Victoria University

Comparison of the Migrant Experience in Melbourne of Immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and Immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961

By

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Abstract

Over half the global population now reside in urban localities with cities having a profound impact on migration with a shift from rural-to-urban to urban-to-urban migration. Cities grew from the onset of the Industrial Revolution transforming the agricultural peasant into the city-dwelling proletariat. Historically most migratory streams have been rural-to-urban, with few city dwellers making the decision to migrate. Apart from London, cities provided few migrants to Australia and Melbourne. Two cities outside London that contributed large numbers of migrants to Melbourne are Dublin in the 1850s and Trieste in the 1950s. In the 1850s as Dublin faced external and internal issues, groups of Dubliners decided to migrate to Melbourne, a city experiencing rapid growth due to the Victorian gold rush. These nineteenth-century urbanites included professionals, merchants or trade-qualified people who arrived in a growing city, armed with urban skills and experience. In the 1950s almost ten per cent of Trieste migrated to Australia with a large proportion choosing Melbourne as their new home. The maritime city of Trieste sent trade-qualified and experienced Triestines to Melbourne to work in its burgeoning industrial and manufacturing sectors.

This thesis analyses a sample of Dublin migrants who migrated between 1851 and 1861 and Triestine migrants who migrated between 1954 and 1961 and investigates the characteristics of urban migration across time. A prosopographical approach was used to analyse the Dublin sample revealing the history of the Dubliners, including where they lived, worked, their social lives and their family lives. Oral history in conjunction with prosopography was used with the Triestine sample and provided insights into the migrants' experience and lives in Melbourne. Analysis of these two atypical sets of urban migrants revealed the factors that encouraged these migrants to choose to emigrate; how they settled once they arrived in Melbourne; and how their urban background influenced their settlement in Melbourne. These Dubliners and Triestines had achieved higher levels of education and possessed professional and trade qualifications above most Irish and Italian counterparts in Australia. Their urban background profoundly influenced their migration experience and how they settled in Melbourne. These two urban migrant

groups are examined here in a comparative frame to discover the similarities and differences that occurred in societies through time and across space.

Despite the difference in time between the two groups, this thesis argues that there are significant similarities between each, based on their urban background and how that influenced their settlement and placemaking. The similarities include their employment knowledge, urban experience, and their cultural and social background. This greater understanding of past urban migrations can be utilised with other urban migrations from the past, such as from Saigon after the Vietnam war. The knowledge can also be used to understand the systems required for future urban-to-urban migrations, which will increasingly become the norm in the future.

Declaration

I, Brent Mitchell Biasin, declare that the Master of Research thesis entitled 'Comparison of the Migrant Experience in Melbourne of Immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and Immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961' is no more than 50,000 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.

I have conducted my research in alignment with the Australian Code for the Responsible Conduct of Research and Victoria University's Higher Degree by Research Policy and Procedures.

Signature: 

Date: 22 September 2021

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my grandparents, my nonno and nonna, Archimedes Biasin (1926-2007) and Lia Biasin (1929-1996), who with their young son, my father, took amazing courage and fortitude to migrate to Melbourne from Trieste in 1954.

It is also dedicated to my wife Angela who has always given me support and guidance throughout the writing and research for this thesis.

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This thesis was only able to be completed with the assistance, encouragement and guidance from many sources. These included scholars and academics, family, friends, the Triestine community, and family genealogists.

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Victoria University and the research program gave a grounding basis for writing and researching a thesis with excellent units around starting a thesis, the methodologies, and ethics inherent within a thesis. The regular historians' meetings conducted at Victoria University by Associate Professor Dianne Hall and Professor Robert Pascoe created an excellent atmosphere to hear and read about other research and was a sounding board for ideas.

I wish to acknowledge the provision of resources and assistance from the librarians and staff at the following libraries and institutions:

- National Archives of Australia (NAA)
- National Library of Australia
- Public Records Office of Victoria (PROV), North Melbourne
- State Library of New South Wales
- State Library of Victoria and the Heritage Collections Reading Room therein.
- Victoria University Library, and specifically Cameron Barrie the research services librarian.

Family genealogists on Ancestry.com assisted in accessing further resources on migrants from Dublin. These included the following:

- John Baines who provided further information on the Beggs family.

- Ross Cox who provided further information on the Cox family.
- Carol Crawford who provided further information on the Armitage family.
- Margaret Greenwood who provided further information on the Eades family.
- Sheila Matthews who provided further information on the Cox family.
- Virginia Rundle who provided further information on the Eades family.
- Michael White who provided further information on the Byrne family.

The Triestine community, especially the members of the *Trieste Social Club* in Essendon who provided information for members of the sample groups, as well as photographs, books, and letters. The lovely and kind people of this club happily provided their time to talk of their past and their experience as migrants in Melbourne. Additional gratitude goes to the Triestines who willingly agreed to spend their time being interviewed and provided an enormous resource for the thesis.

I would like to acknowledge my family. My extended family of my siblings and in-laws who supported me in completing this thesis. My parents, Mario and Glenda, who provided the original photographs taken by my grandfather and gave me invaluable information, insights as well as support for my thesis. My children who through their schooling and remote learning gave me the leeway and understanding to work on my thesis. Finally, my wife Angela who gave me her support, guidance, and assistance in reading my work, which enabled me to complete this thesis.

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Introduction

Most migration history looks backwards and deals with the enormous convulsions of population movement from country to city, and especially from rural Europe to urban America. Given the powerful stimulus of the Atlantic Crossing on the making of modern America, this is not surprising. However, urban population movements will dominate the twenty-first century, with 61 per cent of refugees primarily based in urban settings, and mass migrations occurring from cities like Lagos and Damascus.[1] At the beginning of the twentieth century only 20 per cent of the global population lived in urban areas. Yet by 2011, for the first time in human history, most of the global population found themselves living in urban areas, with 55 per cent of the world population living in cities in 2018.[2] What does it mean to be an urban migrant or refugee, taking these city-bred experiences across nations and continents, increasingly to other metropolises? What can we learn from the past about this urban-to-urban migration?

This thesis looks at two European cities that provided bursts of immigrants to the Australian city of Melbourne: Dublin in the 1850s, and Trieste in the 1950s. Concealed within the rural-to-urban Irish and Italian migrations were a small proportion of atypical migrants from these two cities. These two case studies inform us about past urban migrations and provide insights into the future of migration and refugee movements in an ever-urbanising world.

Urban migrants to Australia have received less attention in the scholarly literature than their rural counterparts. They are of course relatively fewer in number, especially when we consider nineteenth-century Irish emigration, as well as the post-

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[1] International Organization for Migration, 'World Migration Report 2020', *IOM World Migration Report*, no., 2019, p. 39.

[2] S. Ewen, *What is Urban History?*, Cambridge, Polity Press, 2016, p. 3; The World Bank, 'Urban Population (% of total population)', 2018, <https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/SP.URB.TOTL.IN.ZS?end=2018&start=2018&view=bar>, accessed 23 June 2021

1945 Italian immigrants to Australia. City-dwellers in places like Ireland and Italy experienced a vastly different world than that of their country cousins. Cities or urban centres share common characteristics throughout history: they all need resources (food, water etc) to sustain their growth; they need a viable economic function, access to commercial networks, administrative structures that maintain stability and security, as well as legal and fiscal frameworks.[3] A migrant from a city has a sense of being urban, that is of urban culture, and this urban variable actively shapes and conditions human behaviour.[4] City dwellers are influenced by social, economic, and cultural factors, making their lives differ from rural residents. The rural residents' lives are dominated by agriculture, the harvest, or the flock and maintaining it for their livelihood, giving them limited time for respite or leisure. Cities provide more than just shelter and employment: city dwellers gather to learn, have fun, and celebrate. Urban residents feel both loyalty and affection to the city in which they live due to cultural enrichment, in parallel with economic opportunities and services.[5] City life enables more leisure and cultural activities which in turn, grow the city's urban culture, widening the gap between the urban and rural citizen. Education and therefore literacy also plays a significant role, with urban populations generally being more literate than the rural populace. In nineteenth-century Ireland, according to the 1841 census, only 47 per cent of the population were literate, while in Dublin 74.4 per cent could read and write.[6]

This thesis analyses and compares the experience of immigrants from Dublin in the mid-nineteenth century and immigrants from Trieste in the mid-twentieth century to Melbourne. Comparative methodology helps uncover the similarities as well as the

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[3] Ewen, *What is Urban History?,* p. 2.

[4] A.C. Zijderveld, *A Theory of Urbanity: the Economic and Civic Culture of Cities*, New Jersey, Transaction Publishers, 1998, p. 21; N. Kenny and R. Madgin, *Cities Beyond Borders: Comparative and Transnational Approaches to Urban History*, Farnham, UK, Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2015, p. 11.

[5] P. Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2013, p. 477.

[6] D. Dickson, *Dublin: the Making of a Capital City*, London, Profile Books, 2014, p. Ebook: Chap 7 7/143; J. Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500-2000*, New Haven, Yale University Press, 2017, p. 171.

uniqueness of different societies through time and across space.[7] So not only is the Dubliners' life in Dublin and the Triestines' life in Trieste compared through space to their life in Melbourne as migrants, the experiences of the Dubliners and Triestines are compared through time as urban migrants. Comparing two sets of urban migrations to the same city, but a century apart, provides a more nuanced portrait of the phenomena of urban-to-urban migration than when analysed in isolation.[8] Researching and analysing only one urban migratory group to Melbourne limits the scope of the analysis, as it is not obvious what aspects are due to their country of origin, their urban environment, or the time at which they migrated, but a comparison between two urban groups enables us to identify which of these factors is in play at any one time.

Australia is a complex multicultural society made up of multiple strands: the First Nations people who were dispossessed of their lands by European colonists, yet survived the invasion and continue to have the longest surviving human culture on earth; the English and Scottish settlers who established the many key institutions in Australia and spread the settlement from New South Wales around the continental mass and to Van Diemen's Land; a strong Irish element whose values permeated the culture, and profoundly influenced politics and law in Australia; the nineteenth century Chinese migrants who flowed into Australia and Victoria during the gold rush; and, finally, the post-1945 immigrants from war-torn Europe and later, parts of Asia and Africa, all of whom have enriched the culture of Australia. Immigration to Australia has occurred in waves, with this study situated within post-famine Ireland and the rush of immigrants into Victoria induced by gold, and the post-second world war migration under the 'populate or perish' policy where waves of continental Europeans migrated to Australia. The gold rush and the post second world war migrations are unusual in that large numbers of immigrants arrived in Australia and Melbourne in relatively short intervals of time. A high proportion of the male gold rush immigrants to the colony of Victoria were rural immigrants, estimated to be 50 per cent of assisted migrants and

[7] Ewen, *What is Urban History?,* p. 2.

[8] Kenny and Madgin, *Cities Beyond Borders,* p. 7.

over 70 per cent of unassisted migrants in the 1850s.[9] The post-war assisted migrants from continental Europe, especially Italy and Greece, also often originated from rural or provincial locations.[10] Many of these immigrants settled in urban locations like Melbourne, with urban migrants making up a small proportion.

Both Ireland in the 1850s and Italy in the 1950s faced traumatic experiences that led to mass outward migration to new lands that included Australia. The majority migrated within Europe or to North America, with only a small proportion migrating to Australia. Only 8.3 per cent of Irish emigrants in the 1851-1860 decade migrated to Australia and only 1.5 per cent of the Italians.[11] Despite these low overall percentages, the proportion of Irish and Italian immigrants in Australia was of profound significance, with the Irish-born making up 16 per cent of the colony of Victoria in 1861, and the Italian born comprising 3.1 per cent of the total population of Victoria in 1961.[12] Although the overall number of Irish and Italian migrants to Australia constituted a small amount of the global Irish and Italian migrations, proportionally they made up significant numbers in Victoria.

Due to the lack of large-scale urban migrations from European cities to Melbourne, the scope of choice of sample for this analysis is somewhat limited. The largest source of immigrants from cities in the first days of colonial settlement in

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[9] G. Serle, *The Golden Age: A History of the Colony of Victoria, 1851-1861*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Press, 1977, p. Ebook Appendix 3.

[10] J. Jupp, *Immigration*, Australian Retrospectives, Sydney, Sydney University Press, in association with Oxford University Press, Australia, 1991, pp. 75-76.

[11] P. O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia: 1788 to the Present*, 3rd edn., Sydney, UNSW Press, 2000, p. 63; F. Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity*, Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2018, p. 51.

[12] Australian Bureau of Statistics et al., 'Historical and Colonial Census Data Archive (HCCDA), Victorian Census 1861', 2020, <http://dx.doi.org/10.26193/MP6WRS>, accessed 15 April 2021 ; Australian Bureau of Statistics, 'Census of the Commonwealth of Australia, 1961, Volume II, Part II', 1961, <https://www.ausstats.abs.gov.au/ausstats/free.nsf/0/40E30CBA0EABB99ACA25787900176819/$File/1961%20Census%20-%20Volume%20II%20-%20Part%20II%20VICTORIA%20Characteristics%20of%20Population.pdf>, accessed 2 June 2021 25-26.

Melbourne was London. Yet these migrants travelled as English migrants to an English settlement and did not face the perception of being outsiders or the 'Other'. The dispossession of the First Nations peoples followed, and the English settlers created the status quo in the Australian colonies with a conscious goal of building a 'new Britannia'.[13] Dublin, the capital city of Ireland, also provided many migrants to Melbourne. Dublin was the second largest city in Britain from the late eighteenth century until the late nineteenth century, with the industrialisation of more cities such as Liverpool and Manchester. Ireland faced long and brutal conquests by the English and the subjugation of the Irish people over centuries. The English perceived the Irish people as primitive, treacherous, violent, lazy, and stupid.[14] Considered the 'Other' and culturally distinct from the rest of Britain, the Irish encountered prejudice which occurred regularly, especially in regards to the Catholic Irish.[15] Negative and racist attitudes prevailed and appeared in cartoons from *Punch* magazine in the mid nineteenth-century which depicted the Irish as ape-like, dressed in threadbare clothes and lacking intelligence.[16] These negative attitudes were transposed to the Australian colonies and appeared in articles such as in the *Argus* in 1848, where newly arrived Irish immigrants faced being called 'hordes of useless and lawless savages from the south and west of Ireland'.[17] The Irish immigrants, including those from Dublin, arrived in waves during the gold rush and faced treatment as outsiders. Despite migrating from within the British Empire, (the Irish being legally British), their distinct culture differentiated them from the rest of Britain and their acceptance in Melbourne took time. After the gold rush, when immigration numbers to Australia reduced, few large-scale migrations from urban centres occurred, apart from London, until after the second world war.

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[13] Jupp, *Immigration,* p. 13.

[14] E. Malcolm and D. Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia*, Sydney, NewSouth Publishing, 2018, p. 27 & 30.

[15] Jupp, *Immigration,* p. 29.

[16] K. Meadows, 'The Irish Frankenstein', *Punch Magazine,* 1843; J. Leech, 'Height of Impudence', *Punch Magazine,* 12 December 1846.

[17] Argus, 'Resumption of Immigration, *The Argus,* 18 February 1848, p. 2.

Rural immigrants who escaped war-torn Europe for a new life, made up many of the immigrants in the post second world war migration waves to Australia.[18] Most Italian post-war migrants originated from the less industrialised south, as well as *contadini* (Italian peasants) from the rural areas of Veneto and Friuli Venezia Giulia in the north, with 81.5 per cent of Italian post-war migrants hailing from rural backgrounds.[19] While urban migrants appeared among them, they did not constitute coherent groups from particularly urban centres. Trieste, a northern Italian port city, was an exception, and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) established a quota of three thousand Triestines to emigrate to Australia in 1954. This led to an estimated 20,000 Triestines choosing to migrate to Australia in a short seven-year period between 1954 and 1961, in contrast with the customary lengthy time span that characterised the history of Italian chain migration.[20] After 1961, the flow of Italian and Triestine migration slackened thanks to the general effect of the Italian economic 'miracle' and specific events such as the riots at Bonegilla Migrant Camp.[21] This atypical migration of Triestines - educated, qualified and urban in background, being *cittadini* (city dwellers) – meant they stood out from the more common Italian peasant migrants, the *contadini*.[22] It is possible to analyse their migration experience as a unique set of migrants within the Italian post-war migration. Nonetheless, in common with all Italian migrants, the Triestines faced the perception as the 'Other' in post second world war Australia and endured the harsh assimilationist policies.

A comparison between these two sets of immigrants who migrated to the same city, allows for an analysis of the importance of their urban background in their migration experience. Across Australia and Melbourne's extensive migration history, there were few large migrations from urban centres except for London, and Dublin in

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[18] Jupp, *Immigration,* pp. 75-76.

[19] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity,* p. 70 & 76.

[20] G. Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia*, Sydney, Padana Press, 2011, p. 1 & 47.

[21] B. Pennay, 'The Bonegilla Riot, July 1961: Maintaining Favourable Impressions of the Postwar Immigration Program', 2017, <https://aph.org.au/2017/11/the-bonegilla-riot-july-1961-maintaining-favourable-impressions-of-the-postwar-immigration-program/>, accessed 12 April 2021 60; Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity*.

[22] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 1.

the mid-nineteenth century and Trieste in the mid-twentieth century. Clear differences in the size and complexity of Melbourne are apparent in the century that separates the Dublin and Trieste migrations, yet many features of their experience are analogous. For this thesis, sampled records of migrants from Dublin cover a broad range of socio-economic, familial, and religious backgrounds have been gathered. The sample of Triestines was collated utilising a snowball sample with a mix of familial backgrounds, as most Triestines' socio-economic and religious backgrounds are very similar.[23] Migrants from Dublin generally migrated via unassisted passage so either they, or their family paid their way. Most of the Dublin sample included middle-class professionals or merchants, so they could afford their own passage as well as establish themselves in Melbourne upon their arrival. The Trieste sample migrated via assisted passage through inter-governmental migration schemes and possessed trade qualifications, with some being employed by the Allied Military Government (AMG).[24] With this wealth of experience, the Triestines established themselves in employment shortly after reaching Melbourne.

Their migratory experience from Dublin and Trieste to Melbourne can be understood through the lens of the samples of migrants we have gathered. The Dublin sample covers 34 connected groups of migrants consisting of families, couples and single men and women. There are 111 individuals in the sample - including adult migrants all the way through to infants - who all emigrated from Dublin between 1852 and 1861. The sample was gathered utilising prosopography, 'the investigation of the common background characteristics of a group of actors in history by means of a collective study of their lives'.[25] This method has been deployed with great effect elsewhere by modern historians. Prosopography was used by Bruce Elliot to trace

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[23] Snowballing is a technique for gathering research subjects through identification of an initial subject who is to provide names of other actors: R. Atkinson, & Flint, John, 'Snowball Sampling', in M.S. Lewis-Beck, A. Bryman and T.F. Liao (eds.), *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science Research Methods*, Thousand Oaks, California, Sage Publications, Inc., 2011, p. 1044.

[24] After the second world war Trieste and the surrounding regions was divided into zone A controlled by the Allied Military Government (AMG), made up of United States and United Kingdom forces, and zone B controlled by Yugoslavian forces. The AMG also established a local police force, the *Polizia Civile* (Civil Police), which employed many local Triestines.

[25] L. Stone, 'Prosopography', *Daedalus*, vol. 100, no. 1, 1971, p. 46.

775 Protestant Irish families from North Tipperary who migrated to Canada in the early- to mid-nineteenth century; he wrote that 'we can have no idea of the make-up of the immigrating family until the genealogy has been completed using records dating from many years before'.[26] More recently, John McIlroy and Alan Campbell used the technique of prosopography to analyse the American Communist elite during the foundation years of the American Communist Party.[27] Andrej Svorenčík found that prosopography can be a broad cross-disciplinary methodology when he used it to track the history of economics in the United States.[28] In a recent article on the use of prosopography in social work history, the authors detail the strengths and weaknesses of prosopography such as the ability 'to make inferences about groups in situations where individual information may be absent'.[29] The authors found great benefits in using prosopography to trace women in social work history. These examples illustrate the varied and cross-disciplinary uses of prosopography, and the power it exerts as a collective study of a specific group's lives.

