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93 Robert Van Krieken, "Between Assimilation and Multiculturalism: Models of Integration in Australia." *Patterns of Prejudice* 46, no. 5 (2012): 505, accessed 21 December 2019, https://doi.org/10.1080/0031322X.2012.718167.

94 Marilyn Lake and Vanesa Pratt, ""Blood brothers." Racial Identification and the Right to Rule: The Australian Response to the Spanish-American War," Australian Journal of Politics and History 54, no. 1 (2008): 17, accessed 28 December 2019, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8497.2008.00481.x.

95 Lake and Pratt, "Blood brothers," 17-19.

96 "The Relative Situation in which the White Inhabitants of this Island Stand Towards the Aborigines," *Colonial Times,* 30 April 1830: 4.

This poor opinion of Spaniards continued throughout the colonial years and was sustained through various contexts. In the Brisbane area for example in 1859, one newspaper wrote that Spaniards were considered to have the "poorest, proudest, and most imbecile race of gentility in the world. The race of the Dons has passed into a popular proverb – "Thin in the legs and short in the understanding"."[97] The *Argus* reported in 1868 that the British consul in Cadiz had argued that Spaniards did not migrate to other countries:

> Those who know Spain and the Spaniards are aware how much national ignorance of, or indifference to, the rest of the world pervades even now the majority of the Spanish middle and lower classes. The ordinary middle-class Spaniard lives, mentally, in a dream-land of national self-righteousness and self-applause. Spain, to him, is the promised land on the globe, and Spaniards "the peculiar people," favoured of God and feared by man.[98]

This inherent outlook was believed to be very different to British, who considered that people of hot countries were:

> inferior to that of denizens of more temperate latitudes. The Italian, of smaller stature and less powers of endurance, has been proved by the late war to be match for the German of a colder climate; and the Spaniards of Andalusia is quite inferior to the Spaniard of Biscay.[99]

This perceived "racial inferiority" even among Spaniards may explain why in 1855 the Spanish consul in Sydney, when proposing the assisted migration of some of his fellow countrymen to work in Australia, sent a report claiming that the Spanish labourers would come from the north of Spain and would be robust, in good health, useful for labour and with a certificate of his good conduct and moral standing.[100]

For the majority of British Australians this geographical distinction was unclear, and they usually used the word "dago" as a pejorative synonym of Spaniard. This concept is a corruption of the Spanish common name "Diego", and was originally used by the northern Europeans who settled in Latin America. In any case, the British in Australia used "dago" to refer any person from southern Europe, including Italians and Greek.[101] The pejorative connotation of this term in the nineteenth century and early twentieth century is evident in the number of court cases in which southern Europeans reported this word as insulting

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97 "The Moreton Bay Courier," Moreton Bay Courier, 1 June 1859: 2.

98 *Argus*, 6 August 1868: 5.

99 "Public Baths," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 24 October 1866: 2.

100 "Spanish Emigration," *Sydney Morning Herald*, 28 July 1855: 7.

101 Price, *Southern Europeans in Australia*, 2.

language. For example, Anthony Deas, who was the son of the Spaniard Antonio Diaz and an Australian woman, was a bus owner in 1924 in Windsor (Victoria). He sued Mr Mortley for insulting him by saying: “Get out. You b---- Dago. We don’t want any Dagos here.” Deas replied: “How do you know I’m a Dago?” And Mortley said: “Of course you are. See the name on the “bus.”[102] During the trial, Deas stated:

> I was born on the Hawkesbury River, near Mulgrave: my mother was born there too. The term “Dago” does not apply to me. Nobody calls me that name. It was offensive to me and hurt my feelings… I don’t know where my father was born. He was Spanish.

From this trial two conclusions can be drawn. First, as previously stated, the word “dago” was used in an offensive way; and second, names and surnames were widely viewed as indicative of the origin of a person, so this might be a good reason for some Spaniards to change them.

The non-British foreign-born population of colonial Australia was dominated by Chinese and some Europeans. In the case of the Chinese people, restrictive policies caused their numbers to decrease throughout the nineteenth century until they were about 22 per cent of all foreign-born in 1891.[103] As for non-British Europeans, Germans were the largest minority together with the Scandinavians. Other nationalities with moderate immigration were the French and the Italians.[104] Therefore, Spanish migrants to colonial Australia might have been in contact with the above-mentioned ethnic groups, but only Aboriginal people, Irish and Italians will be considered here as there is not enough evidence of relationships to Germans, Scandinavians and Chinese.

Starting with Aboriginal people, their contacts with Spaniards were only sporadically reported except for the New Norcia mission in Western Australia. Apart from this mission, only three examples of contacts and interactions could be traced thanks to court cases. However, these sources – newspaper reports and court cases – would show a very small fraction of contacts and we cannot assume that there were not more. Chronologically, the first one occurred in Sydney in 1855 before the Water Police Court. In this case Captain Maxton, of the *Lady Ann*, was charged with having neglected to keep a watch on deck during the night. The people in charge of watching the deck were a Spaniard and two Aboriginal men, whose names were not provided.[105] The second example took

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[102] "Alleged Insulting Words," *Windsor and Richmond Gazette,* 30 May 1924: 6.

[103] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 34.

[104] Borrie, *Italians and Germans in Australia*, 35.

[105] “Water Police Court,” *Sydney Morning Herald*, 2 January 1855: 5.

place in Fremantle, Western Australia, in 1875. The *Herald* newspaper informed its readers of the trial held at the Criminal Court for the murder of the Spanish shepherd Antonio Aghuilo (sic). The Spaniard and his murderer, a hutkeeper, were both in the service of Messrs. Wittenoom, at Thalingoo, as were the witnesses of the case, two Indigenous females. One of them, Fanny, was about fourteen years old and explained that some more Aboriginal people were engaged on the station. From her explanation it can be assumed that Indigenous and other workers lived together and knew their daily routines, although communication was probably not easy as the Indigenous people were not native English speakers and of course Antonio would have originally spoken Spanish.[106] Finally, there is a case of a Spaniard gold miner named Manuel Yons or Joss who was murdered by Indigenous people while prospecting in a ravine on the Gilbert River in Queensland in 1878.[107] This act is related to the European dispossession of Aboriginal land. Except for Manuel Yons, the rest of the cases show evidence of seemingly amicable working relationships between Spanish and Indigenous workers.

Intermarriage patterns are a good source of information for studying the degree of relationship with other ethnic groups. In my sample there are 110 Spanish migrants who married in Australia or, in a few cases, went back to Spain to get married and then returned. The origin of the partners could only be found in some cases and followed this distribution:

Spanish partners' background	No.
Spanish	26
Irish or Irish background	14
Italian or Italian background	4
English or English background	7
Not found	59

Table 13. Background of Spanish migrants' partners in Australian colonies (nineteenth century).

In this last group of partners whose background could not be found, most of the names were either English or Scottish, and a few were Irish. Women from these groups were the most numerous during the colonial period, and those Spaniards out of the chain migration who married in Australia chose their partners among these women. Available

[106] "Supreme Court – Criminal Side," *Herald*, 24 July 1875: 3.

[107] "[From our own Correspondents.] Georgetown," *Queenslander,* 1 June 1878: 262.

data shows that Irish women were preferred over British by Spaniards due to their Catholic religion, but some Spanish were willing to change their Catholic denomination on marriage. 10 cases like this could be found, such as Bonifacio Zurbano, who married Winifred Maude Perry and was buried in the Anglican section of the Waverley Cemetery in NSW.[108] On the contrary, the fiancées of Joseph Parer and Antonio San Miguel, two successful Catalan hospitality entrepreneurs, renounced their Anglican faith before getting married.[109] In this case, social status might have mitigated other considerations, as the Parer family and their kin and friends were highly regarded by the people in Melbourne.

The Catholic church in colonial Australia was dominated by Irish during the later nineteenth century, and this was probably the main reason for the contact between Spaniards and Irish. For example, in the New Norcia mission, in Western Australia, there were some Irish in the community like the priest Rev. T. O'Neill and the schoolmasters M. Mulrooney and M. Broderick.[110] The relationship between these two ethnic groups seems to be more evident in regional towns, which usually had small Catholic communities. The Spanish publican Mathias Teston, for instance, lived in Grenfell (NSW) between 1867 and 1885. He came to Australia as a miner in 1853 and married the Irishwoman Catherine Murphy in Sydney in 1861.[111] A retrospective article on Grenfell referred to him and his premises as follows:

> Opposite Detores' was Teston's BRIAN BOROIHME Hotel – none of your Brian Boru, like it is now spelled, but the real good old Irish way of spelling it; none of your "Harp of freedom" instead of "Harp of Erin" about that. The proprietor was Mathias Teston, native of sunny Spain, a thorough Hidalgo – every inch of him, but he could not put on the least touch of Irish brogue to save his life.[112]

This episode shows a good example of friendship and understanding between individuals of both ethnic groups and suggests that the Spaniard, who was married to an Irish woman, felt comfortable within the Irish community.

In Melbourne, intermarriage and Catholic confession produced an affinity which was

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[108] Genealogical Society of Victoria, Victorian Cemetery Records and Headstone Transcriptions, 1844-1997, https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=61153&h=35135&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=yLW2243&_phstart=successSource, accessed 30 November 2019.

[109] Asensio, "Cap a Austràlia," 29.

[110] "Local and Domestic Intelligence," *Inquirer,* 24 August 1853: 3.

[111] "Family Notices," *Empire,* 27 April 1861: 1.