The Dubliners were sampled through primary source material and then their lives in Dublin traced, the sea voyage out, and their settlement in Melbourne. The initial starting point for these examinations was through Trove, the website auspiced by the National Library of Australia. Since newspapers and other sources have been scanned by the library using digital recognition software, information can be explored by using specific search words. The search term 'Dublin' was entered in Trove and an analysis of family notices from Victoria for the mid-nineteenth century was undertaken. Any families whose background was explicitly stated as Dublin were then researched further. The *Victorian Police Gazettes* were also examined with the same search term 'Dublin' to locate any criminals or victims of crime who also originated from that city. Additionally, the searchable Victorian vital registration data of births,

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[26] B.S. Elliott, *Irish Migrants in the Canadas: A New Approach*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2004, p. 4.

[27] J. McIlroy and A. Campbell, 'Towards a Prosopography of the American Communist Elite: the Foundation Years, 1919–1923', *American Communist History*, vol. 18, no. 3-4, 2019, pp. 180-181.

[28] A. Svorenčík, 'The Missing Link: Prosopography in the History of Economics', *History of Political Economy*, vol. 50, no. 3, 2018, pp. 606-607.

[29] D.C. Coles, F.E. Netting and M.K. O'Connor, 'Using Prosopography to Raise the Voices of Those Erased in Social Work History', *Affilia*, vol. 33, no. 1, 2018, p. 87.

deaths, and marriages since 1836, was used to verify the family notices as well as to gather further information.[30] The names were also searched in the Thom's and Dublin directories to find where they lived in Dublin. The digital British Newspaper Archive was used to gather any mention of the Dubliners in the Dublin and Irish newspapers from the mid-nineteenth century. This information was then entered into the cross-platform website Ancestry.com to obtain further information about the Dubliners, such as marriages and baptisms in Dublin, the ship on which they migrated, property rate notices from Melbourne, government gazette information, and where their grave is located. The website of PROV, the Public Records Office of Victoria was searched by family name to access probate notices, wills, court cases, shipping records and teaching records, either online as digitised items or physical copies located at the archives. Finally, Trove was utilised again to identify any further mention of the sampled Dubliners in Melbourne particularly the social, political, and criminal news of the day, including membership of associations and other news. When all this information is collated together, a picture of the lives of the Dubliners was created beginning in Dublin, through their voyage to the Antipodes, and their lives in Melbourne. The sample includes groups who migrated as full family units, chain migrants, couples, and individuals. There is a mix of Catholic and Protestant migrants, as well as varied socio-economic backgrounds. This methodology produced a satisfyingly complex group portrait of the Dublin migrants. While Trove and digital archives are an invaluable resource which enables research to be conducted from anywhere in the world, there are limitations as well. Only what has been digitised is available, and large amounts of valuable resources are still only available in physical archives. Using Trove to locate Dubliners reveals those who had the financial ability to place family notices in the papers, or those who had a criminal record or in the asylums. It excludes the lower income Dubliners who never found themselves on the wrong side of the law, as they never appeared within the digitised newspapers or gazettes.

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[30] Births Deaths and Marriages Victoria, 'Search Your Family History', 2021, <https://www.bdm.vic.gov.au/research-and-family-history/search-your-family-history>, accessed 23 June 2021

The Trieste sample covers 20 groups of Triestine migrants and consists mostly of family groups, but also includes couples and single men. There are 63 individuals in the sample - including adult migrants through to infants - who all emigrated from Trieste between 1954 and 1961. As some of the immigrants are still alive, the information about their families, such as when they migrated, where they lived and worked, was obtained directly from individuals within the sample. Access to members of the Triestine community was relatively easy, as the author is part of the Triestine community, with family emigrating from Trieste in 1954. Through the connections of family and friends, as well as the *Trieste Social Club* in Essendon, a 'convenience sample' was able to be collated. With the initial information about the Triestine sample, the immigration records from the National Archives of Australia were searched. The NAA records reveal information about where the Triestines lived, their employment history, their birthplace, marriage data, their health records, as well as the views of the migration officers on their suitability to emigrate to Australia and the employment the Australian government saw as appropriate for each of them. Electoral roll and naturalisation data for the Trieste sample was gathered through Ancestry.com and Trove. To enhance these primary archival sources and to understand the migrant experience directly, interviews were conducted with five Triestine migrants to understand the migrant experience directly. Following best oral history practice, Ethics clearance was obtained to conduct the interviews (Appendix C: Ethics).[31] The interviewees all consented to being named and none chose to use pseudonyms. An Oral History training course was completed as well as reference to *The Oral History Reader.*[32] The interview subjects were young when they departed from Trieste, ranging in age from two- to fourteen-years-old when they arrived in Melbourne. A non-Triestine migrant who married a Triestine migrant and is a foundation member of the *San Giusto Alabarda Social Club* (now the *Trieste Social Club)* was also interviewed. Oral history interviews are the 'recording of memories of people's unique life

[31] Victoria University Ethics application number HRE20-206.

[32] R. Perks and A. Thomson, *The Oral History Reader*, 3rd edn., Routledge Readers in History Series, Oxfordshire, UK, Routledge, 2015.

experiences' and were instrumental in analysing the Triestines' placemaking in Melbourne.[33]

Information on the Dubliners was sourced through personal and public sources gathered using prosopography in combination with diaries, letters, journals, and reminiscences; the Triestines' information was sourced with personal and public sources in conjunction with oral history. Documentary sources composed by experts such as urban planners have also been used, such as city guides, maps, and demographic data, these are useful ways to understand urban 'space', the abstract entity of a city. But we also need human stories, such as oral histories, diaries, journals, and reminiscences, to understand urban 'place': the lived experience of a locality.[34] Space is a realm without meaning, while place has been invested with meaning by the formation of attachments.[35] Migrants enter a space imbued with meaning as a place for the locals yet through their settlement and experience, turn it into their place.

A large body of work has been published on immigration to Australia as well as the Irish and Italian migrations to Australia, ranging from general surveys to specific subsets of each group.[36] Despite this, there is little research on urban migrants to the

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[33] Oral History Victoria, 'What is Oral History?', 2020, <https://oralhistoryvictoria.org.au/what-is-oral-history/>, accessed 27 March 2020 2020

[34] C. Pascoe, 'City as Space, City as Place: Sources and the Urban Historian', *History Australia*, vol. 7, no. 2, 2010, p. 30.31.

[35] T. Cresswell, *Place: An Introduction (2nd ed.)*, West Sussex, Wiley, 2014, p. 15.

[36] Examples of Australian migration historiography include: R. Balint and Z. Simic, 'Histories of Migrants and Refugees in Australia', *Australian Historical Studies*, vol. 49, no. 3, 2018; A.-M. Jordens, *Alien to Citizen: Settling Migrants in Australia, 1945-75*, Allen & Unwin, 1997; Jupp, *Immigration*; J. Jupp, *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and Their Origins*, Port Melbourne, Cambridge University Press, 2001; J. Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian immigration*, Cambridge University Press, 2002; J. Jupp, *An Immigrant Nation Seeks Cohesion: Australia from 1788*, Anthem Studies in Australian Politics, Economics and Society, Melbourne, Anthem Press, 2018; S. O'Hanlon and R. Stevens, 'A Nation of Immigrants or a Nation of Immigrant Cities? The Urban Context of Australian Multiculturalism, 1947-2011', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, vol. 63, no. 4, 2017; E. Richards, *Destination Australia: Migration to Australia Since 1901*, UNSW Press, 2008. Examples of Irish and Italian

urban centres of Australia, specifically urban Irish, and urban Italians. Dublin was the urban centre of Ireland and by the mid-nineteenth century was a decaying Georgian city based around commercial enterprise. Irish migrants generally were from one of three groups: the Protestant Anglo-Irish elite, who maintained close social, political and cultural ties with England; middle-class Protestants and Catholics, employed as professionals, in the armed forces or as merchants; while the largest group were immigrants from poorer rural backgrounds who were Catholic.[37] The Dublin sample used for this thesis includes mostly middle-class Protestants and Catholic professionals or merchants. Trieste was a former Austrian imperial maritime city that became a faded image of its former self by the mid-twentieth century. The economy and employment in the city centred on the maritime and subsidiary industries. Most of the Trieste sample found employment in industries related to the maritime and urban nature of the city, or worked for the Allied Military Government (AMG). These urban immigrants' experience as migrants was markedly different to the more common rural-to-urban migrants from Ireland and Italy. While research has been completed on Trieste migration to Australia and Melbourne, comparing these urbanites with another group of urban migrants has not been attempted.[38]

Urbanist Kevin Lynch developed a technique for analysing urban localities: he identified five distinct elements observed by residents of cities, and neighbourhoods within those cities. These he defined as the 'paths' they use to travel within the

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migration history to Australia include: S. Castles et al., *Australia's Italians: Culture and Community in a Changing Society*, North Sydney, Allen & Unwin, 1992; G. Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia*, Sydney, Knockmore Enterprises, 1988; G. Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2003; C. Kiernan, *Ireland and Australia*, Irish Books & Media, 1984; Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia*; C. McConville, *Croppies, Celts & Catholics: the Irish in Australia*, Caulfield South, Edward Arnold, 1987; O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*; R. Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage*, Richmond, Victoria, Greenhouse Publications, 1987; R.E. Reid, *Farewell My Children: Irish Asssited Emigration to Australia 1848-1870*, Spit Junction, NSW, Anchor Books, 2011; Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity*.

[37] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 5.

[38] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia*; A. Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste ... the Triestine Community of Melbourne*, PHD diss., Melbourne, Victoria University, 2000

neighbourhood; the ‘edges’, or boundaries of their neighbourhood; the ‘districts’, or the larger identified sections of the neighbourhood; the ‘nodes’, which are strategic spots within the neighbourhood; and finally, the ‘landmarks’, that include external reference points.[39] These elements of a city or neighbourhood become major factors for urban migrants and their placemaking within their new urban environment. Lynch says, ‘every citizen has long associations with some part of their city, and their image is soaked in memories and meanings’.[40] In the words of urban historians, ‘Lynch’s approach fosters reflection on the multiple dimensions of a city, both of the physical and sensory nature, linked to different ways and times of use’.[41] The migrant groups form familiar elements such as the pathways they use, where they meet their friends and the central location that is relevant to their group’s culture. Specific parts of the city and their image have associated memories and meanings for Dublin migrants in the mid-nineteenth century and Trieste migrants in the mid-twentieth century. Analysing these memories and meanings creates a sense of the migrants’ urban lives. Despite being a century apart, analogous factors occur within the two groups’ experience related to their employment, personal, and social lives. These similarities and their urban lives permeate through their settlement and placemaking. The key factors of urban-to-urban migration that cross the borders of time, ethnicity, and language become clearer when we analyse how the urban background of migrants influenced their placemaking and then comparing them with another urban migratory group.

The samples of Dublin and Trieste migrants have been compared to analyse the role of the migrant’s urban background and how it had an impact on their migration, including their motivations in undertaking migration, how they migrated, and how they settled in Melbourne. Dublin and Trieste had in common that they were cities historically built on trade but, by the time of these migrations, were experiencing a downturn in their mercantile fortunes. While the Dublin migrants are part of a broader

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[39] K. Lynch, *The Image of the City*, Massachusetts, MIT Press, 1960, pp. 47-48.

[40] Lynch, *The Image of the City,* p. 1.

[41] E. Marchigiani and C. Mattogno, 'Reflecting on the Legacy of Kevin Lynch’s Cognitive Approach to City Design Through Italian Didactic Experiences', *Journal of Civil Engineering and Architecture*, no. 11, 2018, p. 781.

Irish migration and Triestines part of larger scale post-war Italian migration, their urban background and culture brings a commonality to their experience that marks them off from the more typical rural-to-urban migration history in Australia.

Chapter 1: Literature Review

This analysis of the role of the urban background of migrants from Dublin and Trieste is situated within the disciplines of migration, Irish, Italian, urban and comparative studies. This review will outline each in turn.

Migration history was established in the United States in the middle of the twentieth century by Marcus Lee Hansen and Oscar Handlin. Marcus Lee Hansen introduced the notion that the first-generation clings to the 'old ways', the second generation moves towards their host country and the third generation, comfortable in their position, seeks out an understanding of their family's immigrant roots.[1] This is still a relevant formula for migration history today. Oscar Handlin in *The Uprooted* opens with "once I thought to write a history of the immigrants in America. Then I discovered that the immigrants were American history".[2] Handlin completely occludes the indigenous people of America, which parallels the settler colonialism in Melbourne occluding the indigenous people of the Kulin Nation and Naarm in particular, and signalled the emergence of European control over Australia.[3] *The Uprooted,* still has relevance for migration historiography today with its focus on the immigrant experience and their treatment as new arrivals in their new host country.[4] Handlin faced significant criticism of *The Uprooted,* with Rudolph J. Vecoli stating that Handlin failed to "respect the unique cultural attributes of the many and varied ethnic groups which sent immigrants to the United States".[5] Hansen and Handlin centred their analyses on the nation-state as the site for analysis of immigration, with a focus on the 'immigrant'

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[1] A.M. Kraut, 'Oscar Handlin and "the Idea That We Are a Nation of Immigrants"', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 32, no. 3, 2013, p. 26.

[2] O. Handlin, *The Uprooted: The Epic Story of the Great Migrations That Made the American People (2nd Ed)*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002, p. 3.

[3] J. Boyce, *1835: The Founding of Melbourne the Conquest of Australia*, Black Inc., 2011, pp. Ebook, Preface, Para 2.

[4] Kraut, 'Oscar Handlin and "the Idea That We Are a Nation of Immigrants"' p. 29.

[5] R.J. Vecoli, 'Contadini in Chicago: A Critique of The Uprooted', *The Journal of American History*, vol. 51, no. 3, 1964, p. 404.

rather than the duality of the migrant being an emigrant as well.[6] Migration history at this time was inherently backwards-looking and Atlantic centric with a focus towards the movement west to the United States and then the westward movement within the United States.[7] In the 1990s there was a reconceptualization of migration history within a transnational framework. Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch and Cristina Blanc-Szanton introduced the concept of 'transnationalism' based on the fact that "immigrants develop networks, activities, patterns of living, and ideologies that span their home and host society".[8] Transnational migration studies has emerged as an interdisciplinary field within the social sciences.[9] Hansen's formula is influential within transnational migration studies, as migration scholars accept that transnational ties exist in the first generation, but those ties lessen with the second and subsequent generations.[10] Dirk Hoerder has taken transnationalism further with his concept of transcultural societal studies:

> Transcultural approaches to migration between societies, regardless of their territorial extent, connect multiple spaces in which people live and interrelate and which transcend political boundaries.[11]

Transcultural migration studies understand the concept that, while migration occurs from one nation to another, the unique and individual cultures within those nations can be subsumed under the theory of transnationalism.

Migration history in Australia starts from colonial and convict settlement through to the 'White Australia' policy and onto multiculturalism.[12] The focus has been more

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[6] R. Waldinger, 'Engaging From Abroad: The Sociology of Emigrant Politics', *Migration Studies*, vol. 2, no. 3, 2013, p. 319.

[7] M.L. Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History*, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Harvard University Press, 2015.Kindle, paragraph 1, chapter 3.

[8] L. Basch, N.G. Schiller and C.S. Blanc, *Nations Unbound: Transnational Projects, Postcolonial Predicaments, and Deterritorialized Nation-states*, Oxfordshire, England, Routledge, 2005, pp. Kindle, paragraph 8 chapter 1.

[9] P. Levitt and B.N. Jaworsky, 'Transnational Migration Studies: Past Developments and Future Trends', *Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 33, no., 2007, p. 129.

[10] Levitt and Jaworsky, 'Transnational Migration Studies' p. 133.

[11] C. Harzig and D. Hoerder, *What is Migration History?*, New York, John Wiley & Sons, 2013. Kindle, paragraph 3, chapter 3.8

[12] Jupp, *The Australian People*; Jupp, *An Immigrant Nation Seeks Cohesion: Australia from 1788*.

on how the Australian government managed and controlled the immigration and the changing landscape of immigration into Australia. In *The Australian People,* edited by James Jupp, contributors discussed the broad and varied migrant groups that have arrived and settled in Australia.[13] Jupp, along with Ann-Mari Jordens, have published and continue to publish literature on Australian migration history from colonial settlement to post-war migration, and more recently on refugees and refugee policy.[14] As with migration history globally, Australian migration history has more recently taken a transnational turn.[15] The Australian transnational literature covers the early colonial settlement, through the period of the White Australia Policy, onto the post-war migration and multiculturalism through to refugees.[16] Transcultural and intercultural studies have gained ground in Australian migration history where the migrants' cultural connections are preeminent, such as members of the Vietnamese and Laos community representing themselves with the defunct flags of the Republic of Vietnam (South Vietnam) and the Royal Flag of the Kingdom of Laos.[17] This is particularly true of the Triestine social clubs, where the symbols of Triestine identity are valued above all other symbols and identities.[18] The transcultural ties are less so for the Dublin community who due to the lack of technology and the tyranny of distance, maintained more cultural and therefore transnational ties to the British empire, as well as to their religious affiliation.

Moving towards distinct migratory groups in Australia, Patrick O'Farrell's *The Irish in Australia* is considered one of the most significant works on Irish Australian

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[13] Jupp, *The Australian People*.

[14] Jordens, *Alien to Citizen: Settling Migrants in Australia, 1945-75*; Jupp, *Immigration*; Jupp, *From White Australia to Woomera: The Story of Australian immigration*; Jupp, *An Immigrant Nation Seeks Cohesion: Australia from 1788*.

[15] Balint and Simic, 'Histories of Migrants and Refugees in Australia' pp. 382-383.

[16] D. Deacon et al., *Transnational Ties: Australian Lives in the World*, ANU E Press, 2008; M. Lake and H. Reynolds, *Drawing the Global Colour Line: White Men's Countries and the International Challenge of Racial Equality*, Cambridge University Press, 2008.

[17] A. Carruthers, 'National Multiculturalism, Transnational Identities', *Journal of Intercultural Studies*, vol. 34, no. 2, 2013, p. 220.

[18] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 202.

history.[19] In the thirty years since it was first published, historians of Irish Australia have acknowledged that O'Farrell did not pay enough attention to the issues of environment, economics, race, gender and class.[20] More recently, Elizabeth Malcolm and Dianne Hall's *A New History of the Irish in Australia* has expanded on the issues of gender, race and stereotypes within Irish migration to Australia.[21] These works cover the broad Irish migratory experience over a significant span of time.

The focus of scholarship on migration from Italy is on the cultural, economic, and social aspects of their migration to Australia. In *Australia's Italians,* the contributors cover many aspects of Italian migration, looking at employment, gender, placemaking and culture.[22] Gianfranco Cresciani published a number of works detailing the experiences of migrants from Italy from the influence of fascism on the Italians in Australia, as well as the reception of Italians by Australia and Australians.[23] Cresciani's *The Italians in Australia* was praised for "the lesson it provides on the brutality of assimilation policies", yet criticised for its lack of any notions of transnationalism.[24] All of these works on Italian migration are general surveys of Italian migration to Australia and do not analyse the specificities or the importance of the regions to Italian migrants.[25] Robert Pascoe's *Buongiorno Australia* is centred on the cultural heritage of Italian migrants in Australia, and shows the specific cultural entities within Italy and their migratory experience in Australia. He argues that there is no such thing as Italian, rather transcultural connections between the home village or town and their new home in Australia take precedence.[26] More recently, Francesco

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[19] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia*.

[20] E. Malcolm, '10,000 Miles Away: Irish Studies Down Under', in L. Harte and Y. Whelan (eds.), *Ireland Beyond Boundaries*, Mapping Irish Studies in the Twenty-First Century; Pluto Press, 2007.

[21] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia*.

[22] Castles et al., *Australia's Italians*.

[23] Cresciani, *Migrants or Mates: Italian Life in Australia*; Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*.

[24] L. Baldassar, 'Transnational Times. Review of "The Italians in Australia" by Gianfranco Cresciani', *Australian Book Review*, no. 257, 2004.

[25] S. Iuliano and L. Baldassar, 'Deprovincialising Italian Migration Studies: An Overview of Australian and Canadian Research', *FULGOR: Flinders University Languages Group Online Review*, vol. 3, no. 3, 2008, p. 3.

[26] Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage*.

Ricatti has published *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity.* Ricatti utilised transnationalism with a focus on transculturation, and an intersectional approach that considers matters of class exploitation, racism, and sexism.[27]

While there have been several works published on the history of the Irish in Australia, most of these have concentrated on the migration of the majority Catholic population. In a survey of Protestant Irish settlement, Trevor McClaughlin argues about the 'neglected area of study of the Protestant Irish in Australia' and details the influence that the Protestant Irish have had in Australia.[28] Dianne Hall published two articles on Protestant Irish from Ulster who settled in colonial New South Wales. These articles show how the Ulster Irish placed themselves within their new colonial home, the importance of the Orange Lodge and the sectarian attitudes that held sway.[29] Very little research has been conducted on migrants from urban areas such as Dublin, especially on Protestant Dubliners. Letters from a Protestant Dublin woman, Isabella Wyly, who migrated to Adelaide, appear in David Fitzpatrick's important collection of migrant letters, *Oceans of Consolation.*[30] There has also been research on graduates from Trinity College, particularly by Jarlath Ronayne in *First Fleet to Federation* and on specific prominent Australians such as Redmond Barry, as well as lawyers from Ireland and Dublin who migrated to colonial Australia.[31]

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[27] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity*.Ebook, paragraph 1, chapter 1

[28] T. McClaughlin, 'Protestant Irish in Australia', in K. Brownrigg, C. Mongan and R. Reid (eds), *Echoes of Irish Australia: Rebellion to Republic,* Canberra, Paragon Printers, 2007, pp 88-98.

[29] D. Hall, 'Defending the Faith: Orangeism and Ulster Protestant Identities in Colonial New South Wales', *Journal of Religious History*, vol. 38, no. 2, 2014; D. Hall, '"God Sent Me Here to Raise a Society": Irishness, Protestantism, and Colonial Identity in New South Wales', *Religion and Greater Ireland: Christianity and Irish Global Networks, 1750-1950*, vol. 73, no., 2015.

[30] D. Fitzpatrick, *Oceans of Consolation: Personal Accounts of Irish Migration to Australia*, New York, Cornell University Press, 1994, pp. 96-138.

[31] J. Ronayne, *First Fleet to Federation: The Influence of Trinity College Dublin on Law, Learning and Politics in Colonial Australia*, Dublin, Trinity College Dublin Press, 2001; P. Ryan, 'Sir Redmond Barry', 1969, <http://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/barry-sir-redmond-2946>, accessed 28 July 2020 ; J.K. McLaughlin, *The Immigration of Irish Lawyers to Australia in the Nineteenth Century: Causes and Consequences*, PHD diss., Melbourne, Monash University, 2019

David Dickson's *Dublin: Making of a capital city* is the most in-depth and detailed work for analysing Dublin in the 1850s and the decades prior. He analyses the factors that influenced the decline of Dublin from the 1798 union with the United Kingdom through to the declining infrastructure, and social factors that impacted the city in the nineteenth century.[32] The ordnance survey of Dublin in 1847 is an invaluable resource itself, as is Frank Cullen's *Dublin 1847: City of the Ordnance Survey,* where he examines specific districts and neighbourhoods.[33] A number of contemporary books also give important insight into how residents saw their city at that time, such as *A History of the City of Dublin* and *Dublin: an Historical Sketch of Ireland's Metropolis*.[34] Other works on specific districts or aspects of Dublin also provide detailed information on how Dubliners lived, worked and socialised in the nineteenth century, with focus on the tenement, slum and red light districts as well as the architecture of Dublin from stately Georgian houses to tenements and Victorian era housing.[35]

Melbourne in the 1850s was a small colonial town whose population exploded due to the discovery of gold. Geoffrey Serle's *The Golden Age* is the most in-depth analysis of the impact of the gold rush on Victoria and Melbourne.[36] Other works have chapters that focus on Melbourne, the profound impact of the gold rush on the city and the subsequent long boom for the city after the gold rush.[37] Andrew May also minutely

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[32] Dickson, *Dublin*.

[33] F. Cullen, *Dublin 1847: City of the Ordnance Survey*, Irish Historic Towns Atlas, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 2015.

[34] J.T. Gilbert, *A History of the City of Dublin*, Dublin and London, J. Duffy, 1861; T.O. Summers, *Dublin: An Historical Sketch of Ireland's Metropolis*, London, The Religious Tract SDociety, 1860.

[35] M. Curtis, *To Hell or Monto: The Story of Dublin's Most Notorious Districts*, Cheltenham, UK, The History Press, 2015; S. Galavan, *Dublin's Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs, 1850-1901*, Oxfordshire, England, Taylor & Francis, 2017; C.O. Grada, 'Dublin's Demography in the Early Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Rotunda', *Population Studies*, vol. 45, no. 1, 1991; K.C. Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life: An Oral History of the Dublin Slums*, Dublin, Gill & Macmillan Ltd, 2006; S. O'Shea and R. Mcmanus, 'Upper Buckingham Street: a Microcosm of Dublin, 1788-2012', *Studia Hibernica*, no. 38, 2012.

[36] Serle, *The Golden Age*.

[37] J. Belich, *Replenishing the Earth: The Settler Revolution and the Rise of the Angloworld*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2009; A. Briggs, *Victorian Cities*, London, Penguin Group, 1990.

details the street life of Melbourne with the city being transformed from a life coinhabited within the streets, to a private life behind doors and off the streets.[38]

Chapters and articles on Italian migration to specific locations within Australia include analysis of migration from specific Italian regions and cities.[39] Gianfranco Cresciani and Adriana Nelli have completed significant works on the Trieste migration to Australia. Cresciani details the history of Trieste that led to the emigration of almost 20,000 Triestines to emigrate to Australia in the period after the second world war. It is based within a transcultural framework, where the connections between the Triestine in Australia and their cultural sense of being Triestine is linked back with the city of Trieste.[40] Nelli interviewed 75 Triestine immigrants and focused on those situated around Ascot Vale and Moonee Ponds. She details how the Triestine preferred to associate with other Triestine; they kept their culinary traditions alive in the *San Giusto Alabarda Club* by where they served traditional Triestine meals.[41] Their preference to speak the Triestine dialect and the expression of their regional identity, their 'triestineness' was also common.[42] Nelli's dissertation is clearly situated within a transcultural framework, and reveals the connections and links between the Triestine in Melbourne with their Triestine culture and their family and friends left behind in Trieste. To understand why such a large number of Triestines migrated, knowledge of the situation in Trieste that led to this migration is required. While Cresciani and Nelli provide a picture of this, more detailed analysis is useful, which can be found in Glenda Sluga's *The Problem of Trieste* and Maura Hametz *Making Trieste Italian.* Both provide analysis of the Italian irredentist ideals, the conflict with Yugoslavia over the territory of Trieste and the impact of the Allied Military Government and Yugoslavian control of the two zones of the Free Territory of Trieste.[43] Analysis

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[38] A. Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life*, Kew, Victoria, Australian Scholarly Publishing, 1998.

[39] Iuliano and Baldassar, 'Deprovincialising Italian Migration Studies: An Overview of Australian and Canadian Research' p. 6.

[40] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia*.

[41] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 198.

[42] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 222.

[43] M.E. Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954*, Suffolk, UK, Boydell & Brewer, 2005; G. Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border: Difference, Identity, and Sovereignty in Twentieth-Century Europe*, Albany, New York, State University of New York Press, 2001.

of the environment in which migrants in the 1950s found themselves in Melbourne is essential; and *Urbanization in Australia* gives an overview of the suburban spread, as well as the impact of migration on the urban centres in Australia.[44]

Urban history and how it relates to migration history are significant areas of research. H. J. Dyos is considered by many British urban historians to be the doyen of urban history.[45] Urban history then turned towards multi-authored urban biographies that analyse a city over time as well as comparative urban histories between multiple cities.[46] Modern urban historians see cities as the plural, in relation to one another, both comparatively and transnationally.[47] Cities, often the preferred choice of many migrants, provided enhanced opportunities for employment and the lure of a vibrant and exciting environment.

Immigrants settling in Australia generally settled in the urban centres. This created ethnically diverse societies, especially after the second world war. Sydney, Melbourne and Adelaide were the urban magnets for the post war migration in Australia, with overseas-born making up between 22 per cent and 27 per cent in these cities as compared to 18.5 per cent Australia wide. The migrants in these cities formed suburban ethnic enclaves through the 1950s and 1960s, such as Eastern Europeans who lived in the inner eastern suburbs of Sydney, or the Italians in Melbourne who settled in the inner-city neighbourhoods.[48] The choice of urban settlement for newly arrived immigrants, whether rural or urban in origin, had a profound effect on their settlement in Australia.

There are clear merits in a comparative approach to history. Comparison helps to make the 'climate' of historical research less provincial.[49] The use comparative

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[44] I.H. Burnley, *Urbanization in Australia: the Post-War Experience*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1977.

[45] Ewen, *What is Urban History?,* p. 20.

[46] Ewen, *What is Urban History?,* p. 23.

[47] Kenny and Madgin, *Cities Beyond Borders,* p. 4.

[48] O'Hanlon and Stevens, 'A Nation of Immigrants or a Nation of Immigrant Cities? The Urban Context of Australian Multiculturalism, 1947-2011' pp. 563-565.

[49] J. Kocka, 'Comparison and Beyond', *History and theory*, vol. 42, no. 1, 2003, p. 39.

method helps historians discover the similarities as well as the uniqueness of different societies through time and across space.[50] Much of the migration history literature is still Atlantic-centric yet works have been published on comparisons between migratory groups. Kevin Kenny in 'Diaspora and Comparison' advocates comparing different groups of Irish migrants to broaden the field, yet acknowledges the practical challenges.[51] Malcolm Campbell and David Noel Doyle somewhat earlier compared the Irish in the United States to the Irish in Australia, arguing against exceptionalism within each group.[52] An example of where a comparison between two contemporary, but different, migrant groups in one location, is Paul Moses' *An Unlikely Union* where he compares the Italian and Irish migrants in New York and their relationships with each other.[53] Scholars such as Cresciani have compared migrants from the same origin country, but in different time periods.[54] Such comparative methods allows analysis of the nuances in two sets of urban migrants a century apart, to understand what of their urban nature influenced their migratory experience and the similarities across the span of time.

In this thesis, the case study groups of Dublin and Triestine migrants are placed within a transcultural framework. With both groups being part of the larger Irish and Italian migrations, their urban origin means that their migratory experience is different to that of their rural compatriots. The Dubliners, culturally distinct from the rest of Ireland, with their urban location, industrial and professional employment opportunities and economic growth when compared to the more common agricultural Ireland. Most of the Dublin migrants in the sample for this thesis are low-middle and middle-class

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[50] Ewen, *What is Urban History?,* p. 2.

[51] K. Kenny, 'Diaspora and Comparison: The Global Irish as a Case Study', *Journal of American History*, vol. 90, no. 1, 2003.

[52] M. Campbell, 'The Other Immigrants: Comparing the Irish in Australia and the United States', *Journal of American Ethnic History*, vol. 14, no. 3, 1995; M. Campbell, 'Ireland's Furthest Shores: Irish Immigrant Settlement in Nineteenth-Century California and Eastern Australia', *Pacific Historical Review*, vol. 71, no. 1, 2002; D.N. Doyle, 'The Irish in Australia and the United States: Some Comparisons, 1800-1939', *Irish Economic and Social History*, vol. 16, no., 1989.

[53] P. Moses, *An Unlikely Union: the Love-Hate Story of New York's Irish and Italians*, New York, New York University Press, 2015.

[54] Castles et al., *Australia's Italians*; Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia*.

professionals and merchants and drawn from both Protestant and Catholic backgrounds. Research on this specific group of Dublin migrants is a neglected area. For the Triestines, transcultural migration is appropriate due to their sense of 'triestineness'. They saw themselves as Triestine first and Italian second. Hansen's notion is significant as many of the Triestine in the sample were very young when they arrived in Australia, with some born in Australia to Triestine parents. So, analysis of the significance of the 'old ways' and 'homeland' and the subsequent movement towards Australian and Melbourne culture within the young first generation and subsequent second generation Triestines is relevant. While research on migration to urban centres is common, it is usually focused on the rural-to-urban migration and very little on urban-to-urban migration. For both groups the prevalence of family groups who migrated together is unusual when compared to broader Irish and Italian migration to Australia. Irish migration to Australia in the nineteenth century consisted mostly of young, single women and men, while unusually, family groups often migrated from Dublin.[55] Similarly, chain migration of single adults was the common feature of Italian migration, while for the Triestine migration the majority migrated as complete family groups or married couples.[56]

Research into the impact of the migrant's urban background on their migration and placemaking in an urban setting, especially within Australia, is a significant gap that warrants further exploration. Finally, comparative migration history on two distinct urban migrant groups a century apart is an area that necessitates further research. Research into their employment, home, placemaking and transcultural nature of their experience as migrants in an urban setting, will fill a gap and add to the understanding of what was most relevant for their migration, their ethnicity, their urban background, or the act of migration itself.

[55] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 5.

[56] Castles et al., *Australia's Italians,* p. 41.

Chapter 2: Dublin a City of Neglect

By the 1850s, Dublin was a fading Georgian metropolis, no longer Britain's second city, eclipsed in wealth and size by the industrialising cities of Liverpool and Manchester.[1] Dublin's relative decline can be attributed to factors that range from the local, to the national and to the global. Its inhabitants were choosing to emigrate, and Melbourne was an attractive destination. The sample of 34 groups of Dublin migrants includes 111 individuals, who migrated to Melbourne between 1852 and 1861. Of the 34 groups, 20 followed various Protestant faiths, 12 Catholic family groups and the denomination of the final 3 groups is unknown. The Protestant members make up almost 59 per cent of the sample, in comparison to the estimated 25 per cent of Irish Protestant immigrants to Australia.[2] We begin with an assessment of their lives in Dublin, paying particular attention to their social class position, their educational background, their employment, and the factors that influenced their decision to Migrate to Victoria. This then takes us aboard their shipping journeys from the Old World to the Antipodes, journeys that reflected their social standing. How they settled into their new lives in Melbourne was influenced by their Dublin lives - their family contexts, their class positions, their careers, and the urban skills that were part and parcel of their Irish baggage.

Turmoil in Ireland

Those who fled Ireland in the 1850s left a country reeling from a famine that began around 1845. This convulsive event, the Great Famine, was the cause of more than a million excess deaths and a torrent of refugees totalling at least one and a quarter million people.[3] The vast majority of these forced emigrants journeyed to the United States, with a smaller proportion going to the United Kingdom and less than eight per

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[1] J. Brady and A. Simms, *Dublin Through Space and Time*, Urban Geography, Dublin, Four Courts Press, 2003, p. 159.

[2] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 7.

[3] J. Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine*, New York, New York University Press, 2012, p. 4.

cent travelling to the Australian colonies.[4] The Irish migrants to Australia who arrived in the wake of the Famine came in search of gold, land, fortune and adventure; they generally possessed more resources, both social and financial, and were mostly happier to emigrate than the famine refugees who went to America.[5] Within Ireland, during and after the Famine, many rural Irish moved to the cities, and from there those that could, emigrated, while others lived in the poorhouses and tenement slums within the cities. While many regional areas suffered devasting population loss due to excess deaths and outward migration, Dublin and other Irish cities faced an influx of poor, destitute, and starving famine refugees.

The industrial revolution of the late eighteenth century, centred initially on Britain, saw the modernisation of agriculture and secondary industries that transformed the British peasant into the proletarian. As new industries developed and agriculture became more mechanised, factories began to flourish. This encouraged, and to an extent forced, the rural population to move to urban locations in search of work. The self-sufficient peasants turned into wage earners, consumers, and taxpayers, and each played a part in the capitalist cash economy.[6] This led to a flurry of capital investments in railways, land speculation, and industry, which in turn created a need for financial institutions such as banks and credit associations. 'The Hungry Forties', a term coined retrospectively by historians in the early twentieth century as an argument against tariff reform and in support of free trade, was a time where many working people suffered the gnawing pain of hunger. Any benefits of the industrial revolution became outweighed by the detrimental effects of these epochal changes.[7] The cities, like London and Dublin, grew larger and the authorities could no longer manage the increased demand for urban amenities.[8] The rising middle class, which included the professionals such as lawyers and bankers, as well as the factory owners,

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[4] Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine,* p. 11.

[5] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* p. 63.

[6] N. Davies, *Europe: a History*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. 771.

[7] P.J. Gurney, ''Rejoicing in Potatoes': The Politics of Consumption in England During the 'Hungry Forties'*', *Past & Present*, vol. 203, no. 1, 2009, pp. 100-101.

[8] R. Pascoe, *World History: From the Seventeen-Seventies. Vol. 2, Human Destiny in Human Hands*, Ballan, Victoria, Connor Court Publishing, 2013, pp. 134-135.

gained materially while the new industrial working class economically and socially fell further away.

Anti-British sentiment welled up throughout Ireland with significant rebellions against the British throughout these years, beginning in 1798. The *Act of Union* passed in 1801 ended Ireland's status as a separate kingdom, and the abolition of Dublin's parliament, as Ireland became incorporated into the newly expanded United Kingdom.[9] Among those emerging in public life to resist these changes was Daniel O'Connell, one of the key advocates of Catholic emancipation and one of the first Catholics elected to Westminster. Emboldened by this success, O'Connell began to advocate the repeal of the Union itself, holding 'monster meetings' to demonstrate popular support for the repeal movement, which was about self-government rather than an Irish republic. O'Connell's reputation was damaged when he backed down during 1843 in the face of prime minister Sir Robert Peel's intransigence, and his career went into decline until his death four years later.[10] While O'Connell was a proponent of peaceful means to achieve change, the Young Irelanders movement, comprised of both Protestant and Catholic members, saw the use of force as a pathway to success. Inspired by the revolution of 1848, marked by civil uprisings throughout Europe, the Young Irelanders started a small revolt in County Tipperary led by William Smith O'Brien. The revolt lasted a few days, and the leaders were sentenced to death, later commuted to transportation to Australia.[11]

The combined effect of these events - the Great Famine, the Hungry Forties, and the political turmoil – was profound change in the lives of the Dubliners, resulting on some of this population deciding to embark on emigration. The Australian colonies proved an attractive destination for some, as they offered some attractions; they were part of the British Empire, they contained a high proportion of Irish already living there, and they were experiencing economic growth because of the prodigious gold discoveries.

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[9] Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500-2000,* p. 121.

[10] Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500-2000,* pp. 139-140.

[11] Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500-2000,* pp. 140-141.