[112] "Grenfell: A Retrospect," *Grenfell Record and Lachlan District Advertiser*, 16 June 1906: 2.

evident in community associations such as the participation of the Parer brothers in the Irish relief fund in 1880.[113] Over time, the Parer extended family preferred endogenous marriages to Catalonian women, so contacts with Irish people were reduced to sharing religious spaces and, in a few cases, businesses. An example of the latter is the commercial company Parer & Higgins Co, owned by John Arthur Parer and the Irish William Henry Higgins, which started in 1888 as tenders for the bar and light refreshment counter for the Melbourne Centennial Exhibition on the following year.[114] Higgins had arrived in Melbourne in 1887 and was employed as a cellar man in the Parer brothers' hotel *Duke de la Victoria*. The Parer & Higgins Co continued in the hospitality business for several years, investing in premises such as *The Exchange Hotel*.

Another ethnic group with which Spaniards had a close relationship were the Italians. For colonial Australia inhabitants it was difficult to distinguish between Italians and Spaniards because in their view they were very similar, not only in appearance but in religion, language and some customs. Spaniards were "most frequently considered as an interesting aside to the more numerous Italian migrants."[115] Indeed, there are a few cases of Spaniards who were thought to be Italians, like the botanist Antonio de la Camara or the opera singer Leandro Coy.[116] In addition, there are a few cases of Spaniards who changed their surname in a way that seemed Italian, probably because it was easier to understand. That is the case of the Basque Peter Telechea, who was known as Peter Telechi.[117] Connections between Spaniards and Italians were evident in the Victoria goldfields, where both frequently worked and lived together, and in the New Norcia mission as this community was formed by Spanish and Italian monks. Intermarriages were not common though because, as with the Spaniards, most of the Italian migrants were males. A few cases could be found in Victoria such as the marriage between the Spaniard Leandro Coy and the Italian Giulia Tamburini. Both were opera singers and were married before settling in Melbourne.[118] Coy, who was a Catalan, made friends with the Parer family and, as a result, two members of this family also married Italian women. One of these marriages between James Rubira Parer and the Italian

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113 "Irish Relief Fund," *Herald*, 27 January 1880: 3.

114 Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/2018/02/16/parer-higgins-serve-alcohol-to-the-world/, accessed 23 August 2019.

115 Mason, "Women on the March," 149.

116 David Meagher, "Chevalier de la Camara (1829-1884), First Spanish Botanist in Australia," *Telopea, Journal of Plant Systematics* 16 (Nov 2014): 178, accessed 14 May 2018, http://dx.doi.org/10.7751/telopea20147991; D'Aprano, *Italian Pioneers in Victoria*, 100.

117 Certificate of Naturalisation, 22 February 1897, NAA, A712, 1897/F1796.

118 "Our Illustrations," *Leader*, 6 March 1897: 6.

opera singer Emilia Guidotti, was celebrated at St. Patrick's cathedral in 1892.[119]

A final consideration is the relationship among the Spaniards who migrated to Australia in the nineteenth century. In this case, Spaniards share an ethnic identity given by language, traditions, religion and beliefs. Nevertheless, as in other European countries, regionalism is a key element and there are some regions in Spain, like Catalonia, Galicia and the Basque country, where language and some traditions are different from other regions in Spain. It is important to highlight that in the nineteenth century, these regional identities did not have the antagonistic nationalist connotations that they hold nowadays and, in that period, regional and national identities within Spain were compatible.[120]

Relationships between Spaniards were more frequent in Western Australia and in Victoria, where they concentrated in an area for a particular reason. In Western Australia, the monks and labourers within the New Norcia mission lived with few contacts with the ethnic groups in the colony, except for the Indigenous people. They lived under the Benedictine rule and this promoted silence and avoided unnecessary talk. Therefore, relationships were limited to their brothers and people in the community. As most of them were Spaniards, they presumably spoke to each other in that language. In fact, they usually read a copy of the Holy Bible in Spanish during their meals break.[121]

Also, in Western Australia, in the 1890s, there was a small community of Spaniards. Some Catalan entrepreneurs living in Victoria were affected by the economic crisis that started early in that decade and decided to move to Western Australia to cater for the miners working in the last gold rush of the century. Some of them came back to Victoria after a few years, whereas others stayed and settled in Fremantle or Perth. For example, Francis Andinach, who arrived in Melbourne from Marseilles in 1891, moved to Perth and in 1896 he was running the *Spanish Restaurant* in that city together with his Catalan friend James Vila.[122] The following year he had moved to Fremantle where he ran the *Spanish Restaurant* with his cousin John Codina.[123] Finally, in 1899 he started a new business, the *Madrid Restaurant*, with his brother Antonio Andinach until his death in

[119] "An Operatic Wedding," *Table Talk,* 20 May 1892: 15.

[120] In the Catalan region, in the last third of the nineteenth century, there was a minor but active intellectual nationalist movement in Barcelona which would be the basis of the political nationalism in the next century. See Santos Juliá, "Despertar a la nación dormida: intelectuales catalanes como artífices de la identidad nacional," *Historia y Política: Ideas, Procesos y Movimientos Sociales*, no. 8 (2002): 57-89, accessed 30 December 2019, https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/articulo?codigo=294365.

[121] "A Modern Monastery," *West Australian*, 4 May 1887: 3.

[122] "Advertising," *Daily News,* 2 July 1896: 3.

[123] "Classified Advertising," *West Australian,* 2 January 1897: 8.

1918.[124] Like many of the other Catalans, Francis Andinach travelled back to Spain to marry a Catalan woman. He married Josefa Duran in 1900 and afterwards the new couple settled in Fremantle.[125] The settlement of some of these Spaniards in Western Australia at the end of the nineteenth century resulted in a small and close-knit community in the following century. This could be proved following the traumatic death of Francis Andinach. He died from injuries received at Perth Public Hospital when they tried to put a straight-jacket on him after he showed some symptoms of insanity.[126] This brutal fact arose a wave of compassion and support to his widow, Josefa Duran, who was pregnant with his son Martin, who later died aged 2 at New Norcia.[127] With the Spanish community support, she carried on the *Madrid Restaurant* in the same "first-style class".[128] The initial Catalan community in Western Australia concentrated in some establishments such as the *Spanish Restaurant* in Perth and Fremantle or the *Crystal Café* in Perth. These names and the advertising in the newspapers suggest that they capitalised on their experience working for the Parer brothers, to whom they were related by kin or friendship.

Among the Spaniards who stayed in Western Australia, some connections were found with the New Norcia Spanish community. For example, in 1899 the Catalan Salvador Guardiola, who was running the Spanish Restaurant in Perth, attended a wedding at New Norcia between Miss M.J. Clune, of Canterbury, Victoria Plains, and Mr. Ignatius Boladeras, of Perth.[129] Ignatius was the son of a Spaniard who came to Western Australia in 1849 together with the New Norcia monks and established himself as a storekeeper in Perth.[130]

In the colony of Victoria, relationships between Spaniards were very intense within the Catalan community which had settled in Melbourne and this produced the only clear case of transregionalism from a Spanish region in colonial Australia.[131] Most of the members of this colony were related by family or friendship and moved to Australia thanks to the chain migration initiated by the Parer family. They worked in the same businesses, lived

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[124] "Annual Licensing Court," *Daily News,* 4 December 1899: 3; and "Family Notices," *Daily News,* 30 May 1918: 7 (third edition).

[125] "Shipping," *West Australian,* 31 December 1900: 3.

[126] "Family Notices," *Daily News*, 30 May 1918: 7 (third ed.).

[127] "Family Notices," *Western Mail*, 5 May 1921: 19.

[128] "Advertising" *Sunday Times* (Perth), 16 June 1918: 2.

[129] "Wedding at New Norcia," *W.A. Record,* 18 February 1899: 17.

[130] "Classified Advertising," *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News,* 31 May 1861: 6.

[131] The canecutters from the Basque Country were another example of transregionalism, but they settled in Queensland in the first decades of the twentieth century.

in the same suburbs – Fitzroy and Surrey Hills – and there were frequent marriages among their members. In 1899, for instance, there was a double wedding at St Patrick cathedral between Frank Parer and Antonia Cabus on the one hand and John Codina and Rosa Cabus Parer on the other hand.[132] The first generation of this Catalan colony spoke to each other in their Catalan language, although they were able to speak Spanish and the men achieved a good command of English through their businesses. As Catalan was their common language in private events and gatherings, this might have limited their closest relationships to other Catalans. The sources show that outside this close-knit circle of Catalan families, some other Catalans who had settled in Melbourne separately became friends with this community and moved to the same suburbs. For example, the opera singer Leandro Coy, who was born in Tarragona (Catalonia) rented one of the *Barcelona Terraces* located in Brunswick street from the Parer family.[133] He sang at some of the weddings celebrated by the Catalan colony and when he died, he was living in Surrey Hills, the suburb where many of the first-generation Catalan migrants had settled in their later years.[134] Outside of the Catalan region, only one person could be traced who had a close relationship with the Catalan community. He was Joseph Gilnot, from Denia (Valencian Region) where a dialect of the Catalan is spoken, so presumably there were enough similarities of language and culture for social affinity to develop.

Despite this private preference for relationships within their ethnic group, the Parer and their extended family had broader interactions in the public sphere, which also involved people from other regions in Spain. One example could be found in the *Spanish Students*, a company of instrumentalists and singers who played Castilian music, and were engaged by Martin Simonsen to act at the Melbourne Opera House in 1888.[135] Their contract was cancelled before the end of the season because their music was not to Melbournians' taste and the Parer family sheltered them and took them to their events, such as Stephen Parer's 50th birthday ball.[136] Stephen Parer, who was considered the mentor of the Catalan and Spanish communities in Victoria, also led the committee of the "Spanish residents of Melbourne" which raised money for the floods in Spain relief

[132] "Double Wedding," *Table Talk,* 1 December 1899: 23.
[133] PROV, VPRS 2336, P0000, unit 8.
[134] VIC, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 14964/1911.
[135] "Chit Chat," *Melbourne Punch*, 1 March 1888: 16.
[136] "Social," Table Talk, 21 December 1888: 12.

fund.[137]

In conclusion, assimilation seemed to be the only possibility except for the chain migration case in Victoria, where the force of the group, the economic status and the connection with their homeland allowed them to live transcultural lives.