1840s Dublin

A decaying city, rife with poverty and desperation, with soot-covered buildings that filled the vista: that was Dublin in the 1840s. Elegant Georgian townhouses, once the abodes of the wealthy and aristocracy had been converted into 'human piggeries', crowded, filthy tenements, as the city deteriorated into poverty and neglect.[12] Many historians date Dublin's decline as coincident with the passing of the *Act of Union* in 1801.[13] The abolition of the Irish parliament transferred political power to London. This led to an exodus of the political class, often the wealthiest residents, who no longer needed their seasonal townhouses. An immediate fear grew that the luxury goods industries would feel the impact of the exodus of the wealthy elite to the British capital. This was partly true, and with the Napoleonic wars and the introduction of various taxes, the industrial heart of the city declined through the first half of the nineteenth century.[14] Dublin transformed from an industrial metropolis based upon manufacturing and shipbuilding to a commercial centre with a proliferation of banks and insurance businesses.[15] Resplendent Georgian houses purchased for £8,000 in 1791, were sold for the trivial sum of £500 in the 1840s. 'Profiteering landlords' purchased many of these spacious homes and converted them into high-density slums.[16]

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[12] Brady and Simms, *Dublin Through Space and Time,* p. 1.

[13] Cullen, *Dublin 1847: City of the Ordnance Survey,* p. Ebook location 529; Brady and Simms, *Dublin Through Space and Time,* p. 159; Galavan, *Dublin's Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs, 1850-1901,* p. 28.

[14] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Ebook 23-27/48.

[15] Galavan, *Dublin's Bourgeois Homes: Building the Victorian Suburbs, 1850-1901,* p. 28.

[16] Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life,* p. p 2 of Intro.

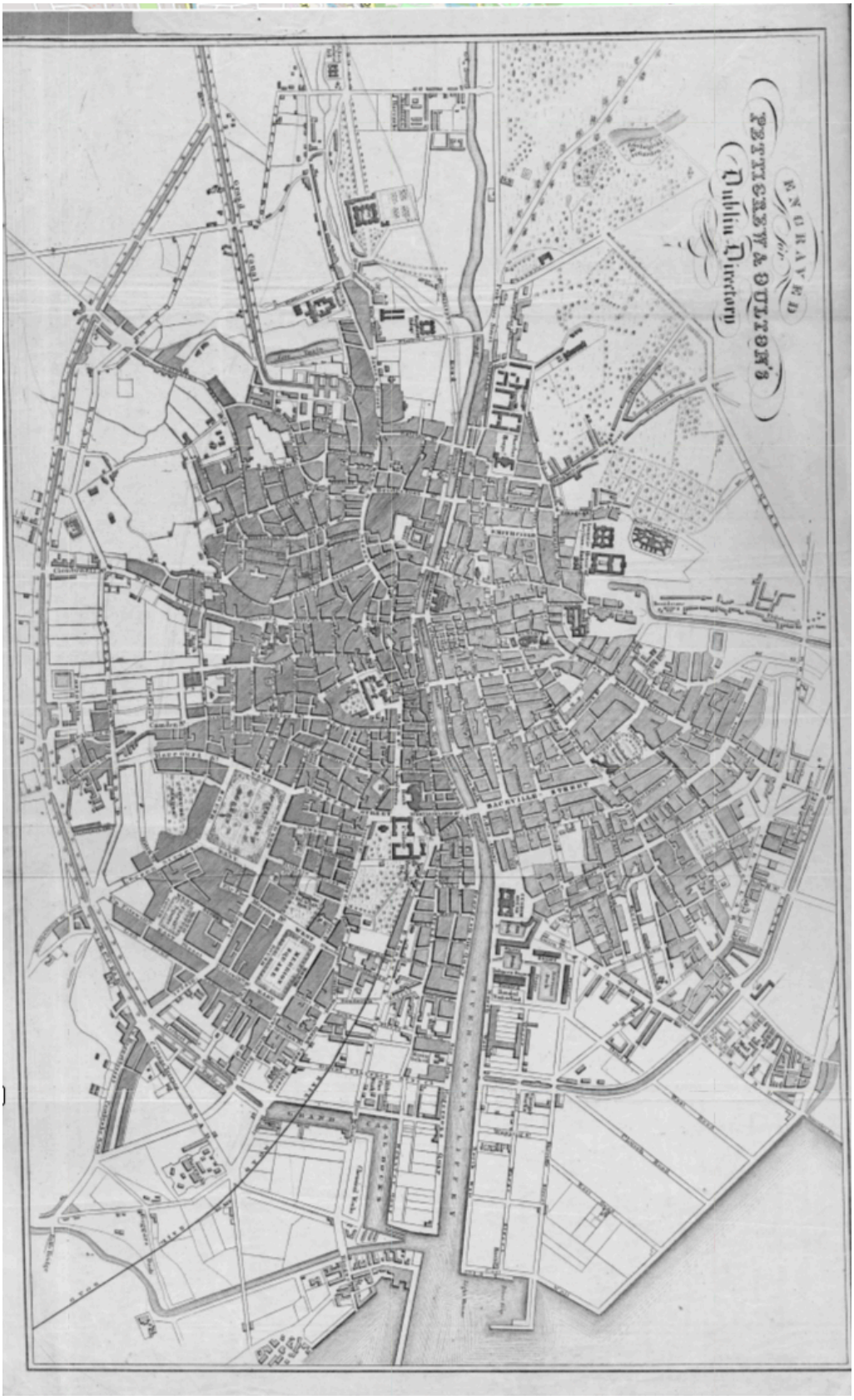

Figure 1: Pettigrew and Oulten map of Dublin 1850.[17]

[17] Pettigrew & Oulten, *The Dublin Almanac*, Dublin, Pettigrew & Oulten, 1850.

Formerly wealthy neighbourhoods in Dublin deteriorated into tenements and slums for the poor as this slowly diminishing Georgian city took in an influx of destitute Famine refugees in the late 1840s. In 1841, Dublin's population was 232,726; by 1851 the population had increased by six per cent to 245,679.[18] A visitor from London may have found the city pleasantly familiar, yet distinct differences were apparent, and included a middle class fractured by confessional rivalry and extreme social inequality within the urban centre.[19] Dublin, along with the towns and cities of Ireland, experienced an inundation of starving poor, begging in the streets, or passing through to the emigrant ships.[20] Dublin began to resemble a giant refugee camp, with about half the population living in low-quality housing, and with almost 40 per cent of its residents not Dublin-born.[21] There were significant issues for the management of the city of Dublin caused by the impacts of the famine refugees, and the decay of the city infrastructure.

Religion played an important role in Dublin and the divide between Catholics and Protestants was clearly evident. The former Protestant majority had been whittled down to 23 per cent by 1861. Within this Protestant population there was also division, with dissenters making up fifteen per cent (with half of these being Presbyterians).[22] During the Reformation, the English converted the Catholic churches to the Church of Ireland. The penal laws in Ireland forced Catholics and Protestant dissenters to accept the Church of Ireland; these laws were not rescinded until the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century. This deep division of religion, between the Protestants and Catholics and between the Church of Ireland and dissenting Protestants, influenced the city of Dublin throughout the century. The granting of Catholic emancipation in 1829 removed the most substantial restrictions on Catholics in the United Kingdom.

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[18] Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine,* pp. 228, 232 & 236.

[19] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Ebook, Chapter 7, Paragraph 1.

[20] Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine,* p. 242.

[21] Crowley et al., *Atlas of the Great Irish Famine,* p. 254.

[22] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Ebook, Chapter 7, 7/114.

Four distinct social layers grew across Dublin in the 1850s: the professional layer, still mainly Protestant; the respectable world of the 'shopocracy', made up of the rising merchant class, mixed in its religious affiliation; the productive working class, predominantly Catholic; and the demi-monde of the destitute.[23] These groups generally congregated around specific neighbourhoods. Religious segregation within the Dublin neighbourhoods was not marked but a strong east/west contrast with Protestant's proportionality higher in the east, though always in the minority, and Catholics more in the west.[24]

While the wealthiest departed for London at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the still prosperous professional Protestants lived more within the southeast parts of the city, or in the inner suburbs that surrounded Dublin. These households were assisted by servants, and they employed private tutors to educate their children. In the post-Union period, the upper echelons of the legal and medical professions became the new elite: from our Dublin sample this class was typified by John Tyrell Evans and his family.[25] In 1843 the Evans family lived at 34 Great Brunswick Street (now Pearse Street), near Trinity College and having neighbours who were members of the Church of Ireland.[26] John Evans was a medical doctor and an honorary fellow of the King and Queen's College of Physicians.[27] Evans attended Trinity College in 1819 where he was listed as S.C (*Socius Comitatus*): this meant his family paid higher fees for privileges such as dining at high table, and indicates that John Evans' parents were wealthy.[28] The Evans family in Dublin included four children and by 1845 the family lived at 34 Westland Row, still close to Trinity College. A sketch of the streetscape (Figure 2) shows what the Evans house looked like in 1850.[29] Westland

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[23] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Chap 7, 2/79.

[24] Dickson, *Dublin,* p. chap 7 5/79.

[25] Cullen, *Dublin 1847: City of the Ordnance Survey,* p. Kindle 1072/2112.

[26] General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory and Calendar for 1843*, Dublin, Dublin General Post Office, 1843, p. 225.

[27] Dublin Post Office and Directory 1843, p. 510.

[28] G.D. Burtchaell and T.U. Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses: a Register of the Students, Graduates, Professors and Provosts of Trinity College in the University of Dublin (1593-1860)*, Dublin, Alex. Thom & Co., Ltd, 1935, p. 268.

[29] H. Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide & Directory of 1850*, Belfast, Friar's Bush, 1988.

Row was originally a residential district, but with the construction of St Andrew's Catholic Church in 1837, and the Dublin and Kingstown railway terminus in 1834, the street took on a distinctly public character. Prominent medical professionals and music professors lived along Westland Row in 1847.[30] With the wealth and prestige that came from having a doctor as the head, the Evans family lived in a substantial home in an upmarket area of Dublin.

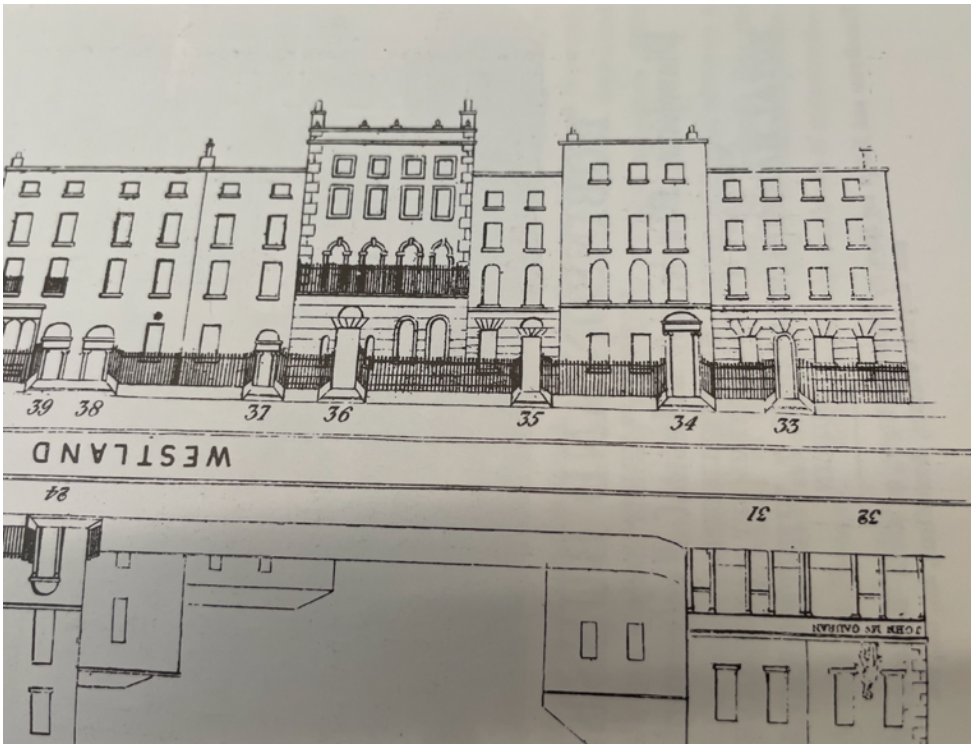

Figure 2: Elevation of Westland Row, Dublin 1850.[31]

Other wealthy Protestant families lived in the inner suburbs of Dublin or on the outskirts of the main city. This cohort included Benjamin Scott, his wife Anna and their ten children. The family lived at Upper Leeson Street, Dublin, an area outside the main built-up area of Dublin. Scott was a captain in the Irish Regiment; proudly wounded at Waterloo, he was later a Colonel in the Yeomanry Dublin. Anna Scott passed away in 1845, followed by Benjamin Scott two years later, leaving seven orphaned children under the guardianship of their uncle Robert Adams, a surgeon who lived in Great Denmark Street. The male children attended the Blue Coat School, a

[30] Cullen, *Dublin 1847: City of the Ordnance Survey,* p. Kindle 1400/2112.

[31] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

prestigious Church of Ireland school in Dublin, while the daughters were sent to a private school in London.[32] Despite the loss of their parents at an early age, family resources covered the costs of the children's attendance at private education institutions and later their migration to Melbourne.

Another wealthy Protestant family was the Barton family, whose son George migrated to Melbourne. The head of the family, James owned the Ravensdale Mill Company at Wellington Quay, while the family lived at Vergemont Park, Clonskea, a small suburb south of Dublin.[33] Two sons, George Elliot and Gustavus attended Trinity College as Pensioners (full fee-paying students). James, their father, was listed as Pragmaticus, a Latinism deployed as forename to denote a man who studied Law at university.[34] This ability to send two sons to Trinity at full fees indicates the wealth of the Barton family. The wealthy Protestants in these neighbourhoods possessed the means to employ numerous servants, to have their children attend schools past primary age, or to have private tutors, as well as to live in the more desirable streets of Dublin or on estates on the outskirts of Dublin. For new Law graduates from Trinity College Dublin, the Irish bar was often a closed shop, with new positions handed out through nepotism rather than merit, so those without family connections encountered difficulties establishing themselves.[35] Despite coming from wealthy families, many Dublin trained lawyers, such as George Barton, migrated due to the lack of opportunities at the Irish bar. In the sample of wealthy Protestant Dubliners who migrated to Melbourne, one was a doctor with his family, one an individual lawyer and one an orphaned family.

Although Protestants dominated the medical and legal professions, there were also many wealthy Catholics living in Dublin. Some of these Catholics owned land or property in County Dublin, in areas such as Donnybrook. With their financial stability,

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[32] H.F. Scott, 'Henry Forde Scott Reminiscences, ca. 1905, With Notes on Family History', 1905.; The Freemans Journal, 'Deaths', *The Freemans Journal,* 13 October, 1845, p. 4; The Freemans Journal, 'Deaths', *The Freemans Journal,* 30 November, 1847, p. 4.

[33] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[34] Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses,* p. 46.

[35] McLaughlin, *The Immigration of Irish Lawyers to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 32.

the desire to chase gold in the Antipodes or to seek opportunity in another land was less prevalent than other groups within Dublin. This may explain why no wealthy Catholics were identified within the search for the Dublin emigrants in our sample

Prevailing within Dublin's middle class were clerks and agents for banks and insurance companies, as well as the 'shopocracy'; the wealthy and respectable merchants. After the opening of the Dublin and Kingston railway, speculation in railways grew in the 1840s and further railway lines opened. This speculation and growth of transportation improved the facilities and access to the city, which expanded the appeal of the suburbs as well as the growth of the commercial enterprises in the city. The railways enabled shops to acquire more goods, as the mass production of consumer goods grew. The drapery stores started to transform in the 1850s into department stores, with McSwiney's purpose built five-storey 'New Mart' opened for business on Sackville Street in 1853, coinciding with the Dublin Exhibition.[36] This middle-class group included both Catholics and Protestants. The merchant and professional class covers most of the sample of Dublin migrants.

The Protestant middle class included merchants, clerks, and the more highly experienced and respected trades. Dublin's Wide Streets Commission broadened streets to improve traffic flows around the city and created new shopping thoroughfares at Westmoreland Street, D'Olier Street and Sackville Street Lower. Much of this work stemmed from the newly constructed Custom House in the late eighteenth century to improve the trade within the city on the Liffey River, adding a new river crossing as well as the wider streets. The middle-class merchants established their businesses and homes on the newly widened streets.[37] The houses along these grand new streets that surrounded Trinity College were Georgian townhouses built towards the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries

[36] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Ebook, Chapter 7, 65/113.

[37] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Chap 5, 22/57; R. Goodbody, *Dublin, Part III, 1756 to 1847*, Dublin, Royal Irish Academy, 2014.

As the commercial enterprise in Dublin expanded, businesses began to flourish. An example is the Crawley family who lived at 175 Great Brunswick Street with Hugh Crawley's coal business being located next door at 174.[38] In the streetscape of Great Brunswick Street in 1850 (Figure 3), 'Crawley's Coal Stores' can be seen at number 174. Crawley, a member of the rising merchant class, supplied coal throughout the city, necessary for heat and survival in an urban environment. This included supply to the poorhouses.[39]

Figure 3: Elevation of Great Brunswick Street, Dublin 1850.[40]

Another Dublin family from the sample is the Rooke family who lived at 19 Westmoreland Street, one of the major streets in Dublin. Thomas Rooke traded as a cutler and surgical instrument maker. An elevation of Westmoreland Street (Figure 4) indicates that the Rooke name is listed at number 19, as well as the trade of 'cutler' above the house.[41] The cutler trade is an urban profession where the demand for eating implements in a sophisticated city exceeded the need in the rural regions.

[38] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[39] Ireland Guardians, 'Ireland Guardian Minutes: 3. Invoice Account', 1843.

[40] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[41] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

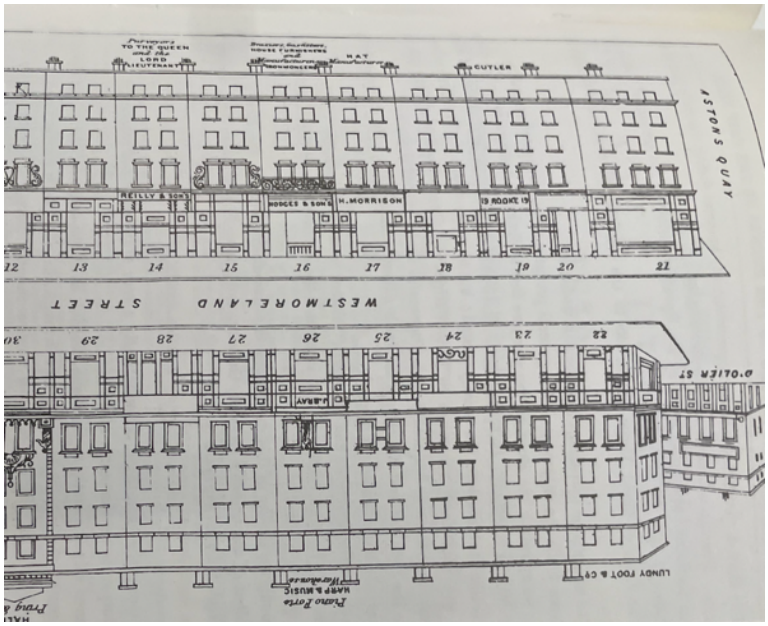

Figure 4: Elevation of Westmoreland Street, Dublin 1850.[42]

The Cox family lived at 5 Westmoreland Row, Ranelagh; Ross Cox worked as the chief clerk of the Dublin head police office.[43] Ross Cox also travelled in Canada during his youth and wrote a novel about his travels on the Columbia River. The family later moved to Milton Terrace, Bath Avenue in Beggarsbush, a leafy suburb on the outskirts of the city of Dublin. The Cox family lived a comfortable life until Ross Cox passed away in 1853, leaving his family in a precarious financial position. Family and friends set up a subscription to help Hannah Cox and her five children.[44] After the family head died, the Cox family moved abruptly from a position of wealth and prestige to one of desperation. The McCullagh family, whose daughter Elizabeth married the younger Ross Cox in Melbourne, were also part of this Protestant group.[45] Her father, William, was listed as esquire, so he either owned land or held a government office, but William passed away prior to 1860. Members of both these families migrated to Melbourne.

Nearby, at 12 Montgomery Street, lived the Eades family. This family in 1850 consisted of John Cranwill Eades, who worked as a commission agent, his wife

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[42] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[43] General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory,* p. 197.

[44] London Evening Standard, 'Ireland', *London Evening Standard,* 15 March, 1853, p. 4.

[45] Argus, 'Marriages', *The Argus,* 1 October, 1860, p. 4.

Louisa, and their seven children. Montgomery Street began to decline in value with an increase in tenements, and, later, the beginnings of a prostitution industry.[46] By the 1880s the area was known as 'The Monto', with Montgomery Street being the heart of the red-light district.[47]

Among the Protestants of the Dublin sample there is a sub-sample of Huguenots, originally French Protestants who held to the reformed or Calvinist traditions and who faced extreme persecution and pogroms in France during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Huguenots re-settled in England, Holland, Scotland, and Ireland, where many rose to prominence. In Dublin the Huguenots arrived in numbers from 1682 and amongst them were apothecaries, bakers, blacksmiths, button makers, cabinetmakers, carpenters, glaziers, weavers, and numerous other skilled trades.[48] The Huguenots introduced the poplin industry in Dublin and were also remembered in a few street names, such a D'Olier Street. Many Huguenots initially settled in 'The Liberties' and built the traditional gable-fronted buildings where Huguenot weavers lived.[49] Our sample includes the Huguenot Labertouche family, who after they fled France settled in Ireland in Wexford; Abel Labertouche moved to Dublin in the early nineteenth century as a merchant and shipowner.[50] The Labertouche family lived on an estate north of Dublin city in the suburb of Donnycarney in 1843, before they moved to 36 Buckingham Street. Buckingham Street began to decline in value during the 1850s, with property prices falling over the years. Buckingham street eventually fell into tenement use in the late nineteenth century and became part of 'The Monto'.[51] Abel Labertouche married Harriette Hodgkinson; together they had eight children. Two sons Peter and George

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[46] Thom's Irish Almanac, *Thom's Irish Almanac and Official Directory*, Dublin, Thom's, 1850, p. 933.

[47] M. Armstrong, 'The Bloomsday World Tourists Never Get to Hear About', *Irish Independent,* June 14, 2011; Curtis, *To Hell or Monto: The Story of Dublin's Most Notorious Districts*.

[48] B. O'Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin: Part I', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 8, no. 3, 1946, p. 113.

[49] B. O'Mullane, 'The Huguenots in Dublin: Part I (Continued)', *Dublin Historical Record*, vol. 8, no. 4, 1946, p. 134.

[50] B. Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry*, London & Melbourne, London: Harrison & Sons, Melbourne: E.A. Petherick, 1891, pp. 351-352.

[51] O'Shea and Mcmanus, 'Upper Buckingham Street: a Microcosm of Dublin, 1788-2012'.

attended Trinity College as 'pensioners'.[52] The ability of the Labertouche family to send two sons to Trinity on full fees is an indication of their wealth. Another Huguenot family within the sample was the Barnier family, whose son, George migrated to Melbourne.

The middle-class and wealthy Protestants within the sample are examples of the class just below the Anglo-Irish elite; they were often employed in the armed forces, professions, or the civil service or were engaged in business and commerce.[53] Evans, Conry and one of the Bartons fit within this professional class: Scott was a member of the armed forces, Cox was in the civil service, and the balance were all involved in the business or commerce sectors. This group of Protestants did not provide the leaders or elite members in Dublin or later in Melbourne, yet they constitute an important group in their own right. Affluent and self-sufficient they enjoyed an established place in Dublin which they transposed to Melbourne when they migrated.

Middle-class Catholics often lived in and among the Protestants in Dublin's eastern and south-eastern parishes. Among the Melbourne sample, George Henry Armitage worked as an agent for the Argus Assurance Company, married Anne and had four children. The Armitage family lived at 8 Heytesbury Street, a treelined street developed in the 1840s as an artery from Portobello Harbour.[54] As it was a new development it took many years to develop, with few houses in the street in the 1840s. Construction of other estates, such as the nearby Fitzwilliam estate at Wellington Road, and Waterloo Road, also paused during the economic shock from the Great Famine.[55] The Armitage family attended St Andrews Catholic Church in Westland Row, where George and Anne married, and where their children were baptised.[56] The Brady family lived one street over in Camden Street and Joseph Martin Brady

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[52] Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses,* p. 477.

[53] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 5.

[54] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[55] Goodbody, *Dublin, Part III, 1756 to 1847,* p. 2.

[56] St Andrews Catholic Church, 'Baptisms September 1845', *St Andrews Catholic Church;* St Andrews Catholic Church, 'Baptisms September 1843', *St Andrews Catholic Church.*

eventually became an architect and engineer.[57] The Starks, another Catholic family, lived on D'Olier Street, one of the main arterials and shopping districts in Dublin (Figure 5). Malcolm Stark was a painter who worked in Dublin, often doing jobs for the poorhouses.[58] He was obviously well connected within his community as he was praised in 1851 for his assistance with ladders to help fight a fire in Westmoreland Street.[59] This area included a mix of middle-class Protestants and Catholics, generally merchants and tradespeople like Stark.

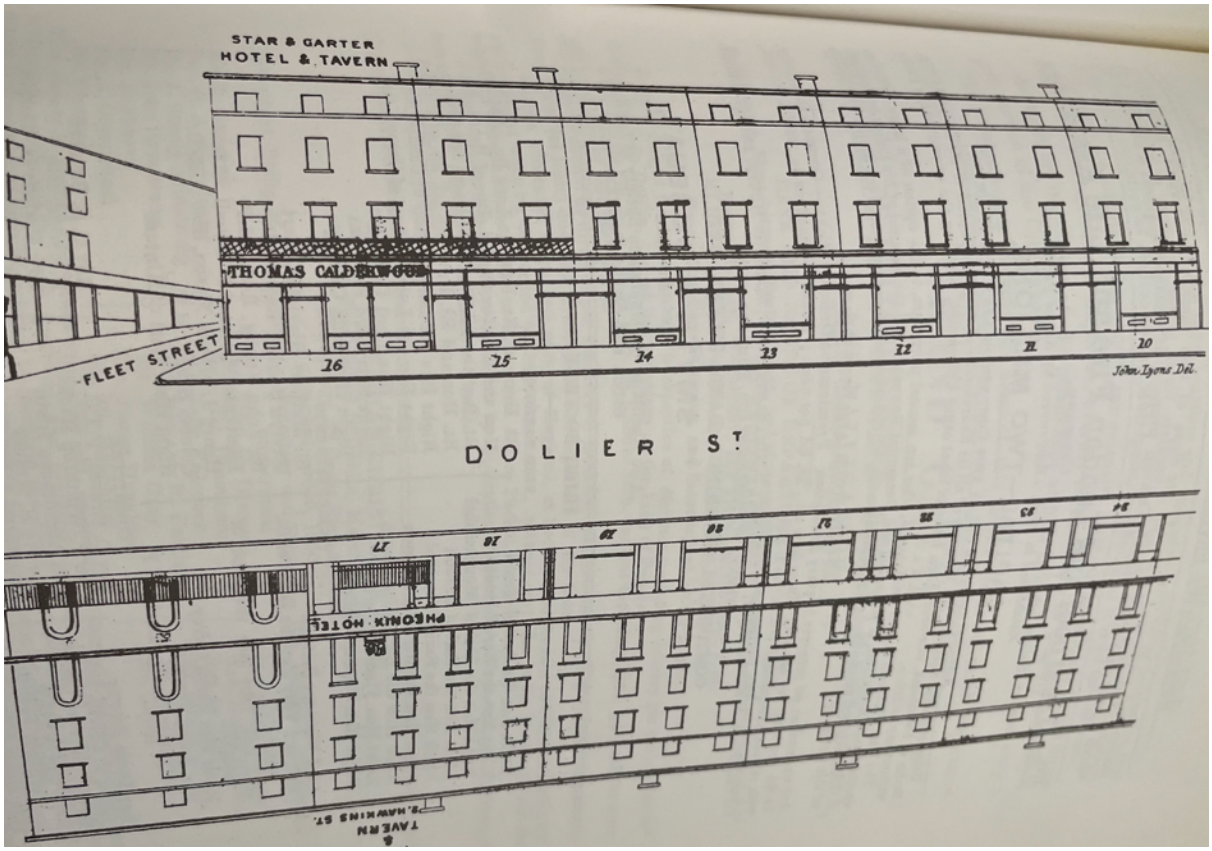

Figure 5: Elevation of D'Olier Street, Dublin 1850.[60]

Developed by the Wide Streets Commission, Rutland Square added green space as well as a location for the Rotunda Hospital and its gardens. The hospital was for the relief of poor lying-in women and was relocated to Rutland Square in

[57] Argus, 'Deaths', *Argus,* 17 June, 1887, p. 1.

[58] Poor Law Commission, 'Guardians Minute Book', 1851.

[59] The Freemans Journal, 'Alarming and Destructive Fire', *The Freemans Journal,* 13 January, 1851, p. 2.

[60] Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

1757.[61] By the 1840s the streets that surrounded Rutland Square were attracting middle-class Catholics and Protestants, most being merchants. While many other Protestants lived in the southeast of Dublin, some lived in the northeast and this fashionable area had deteriorated into tenement slums by the 1860s.[62] From the Dublin sample, the Campion family lived at 34 Seville Place; Henry Campion worked as an auctioneer. Seville Place was originally a much sought-after area, but the decline in property values mid-nineteenth century saw the neighbourhood move towards tenement buildings and slums over the decades.[63] A number of Dubliners from the sample lived in the streets that surrounded Rutland Square. Thomas Conry, a solicitor, and his family lived at Lower Dominick Street near Rutland Square. Peter Ledwidge, a victualler, lived at 124 Upper Dorset Street with his wife and six children.[64] The Beggs and Costello families both lived on Moore Street, just south of Rutland square and the Rotunda.[65] Patrick Costello, also a victualler, whose daughter migrated to Melbourne, lived at 37 Moore Street with his family.[66] The owner of a wine business, John O'Grady, lived on Montgomery Street, which has been described earlier. This business, Clinton & O'Grady, was located on Henry Street, which ran off the main commercial street of Sackville Street Lower.[67]

Apart from their difference in religion, what separated middle-class Catholics from Dublin's middle-class Protestants was their role in certain professions, such as Law, where Protestants were more prominent due in part to the restrictive penal laws that had only been repealed half a century earlier.[68] In all other aspects the middle-class Dubliners possessed many similarities: comparable socio-economic

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[61] Grada, 'Dublin's Demography in the Early Nineteenth Century: Evidence from the Rotunda' pp. 43-44.

[62] Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life,* p. 17; General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory,* p. 192.

[63] General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory,* p. 177; Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[64] General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory,* p. 299; Shaw, *The Dublin Pictorial Guide*.

[65] Argus, 'Marriages', *Argus,* 27 September, 1859, p. 4; Argus, 'Marriages', *Argus,* 30 September, 1859, p. 4.

[66] General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory,* p. 196.

[67] Montgomery Street description is located on page 45; Argus, 'Deaths', *Argus,* 27 December, 1858, p. 4.

[68] McLaughlin, *The Immigration of Irish Lawyers to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 25-26.

backgrounds; their quality of housing; and their standard of living. Employment as merchants, clerks or bankers, or as members of the more respected trades within the city gave the middle-class Catholics, especially the respected merchant classes, the social respect and wealth to live comfortable lives.

The bulk of Dublin, especially south of the Liffey River, comprised the working-class districts. The city's working class lived in crowded townhouses and tenements, such as the slums that lurked behind the respectable throughfares. Power's Court, Verschoyle Court and Stephen's Lane were all poor working-class districts, enclosed by respectable streets such as Mount Street Upper. Tenements mostly dominated the properties listed in these narrow lanes by 1847. Lack of access to water and sewerage facilities had become major issues, with a sewerage system for the city being surveyed in the 1850s but decades away from implementation.[69] The power of labour against the larger businesses was weak: to take one example, the large department stores either dominated or owned the silk and poplin workshops and controlled the tailoring and dressmaking sweatshops, with many people working from home.[70] The city's working class lived in crowded and poorly serviced tenements and slums; they possessed little bargaining power in the terms of their employment. Some of the sampled Dubliners lived in these more densely populated and lower value districts, typified by James Murphy, a bricklayer, a necessary yet not respected trade, Patrick Keenan, who worked as a tailor, or Sarah Hamilton, who was employed as a domestic servant.[71]

The more desperate and destitute districts of Dublin supplied the final neighbourhoods from which migrants in Melbourne departed. This included The Liberties, the poorest, most densely populated area in Dublin. The people who lived in the crowded squalor of these areas were beset by criminality, disease and shortened lives. Of the Melbourne sample, Francis Bateman and George O'Donnell,

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[69] Cullen, *Dublin 1847: City of the Ordnance Survey,* pp. Ebook, Chap 22 1361/2112; Dickson, *Dublin,* p. Chap 7 141/143.

[70] Dickson, *Dublin,* pp. Ebook, Chap 7, 124/143.

[71] PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515/P1, Keenan, Patrick: No. 8268, 5067, Item 7.', 1859, Melbourne; A. Hayes, 'Grand Trianon Passengers List', 1857.

described in the archives as labourers, most likely lived in the poorest neighbourhoods, which included the outcasts of society, the criminals, prostitutes and those considered the underclass of society more generally.[72]

Opportunistic landlords took over stately Georgian townhouses and converted them into tenement slums these 'cattle sheds' of humanity were filled by the down-and-out. The 'respectable' population fled to the suburbs, or, as in the case of the sampled Dubliners, emigrated abroad to places like Victoria.[73] Two kinds of emigrant attitudes from Ireland, and from Dublin in particular, can be identified - those who saw it as a great adventure, and those seeing it as a deliberate and considered decision.[74] The sampled Dubliners who migrated to Melbourne, included mostly middle-class Catholics or Protestants, merchants, professionals, and respectable tradespeople. Wealthier professionals, such as lawyers and doctors, or the poorer working-class Dubliners made up a smaller proportion of the Dublin sample. Many of the Dubliners made the deliberate and considered decision to migrate to Melbourne, seeing opportunity halfway across the world rather than fleeing poverty and famine. While Ireland and Dublin were adversely affected by the combined impacts of the Union, the Hungry Forties, and the Great Famine, by contrast middle-class Dubliners generally grew their wealth in this period. This wealth meant that these emigrants possessed the means to have a more comfortable ship journey, with most of the Dublin sample migrating via unassisted passage.

The journey to Melbourne

The creak of the ship, the sails flapping in the wind as the vessel tilted side to side, the stench of vomit and the cries of other passengers permeated the atmosphere as the ship continued her long journey to Melbourne. The length of voyages varied, as

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[72] Victoria Police, 'Miscellaneous Information', *Victoria Police Gazette,* 23 June, 1864, p. 250; PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515, Bateman, Francis: No. 6473, Volume 9: Prisoner nos. 5848-6593', 1861, Melbourne; PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515, O'Donnell, George: No 5869, Item Volume 9: Prisoner nos. 5848-6593', 1861, Melbourne.

[73] Kearns, *Dublin Tenement Life,* p. 9.

[74] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* p. 65.

did the comfort and experiences of death and disease on board, yet all faced rough seas and seasickness.

Of the sampled Dublin migrants whose shipping records survived, none took advantage of the assisted passage programs available, with more than 70 migrating via unassisted passage. The working-class Dubliners belonging to the sample might have travelled under one of the assisted programs, but records for their passages have not survived. Unassisted passage was not typical of most Irish immigrants to Australia. For example, in 1854 approximately 6,200 Irish migrated to Australia with 1,200, or just under 20 per cent, travelling unassisted.[75] These assisted schemes meant that the emigrant's fare was subsidised by the colonial government or another sponsoring agency. The standards imposed by the state for passage meant that the Irish emigrants travelling under these schemes were not the most destitute, but the 'petit-bourgeois'.[76] It is likely that the balance of the sample sought passage to other cities in Australia before they relocated to Melbourne, or their records have been lost. So, while Irish migrants to Australia more commonly sought assisted passage to pay for the expensive passage, the Dublin migrants in this sample evidently came from more affluent backgrounds.[77] In 1852, 293 ships arrived in Port Philip and some 900 in 1853, an indication of the swell of people and trade that arrived on a daily basis.[78] The sampled Dubliners migrated between 1852 and 1861 on steamships, barques, and large sailing ships. The journeys, often arduous, also varied in travel time and ranged from as short as two months to as long as six. To equalise the ratio between men and women, governments across Australia actively sought to attract to the colonies more women, and sometimes specifically Irish women. These immigrants from Ireland, both men and women, were likely to be young adults.[79] Unusually in the sampled Dublin migrants 35 per cent migrated as a family which is larger than the norm of young individual Irish migrants. Shipping records provide a wealth of information on the journeys undertaken by the sampled Dublin migrants (Table 1).

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[75] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* p. 63.

[76] Reid, *Farewell My Children: Irish Asssited Emigration to Australia 1848-1870,* p. 3.

[77] McConville, *Croppies, Celts & Catholics,* p. 35.

[78] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Ebook, Chap 2 71/73.

[79] McConville, *Croppies, Celts & Catholics,* pp. 34-35.

Table 1: List of ships on which the Dublin sample travelled.

Family Name(s)	Ship Name	Date and port of departure	Date of arrival in Melbourne	Length of Journey in days.	Additional information
Alcock & O'Donnell	*Africa*	3 November 1852, England.	16 April 1853.	137.	More information below.
Armitage	*Prince Arthur*	24 January 1853, Liverpool.	6 May 1853.	82.	520 passengers.
Barton	*Serampore*	6 July 1852, Liverpool.	12 October 1852.	98.	230 passengers.
Bateman	*Jane Pratt*	17 June 1852, Liverpool.	20 September 1852.	95	233 passengers in steerage.
Beggs	*Erasmus*	11 March 1853, London.	30 June 1853.	111	26 passengers.
Brady	*Columbia*	16 December 1856, Liverpool.	17 March 1857.	88	198 passengers in steerage.
Byrne	*Blue Jacket*	6 March 1855, Liverpool	13 May 1855	68	183 passengers in steerage,
Campion	*Saldanha*	9 June 1856.	16 November 1856	160	More information below.
Cox & McCullagh.	*Hero*	4 November 1854, Gloucester.	28 March 1855.	144	
Crawley	*Martin Luther*	7 November 1851, Liverpool.	7 March 1852.	121	
Eades	*Argo*	15 May 1853, Southampton.	19 July 1853.	65	More information below.
Hamilton	*Grand Trianon*	3 February 1857, Southampton.	22 May 1857.	108	Scarlet fever outbreak that caused 13 deaths. 7-day quarantine upon arrival
Hayden	*Caroline Middleton*	17 March 1857, London	1 July, 1857	106	
Keenan	*Marco Polo*	15 March 1853.	29 May 1853	75	More information below.
Labertouche	*Formosa*	7 August 1852, Liverpool.	4 October 1852.	58	More information below.
Ledwidge	*Gipsy Bride*	9 November 1854, Liverpool.	11 February 1855.	94	More information below.
Mathews	*Ocean Monarch*	26 November 1855, Plymouth.	4 June 1856.	21	More information below.
Rooke	*Rienzi*	November 1854, Dublin.	21 April 1855.		More information below.

Family Name(s)	Ship Name	Date and port of departure	Date of arrival in Melbourne	Length of Journey in days.	Additional information
Scott	*Falcon*	22 May 1853, Liverpool.	14 August 1853.	84	More information below.
Scott (Henry)	*Indian Queen*	12 November 1854, Devonport.	1 February 1855.	79	More information below.
Wright	*Shackamaxon*	8 November 1860, Liverpool.	30 January 1861.	83	346 passengers.