3.3 Spanish women's identity

As previously stated, in the nineteenth century identities were mostly influenced by the place of birth and the social position of one's parents. Furthermore, for women, who usually did not hold a public role, the development of their identity was much more restricted to the family sphere than those of their male relatives. These general statements need further consideration in the case of Spaniards in order to offer a valid framework for the study of the Spanish women's identity as migrants in Australia. First, as Spaniards, Spanish women were exposed to the same stereotypes as mentioned above and were also compelled to conform to the host society and make some adjustments, such as changes in their surname. Second, female Spanish migrants' social position in Australia was prescribed mostly by their husbands' social status, as many of them came to Australia as married women and lacked their own family networks. And third, their role was mainly displayed in the private sphere, therefore family patterns and evolution within Australia will be considered.

Spanish traditional naming patterns differ from those of the English-speaking countries and reflect an ancestral tradition by which both patronymic and matronymic lineage is passed on to the descendants. Therefore, at birth Spaniards receive two surnames, the first from the father and the second from the mother. These two surnames are kept throughout their lives and women do not change them after marriage. For Spaniards and Latinos, both surnames are considered essential because they express a feeling of belonging not only to a family or lineage but also to a class and ethnic group.[138] Therefore, this Spanish naming tradition "is essential to self-identification," and changes may have a negative impact on how Spanish women "self-recognise or self-identify."[139]

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[137] "Floods in Spain Relief Fund," *Age,* 16 October 1891: 7.

[138] The value and pride that Spanish-speaking communities place in this tradition is difficult to understand for people of other cultures.

[139] Yvonne M. Cherena Pacheco, "Latina Surnames: Formal and Informal Forces in the United States Affecting the Retention and Use of the Maternal Surname," *Thurgood Marshall Law Review* 18, no. 1 (1992), 11, 29, accessed 1 January 2020, https://heinonline.org/HOL/LandingPage?handle=hein.journals/thurlr18&div=6&id=&page=.

In migrating to Australia, Spanish women needed to conform to the dominant Anglo-Saxon culture and law, so they had to change their two familiar surnames to their husbands' surname.

This adopted surname was maintained throughout their lives and was also recorded in their gravestones. The only case in which the maiden name was also engraved was in Serafina Maria de Correa's epitaph. She married Frederick Mylrea in the United Kingdom in 1852 and they migrated to New South Wales in 1854.[140] Serafina died only seven years later and her gravestone says: "In Memory of Serafina Ma. de Correa beloved wife of Fred. Garland Mylrea, who died at Melbourne 13 Feb 1861, age 28. She is not dead but sleepth."[141]

Spanish females	To a Spaniard	To a non-Spaniard	Total
Married on arrival	20	3	23
Married after arrival	4	1	5
Not married			2
Other			4
Total			**34**

Table 14. Marital status of Spanish migrants' females in Australian colonies (nineteenth century).

The practice of changing their surnames contributed to the Spanish women's invisibility in the public sphere and makes them even more difficult to trace. Despite this fact, 34 Spanish female migrants could be found in the archives and most of them followed either husbands or parents (see Table 14). In particular, 23 were married before arriving in Australia and 9 came with their parents. Only two Spanish females migrated to Australia as single adult women. They were Adelaide de la Thoreza, a convict woman, and Maria Cruz Beroza, who arrived in Melbourne in 1884 together with the Guaridoce family.[142] Both of them married in Australia and adopted their husbands' surname. Finally, most of the Spanish females who lived in Australia were married to Spaniards and only one woman, Adelaide de la Thoreza, married after her arrival and her partner was not a

[140] General Register Office England & Wales, BDM, Marriage Index, 1837-1915, vol. 1b, p. 437; NSWSA, NRS 1286 Returns of the Colony ('BlueBooks'), 1822-1857, [4/287], p. 259.

[141] Genealogical Society of Victoria, Victorian Cemetery Records and Headstone Transcriptions, 1844-1997, https://search.ancestry.com.au/cgi-bin/sse.dll?indiv=1&dbid=61309&h=194784&tid=&pid=&usePUB=true&_phsrc=yLW2205&_phstart=successSource, accessed 22 November 2019.

[142] PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1.

Spaniard.[143]

Family patterns in Australia, as Patricia Grimshaw argues, copied those in Western countries but held some particularities. For most of the nineteenth-century Australia, the traditional family unit was predominant, particularly in the countryside, where all members of the family contributed to the economy. However, as a pioneering society, it was characterised by the lack of an extended kinship structure which usually exerted some constraints on women's roles. Also, the subordination of wife to husband was not so generalised in a frontier society that valued hard-working people, regardless of their sex.[144] Family patterns evolved in urban and suburban areas with the spread of the industrialisation and the gain of a "family wage" that allowed middle-class and working-class women to stay at home and devote themselves to childcare and home duties.[145]

In comparison, family patterns in Spain in the nineteenth century did not differ much from that of its antipodes. As in Australia, Spanish family patterns remained traditional throughout the 1800s, especially in rural areas, although in the cities the increasing middle-class initiated a transition towards modern patterns. Among urban middle-class women the role of "*la perfecta casada*" ("the perfect married woman") was increasingly embraced, which meant that women should be able to manage the family economy and produce household savings, and also raise and educate their children.[146] Generally speaking, in the nineteenth century differences between colonial Australia and Spanish family patterns were more evident in rural areas due to the characteristic pioneering society of the former.[147] Comparatively, nineteenth-century women in Spain were much more exposed to social constraints and conventions, but also enjoyed a network of support and solidarity from kinship and friends.[148]

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[143] She married the also ex-convict John Masters in 1836 in Richmond, New South Wales. NSW, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 592/1836.

[144] Patricia Grimshaw, "Women and the Family in Australian History –a Reply to the Real *Ma Tilda,*" *Australian Historical Studies* 18, no. 72 (1979): 416-417, accessed 5 January 2020, https://doi.org/10.1080/10314617908595602.

[145] Grimshaw, "Women and the Family," 418-419.

[146] María Cruz del Amo del Amo, "La familia y el trabajo femenino en España durante la segunda mitad del siglo XIX," PhD thesis, Universidad Complutense de Madrid, 2008, 116-117, accessed 6 January 2020, https://eprints.ucm.es/8148/. "*La perfecta casada*" was a book published by the monk Brother Luis de León in 1584 and its female portrait of the perfect married woman was proposed by many Spanish writers in the nineteenth century as ideal.

[147] A deep analysis and comparison of both societies would provide a better understanding of the family patterns in both places, but it is out of the scope of this thesis.

[148] Francisco Chacón Jiménez, "Familia, casa y hogar. Una aproximación a la definición y realidad de la organización social española (siglos XIII-XX)," In *Espacios sociales, universos familiares. La familia en la historiografía española*, eds. Francisco Chacón Jiménez and Juan Hernández Franco (Murcia, Spain: Universidad de Murcia, 2007), 62-64.

Despite the scarcity of data on the Spanish women who migrated to colonial Australia, there is still some information available that might shed light on the aspects covered in this section, such as the support from other Spaniards or the lifestyle in rural and urban areas and its family patterns. In particular, these aspects will be illustrated through the experiences of four women: Adelaide de la Thoreza, Louise Hernandez, Maria Ferrer and Eulalia Parer. The two former were not supported by any fellow countrymen and the two latter enjoyed different types of family networks either in the countryside (Maria Ferrer) or in Melbourne (Eulalia Parer).

Adelaide de la Thoreza was a Spanish convict who was transported to Australia in 1829 where she served a seven-year sentence. Adelaide's life, explained in Chapter Two, became an exception to Spanish women's invisibility in the period because her biography was published short after her death by James Cameron, who had become acquainted with her when she was elderly. Thanks to the research of Susan Ballyn and Lucy Frost, we know that a great part of Adelaide's life before being transported was invented in order to give her a grandeur which seems closer to a romantic novel than to reality.[149] This fact is interesting because it raises the question of fake identities.[150] On the other hand, Adelaide's real life in Australia offers a valuable example of an alien convict woman from Southern Europe. While serving her term, she became pregnant and gave birth to a child – Alfred – who she said was the son of a John Smith, already deceased. As mentioned in Chapter Two, she relinquished her son, and after her sentence, she married an ex-convict, John Masters. Adelaide was the only Spanish woman who married a non-Spaniard in Australia and, like the other Spanish women, she changed her surname to his and maintained it throughout her life and it is recorded on her gravestone.[151] On the other hand, her biography by Cameron was issued under her maiden family name – de la Thoreza – and it showed a pride in her roots. Adelaide and her husband settled in Richmond (NSW), as her first son – Alfred Smith – was relinquished to a family in that town. This fact demonstrates Adelaide's determination in uniting all her children and her willpower within the family unit. Finally, it is also noticeable that Adelaide apparently

[149] Ballyn,and Frost, "A Spanish Convict," in Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters*, 91-104.

[150] Adelaide's is the only case of a fake identity found in the sources, but it is acceptable that the lack of roots in the new land left some space for Spaniards to invent details about their origins or lives in Spain. Another question that is yet to be explored is the adoption of a Spanish identity by others, such as happened with some Aboriginal people. References to this fact can be found in: Bronwyn Carlson, "The Politics of Identity: Who Counts as Aboriginal Today?" PhD thesis, University of New South Wales, 2011, accessed 8 January 2020, http://unsworks.unsw.edu.au/fapi/datastream/unsworks:10196/SOURCE02?view=true.

[151] Ballyn,and Frost, "A Spanish Convict," in Frost and Maxwell-Stewart, *Chain letters*, 91-104; Find a Grave webpage, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/122168674, accessed 29 March 2019.

renounced her Catholic creed, as she baptised her illegitimate child in the Church of England, married an Anglican and is also buried in an Anglican cemetery.