While steamships became more common in global shipping in the mid-nineteenth century, they were not prevalent in Australasian shipping until later in the nineteenth century. For long journeys, steamships enjoyed the reputation of speed, but the expense was out of reach for most.[80] In the sample of Dubliners, Peter Paul Labertouche and the Eades family migrated on steamships. The *Formosa,* which carried eighty passengers, including Labertouche, departed Southampton on 7 August 1852. Labertouche travelled second class at a cost of fifty guineas, and this fare included 'table' (food) and beer, bedding, linen and requisite furniture.[81] The *Formosa* arrived in Melbourne with 48 passengers on 4 October 1852 in what was considered a very quick 58-day journey. The ability of Labertouche to afford a ticket on the *Formosa* is another indication of his family's resources. On 15 May 1853 the steamship *Argo* departed Southampton and the cost of the journey for second-class passengers was '£50 excluding wines, beers, and spirits, which would be available at moderate prices, the cabins will be fully furnished'.[82] Nine members of the Eades family migrated on the *Argo,* an expensive venture for the family and indicative of their wealth. The *Argo* made the journey in only 65 days and arrived in Melbourne on 19 July. The steamships provided a comfortable and quick form of transport to Australia, out of reach for most migrants except the very wealthy.

[80] D.M. Williams and J. Armstrong, 'An Appraisal of the Progress of the Steamship in the Nineteenth Century', in G. Harlaftis, S. Tenold and J.M. Valdaliso (eds.), *The World's Key Industry: History and Economics of International Shipping*, London, Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2012, pp. 52, 54-55.

[81] Shipping and Mercantile Gazette, 'Steam to Australia, *Shipping and Mercantile Gazette,* 29 July, 1852, p. 1.

[82] London and Evening Standard, 'Steam to Australia', *London and Evening Standard,* 5 May, 1853, p. 1.

The *Africa* left England 30 November 1852 and arrived in Melbourne 16 April 1853 after 137 days and carried George O'Donnell and Henry Upton Alcock, both part of the Dublin sample. Alcock, who travelled third class, kept an extensive diary of the journey, and stated that there were 516 passengers and 35 crew on board. His initial reaction to the third-class cabins shows that he was used to a finer situation in life. He complained of the small cabins that held six men, and how 'the bunks were like coffins'. Alcock goes on to complain of the noise onboard the ship:

> ship musicians making nights hideous with their screeching fiddlers, flutes, violins, cornopeans, concertinas, accordions, a double bass and one cracked fife, all contributing to the general uproar.[83]

This music was performed most likely by the Irish steerage passengers, which included O'Donnell. Alcock continued to complain of the conditions and the food throughout the journey. As was common, some passengers died on board, the first an old sea captain who had journeyed to Australia in the hope it would help his bronchitis. The 'man had a coughing fit on deck and then streams of blood poured out of his mouth and five minutes later he was a corpse'. Very few attended the service the next day when he was buried at sea. A few days later, a seven-year-old girl in steerage died and, after a hasty service, was thrown overboard. The deaths, expected on a long voyage halfway around the world, did not seem to overly concern Alcock.

In May 1853, ships poured into Port Philip: on 8 May, among the 74 vessels docked or anchored in Hobson's Bay were the *Prince Arthur* and the *Formosa.* One of the anchored ships, the *Marco Polo,* possessed a notorious reputation with her captain, 'Bully' Forbes proclaiming, 'Hell or Melbourne' and 'on his record run in 1852 gave the passengers hell enough'.[84] Patrick Keenan migrated on the *Marco Polo* in 1853 with another 750 passengers: the ship made the journey in 75 days, and arrived in Melbourne 29 May 1853.

The *Falcon* carried some of the Scott family among her passengers, and departed Liverpool 22 May 1853, arriving 14 August, an 84-day journey. Another passenger on board, the Englishman Richard Nuttal Preston, kept a daily journal.

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[83] H.U. Alcock, 'Diary and Papers, 1852-1853. [manuscript]', 1852.

[84] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Ebook, Chap 2 55/73.

Preston wrote that overall, the journey was very pleasant, with most passengers being agreeable and kind mannered, an excellent captain, and only a few deaths of babies along the way.[85] The following year Henry Scott decided to join his elder siblings in Victoria with the added enticing lure of gold. Scott boarded the *Indian Queen* at Liverpool on 12 November 1854 for a 79-day journey. Scott kept a journal about the voyage, describing how he boarded the clipper in Liverpool and met his cabin mate, who proceeded to drink himself silly. Scott, fourteen years old, was under the nominal charge of Professor Hearn, who was Anglo-Irish, and on his way to Melbourne University as a professor of modern history and literature, political economy and logic.[86] Professor Hearn suffered greatly from seasickness, and they saw little of each other.[87] A diary from an unnamed author also detailed the journey of the *Indian Queen* on a day-by-day basis. The passengers faced varying conditions and this author endured seasickness often; both mentioned the oppressive heat while travelling near the Equator.[88] Overall, both Henry Scott and the anonymous diarist agreed it was a relatively calm and safe journey. Scott enjoyed being regaled with the sailor's stories, described one birth, a death, and a burial and only minor incidents, including 'his thrashing of a young "Hebrew" lad' who had irritated Scott in some way. On 1 February 1855, when the ship disgorged its living freight, Scott searched fruitlessly for his siblings, returning to the dock distraught and crying bitterly. A kind lady he had met on the journey took him in and assisted in finding his sister Anna, who had recently married John Simpson.[89]

The Ledwidge family departed from Liverpool on 9 November 1854 on board the *Gipsy Bride.* They experienced a difficult and dangerous journey with the ship placed in quarantine at Queenscliff when she arrived on 11 February 1855, after sixteen deaths occurred onboard due to typhus fever.[90] George Paine Gray, an

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[85] R.N. Preston, 'Journal, 1853 Apr. 24 - Aug. 21 [manuscript]', 1853.

[86] J.A. La Nauze, 'Hearn, William Edward (1826-1888)', 1972, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/hearn-william-edward-3743>, accessed 17 September 2021

[87] Scott, 'Henry Forde Scott Reminiscences', 2-4.

[88] Anon, 'Diary Indian Queen, [manuscript]', 1854.

[89] Argus, 'Marriages', *Argus,* 9 January, 1854, p. 5.

[90] Argus, 'Shipping Intelligence', *Argus,* 13 February, 1855, p. 4.

English bricklayer, kept a journal about this voyage. He provided details of the rough seas they faced; and how the masts and sails were damaged and required repairs. He also wrote about several deaths that occurred on board, ranging from a six-month-old who died on 19 November 1844, to his brother Moses Gray who died 20 January 1855, after a week of being ill. Gray criticised the ship's captain in his journal when a man fell overboard, as he did not think they 'searched long enough for the poor lost soul'.[91] The Ledwidge family all survived the uncomfortable journey and travelled to the goldfields upon arrival.

The *Rienzi* departed Dublin in November 1854. An advertisement in *The Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail* detailed that 'the splendid new clipper ship, the *Rienzi,* is to sail direct to Melbourne from Dublin, thus removing the annoyance, risk and expense of having to travel to Liverpool'. The advertisement continued to discuss how the 'passenger apartments comfort and health are paramount and the provisions for the journey will be of the very best description'.[92] On board was the Rooke family; they arrived in Melbourne on 21 April 1855 to join their husband and father Thomas Rooke, in an instance of chain migration, the process by which an immigrant sent back to the old country for friends and relatives to join them. Chain migration was an important aspect of Irish migration to Australia. In this example it was initiated by the male household head who arrived in Melbourne first to establish a home for his family.[93]

Migrants faced many dangers on the long journey to the Australian colonies. Among the most common was infectious diseases which could wreak havoc in the crowded confines of these ships. One group of the sampled Dubliners who experienced the horrors of disease running rampant on a ship were the Mathews family on board the *Ocean Monarch.* The ship departed Plymouth 26 November 1855, docked in Rio on 17 January 1856 and remained in the port until 4 April for repairs. While in port, cholera broke out in the city and manifested itself on board a week before

[91] G.P. Gray, 'Notes and History, 1854 Nov. 9 [manuscript]', 1854.

[92] Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail, 'Rienzi', *Warder and Dublin Weekly Mail,* 7 October, 1856, p. 7.

[93] McConville, *Croppies, Celts & Catholics,* p. 39.

her departure.[94] The passengers then faced 30 days quarantine at Port Nepean upon arrival.[95] After the quarantine period the ship arrived in Hobsons Bay on 23 June 1856 and the passengers finally disembarked in Melbourne. Sarah Mathews, widow of Frederick Mathews, endured the arduous journey on the *Ocean Monarch* with her three children, Emma, 22, Ellen, 17 and James, 15, but she lost her daughter Emma to the cholera outbreak on the ship on 1 May, as detailed in the passenger list of the *Ocean Monarch*.[96]

The Campion family from the Dublin sample migrated on the *Saldanha and* experienced a long and uncomfortable journey. The *Saldanha*, a royal mail ship, arrived in Melbourne 16 September. The ship initially faced quarantine after concerns about scarlet fever but was released by the health officer. The journey was much longer than anticipated, with many newspaper articles during September 1856 raising concerns about the vessel. In Melbourne the captain of the *Saldanha* faced the Water Court after complaints of a short supply of water and provisions for the journey. Captain Watts faced charges under the *Passengers Act* (Vic) 1855 and the charge of short supply of water was admitted. Upwards of 148 passengers were present and the captain was fined £227, and costs of 30s ordered to be paid as compensation to each passenger.[97]

The various journeys faced by the Dublin migrants show the uncontrollable nature and dangers of shipping in the mid nineteenth century. While only one death of the sampled Dubliners was recorded due to the cholera outbreak on the *Ocean Monarch*, many of the ships faced disease, and death was a common feature on some of the ships. Of the 20 ships analysed here, four faced some form of quarantine on arrival, from as short as one day for the *Saldanha* after being cleared by the health officer, to 30 days for the *Ocean Monarch.* The length of the journeys varied greatly as well, with the speedy journeys of the steamships *Formosa* in 58 days and the *Argo*

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[94] Argus, 'Commercial Intelligence', *Argus,* 4 June, 1856, p. 4; Mount Alexander Mail, 'Melbourne', *Mount Alexander Mail,* 25 April, 1856, p. 4.

[95] Argus, 'Ocean Monarch', *Argus,* 9 June, 1856, p, 5.

[96] Ocean Monarch Captain, 'Ocean Monarch Passenger List', 1856.

[97] Argus, 'Williamstown Police Court', *Argus,* 20 September, 1856, p. 4.

in 65 days, as well as some of the ships that ranged from 68 days with the *Blue Jacket* to 95 days with the *Jane Pratt*. Some ships face extremely long journeys from the 144 days for the *Hero*, to the horrific journey that the passengers on the *Ocean Monarch* endured, going via Rio for 78 days for repairs before a cholera outbreak, then 30 days of quarantine, before finally disembarking in Melbourne on 1st July after 218 days from when they departed Plymouth. Most of the Dubliners travelled to England to board an emigrant vessel in Liverpool, Southampton and Plymouth, with only one Dublin family who migrated directly from Dublin to Melbourne on the *Rienzi.* Most Dubliners in the sample travelled in cabins, whether second or third class, with only a few travelling in steerage.

Despite some of these journeys being arduous and difficult, thanks to the tight regulations placed upon the industry Irish migrants to Australia never experienced the horrors of the 'coffin ships' equivalent to those who journeyed to the United States.[98] These journeys, from the more comfortable to the harsh, had an impact on the Dublin migrant's initial arrival in Melbourne. A safe and comfortable journey meant the newly arrived migrant was healthier and prepared to face their new life in Melbourne. The longer, more arduous, and disease-affected journeys caused a negative impact on the health of the migrants, which delayed their initial settlement into their new lives as they recovered from the voyage. Most of the sampled Dublin migrants enjoyed a safe and comfortable journey, which was possible due to their financial position as middle-class Dubliners and the ability to afford a better class of ticket and ship.

[98] T. McClaughlin, S. James and S. O'Reilley, 'Migration to Australia Mid-Nineteenth Century; Emigration From the Shirley Estate at the Time of the Famine', *Clogher Record*, vol. 20, no. 2, 2010, p. 289.

Chapter 3: Dubliners in Melbourne

The growth of Melbourne

The clip clop of horse hooves and a flurry of construction greeted the new arrival in Melbourne in the 1850s. The sampled Dubliners began to arrive in Melbourne from 1852, before knowledge of the gold rush reached the United Kingdom, through to 1861. This period was one of rapid and expansive growth for Melbourne as the population increased fivefold and money poured into the city and the colony from the goldfields.[1]

Colonial Melbourne in the nineteenth century can be divided into distinct periods: the Port Philip district from 1835 to 1851, the gold rush of the 1850s, the long boom of 1860-1890, followed by the recession and then Edwardian revival from 1891 to 1914. The Port Philip district was first settled by colonists who displaced the indigenous people of the Kulin nation. The settlers began to plough fields and fenced the land on traditional meeting places of the Port Philip clans. The planting of gardens and erection of houses was a marked possession of new lands.[2] After the initial settlement, Governor Bourke of New South Wales recommended to Lord Glenelg, secretary of state for the colonies, to appoint a police magistrate, customs officer, and the provision of schools. Glenelg sanctioned the establishment of an official settlement in April 1836.[3] By 1837, the Hoddle grid was surveyed with the main roads being three chains wide, approximately 99 feet, and the laneways one chain wide, approximately 33 feet. The dominant industry was wool growing and the population of the Port Philip District ballooned to 77,000 by 1850.[4] The onward march of European 'civilization' occurred with the virtual destruction of the First Nations people.[5]

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[1] Briggs, *Victorian Cities,* p. 280.

[2] P. Edmonds, *Urbanizing Frontiers: Indigenous Peoples and Settlers in 19th-Century Pacific Rim Cities*, Vancouver, Univeristy of British Columbia Press, 2010, p. 76.

[3] Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life,* p. 4.

[4] Serle, *The Golden Age,* p. 19.

[5] Serle, *The Golden Age,* p. 21.

Settlers, including Irish ex-convicts from Van Diemen's land and newly arrived settlers, started to enter Port Philip to establish the new settlement. The Irish migrants to Port Philip District included Protestants, many of whom were graduates from Trinity College keen to find professional positions in the new settlement. Jarlath Ronayne contends that Trinity College graduates had a profound impact on colonial Australia, on the grounds that they attained positions of power in law, politics, and education disproportionate to their numbers.[6] The Melbourne suburb of Richmond became a popular address for Protestant Irish professionals, with most being graduates of Trinity College Dublin.[7] There were also many bounty- or government-assisted immigrants from Ireland.[8]

By 1850 the desire for a new independent colony was finally fulfilled and celebrations marked the separation from the 'tyranny' of the colony of New South Wales.[9] A constant trickle of immigrants began to arrive in Melbourne. The Crawley family emigrated to Melbourne, leaving Dublin in 1851 and arriving in 1852. They may have sought a warmer climate or greater opportunities or followed their children who had migrated earlier. After their arrival, Hugh Crawley started a sawmill and ironmongery in Great Bourke Street but passed away only eighteen months after he arrived in the colony.[10] His family continued the business for a time until his son, John Crawley joined the civil service. The Crawley family experienced the beginnings of the gold rush boom in Melbourne.

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[6] Ronayne, *First Fleet to Federation,* p. 13.

[7] For more information on the Protestant Irish in Richmond please refer to A.T. Stirling, *Old Richmond*, Melbourne, Hawthorn Press, 1979.

[8] McClaughlin, 'Protestant Irish in Australia', pp. 89 and 92.

[9] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. 17-18.

[10] Argus, 'Deaths', *Argus,* 30 August, 1853, p. 4; Argus, 'Advertising', *Argus,* 3 September, 1853, p. 8; Argus, 'New Advertisements', *Argus,* 3 September, 1853, p. 8.

The gold rush begins

With the discovery of gold in the area around Ballarat in 1851, many people in Melbourne departed for the gold fields to seek their fortune. The news of the discovery of gold produced a rush to the colony of Victoria of British migrants and to a lesser extent, immigrants from Europe and the United States. The excitement of the gold rush also led to Chinese migration, which in turn caused the government of Victoria implement some of the first laws that became the precursor to the 'white Australia policy'. The laws restricted Chinese migration to the colony by the limiting of one immigrant passenger per ten tons of ship cargo, as well as a £10 entry tax.[11] In the gold rush years, the population of Victoria increased from 77,345 in 1851 to 540,322 in 1861, with the Irish-born making up over 16 per cent of the population in Victoria in 1861.[12]

The impact on immigration numbers when the news of gold in Ballarat arrived in Britain in January 1852, was minimal. Then in April, news of gold in Mount Alexander spread and within a few weeks, six ships that carried eight tons of gold arrived in London.[13] The rush was on, and thousands arrived in September and October 1852. This included Francis Bateman and Peter Labertouche who both arrived in Melbourne at this time. Opportunistic racketeers took advantage of the desperate state of the new arrivals and charged a fortune to transport luggage and people from Hobsons Bay to Melbourne. Richard Preston, an Englishman, gave a first-hand account of passengers who disembarked a ship to get the lay of the land and returned with a 'frightful account of the place, that everything was so awfully expensive. Lodgings £2 per week and that the inhabitants were a very rough and independent set'.[14] By the end of November, the government established two immigrants' homes with one on the south side of the river.[15] This became known as

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[11] Jupp, *The Australian People,* p. 45.

[12] Australian Bureau of Statistics et al., 'Historical and Colonial Census Data Archive (HCCDA), Victorian Census 1861' 525-526.

[13] Serle, *The Golden Age,* p. Chap 2 2/63.

[14] Preston, 'Journal, 1853 Apr. 24 - Aug. 21 [manuscript]',

[15] Serle, *The Golden Age*.

‘Canvas Town’, initially just a camp of tents, later construction of wooden barracks (Figure 6). Water was collected in buckets from the Yarra River as Edward Armitage recalled when he and his family lived under canvas upon their arrival in 1853. After their initial stay in ‘Canvas Town’ the Armitage family rented lodgings in Collingwood before they moved to Emerald Hill (South Melbourne).[16] Late in 1853 ‘Canvas Town’ was closed after it was accused of being a refuge for the shiftless, criminals and sly-grog traders.[17]

Figure 6: Edmund Thomas 'Melbourne and Canvas Town', 1855.[18]

Many of the newly arrived immigrants sought their fortune on the goldfields and stayed as briefly as possible in Melbourne. The Scott family, all sought El Dorado on the goldfields. Henry Scott was admonished by his uncle in Dublin and told ‘don’t go to the diggings’, yet he ignored his advice and joined his sister Anna and brother-in-law John Simpson on the gold fields. Scott detailed his early days in the colony in his journal. He described the journey from Melbourne to Campbells Creek (near Castlemaine) as ‘a fearful journey, almost unendurable by the quality of the road, the fearful dust and the intense heat.’ Scott did admire the local scenery despite the

[16] E.F. Armitage, ‘Reminiscences of a Queensland Pioneer’, 1926.

[17] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Chap 3, 7/55.

[18] E. Thomas, ‘Melbourne and Canvas-Town’, 1855, Painting: Watercolour, Pencil and Wash, accessed 2 December 2020, http://handle.slv.vic.gov.au/10381/51025.

arduous journey. He recalled that his brother-in-law and his mates invested in a puddling machine and 'were vainly trying to woo a fortune'. Henry was engaged to work a Californian pump, but 'the weather was most trying, the work was hard', and he found the climate difficult to endure. His will to work encouraged him despite these hardships as he refused to 'fall in a heap and return to his native land to become a squire'.[19] Henry Scott and his family's lack of success on the goldfields was common for most newly arrived migrants on the fields. The estimates of success on the gold fields are that eight out of ten made no more than a reasonable wage, paid their way or lost money, with only one in ten making £100 or more.[20] Many migrants, some of the sampled Dubliners included, initially tried their luck at the gold fields, only to return to Melbourne disappointed.

The path to success lay in the industries that serviced the goldfields, providing transport, equipment and food. The Ledwidge family of the Dublin sample migrated to Victoria in 1855 and travelled immediately to Ballarat, where Peter and his brother Samuel became butchers; they utilised Peter's previous experience as a victualler. While Samuel's business failed, Peter was successful enough to be able to purchase land in Ballarat in 1861.[21]

As Melbourne grew and wealth poured in from the gold fields, more migrants arrived, and the colonial government faced the requirement to focus on the infrastructure of a rapidly growing city. In the 1840s many of Melbourne's streets became impassable in wet weather, particularly Elizabeth Street which ran along an old creek.[22] The government spent money to macadamise the roads, ensured pedestrian crossings over the storm and other water drains on the sides of the roads and the general safety of the roads and pathways. By 1854, £600,000 was spent on the Yan Yean waterworks to provide fresh flowing water to the city. Turned on in 1857, these waterworks provided a significant health and social achievement for the city of

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[19] Scott, 'Henry Forde Scott Reminiscences',

[20] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Chap 3, 43/63.

[21] Star, 'Crown Land Sales', *Star,* 6 June, 1861, p. 1, F. Wilkinson, 'Government Advertisements', *Age,* 11 October, 1858, p. 2.

[22] Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life,* p. 31.

Melbourne, ten years before Dublin established a similar waterworks scheme. From 1857, over £1 million was spent per year on infrastructure and building projects within Victoria, such as the Melbourne public library and regional courthouses.[23] Newly arrived migrants saw a scramble of construction as the city grew to accommodate the ever-growing population, as well as providing the necessary 'civilised' services expected in a large city. As the central city grew, so too did the inner suburbs of Fitzroy, Collingwood, and Richmond, as well as some of the 'leafy' suburbs further out such as St. Kilda and Brighton. New suburbs like Emerald Hill started to be laid out, yet these suburbs differed to other British cities in that they were dominated by low single- and double-story houses and businesses rather than the multi-story Georgian townhouses in Dublin, or later, the tenement buildings typical of so many cities. By 1857 the distinctive lay-out of Melbourne and its suburbs was already taking shape (Figure 7).

[23] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Ebook, Chapter 8, 44/60.

Figure 7: Map of Melbourne and Suburbs 1857[24]

[24] G. Slater and A. Draysey, *Plan of Melbourne and its Suburbs Accurately Compiled from Government Maps*, Melbourne, George Slater, 1857, p. 1.

During 1853, permanent dwellings began to replace the tents and temporary houses of Emerald Hill. Like in Collingwood and Richmond, Emerald Hill housing included crowded blocks of cottages tightly fitted into the allotments.[25] This was the period in which the Armitage family lived in Emerald Hill. In his reminiscences Edward Armitage noted wryly that he never did find the hill that gave South Melbourne its original name. (It was the name invented by a local journalist of Irish origin, Edmund Finn who wrote as 'Garryowen'.[26]) Armitage provided details on how water was supplied by carts to households. He recalled how in 1855 the 'land was very thinly built upon with the streets unformed and unlit'. Armitage attended school in Emerald Hill, initially 'The National School' ran by Mr. Cook from a rough corrugated-iron building on Clarendon Street, then to the Presbyterian school and later the Wesleyan school. By 1858, Edward Armitage left school and started a job as an office-boy and messenger for Mr Isaac Solomon, a Jewish lender at 7 Collins Street West.[27] During this time the Armitage family lived at 66 Park Street, Emerald Hill; the father George tried his hand as a draper and then went back to being a clerk as he had been in Dublin.[28] By 1862 George Henry Armitage was declared insolvent due to lack of employment and debtors.[29] George Armitage is an example of how the chance for many migrants to start again in the colonies of Australia did not materialise into prosperity.

Edward Armitage's movement from the national school to denominational schools is typical of the educational system in Victoria at the time. In New South Wales and therefore also in the Port Philip district, pre-eminence lay with the denominational schools, but the government also established a National School system by the end of the 1840s with government funding for both. Despite this, less than half of children

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[25] H.G. Turner, *A History of the Colony of Victoria: From its Discovery to its Absorption into the Commonwealth of Australia*, London, Longmans, Green and Co., 1904, p. 368.

[26] 'Garryowen', *The Chronicles of Early Melbourne, 1835 to 1852: Historical, Anecdotal and Personal,* Melbourne, Ferguson and Mitchell, 1888, p. 21.v

[27] Armitage, 'Reminiscences of a Queensland Pioneer', 4-6.

[28] Sands Kenny & Company, *Sand, Kenny & Co.'s Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1860*, Melbourne, Sands, Kenny & Co., 1860, p. 166.

[29] Argus, 'New Insolvents', *Argus,* 14 May, 1862, p. 6.

attended school and the average length of attendance was barely two years.[30] After separation from New South Wales, the National School system came under the control of the Victorian government and disputes arose over the benefits of denominational schools versus state-run schools. In the 1850s, state funds and support for denominational schools was on the rise.[31] This led to the establishment of several denominational schools, notably the Presbyterians church's Melbourne Academy, in 1851, which eventually became Scotch College. When Scotch College applied for state aid, the Legislative Council voted for £20,000 in support of Grammar schools which led the Catholic church to establish St Patrick's College in 1854, the Church of England grammar schools in Melbourne in 1857 and Geelong in 1858 and Geelong College in 1861.[32] The disputes between church and state-run education continued through the 1850s until the *Common Schools Act* (1862) was passed which created a state-run school system based upon broadly defined Christian values.[33] When the *Education Act* (1872) was passed, Victoria became the first colony in Australia to set up a central public school system based on secular compulsory education. By 1872, education was compulsory for children aged 6-15 and most children attended state-based schools, with religious schools receiving no funding from the state.[34] Many of the initial wave of migrant children received inadequate education with the limited options of religious, private and the small number of national schools available in the 1850s. Often the young boys and girls, like Armitage, started their working life at aged 12 after a limited education.

During the 1850s, as money flowed into Melbourne the merchants took advantage of the free spending of capital and started to grow their businesses. There was an increase in demand for accommodation, food and drink and construction supplies, as well as more luxury items such as entertainment, higher end clothing and

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[30] A.G. Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900: Church, State, and Public Education in Colonial Australia*, Melbourne, Sir Isaac Pitman & Sons, 1961, p. 63; Victorian Government, 'Electoral Roll 1856', 1856.

[31] Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900,* pp. 127-128.

[32] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Ebook, Chap 12, 33/37.

[33] Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900,* p. 132.

[34] Austin, *Australian Education, 1788-1900,* pp. 185, 217.

books. The Crawley Sawmill operated through the 1850s, and flourished with the high demand for timber, iron work and other building supplies due to the construction boom.[35] John O'Grady, who had worked as a wine and spirit merchant in Dublin who transferred that knowledge to Melbourne. He ran and purchased hotels, and then either let or sold hotels in Melbourne, such as a hotel on the corner of Flinders and Queen Street.[36] A savvy businessman, O'Grady bought property and hotels, was charitable to the St Vincent De Paul orphanage, and sent subscriptions for those less fortunate back in Ireland.[37] He was a prominent member at St Patrick's Hall, and on the committee for the orphanage in Emerald Hill. O'Grady built a reputation for respectability in Melbourne, which put him on a trajectory to a higher social class then he would have achieved in Dublin. Suddenly, in 1858, when aged 38, O'Grady was thrown from his horse in Melbourne and died from his injuries. At this time of his death, he was living in Grey Street, East Melbourne, a relatively affluent area of Melbourne, indicative of his rise in social respectability.[38] Both the Crawley family and O'Grady possessed the advantages of urban knowledge and experience which enabled them to establish successful businesses in Melbourne and achieve a level of social respectability.

After the gold rush begun to subside, Melbourne entered the long boom years from the early 1860s through to the economic crash in 1891. It was during this time that the urban Dublin migrants came into their own. After the initial years of transience, whether on the goldfields or finding a place in Melbourne, the Dublin migrants moved onwards and upwards, although a few continued to face difficulties. Many of the Dubliners found employment with the growing machinery of colonial government. Within this professional class was a large group of Protestant Irish, often called the Anglo-Irish, and many of whom were Trinity College graduates. They took a leading

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[35] Argus, 'Merchandise', *Argus,* 8 June, 1855, p. 7.; Argus, 'Building Materials', *Argus,* 6 May, 1856, p. 3.

[36] Age, 'Advertisements', *Age,* 24 June, 1858, p. 1.

[37] Argus, 'Orphanage of St Vincent De Paul', *Argus,* 2 March, 1858, p. 8; Kyneton Observer, 'Appeal from the Celts of Donegal', *Kyneton Observer,* 19 June, 1858, p. 3.

[38] Argus, 'Deaths', *Argus,* 27 December, 1858, p. 4; Argus, 'Funeral Notices', *Argus,* 27 December, 1858, p. 8.

role in all aspects of the Victorian professional and cultural scene, generated intellectual life and founded diverse organisations and institutions. They encountered few problems with assimilation and their Protestantism, qualifications and social graces assured them of a welcome in the upper levels of Victorian colonial life.[39]

An example of the Protestant professional class from the Dublin sample is Peter Paul Labertouche, who initially worked as an auditor for the Victorian Freehold Society and the Colonial Freehold society, before he became a clerk in the roads and bridges department. By 1858, Labertouche was promoted to secretary of the department and later was secretary of the Victorian Railways Board.[40] Labertouche also joined the Freemasons during this time and was very prominent in the Governor's levees as well as the Masonic balls.[41] Labertouche married Eleanor Scales, originally from Illawarra, New South Wales, and with her had several children while he continued his career as a bureaucrat. In 1865, the Labertouche family was living at Albion Street East, Brunswick, a modest address, but by the 1870s the family lived in East Melbourne; in 1880 Labertouche's home was Canterbury Terrace, Powlett Street, East Melbourne.[42] East Melbourne remained an affluent area at this time, boasting grand Victorian terrace houses. Among these was Canterbury Terrace, made up of sixteen houses, constructed in 1877, and an annual rent for the row of £2,000.[43] In another sign of his respectability, by the early 1880s Peter Paul Labertouche lent his surname to several places across the colony, including Labertouche Creek, Labertouche Caves and the town of Labertouche. The eldest son, Guy Labertouche attended Scotch College before he joined the military, and the eldest daughter Ethel married Augustus Pelham

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[39] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* p. 97.

[40] Age, 'Public Companies', *Age,* 10 November, 1854, p. 2.

[41] Freemasons Lodge of Australasia, 'Freemasons Lodge of Australasia, Melbourne', 1854.; Argus, 'The Levee', *Argus,* 25 May, 1859, p. 5; Argus, 'Amusements', *Argus,* 19 October, 1857, p. 8.

[42] Sands Kenny & Company, *Sand, Kenny & Co.'s Commercial and General Melbourne Directory for 1865*, Melbourne, Sands, Kenny & Co., 1865, p. 297; Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall Melbourne and Surburban Directory 1875*, Melbourne, Sands & McDougall, 1875, p. 561.

[43] East Melbourne Historical Society, 'East Melbourne, Powlett Street 82, 84, 86, 88, 90, 92, 94, 96, 98, 100, 102, 104, 106, 108, 110, 112, Canterbury Terrace', 2021, <https://emhs.org.au/history/buildings/east_melbourne_powlett_street_82_84_86_88_90_92_94_96_98_100_102_104_106_108_110>, accessed 3 March 2021

Loftus, son of the Governor of New South Wales.[44] These are examples of the Anglo-Irish integration with the British in Australia with Labertouche working in the bureaucracy and his children joining the military or marrying into the ruling elite in Australia.

Another Dublin migrant in government employ was John Cranwill Eades, who worked in the gold office of the treasury department. His salary in 1856 was £400 per annum. By comparison, a male servant in 1855 earnt up to £40 per annum, or a butcher earnt £100, so Eades possessed an excellent salary for the time.[45] The 1856 electoral roll lists Arthur and another older Eades son, George, who migrated separately. George owned miners' rights and worked at Blackwood, while Arthur received a salary of £200 at Francis and Co., a shipping agent company in Elizabeth Street.[46] This illustrates that multiple breadwinners lived under one roof after their initial arrival in Melbourne in 1853. The family resided together and through their employment, also supported each other. As time progressed, the Eades family moved from Emerald Hill to Collingwood in 1860, then to South Yarra in 1865 and finally to Hawthorn by 1870.[47] This suburban progression reflects Eades' movement up the social ladder, which culminated in the affluent locale of Hawthorn. This also illustrates the 'assimilation' of the Eades into colonial life.

The qualified Dublin migrants found the colonial bureaucracy an attractive option for employment. As new departments developed to meet the needs of the colony for education, health services, transportation, and trade, the required number of civil servants grew. The security of a government position, as well as the benefits of a stable and healthy pension upon retirement enticed the experienced Dubliners and their children. Examples from the Dublin sample include John Crawley, son of

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[44] Burke, *A Genealogical and Heraldic History of the Colonial Gentry*; Scotch College, 'Guy Neale Landale Labertouche', 2015, <https://www.scotch.vic.edu.au/ww1/first/labertoucheGNL.htm>, accessed 23 March 2021

[45] Argus, 'Labour Market', *Argus (Melbourne),* 8 October, 1855, p. 2.

[46] Victorian Government, 'Electoral Roll 1856', 23.

[47] Sands Kenny & Company, *Sand, Kenny & Co Directory 1860,* p. 197; Sands Kenny & Company, *Sand, Kenny and Co. 1865,* p. 257; Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall's Melbourne and Surburban Directory 1870*, Melbourne, Sands & McDougall, 1870, p. 419.

Hugh Crawley, who worked in the bureaucracy as an engineer for the Roads Board. John Crawley in 1876 received a retirement sum of £1,184, 3s, 4d which was one month's salary per year of service, so Crawley found long-term employment that allowed him to enjoy a prosperous retirement.[48] James Godkin owned and managed hotels in Melbourne, while he lived in Emerald Hill; however, by 1867 he was appointed acting paymaster and receiver at Warrnambool. Godkin faced some financial difficulties before this with the Spence brothers chasing a debt of £56, 8s in 1866.[49]

Many Trinity College graduate lawyers who could not find work in Dublin migrated to Melbourne. Historian John McLaughlin details the careers of 200 colonial lawyers originally from Ireland; of these 32 migrated to Melbourne in the 1850s, which included many Trinity College Dublin graduates.[50] Melbourne was an attractive destination for Irish lawyers as the growing colony needed qualified lawyers to draw up contracts for land sales, businesses, and to settle disputes between parties. Along with the growth of commercial law, where many lawyers found themselves, the criminal justice system also grew from the courts down to the barristers and solicitors that represented the Crown and the accused.

George Barton was one of these lawyers; he graduated from Trinity College in 1848 before he migrated to Melbourne in 1852, where he joined the Victorian Bar and practiced as a barrister.[51] Barton married Jane in 1854, a daughter of a minister from London and they had a daughter and two sons while they lived in South Yarra. In 1859, Barton was elected to the Legislative Assembly in the seat of North Melbourne as a Conventionist, a party based on the conventions of the previous year that sought land reforms as well as remuneration of members of parliament. He was known for his verbose speeches and was described as a 'demagogic lawyer who cut little ice in

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[48] Argus, 'Parliament', *Argus,* 30 March ,1876, p. 7.

[49] PROV, 'Civil Case Files, VPRS 267/P0007, 1866/5145, John Spence, David Spence & James Spence v James Joseph Godkin', 1866.

[50] McLaughlin, *The Immigration of Irish Lawyers to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 308-348.

[51] Age, 'Miscellaneous', *Age,* 5 October, 1855, p. 1; Burtchaell and Sadleir, *Alumni Dublinenses,* p. 46.

politics'.[52] Lawyers often became members of parliament as they could still practice while they attended parliament; important at the time as members of parliament received no renumeration for their time. Barton did not get re-elected and relocated to New Zealand in 1862, initially chasing gold before he joined the Bar in New Zealand.[53]

A sectarian divide appeared within the legal world of colonial Melbourne, with more of the judges and lawyers being Protestant, and more of the clerks of the court being Catholic. Some Dubliners in the sample employed in the legal sector, such as George Barton and Henry Campion identified as Church of England, while the Catholics, John Henry Beggs, James Haverty, his son Thomas, and Malcolm Bannan Stark all worked as clerks of the court. Henry Campion was appointed bailiff of the County Court in 1858. As part of his role as bailiff, Campion auctioned off possessions of debtors, and this flowed on from his experience as an auctioneer in Dublin. For Catholic professionals, employment as clerks of the court became a significant pathway up the social ladder. John Henry Beggs worked as a clerk in the common law department and then the Crown Solicitor's Office for several years. His father William was the fishmonger for the Lord Lieutenant in Dublin, so Beggs' employment in Melbourne was a significant movement away from his father's career.[54] James Haverty worked as a clerk for the Crown Solicitor's Office, and eventually he prosecuted cases for the office. The family started life in Emerald Hill before they relocated to Burwood Road, Hawthorn, indicative of their move up the ladder.[55] James Haverty's son, Thomas, attended St Patricks College and later Xavier College, before he followed in his father's footsteps and worked at the Crown Solicitor's Office. Malcolm Bannan Stark, whose father was a painter, also attended St Patricks college and graduated with a Law degree from Melbourne University. He then worked as a clerk at the Crown Law Department for over two decades.[56] For both Protestant and

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[52] Serle, *The Golden Age,* pp. Ebook, Chap 10 18/61.

[53] McLaughlin, *The Immigration of Irish Lawyers to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, p. 224.

[54] General Post Office, *Post Office Annual Directory,* p. 153.

[55] Bendigo Advertiser, 'Sudden Death of Mr Haverty', *Bendigo Advertiser,* 23 July, 1870, p.2.

[56] Herald, 'Melbourne University', *Herald,* 11 March, 1867, p. 2; Argus, 'News in Brief', *Argus,* 30 January, 1896, p. 6.

Catholic professionals the legal sector was a significant pathway for employment and upward social movement.

The demand for medical professionals, in addition to work in the associated industries, also expanded with the growth of Melbourne. Like Dublin in the mid nineteenth century, the medical and legal professionals became part of the elite of Melbourne. John Tyrell Evans qualified as a doctor in Dublin, and then transferred his practice to Melbourne and worked as a qualified medical practitioner in Victoria from 1855 onwards. He was appointed as the vaccinator for the district of Dromana in November 1863 and his family lived at Robe Street, St Kilda, at the time a leafy, coastal suburb and day retreat with residences for the wealthy of Melbourne.[57] A subsidiary industry of the medical world was the chemist, and Carlington Marston utilised his expertise and knowledge from Dublin to create a successful business in Melbourne, with his store being located in Smith Street, Collingwood.[58] With the success of his business, Marston invested in real estate and other assets and left his family a very sizable estate upon his death, with real estate worth £15,860 and a personal estate worth £9,200. At the time of his death, he lived at 'Wimba' Cotham Road, Kew, a very prosperous part of Melbourne.[59] Dublin migrants in Melbourne did not always follow their prior experience yet found employment in urban related industries. Thomas Rooke worked as a cutler and surgical instrument maker in Dublin; he found employment in Melbourne as a storeman and clerk, a significant shift from his prior experience, yet still an urban occupation.[60]

In the 1850s, cities and municipalities in Britain sought to promote literacy levels by establishing public libraries.[61] Redmond Barry sought to extend these amenities in his new home in Melbourne and was influential in the establishment of the Melbourne

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[57] Victorian Government, 'Public Vaccinator', *Victorian Government Gazette,* 24 November, 1863, p. 2631; Geelong Advertiser, 'Deaths', *Geelong Advertiser,* 25 June, 1864, p. 3; Slater and Draysey, *Plan of Melbourne and its Suburbs Accurately Compiled from Government Maps,* p. 13.