Louise Hernandez was another Spanish woman whose life was more visible than usual. She was born in Spain around 1855 and might have moved to Victoria goldfields with her father as a child, although no other person with the Hernandez surname could be found. In 1878, Louise was living in Inglewood (Victoria) with a Chinese man, whose name was Ah King, and they were not married.[152] They frequented the Chinese Camp in the area and she was implicated in some petty crimes with the Chinese under the *alias* Louisa Ah Chuck.[153] Among these offences, there was selling liquor without a licence, stealing liquor or using insulting language. By 1883, she was living alone in Bendigo, in Bernal street, and was said to be a "woman of low repute."[154] That year she was sent to gaol for 12 months with hard labour for stealing money from an Italian after having drugged him.[155] She died in 1891 at her hovel in Bernal street, and the circumstances of her death were explained in the *Bendigo Independent*. She started feeling unwell some days before her death but refused to go to hospital. As she lived alone, some women neighbours took turns to care for her and reported that Louise requested them to prepare the opium pipe for her to smoke.[156] The post-mortem examination concluded that she died "from a complication of diseases, but principally by an affection of the heart."[157] Although information about her early life is missing, Louise seems to have lived by herself from a young age. This fact together with the lack of support from a family or community made her more vulnerable to resort to crime to support herself.

The third woman in this section is Maria Fontcuberta, who arrived in Bendigo in 1891, the same year that Louise Hernandez had died, but Maria's life and circumstances were very different. Maria was born in Alella, Barcelona and by 1889 she had married Joseph Ferrer, an experienced orchardist from the same town.[158] Following the chain migration initiated by the Parer brothers, Joseph and Maria migrated to Australia in 1891 and soon afterwards he was hired by J.P. Carolin to grow tomatoes in Bendigo (see Chapter Two).

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[152] "Sandhurst," *Argus,* 23 October 1878: 6.

[153] "Coloring a Case," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 29 August 1879: 2; "The Sandhurst Election," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 25 February 1880: 2; "Inglewood Police Court," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 17 September 1880: 3.

[154] "Third Edition. The Herald Office, 5.15 p.m.," *Herald,* 2 November 1883: 1. According to the Bendigo Family History Group, in the second half of the nineteenth century Bernal Street was the place of residence of the Bendigo prostitutes.

[155] SLV, Victoria Police Gazette, no. 40, 1 October 1884, p. 268 (2), ref. AU7103-1884.

[156] "The End of a Mis-spent Life," *Bendigo Independent,* 27 April 1891: 2.

[157] "Sandhurst or Bendigo?" *Bendigo Independent,* 28 April 1891: 2.

[158] Compte-Barceló, "Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia," 33.

The couple lived in White Hills (Bendigo) and in 1892, after the first successful crop, Carolin sent Ferrer back to Spain to engage more labourers. Meanwhile, Maria remained in Bendigo in charge of the house. When her husband returned with six more workers, Maria had a servant who helped her do the washing, mending and cooking the meals for these workers. By 1895, she became the owner of a house and land on the White Hills Road.[159] Thanks to their success, they could continue buying small blocks of land and it is reported that Maria did the administrative work for their gardens.[160] Their hard work resulted in an unprecedented rise in their crops, which started at 60 cases in 1892 and reached 10,000 cases in 1899.[161] Shortly afterwards they returned to Catalonia, leaving behind the seeds of a flourishing tomato growing industry. As for her identity, while she lived in Australia she was known as Mrs Maria Ferrer, but she recovered her original surname – Fontcuberta – as soon as she returned to Spain. The number of Catalan orchardists who had moved to Bendigo and formed a Spanish community allowed her to preserve her language and traditions, and the child the couple had while living in Australia was also given a Spanish name – José León.[162]

The last woman in this account is Eulalia Parer, who can be seen as an example of family networks and family identity maintained and passed on to the next generation. Eulalia Parer was the oldest of the Parer sisters who migrated to Australia after her elder brothers.[163] She had married Marcus Clota in Alella in 1867 and the couple moved to Australia together with their son Antonio in 1878.[164] In Melbourne, they were supported by Eulalia's brothers who employed them at their restaurant in Bourke street. Marcus worked as a cook and Eulalia was "an industrious, steady woman, and did all the washing for the restaurant."[165] They lived in Napier street in Fitzroy and had a domestic servant in their employ. In 1881, only three years after their arrival, a tragedy hit Eulalia, as her husband went insane, tried to kill her and later, he fatally wounded himself. Despite being described as a sober, hard-working man, Marcus suddenly started behaving strangely and, after a few days, he assaulted his wife with a tomahawk, causing serious injuries to her head, and then he cut his own throat. As a result, he died shortly afterwards while

[159] City of Bendigo Rate Book, 1896, p. 183.

[160] Information provided by Mr. James Lerk, who is researching the tomato growing industry in Bendigo.

[161] "Our Bendigo Letter!" *Elmore Standard,* 27 January 1899: 3.

[162] Compte-Barceló, "Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia," 34.

[163] See Parer's family tree on Appendix 1.

[164] Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246866820/facts, accessed 3 October 2019.

[165] "Attempted Murder and Suicide at Fitzroy," *Australasian,* 20 August 1881: 21.

Eulalia managed to recover from her injuries.[166] This unexpected and traumatic episode surely affected her, but her brothers immediately supported her and provided for her and her son, Antonio, as they went to live with her bachelor brother, Francis Parer, at Box Hill.[167] Eulalia, known as Laieta, stayed in Australia for the rest of her life and did not participate in the frequent trips to Spain as the rest of the family made, not even for her son's wedding in 1893, when Antonio married to Josefa Comellas at Alella.[168] Her public life was restricted to attending some family weddings, like her nephew's James Rubira wedding to the opera singer Emilia Guidotti in 1892, or helping her brother Francis host events at his house, such as the farewell to Mr and Mrs San Miguel in 1899.[169] In the private sphere though, there is evidence that Eulalia instilled in her son the family values she held, as Antonio, known as Tony, was said to be "very popular between the newly arrived Spanish migrants, helping them with bureaucracy and language issues."[170] Eulalia lived with her brother Francis until his death in 1915 and she died short afterwards, in 1916, at her only son's residence, called "Gerona", at Box Hill, aged 69.[171]

Spanish women did not migrate to Australia by themselves as did women from Britain and especially Ireland. Most of them migrated in family groupings and their presence was more apparent in Melbourne, following the Catalan chain migration. Within this group they worked in the hotels and restaurants ran by their families while raising their own children. Some of them also travelled to Spain with their husbands to meet their relatives in Catalonia. These women played an outstanding role in passing on their Catalan traditions to the next generation and maintaining family networks. These family networks and their endogamy probably mitigated the loss of part of their identity when adopting their husbands' surnames. Women out of the chain migration system did not enjoy such a large family support, but as most of them married Spaniards, they might have shared their Spanish traditions within the family.

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166 Ibid.

167 "The Reporter," *Reporter,* 19 November 1915: 4.

168 Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34428766629/facts, accessed 4 October 2019.

169 "Family Notices," *Table Talk,* 27 May 1892: 13; "Social," *Melbourne Punch,* 18 May 1899: 16.

170 Catalan Footprint in Australia webpage, http://www.catalanfootprintinaustralia.net/scr/art/?id=31, accessed 5 January 2020.

171 "Family Notices," *Argus,* 21 September 1916: 1.

Conclusion

The aim of this research on Spanish migration to colonial Australia has been to provide a rich and encompassing first investigation of this under-researched group of migrants. To achieve this goal, a number of aspects have been covered, starting with the historical background in both places, the migration and settlement of Spanish migrants in the Australian colonies and the identity changes and degree of assimilation of this collective. This wide-ranging vision has allowed us to reach some general conclusions, including the reason why some Spaniards decided to migrate to the antipodes.

The first chapter shows the historical context in nineteenth-century Spain and the Australian colonies focusing on migration. It reveals that neither the Spanish authorities nor the Australian colonies backed the migration of people from the former to the later. Socio-economic conditions in Spain in the second half of the 1800s triggered a slow first migration wave of Spaniards towards other countries, mainly to Cuba, Argentina and Algeria. Australian colonies were far from the preferred destinations for potential Spanish migrants but still some factors attracted Spaniards, like the gold rushes. The lack of official incentives for migrants from Spain was overcome by some private initiatives, including the establishment of a religious Catholic mission in Western Australia or the case of chain migration in Victoria.

The second chapter has four sections that cover in chronological order the most significant waves of migration. The first section, devoted to Spanish convicts and first settlers, constitutes the first research on this group ever conducted, as only the convict woman Adelaide de la Thoreza and the first settler Juan Baptiste Lehimaz de Arrieta had been studied before. This study shows that there were twenty-four Spanish convicts sentenced to transportation to the Australian colonies and provides detailed information on the circumstances of their conviction, their origin and occupations. Despite the relative lack of data available in this period, it also shows some valuable facts about their lives after conviction and how a few of them tried to overcome their double stigma: being an ex-convict and a person from southern Europe. Therefore, this section sheds some light on the little-studied group of alien convicts and their personal experiences of assimilation into the host society.

The second section of the migration and settlement chapter, devoted to the migration aspect of the New Norcia mission in Western Australia, showed the success of this religious initiative in attracting Spaniards. It also demonstrates that the charismatic

personality of one of its founders, the Benedictine monk Rosendo Salvado, might be compared to the figure of pioneers of chain migration, due to his success in getting volunteers and raising funds for the New Norcia mission. Altogether, there were one hundred and ninety-three Spaniards who moved to Western Australia in the nineteenth century following Bishop Salvado. Although some of them left for other missions, approximately one hundred and five stayed and this study is the first to reveal the weight of this flow of migrants within the global number of Spanish migrants.

Spanish gold seekers who moved to Australia are covered in the third section of chapter two. Although Spanish diggers were mentioned in contemporary sources, this research constitutes the first effort to uncover their names and data before migration and their lives and experiences after migration. Altogether, forty-seven Spaniards were identified although probably many more came to Australia in search of their fortune. Most of them headed to the Victorian goldfields and remained in the area working as labourers after the gold rush had ended.

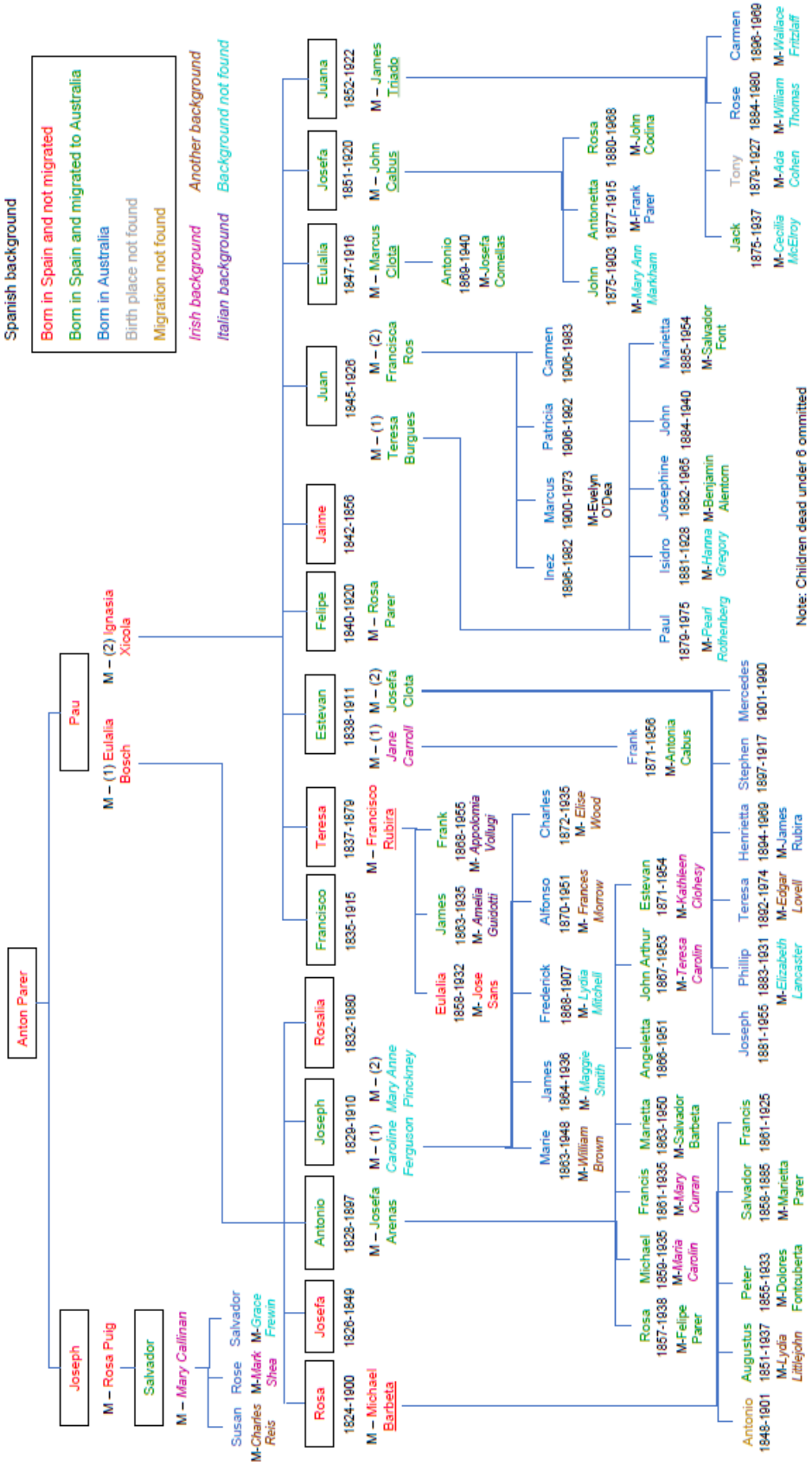
The last section of chapter two is dedicated to the only case of Spanish chain migration in colonial Australia. Despite some publications on the pioneering Catalan Parer family, this is the first attempt to cover the whole process in a systematic way, extending the focus to all Spaniards and providing extensive data on many of these migrants. The first pioneers of the Parer family succeeded in the hospitality business and this triggered the chain migration of kin and friends from their Catalan town, Alella and from other surrounding towns. Concurrently, there was a second flow of Catalan labourers who, under the sponsorship of Mr Carolin, started the enterprise of growing tomatoes in Bendigo. Their work and skills laid the foundations of the successful tomato-growing industry in this city that flourished for many decades.

The third chapter of this thesis addresses the identity changes and adjustments made by the Spanish migrants to fit into the host society. It demonstrates that, although assimilation was the general rule, there was still some space for transcultural experiences, particularly within the chain migration group. Australian contemporary society left little space to non-British cultures and tended to favour homogenisation but still some decisions could be made in aspects such as names, religion and traditions. In this last facet, Spanish women played an important role in maintaining and transmitting part of their cultural heritage within families. In addition, moving to a foreign territory also provided a new starting point for some Spaniards who could invent part of their past or their identities.

Through this research, some additional topics have arisen and have been explored. For example, there is a puzzling lack of identified Spanish migrants from the Philippines as well as the absence of Spanish shepherds or graziers in the merino sheep industry in Australia, even though their skills were highly regarded by colonial authorities. Furthermore, this investigation represents one of the few studies focused on Spanish migration to a British colony in the nineteenth century and examines the British mentality and attitude towards Spaniards. In addition, in the context of British imperialism, it shows how British settlers held stereotyped views of Spanish treatment of Indigenous people in the Americas and the government of their territories which was then used as a basis to compare them unfavourably to a supposedly more “civilised” British form of colonisation.

In sum, this research sheds light on the motives and circumstances of Spanish migration to colonial Australia from a multidisciplinary perspective. While it has maintained a historical approach, this study has also used a demographic and a sociological lens to help understand the complexity of the migration and assimilation phenomena. At the same time, the focus has ranged from nationwide to regional and local, and has reflected the ethnographic particularities of some groups where possible. This variety of perspectives has helped built this first thorough study on Spanish migration to nineteenth-century Australia which will contribute to migration studies and, at the same time, will lay the basis for further research.

Appendix 1. Parer family tree



Appendix 2. List of Spanish migrants to colonial Australia

Name	Surname	Other name	First news	Type	Colony	Source
Eduardo	Aguiar		1876	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Rev. Enneco	Alcalde		1901	Arrival	WA	"Personal," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 11 April 1901: 4
Frank	Aldon		1891	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 2144 Registers of Deserters and Discharged Seamen (Microfilm Copy of VPRS 946/P), 1852-1925, P0000, unit 3
D.	Alfonso		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Juan Francisco	Allica Astoreca		1900	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1900/M10801
Rev. Fr. Bonaventura	Alsina		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Antonio	Alvira		1897	First news	WA	"Alleged Nuisance at the Spanish Restaurant," *West Australian*, 13 February 1897: 6
Mr.	Amat		1900	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
John	Ancica	Surname not clear	1852	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Foilo H de	Anderisa	Surname not clear	1854	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Prudencio de	Anderisa	Surname not clear	1854	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Antonio	Andinach		1899	News	WA	"Annual Licensing Court," *Daily News*, 4 December 1899: 3
Francis	Andinach	Audinach	1896	News	WA	"Advertising," *Daily News,* 2 July 1896: 3
John	Antonia		1864	Naturalisation	SA	NAA, A822, 1864/ANTONIA J
F.	Aparicio		1896	Trip intercolonies	VIC	State Record Office of Western Australia; Albany Passenger Lists, 1873-1932, accession 108, item 8, roll 101
Rev. Fr. Atilano	Apodaca		1881	First news	WA	"Occasional Notes," *West Australian*, 7 October 1881: 2
Pedro	Aragon		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Isidore	Arenas		1858	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Isidro	Arenas		1888	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X195], reel 487
Josefa	Arenas	Mrs Antonio Parer	1886	Arrival	VIC	Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246857368/facts, accessed 2 November 2019
Joseph	Arenas		1891	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1891/S4171
Martin	Arenas		1858	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Pedro	Arenas		1871	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Sebastian	Argemi		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Pedro	Arlendi		1897	Naturalisation	VIC	PROV, VPRS 4396, P0000, unit 1, no. cert. 6556
Rev. Fr. Benedicto	Arnal		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Buenaventura A.	Arpa		1898	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1922/13110

Pedro	Artozano		1852	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Rev. Fr. Basilio	Asla	Basilius	1900	First News	WA	"The Feast of Epiphany at New Norcia Mission," *W.A. Record*, 27 January 1900: 12
Fr. Adelmo	Aspuru		1891	Death	WA	Find a Grave webpage, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/134696731, accessed 22 June 2019
Jose	Balensuela	Surname not clear	1856	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Estevan	Balloe	Or Ballve	1861	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1861/R5679
Joseph	Banua		1882	Court case	VIC	"Beechworth Police Court," *Ovens and Murray Advertiser*, 2 Feb 1882: 4
Rev. Fr. Placido	Barbara		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Agustin	Barbeta		1867	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Francisco	Barbeta		1879	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Peter	Barbeta		1875	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Basilio	Bardo		1870	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523 Description Books [Sydney Gaol and Darlinghurst Gaol], [4/6302-59], reel 863
Santiago	Baruel		1900	Death	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 343, [X2085], reel 2225
Melito	Basterrechea		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
R.	Bella		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Gullielmus	Beltran de Otalora		1902	First News	WA	"The Origin of Monasticism," *W.A. Record*, 7 June 1902: 2
Isabel	Benedicto	Mrs Joaquin Mauri	1889	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Manuel	Berdellan de Leon	Berdillan	1838	Arrival	TAS	Tasmanian Archives, CON31/1/3
Antonio	Bernadas		1885	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1918/2688
	Bernich		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Maria	Beroza	or Beraza	1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Rev. Ildefonso	Bertran		1855	Arrival	WA	"Death of a Great Religious and Saintly Priest," *W.A. Record,* 18 February 1911: 13.
Rev. Fr. Dominicus	Binefa	Sic	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Annie	Bofill		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Mrs.	Bofill		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Martin	Bofill Senior		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Ignacio	Boladeras		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Bruno	Bonet Robira		1888	News	VIC	"Advertising," *Age*, 28 December 1888: 1
Manuel	Borrell		1889	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1912/7941
Joan	Bosch	Busch or Bush	1892	News	VIC	"Advertising," *Age*, 16 January 1892: 12
Rev. Fr. Isidoro	Brea		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Mr.	Bromouh	Surname not clear	1887	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X185], reel 477
Ramon	Bruy Planes		1896	Arrival	VIC	Asensio, "Cap a Australia," 29

Dolors	Burges Farran	Burgues. Mrs Bernadas	1890	Death	VIC	VIC, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 7161/1890
Teresa	Burges Farran	Burgues. Mrs John Parer	1879	Birth child	VIC	VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 21620/1879
Rev. Fr. Augustinus	Cabane	Augustin	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Antonia	Cabus		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
John	Cabus		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Juan	Cabus		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Rosa	Cabus		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Basilio	Calbet		1901	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1901/N11140A
Francis	Calbo		1877	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 3395/1877
Antonio	Campmany	Campany	1892	Trip intercolonies	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X219], reel 511
Peter	Carraro	Or Carrare, Carrarz	1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Antonio	Carvery		1852	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1205], p. 287, reel 130
Carlos	Carvossio		1864	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1209], p. 464, reel 134
E.	Casals	Augustine	1891	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Julian	Casas		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Rev. E. A.	Casas		1901	Arrival	WA	"Personal," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 11 April 1901: 4
Rev. G.	Castanares		1901	Arrival	WA	"Personal," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 11 April 1901: 4
Rev. Fr. Marciano	Castanos		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Rev. Fr. Urbano	Celaya		1870	Death	WA	WA, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 4752/1870
Rev. Fr. Veremundus	Cervero		1855	Arrival	WA	"Shipping Intelligence," *Perth Gazette and Independent Journal of Politics and News*, 1 June 1855: 2
Antonio	Charles		1860	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523 Description Books [Sydney Gaol and Darlinghurst Gaol], [4/6302-59], reel 860
Br. Michael	Chirgo	Xirgu	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Joseph Paul	Clos		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Antonio	Clota		1878	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Eusebio	Clota		1893	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Josefa	Clota	Mrs Stephan Parer	1878	Arrival	VIC	Asensio, “Cap a Australia,” 29
Luis	Clota		1879	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Marcus	Clota		1882	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Marcus	Clota		1878	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Antonia	Clota Coll	Mrs Comellas	1894	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Jaime	Codina		1891	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
John	Codina		1897	First news	WA	"Classified Advertising," *West Australian,* 15 February 1897: 8

Rev. Emiliano	Coll		1880	First news	WA	"Victoria Plains," *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth, WA), 19 May 1880: 3.
Eusebio	Comellas		1894	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Antonia	Comellas Clota	Mrs Domingo	1900	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
John	Connor		1822	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4008], microfiche 649
Br. Jose Felipe	Corchon		1881	First news	WA	Stephano Girola, ed and trans, *Report of Rosendo Salvado to Propaganda Fide in 1883* (Northcote, VIC: Abbey Press, 2015), 280
Br. Joseph	Corchon		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Jose P.	Cordeiro		1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Peter	Cordova		1900	First news	WA	"Local and General," *Norseman Times* (WA), 21 December 1900: 2
Serafina Maria	Correa Mylrea	Solo Mylrea	1854	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1286, [4/287], p. 259
Juan	Cortada		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Carlos	Costa		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
James	Costa		1903	Death	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 343, [X086], reel 2763
Elizabeth	Cox	Maiden name Harbottle	1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Antonio	Coy		1857	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523, [4/6302-59], reel 859
Leandro	Coy		1872	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
Salvador	Creus		1898	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Marcelo	Cross		1884	First news	VIC	SLV, Index to Victorian Goldfields Hospital's Admissions at Creswick. Melbourne: Genealogical Society of Victoria
Victor	Cuevas		1882	Court case	QLD	"Latest Mail News," Telegraph, 10 April 1885: 2
Rev. F.	Curiel		1901	Arrival	WA	"Personal," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 11 April 1901: 4
Francisco	Cutell		1907	Naturalisation	VIC	PROV, VPRS 4396, P0000, unit 1, no. cert. 4867
Joseph	Daley		1879	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X143-144], reel 439
Tomas	de Alba	Moliner de Alba	1886	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Juan Baptiste Lehimaz	de Arrieta		1821	Arrival	NSW	Keene, “Surviving the Peninsular War”, 41
Hector	de Castella		1887	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1964 Description Books [Albury Gaol], 1861-1901, [5/2198-99]
Emilio	De Faro		1888	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 8467/1888
Antonio	de la Camara	Camara	1859	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 618/1859
Benito	de la Cruz	Cross	1861	First news	VIC	"Competitive Cleanliness," *Star* (Ballarat, VIC), 5 June 1861: 3.
Adelaide	de la Thoreza	Thoraza	1829	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12202 Ticket of Leave Butts, 1827-1875, [4/4102], reel 924

Angelo	de San Miguel		1869	Arrival	WA	Butcher/Kural family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/3215813/person/-1329832104/facts, accessed 27 June 2019
Manuel	de Silva		1816	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4005], microfiche 636
Jose	de Torres		1832	Arrival	TAS	Tasmanian Archives, CON84/1/1
Antonio	Depena	de Pena	1891	News	QLD	"Latest Telegrams," Northern Mining Register, 2 December 1891: 12
Antonio	Diaz	Deas	1876	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1210], p. 228, reel 135
Rev. Fr. Bruno	Diaz		1903	First News	WA	"The Bejoording Country," *West Australian*, 29 June 1903: 5
Carlos	Domingo		1900	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1909/11216
Miss	Domingo		1900	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
Fr. Fulgencio	Dominguez		1884	First news	WA	"The Governor's Report of his Travels," *West Australian*, 8 May 1884: 3.
Andrew	Dorna		1866	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1866/N2994
Joseph	Dueste	Duest	1862	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1862/V551
Francisco	Duge		1835	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 12189 Annotated Printed Indents, 1831-1842, [X637], microfiche 714
Josefa	Duran	Mrs Francis Andinach	1901	Birth child	WA	Immer family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/36606686/person/18960435139/facts
Joan	Duran Font		1895	Arrival	VIC	Asensio, “Cap a Australia,” 30
Rev. Fr. Agatho	Elguezabal		1876	First news	WA	"Advertising," *Inquirer and Commercial News*, 30 August 1876: 1.
Rev. Fr. Ildefonso	Esteban		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Michael	Esurardo	sic	1858	First News	VIC	SLV, Index to Victorian Goldfields Hospital's Admissions at Castlemaine Mt Alexander Hospital. Melbourne: Genealogical Society of Victoria
Pedro	Falco		1892	Arrival	NSW	NAA, A1, 1914/18505
Br. Joakim	Fargas		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Joachim	Fargas		1877	Death	WA	"Victoria Plains. July 25," *Inquirer and Commercial News* (Perth, WA), 1 August 1877: 3.
Jose	Farran		1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Manuel	Fernanas		1902	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1902/Q328
J.T.	Fernandes		1886	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Andres	Fernandez		1898	Trip intercolonies	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X252-253], reel 545, accessed 14 May 2019, http://marinersandships.com.au/search.htm
Frank	Fernandez		1900	First news	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13492 Criminal Indictments Index, 1863-1919, [9/2633], reel 1860
Joseph	Fernandez		1880	Death	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 343, [4/6617], reel 2924

Carlos	Fernando		1863	First news	VIC	"Heathcote Police Court," *McIvor Times and Rodney Advertiser*, 27 November 1863: 2
Fr. Juan	Ferrer		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Joseph	Ferrer	I Guardia	1891	Arrival	VIC	Compte-Barceló, “Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia,” 34
John	Figuerola		1901	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 3754/1901
Joseph	Fogg		1838	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1200], p. 516, reel 129
Salvador	Font		1910	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A63, A1910/6222
Dolors	Fontcuberta	Foncuberta. Mrs Pedro Barbeta	1886	Birth child	VIC	VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 24612/1886
Maria	Fontcuberta	Foncuberta. Mrs Ferrer	1891	Arrival	VIC	Compte-Barceló, “Josep Ferrer i Guàrdia,” 34
Jose	Fontradona	Fontrodona	1891	First child in Australia	VIC	VIC, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 12169/1962
Emmanuel	Fornaris		1863	First news	VIC	"News and Notes," *Star*, 5 December 1863: 2.
Alberto Palacio	Fortich		1898	Naturalisation	SA	NAA, A711, 1898/3698
Vincent	Fuster		1890	Death	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1783, [2/771], reel 1393
Joseph	Gage		1860	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523, [4/6302-59], reel 860
Joseph	Galtes		1899	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1913/6989
John	Garcia	alias Charles Wilford	1854	News	VIC	"Water Police Court—Wednesday," Empire, 17 May 1855: 5
Venancio	Garrido		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Joseph	Garriga		1898	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1898/G3986
Manuel	Garta		1885	First News	VIC	SLV, Index to Victorian Goldfields Hospital's Admissions at Maryborough. Melbourne: Genealogical Society of Victoria
Rev. Fr. Florentino	Gasulla		1897	First news	WA	"New Norcia," *W.A. Record*, 2 January 1897: 14
Joseph	Gence		1857	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523, [4/6302-59], reel 859
Joseph	Gil Nott/Gilnott		1867	News	VIC	"Maryborough Police Court," Maryborough and Dunolly Advertiser, 6 February 1867: 2
Rev. Fr. Benigno	Gimenez		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Juan	Giral	Giralt	1896	First news	VIC	PROV, VPRS 2336, P0000, unit 16
Pedro	Giral	Giralt	1899	Trip intercolonies	WA	PROV, VPRS 948, P0001, unit 69
Tomas	Giral	Giralt	1899	Birth child	WA	WA, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 442/1900
Fr. Bonifacio	Goicoechea		1886	First news	WA	"The Registered Clergy of the Colony," *West Australian*, 13 January 1886: 3.
Carmen	Goitia Power		1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Francisco	Gomes	Francis Gomes Gundara	1830	Arrival	NSW	TNA, HO10/29 List of Convicts [arrived], 1828-1832

Eugene	Gonzales		1865	Court case	VIC	"Melbourne Criminal Sessions," Leader, 22 April 1865: 8
Joseph	Gras y Fort		1880	News	VIC	"The Argus," *Argus*, 14 July 1880: 5
Peter	Gras y Fort		1856	News	VIC	"Advertising," *Argus*, September 30, 1856: 1
Fernando	Gras-y-Fort		1864	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 2166/1864
Joseph	Gras-y-Fort		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
John	Griful		1870	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
John	Griful	Gripul/Gripel	1884	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1907/5185
John Joseph	Griful	I Jorda	1901	Birth child	VIC	VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 19867/1901
Jose	Griful Jorda		1898	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1898/G3665
Martin	Griver		1849	Arrival	WA	Rosendo Salvado, *Memorias históricas sobre la Australia y la misión benedictina de Nueva Nursia* (Madrid: Editorial Católica, 1946), 232
Salvador	Guardiola		1889	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Family with	Guaridoce	Surname not clear	1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Family with	Guaridoce	Surname not clear	1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Isabelle	Guaridoce	Surname not clear	1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Joseph	Guerrero		1859	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 983/1859
Benito	Guillemet		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Gregorio	Guinea	Gregory	1835	Arrival	TAS	Tasmanian Archives, CON31/1/16
Frank	Harritable (sic)	Arratibel	1865	Marriage	VIC	NAA, A712, 1870/W5801
Louise	Hernandez		1878	Court case	VIC	"Sandhurst," *Argus*, 23 October 1878: 6
Fernando	Hoffman		1898	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1904/7192
Francisco Javier	Illa		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Joseph Manuel	Joss	Yoss or Yous	1878	Death	QLD	"[From our own Correspondents] Georgetown," *Queenslander*, 1 June 1878: 262.
John	Kennedy		1910	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A63, A1910/6359
Jose	Labrador		1830	Arrival	TAS	Tasmanian Archives, CON31/1/28
E.	Laramende	Larramendi	1870	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Juan	Larosa		1896	First news	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1998 Photograph Description Books [Bathurst Gaol], 1874-1969, [3/5960], p. 39
Rev. Fr. Eugenio	Larrea		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Francis	Lawrance		1869	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523, [4/6302-59], reel 865
Thomas	Lee		1863	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1211], p. 187, reel 136

Frank	Lopez		1865	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1209], p. 308, reel 134
Manuel	Lopez		1836	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 12189, [X639], microfiche 721
Pedro	Lopez		1895	First news	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 2138 Index to Photograph Description Books [Darlinghurst Gaol], 1871-1909, [3/6058], p. 149
Rev. Fr. Nonero	Lopez	Nonnosus	1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Jas	Lorsocia	Or Loisocia	1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Albert	Lucas		1857	First news	VIC	"Murder at Forest Creek," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 25 June 1857: 3
Joseph	Lyons		1857	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1204], p. 216, reel 130
Rev. Fr. Bertario	Madariaga		1897	First news	WA	"New Norcia," *W.A. Record*, 2 January 1897: 14
M.	Manuel		1854	First news	VIC	"The Rushworth Mines," *Murchison Advertiser and Murchison, Toolamba, Mooroopna and Dargalong Express* (VIC), 13 September 1918: 4.
Miguel	Marce		1849	Arrival	WA	Salvado, *Memorias históricas*, 331
Rev. Fr. German	Mardaraz		1897	First news	WA	"New Norcia," *W.A. Record*, 2 January 1897: 14
Domingo	Margarolas	Magarolas	1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Louis	Mariatt		1878	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1878/O11275
Francisco de Asis	Marsa		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Andreas	Martin		1873	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1912/13956
Manuel	Martin		1888	Marriage	NSW	NSW, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 173/1888
P.	Martin		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Francisco	Martinez		1829	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4014], microfiche 672
John Antonio	Martinez		1879	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 4908/1879
Rev. Bernardo	Martinez		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Noel	Martiniz	Name not clear	1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Rev. Fr. Dalmacio	Mas	Dositeus	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Jose	Mascaro		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Rev. F.	Mateu		1876	First news	WA	"Western Australia," *Advocate* (Melbourne), 13 May 1876: 7.
Andres	Mauri		1882	News	VIC	SLV, Sands and McDougall's directories, year 1882, p. 595
Joaquin	Mauri		1877	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X138-139], reel 436
Joseph	Mauri		1880	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X150], reel 442
Paula	Mauri	Mrs Andres Mauri	1883	Death	VIC	VIC, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 690/1883

Ralph	Medina		1860	Arrival	NSW	Mark Mottram family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/38049435/person/20385137195/facts?_phsrc=yLW2564&_phstart=success Source, accessed 3 March 2020
Joseph	Mendez		1874	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
Antonio	Mendoza		1897	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1915/1670
Jaime	Miguelet	Miquelet	1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Manuel	Migues	Miguer	1893	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 6766/1893
Sabo	Millem		1890	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1214], p. 373, reel 139
Rev. Fr. Froilan	Miro		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Francisco	Mogicha	Mugica?	1856	First news	VIC	"Castlemaine Police Court," *Mount Alexander Mail*, 5 December 1856: 4
Antonio	Molinas		1887	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1918/9199
Manuel	Molinas		1888	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1888/L2453
M.	Monner	Sic	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
John	Montepensier		1862	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1205], p. 281, reel 130
Rev. Fr. Columbanus	Montoya		1904	Death	WA	WA, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 2817/1904
Rev. Fr. Justo	Montoya		1900	Death	WA	WA, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 2225/1900
Pedro	Monza		1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
	Monza		1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Manuel	Moran		1884	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1213], p. 392, reel 138
Esteban	Morell	Morrell	1864	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
James	Morell	Morelli	1883	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1908/8030
John Mariano	Munoz	Muñoz	1837	Arrival	NSW	TNA, HO11/10/391, p. 403
Philip	Narboy		1816	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4005], microfiche 636
Leopold	Navas		1901	Arrival	SA	"Magistrates' Court, Port Pirie," *Petersburg Times* (SA), 8 November 1901: 4
Antonio	Nevares	Novaris	1859	First news	VIC	"Municipal Police Court," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 3 August 1859: 2
Rev. Fr. Albino	Ochoa		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Rev. Fr. Anatasio	Ochoa		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Rev. Fr. Franquila	Ochoa	sic	1900	First News	WA	"The Feast of Epiphany at New Norcia Mission," *W.A. Record*, 27 January 1900: 12
Juan	Ochorea		1865	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523, [4/6302-59], reel 861
Roman	Oliveras		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Odon	Oltra	Oltran	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82

Rev. Fr. Suibertus	Orbe		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Eladio	Oreo		1882	Marriage	WA	"Quest For Fortune," *Mount Barker and Denmark Record*, 13 September 1937: 1
Rev. Fr. Ricardus	Oribe		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Isidro	Oriol		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Eustasius	Ortiz		1902	Death	WA	Find a Grave webpage, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124393372, accessed 22 June 2019
Rev. Fr. Ramiro	Ortiz de Landalcice	Landaluce	1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Raphael	Paez		1899	First child	VIC	VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 4757/1899
Santiago	Palanco	Polanco	1857	First news	VIC	"Murder at Forest Creek," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 25 June 1857: 3
Rev. Fr. Laurentius	Palleja		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Anselmus	Palou		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Angeleta	Parer		1895	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Antonio	Parer	I Bosch	1886	Arrival	VIC	Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246857368/facts, accessed 2 November 2019
Esteban	Parer		1858	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Eulalia	Parer	Mrs Marcus Clota	1878	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Francis	Parer	Parer i Arenas	1888	Arrival	VIC	Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246860111/facts, accessed 12 November 2019
Francis	Parer	Parer i Xicola	1855	Arrival	NSW	Parer History blog by Ben Parer, https://parerhistory.wordpress.com/2018/02/11/the-first-parers-to-arrive-in-australia/, accessed 15 October 2019
John	Parer	Juan Parer i Xicola	1861	Arrival	VIC	Asensio, “Cap a Australia,” 26
Josefa	Parer	Mrs Cabus	1888	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Joseph	Parer		1855	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1201], p. 125, reel 129
Juan Arturo	Parer		1883	Arrival	VIC	Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246855839/facts?_phsrc=yLW2250&_phstart=successSource, accessed 2 November 2019
Juana	Parer	Mrs Triado	1884	First child in Australia	VIC	VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 2502/1884
Maria	Parer	Mrs Estevan Barbeta	1883	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 5006/1883
Michael	Parer		1875	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1

Phillip	Parer	Felipe Parer i Xicola	1861	Arrival	VIC	Asensio, “Cap a Australia,” 26
Rosa	Parer	Mrs Phillip Parer	1878	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Salvador	Parer		1867	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Stephen	Parer	Esteban Parer i Arenas	1888	Arrival	VIC	Ben Parer's family tree on Ancestry.com, https://www.ancestry.com.au/family-tree/person/tree/71892832/person/34246860113/facts, accessed 5 November 2019
Jose Antonio	Pares		1877	Arrival	QLD	Queensland State Archives (henceforth QSA), 13086 Registers of Immigrant Ships' Arrivals, item 18477, p. 1265
Martin	Pares		1877	Arrival	QLD	QSA, 13086, item 18477, p. 1265
Pedro	Pasquale		1856	First news	VIC	"Court of Petty Sessions," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 16 June 1856: 2.
Francisco de Paula	Pena	Peña	1852	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1202], p. 41, reel 130
Joseph	Pereira		1861	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X104-106], reel 409
Juan	Perejuan		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Rev. Fr. Genaro	Perez	Januarius	1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
John	Perez de Castanos		1837	Arrival	TAS	Tasmanian Archives, CON27/1/7
Andrew	Perrith	Perith	1832	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 2517 Description Books [Sydney Gaol], 1831-1839, roll 855
Rev. Fr. Rudesindus	Pich	Rosendo	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Domingo	Piferrer		1883	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1912/10056
Francis	Pinerena	Pinerna	1857	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1202], p. 120, reel 130
Francis	Ping	Puig?	1892	News	VIC	"Advertising," *Age*, 16 January 1892: 12
Rev. E.	Planao		1901	Arrival	WA	"Personal," *Advertiser* (Adelaide, SA), 11 April 1901: 4
A.	Planella		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Antonio	Plannis		1876	News	NSW	"Police Courts," Evening News, 9 May 1876: 3
Francois	Ponto		1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Mr.	Prat		1891	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Tomas	Prat		1898	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Jose	Prats	Joseph	1889	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Eugen	Pretat		1884	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Buenaventura	Puig	Ping/Pirig	1898	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1907/9745
Peter	Puig		1884	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X170-171], reel 464
Jose	Pujades		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Julian	Quigan		1852	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 2134 Entrance Books [Darlinghurst Gaol], 1850-1914, [5/1891-941]
Buenaventura	Quiroga		1888	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X192], reel 484
Manuel	Rabetsen		1904	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A1, 1904/2064
B.	Ramis		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82

Mr.	Ramon		1884	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X170-171], reel 464
Anne	Raurich		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Annette	Raurich		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Salvador	Raurich		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Jose	Raymond		1855	First news	VIC	"General Sessions for Buninyong and Ballarat," *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 26 April 1855: 2 (daily)
Juan	Rech		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Manuel	Riguera Castanero		1875	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1212], p. 93, reel 136
Francisco	Ripoll		1862	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
George	Rivas		1871	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1205], p. 276, reel 130.
Fr.	Rivaya		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Br.	Rivera		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Salvador	Rocavert		1885	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1215], p. 3, reel 139
Jeronimo	Rodereda		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Jaime	Rodo		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Francisco	Rodrigo	Francis	1854	First news	VIC	"Castlemaine Police Court," *Mount Alexander Mail*, 13 May 1854: 3
Rev. Fr. Beda	Rodriguez		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Pedro	Rodriquay	Rodriguez?	1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Pedro	Rodriqus/Rodriguez?		1854	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1208], p. 35, reel 133
Joseph	Rogers		1857	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1204], p. 58, reel 130
Juan Bautista	Rojo		1868	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1868/R12920
Joseph	Rorria/Rovira y Domenech		1885	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Francisca	Ros	Mrs John Parer	1896	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 699/1896
Henry	Rosales		1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Martin	Routier		1865	News	VIC	"Advertising," *Avoca Mail*, 1 July 1865: 1
Mr.	Rubiales		1887	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 13278, [X185], reel 477
Rev. Fr. Maurus	Rubio		1872	Death	WA	Find a Grave webpage, https://www.findagrave.com/memorial/124345602, accessed 22 June 2019
Francis	Rubira		1891	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1891/S2319
James	Rubira		1879	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
James	Rubira Ping	Puig?	1897	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1897/E10861
Esteban	Rutelan Casas	Rutllan	1893	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1893/V1867
Rev. Fr. Albertus	Sabate		1891	Death	WA	WA, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 423/1891
Sinto	Sagrista y Muntal		1902	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1902/Q10159
Rev. Fr. Romualdo	Sala		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Fr. Santos	Salvado		1869	Arrival	WA	"Advertising," *Herald* (Fremantle, WA), 19 June 1869: 2.
Juan	Salvado		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82

Rev. Fr. Rosendo	Salvado	Rotea	1846	Arrival	WA	Salvado, *Memorias históricas*, 232
Antonio	San Miguel		1870	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Francisco	Sanches		1865	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 502/1865
Joseph	Sanches		1858	Death	VIC	VIC, BDM, Death Index, reg. no. 4722/1858
Joseph	Sanmartin		1836	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 12189, [X639], microfiche 721
Francisco	Sans Rubira		1899	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1908/12733
John	Sans Rubira		1899	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1908/12732
Thomas	Santagan		1855	First news	VIC	"General Sessions for Buninyong and Ballarat," *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 26 April 1855: 2 (daily)
Peter	Santis		1870	First news	NSW	"Central Police Court," Sydney Morning Herald, 28 May 1870: 5
Antonio	Santos		1860	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NSR 2523, [4/6302-59], reel 859
Salvador	Sapena		1895	First News	VIC	"The Bendigo Advertiser," *Bendigo Advertiser,* 22 November 1895: 2
Francisco	Schea		1813	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4004], microfiche 634
J.	Sequeira	Or Sigueira	1887	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
John	Serra		1895	Arrival	WA	State Record Office of Western Australia; Albany Passenger Lists, 1873-1932, accession 108, item 6, roll 44
Rev. Fr. Joseph	Serra	Jose Maria	1846	Arrival	WA	Salvado, *Memorias históricas*, 232
John	Setches		1877	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1924/29391
Joaquin	Sevilla	Joachim	1856	Arrival	WA	Donohoe, *The Forgotten Australians*, 102-103
Laurence	Silva	Lawrence	1872	Marriage	VIC	VIC, BDM, Marriage Index, reg. no. 2808/1872
Rev. Fr. Vincentus	Simon		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Manuel	Sotillos		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Manuel	Soto		1813	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4004], microfiche 634
Manuel	Soya		1816	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 12188, [4/4005], microfiche 636
Fr. Joseph	Suarez		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Peter	Telechi	Telechea	1874	First news	VIC	SLV, Victoria Police Gazette, no. 45, 10 November 1874, ref. AU7103-1874
	Telesis	Signor Telesis	1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
John Henry	Telles		1862	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1862/V4727
Mathias	Teston	Matthias	1853	Arrival	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 1042, [4/1202], p. 83, reel 130
Casimiro	Tolra		1894	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1894/Y1855
Frank	Tolra		1890	Arrival	NSW	NAA, A1, 1924/1495
Br. Leander	Tomas		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
J.	Tomas		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Rev. Fr. Leander	Tomas		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA

August	Tomtes	Known as Augustus Davidson	1922	Death	NSW	NSWSA, NRS 343 Registers of Coroner's Inquests and Magisterial Inquiries, 1834-1942, [3/955], reel 2766
Fr. Michael	Torralba		1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
Ramon	Torres	Terres	1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
Antonio Joseph James	Triado		1884	First sister in Australia	VIC	VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 2502/1884
James	Triado		1884	First child in Australia		VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 2502/1884
John Peter Michael	Triado		1884	First sister in Australia		VIC, BDM, Birth Index, reg. no. 2502/1884
Domingo	Tuxuera	Fuxuera	1900	First news	VIC	"Heatherbell Ball," North Melbourne Gazette, 26 October 1900: 5
Josefa	Tuxuera	Mrs Eusebio Clota	1895	First News	VIC	"Family Notices," Table Talk (Melbourne, VIC), 29 November 1895: 9
Daniel	Valor		1888	Arrival	NSW	NAA, SP1732/1, VALOR, DANIEL
Joseph Merrey	Vasquez		1880s	First news	QLD	Grassby, *The Spanish in Australia*, 44-45
Br. Maur	Veleda	Beleda	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
J.	Vencells	Bancells	1853	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 82
P.	Vencrozo		1863	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 13439
Rafael	Ventura		1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
James	Vila	James Cabot Vila	1885	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7667, P0000, unit 1
Joseph	Vila	Joseph Cabot Vila	1896	Death	WA	"Family Notices," *Daily News* (Perth, WA), 2 June 1896: 2
Aurchans	Vinyals	or Vingals	1853	Arrival	VIC	PROV, VPRS 7666, P0000, unit 1
Miguel	Vitardell	Vilardell	1849	Arrival	WA	Rios, *History of New Norcia*, 75
George Charles	Wearne		1902	Naturalisation	VIC	NAA, A712, 1902/P3171
Rev. Fr. Adeodatus	Zabala		1903	First news	WA	Australian Electoral Rolls, 1903-1980, year 1903, electoral place New Norcia, Swan, WA
Antonio	Zaragoza	Saragosa	1857	First news	VIC	"Murder at Forest Creek," *Bendigo Advertiser*, 25 June 1857: 3
Bonifacio	Zurbano		1865	Arrival	VIC	NAA, A1, 1904/7219
Buigitz		sic	1858	First news	VIC	"Local and General News," *Star* (Ballarat, VIC), Friday 2 July 1858: 3.
Pergo			1854	First news	VIC	"State Trials at Ballaarat," *Geelong Advertiser and Intelligencer*, 13 December 1854: 4 (daily)

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