[58] Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall Melbourne and Surburban Directory 1875,* p. 602.

[59] PROV, 'Probate and Administration Files, VPRS 28, Marston, Carlington George 84/632: No, 1083.', 1902.

[60] Victorian Government, 'Electoral Roll 1856', 13 & 26.

[61] Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History,* p. 478.

Public Library (now the State Library of Victoria). He was one of the founders and first chancellor of Melbourne University and also involved in the establishment of the Melbourne Hospital.[62] The government also sought to establish state buildings such as Parliament House, the Treasury buildings, services such as hospitals, libraries and state schools, as well as transportation requirements. Improvements in colonial transport included the macadamisation of roads, and the building of railways, a cable car system, and other forms of public transit. The Hobsons Bay Line and a few other railway lines serviced Melbourne in 1858. That year, George Evans (son of John Evans) and his business partner and later brother-in-law William Merry, won the contract for building the Geelong-Ballarat railway line.[63] This railway line encountered many difficulties and eventually Evans, Merry and Co sued the government for breach of contract in 1863 before the company was dissolved in 1864.[64] Evans and Merry faced and initiated litigious action in the fallout from the dissolution of their company.[65] Evans was declared insolvent in 1871 with liabilities of £3,121 and assets of £979, before he paid a dividend of 1s 11d per £ to creditors in 1873.[66] Evans was an industrious type and, despite these setbacks, continued to work and filed patents on an improvement to a nail-making machine and a spark catcher for locomotives.[67] Evans lived in Hotham Street, East Melbourne before he finally settled in Elsternwick.[68] Evans is an example of the hard-working business owner from Dublin who came from a wealthy family, yet set up his own enterprise. George Evans also deviated away

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[62] Ryan, 'Sir Redmond Barry'

[63] PROV, 'Contract Books, VPRS 419, Geelong and Ballarat Railway; Contract No. 27. Geelong to Ballarat. Contractors; Evans, Merry and Co. Unit 11.', 1858, Melbourne.

[64] Argus, 'Law Report', *Argus,* 1 April, 1863; Argus, 'Law Report', *Argus,* 3 March, 1864, p. 6.

[65] Argus, 'Law Report', *Argus,* 9 September, 1867, p. 6; Argus, 'Law Report', *Argus,* 3 August, 1865, p. 6.

[66] Advocate, 'New Insolvents', *Advocate,* 2 September, 1871, p. 12; Argus, 'Public Notices', *Argus,* 16 June, 1873, p. 3.

[67] Leader, 'Patents', *Leader,* 17 December, 1881, p. 5; Leader, 'Patents', *Leader,* 25 March, 1876, p.5.

[68] Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall Melbourne and Surburban Directory 1885*, Melbiurne, Sands & McDougall, 1885, p. 514; Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory 1895*, Melbourne, Sands & McDougall, 1895, p. 730.

from his father's career as a doctor, thus highlighting the diverse opportunities for employment in colonial Melbourne.

Dublin migrants utilised their knowledge base to participate in the construction, economic and social growth in Melbourne in the nineteenth century. They brought a skillset with them that gave them the ability to establish a business, which in turn made themselves and their families more financially secure. Malcolm Alexander Stark, from the Dublin sample, worked as a decorative artist, and found work during the construction boom in Melbourne. New homes being constructed required the decorative finishes inside the house and Stark, with his prior knowledge from Dublin, worked in this expanding field of employment. The Stark family lived at Chetwynd Street, North Melbourne.[69] Another Dubliner from the sample in Melbourne was Henry Boake, a carpenter and manufacturer who, in the early days of the colony, was relatively successful and purchased land in Moorabbin valued at £12, 10s, while he lived in Richmond before he moved to Camberwell.[70] Boake must have sold or transferred the land in Moorabbin before his death, as he was listed as having no real estate in his probate documents, and £40 of personal assets.[71] Henry Upton Alcock, another Dubliner from the sample, was a successful manufacturer, a cabinetmaker by trade who learnt the skills required to manufacturer billiard tables. In the growing city of Melbourne, not only construction boomed, but entertainment as well. Billiards, a popular sport, enabled Alcock to build a highly successful and regarded billiard table business. By 1877, Alcock wrote that billiards was 'today the favourite diversion of every gentleman of social influence or educated taste'.[72] Alcock ran one of the most

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[69] Age, 'Died', *Age,* 24 October, 1860, p. 4; R.J.W. Selleck, 'Mary Helena Stark: The Troubles of a Nineteenth-Century State School Teacher', in A. Prentice and M.R. Theobald (eds.), *Women Who Taught*, Perspectives on the History of Women and Teaching; Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1991, pp. 161-162.

[70] Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall's Melbourne and Surburban Directory 1870,* p. 369; Sands & McDougall, *Sands & McDougall Melbourne Directory 1895,* p. 607; Moorabbin Shire, 'An Assesment to the Shire Rate', 1876.

[71] PROV, 'Probate and Administration Files, VPRS 28, Boake, Henry, Item 63/619', 1897.

[72] Alcocks, 'Alcocks History', 2021, <https://alcocks.com.au/about-us/alcocks-history>, accessed 12 July 2021

successful businesses in Melbourne and attended exhibitions on behalf of the colony in Paris and London.[73] The firm survives into the twenty-first century.

Other common areas of employment for Dublin migrants were education and religion. The Dubliners' urban education and knowledge assisted them in managing the religious and education needs of an ever-growing city. The Scott family initially sought their fortune on the goldfields before they settled into their lives in Melbourne. After their eldest daughter married John Simpson, she settled in prosperous Surrey Hills for the rest of her life after her time on the gold fields.[74] After their luckless toils on the goldfields, the Scott men tried their hands at education with all finding employment as school masters at some point. Henry Scott, despite being the younger brother, was able to assist his siblings in finding work, Benjamin as a schoolmaster and Samuel as a reader.[75] Samuel and Henry Scott were both ordained within the Church of England, and Henry Scott would eventually become the chaplain for Melbourne Gaol and the Melbourne Hospital. Benjamin and Edmund Scott started a school together in Kew, which failed, however both continued as teachers later on in their lives.[76] Another Dubliner, Ross Cox was the head teacher at Nott Street School in Sandridge (Port Melbourne). While there he utilised the support of the local mothers to fight for more funds and support from the board of education.[77] Cox continued his career in education and later became an inspector of schools while also writing under the non-de-plume Luke Smyley for *Melbourne Punch.* Literature was important for the Cox family with Ross Cox's father writing of his travels in Canada. Later his son, Erle Cox became a well-regarded science fiction author and journalist.[78] Ross Cox's

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[73] Alcock, 'Diary and Papers, 1852-1853. [manuscript]', , MS9447: Family history

[74] Argus, 'Deaths', *Argus,* 26 December, 1893, p. 1.

[75] Scott, 'Henry Forde Scott Reminiscences',

[76] Henry Scott wrote two letters in 1909 and 1911 to Louisa J Kaines (his niece) detailing the Scott family history with extensive details on his own life as well as his brothers. Scott, 'Henry Forde Scott Reminiscences',

[77] N. U'Ren, *A History of Port Melbourne*, Melbourne, Oxford University Press, 1983, pp. 70-73.

[78] London Evening Standard, 'Ireland', *London Evening Standard,* 15 March, 1853, p. 4; Melbourne Punch, 'Current Notes: Ross Cox', *Melbourne Punch,* 20 September 1894, p. 177; S. O'Neill, 'Cox, Erle (1873-1950)', 1981, <https://adb.anu.edu.au/biography/cox-erle-5799, published first in hardcopy 1981>, accessed 13 July 2021

brother William also worked in education and was the master of the National School in St Kilda, while also the editor of the *Christian Reformer.*[79]

With limited employment opportunities for women, Melbourne society expected married women to stay at home, raise families and sustain the household. Single women either sought marriage or faced the limited options of nursing, teaching or household service. One was Mary Helena Stark, daughter, and sister of the Dublin Starks. With the death of her father, the family struggled financially, and Mary Stark began work as a schoolteacher from the age of fourteen while her sister Annie worked as a private music teacher. Eventually Stark found herself at North Melbourne State School. She received less than flattering inspector reports, which considered her to be an 'inadequate teacher, quite sickly much of the time'.[80] With the passing of the *Public Service Act* (1883), teachers in Victoria were classified into classes and sub-classes based on their experience, conduct and length of service.[81] Stark was classified as a junior assistant under class five, and she believed she should have at least classified as one of the sub-classes of class five. Despite her frailty, Stark fought for the rights of herself, and the hundreds of other women affected by the *Public Services Act* (1883). The government lost the case in the Victorian Supreme Court and appealed to the Privy Council in the United Kingdom. Despite the powers of the colonial government against Stark, the Privy Council found in favour of Stark. As a result, back pay, and relevant teaching class rankings were ordered to compensate all the teachers who faced the government's discriminatory action. Stark took on the government and won but found the strain too much and she died shortly after the Privy Council decision.[82] Sophia Rooke also worked as a schoolteacher, registered in 1875, and like Stark, never married.[83] While Stark died quite poor, Rooke received an

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[79] Dublin Evening Mail, 'Deaths', *Dublin Evening Mail,* 21 December, 1861, p. 1

[80] Selleck, 'Mary Helena Stark', pp. 162-168

[81] *The Public Service Act* 1883 (Vic).

[82] Selleck, 'Mary Helena Stark', pp. 171, 174-175, 177-178

[83] PROV, 'Database Index to Teacher Record Books, VPRS 13719, Rooke, Sophia Georgina, Teacher ID: 7179, TRB Unit No: 24', 1875.

inheritance from her brother Thomas and later left an estate of £8,244, 17s, 3d when she passed away in 1922.[84]

When Ross Cox wrote, tongue firmly in cheek, under his pen name Luke Smyley, he proffered advice on how a man should find a wife, and then cope with marital and parental life. Despite being a work of satirical fiction, his writing does give an insight into how the patriarchal world of the nineteenth century viewed women's roles in Melbourne society and life. What follows is an extract of Luke Smyley's apparent male-dominated wisdom:

> There are two courses open to you at the outset of your matrimonial career – the abject and the pugnacious. 'The brute' may have the enjoyments most men lose when he is married. I counsel abject submission. My experience of women is that they are not all bad. There are little soft spots about them when they are vulnerable. The 'brute' after a late night will awake to cold mutton and coffee, while the abject who acknowledges the error of his ways will awake to hot coffee and breakfast and a rosebud for his buttonhole. I mention this to show what is possible by skilful grovelling.[85]

This short sample of the writing of Smyley reveals the way he viewed women. He admitted they possessed some power in the home, with the serving of food, yet he believed they could also be manipulated as easily as he described. Because of their lack of opportunity for writing, there is limited surviving material from the Dublin women. Despite this lack of information, there is still enough to show the importance of family for the Dublin migrants. In most cases when fathers passed away with young children, the mothers cared for the children. As the children grew up, they then cared for and supported their mothers. The Stark, Haverty, Conry and Rooke families are examples of this, and the mothers lived with their children until their deaths.

While many of the sampled Dublin migrants found success in Melbourne, others fell by the wayside. A number faced being declared insolvent such as George

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[84] PROV, 'Probate and Administration Files, VPRS 28, Rooke, Sophia Georgina, Item 185/397: No. 1264', 1922.

[85] L. Smyley, *The Experiences: Amatory, Paternal and Domestic of Luke Smyley, Esq.*, Melbourne, J. & A. M'Kinley, 1874, pp. 18-20.

Armitage, Joseph Brady, Simon Ledwidge and James Godkin; however, most of these recovered from their financial strain and moved onwards with their lives. Godkin was found to have embezzled £200 from the Customs House in Warrnambool, so he went on the run. He was arrested, but eventually sentenced to only seven months imprisonment due to a glowing reference from his former employer.[86] Prior to his work at the customs house, Godkin managed hotels, and after his release went back to managing hotels before he later worked as a clerk at a private business while he lived in North Melbourne.[87] Godkin's prior experience as a clerk and management of hotels helped him continue his employment after his term of imprisonment.

Some Dublin migrants however struggled to settle and find their place in Melbourne. John Hayden was a young man who worked as a tailor for Abraham Levi and lived in a room in a cottage in Levi's backyard. Hayden was convicted of raping Levi's ten-year-old daughter three times and infecting her with a sexually transmitted disease. The sexual abuse of children was regarded as abhorrent with the case heard behind closed doors; the newspapers refused to publish all details of the case, instead writing that 'the evidence, which was of a most disgusting nature'.[88] The sentence of seven years hard labour was imposed on Hayden and the length of this sentence impacted his ability to settle in Melbourne. He disappeared from view after his release from prison in 1871.

Other Dublin migrants struggled to find their place and spiralled into a life of 'vagrancy' which often led to institutionalisation. The Irish who faced incarceration were more likely to be Catholic, single and poor, although there were some Protestant Irish as well. Francis Bateman, Patrick Keenan, and George O'Donnell all arrived from Dublin in Melbourne between 1852 and 1854. Bateman and O'Donnell worked as labourers and Keenan as a tailor. All three men began life out of the eye of the colonial authorities, until, within three years for O'Donnell and six to seven years for Bateman

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[86] Argus, 'Supreme Court Criminal Sittings', *Argus,* 20 November, 1868, p. 6; Age, 'Melbourne Criminal Sessions', *Age,* 18 November, 1868, p. 3.

[87] Leader, 'Licensing Benches', *Leader,* 9 September, 1871, p. 13.

[88] Argus, 'Criminal Sessions', *Argus,* 19 September, 1864, p. 6; Age, 'Melbourne Criminal Sessions', *Age,* 18 November, 1868, p. 3.

and Keenan, they began to fall foul of the law. This indicates that they initially spent their time either at the gold fields or successfully worked in Melbourne. Bateman and O'Donnell faced minor charges under the harsh vagrancy and public order laws where a plethora of non-violent public offences became illegal.[89] O'Donnell's first charge in 1857 was for disorderly conduct, and he was fined ten shillings.[90] Bateman was charged in 1861 for disorderly conduct for throwing a stone at a man; he was also fined ten shillings.[91] Keenan's first charge in 1860 was for a violent assault on a woman, but it was dismissed; he later was charged under the harsh vagrancy laws as a rogue and a vagabond.[92] The brutal justice system where the government essentially criminalised homelessness and the subsequent harsh prison life for those sentenced to hard labour, meant rehabilitation was unlikely. The police also focused their attention on the supposed criminal element and repeat offenders. This at times lead to false charges based on previous criminal behaviour under the belief that a criminal is often irredeemable.[93] The criminal justice system was focused on punishment rather than rehabilitation which simply led to more recidivism. Disproportionately represented in the arrest figures, the Irish in colonial Victoria statistically included 80.30 arrests per 1,000 Irish born in Victoria. However, of these, only 11.18 per 1,000 faced committals. This suggests that the bulk of the Irish arrested faced public order and minor offences.[94] Like the other Irish arrested, Bateman, O'Donnell, and Keenan mostly faced minor public offences with little violent offences among them. Despite meeting the stereotype of the shiftless, criminal Irish man, all three of these Dublin born 'criminals' could read and write as indicated in their prison records.[95] Patrick Keenan was quite cunning and industrious in how he pickpocketed his victims. He dressed as a clergyman and positioned himself on bridges and

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[89] D.J. Wilson, *The Beat: Policing a Victorian City*, Beaconsfield, Circa Press, 2006, pp. 55-56.

[90] Argus, 'Police: City Court', *Argus,* 27 August, 1857, p. 6.

[91] Argus, 'Police: City Court', *Argus,* 23 April, 1861, p. 6.

[92] Argus, 'City Police Court', *Argus,* 27 November, 1860, p. 6; Argus, 'Police', *Argus,* 16 April, 1861, p. 6.

[93] Wilson, *The Beat: Policing a Victorian City,* pp. 52-53.

[94] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 204.

[95] PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 5151, Keenan, Patrick'; PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515, Bateman, Francis'; PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515, O'Donnell, George'.

pickpocketed his unsuspecting victims.[96] This shows a knowledge and understanding of urban life, with clergymen being respected, and bridges as a physical funnel that would drive his victims into proximity to him. They were also mixed in their religious affiliation with two Catholics and one Protestant. These three men became career petty criminals and faced a series of charges for public order offences or small thefts such as pickpocketing or opportunistic theft from houses or stores.[97] The harsh sentences they received, bouncing in and out of prison, meant these Dubliners limited their opportunity to settle and make their place, except within the prison system.

The stereotype of the drunken, criminal, and rebellious Irishman was common in the newspapers of colonial Australia.[98] Another common stereotype was of the mad Irish, with a disproportionate number of Irish men and women being incarcerated in asylums.[99] While some families may have experienced a history of mental illness, at other times situations which now would be handled by families, or the state, were extremely difficult in the nineteenth century. If a family member was drunk, abusive, or just plain difficult, it was easier to have them committed for their own protection, as well as the safety and simpler life of the remaining family members. The overrepresentation of Irish within the asylums in the nineteenth century is well established with the Irish-born making up 7.3 per cent of the Victorian population in 1891, yet 25.2 per cent of the asylum population in 1887.[100] While the proportion of Dublin immigrants may not have been as high as the general Irish population in asylums, at less than 5 per cent, there were asylum patients among the Dublin sample. One Dublin family tragically faced numerous members being committed over the years. John Henry Beggs migrated to Melbourne in 1853 and married his wife

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[96] Argus, 'Police Courts', *Argus,* 26 May, 1868, p. 3; Argus, 'Friday, November 25, 1870', *Argus,* 25 November, 1870, p. 5.

[97] Patrick Keenan had at least 9 convictions over his life as well as numerous fines for petty offences and died in prison; Francis Bateman had 3 three separate prison sentences and numerous fines for petty offences; and George O'Donnell had 3 separate prison sentences and numerous fines for petty offences. These details are available from their prison records.

[98] Melbourne Punch, 'New Irish Dictionary', *Melbourne Punch,* 31 March, 1859, p. 2; Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* pp. 199-200.

[99] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 236.

[100] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 236.

Catherine in 1859.[101] As we have seen, Beggs, became a clerk at the Supreme Court, and the couple welcomed children Mary, William and Agnes into their family. In 1873, John was found drunk and suicidal in Melbourne and committed to Yarra Bend asylum. Beggs challenged this incarceration, but was never released and died at the asylum in 1894.[102] His son William Beggs was committed in 1889, released, and then recommitted for chasing his mother and sister with a knife. He was eventually freed once more and worked as a bootmaker.[103] Finally, Agnes Beggs was committed in 1890 with religious mania and died in the asylum in 1899.[104] Other families also dealt with family members being committed to the asylums such as the Campion family, who migrated in 1856. They committed their daughter Annie in 1868 to Yarra Bend Asylum, and she died at Ararat Asylum in 1907. The Eades family committed their son Arthur to the Carlton Lunatic Asylum in 1870 after he was sent to prison in 1868 for a month for vagrancy. Arthur died in the asylum in 1872.[105] These Dubliners who committed family members to asylums are examples of how nineteenth-century people often dealt with difficult family members. It has been theorised by Patrick O'Farrell that many Irish families deliberately dispatched their relatives who had mental health issues to relieve themselves of the burden.[106] Research conducted in the decades following O'Farrell in the 1980s utilised more research data, yet gave rise to even more questions that can only be answered by further research. The research indicates that the Irish had distinctive attitudes towards asylums and to the committal of family to these asylums. The Irish brought these attitudes with them to the colonies and found an asylum system they had been familiar with in Ireland. The doctors in the

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[101] Argus, 'Marriage', *The Argus*, 27 September, 1859, p. 4.

[102] The North Eastern Ensign, 'Miscellaneous News', *The North Eastern Ensign,* 4 July, 1873, p. 2; Argus, 'The Kew Asylum Inquiry', *Argus,* 16 March, 1876, p. 6; PROV, 'Inquest Deposition Files, VPRS 24, Beggs, John Henry, Item 1894/905, Unit 630', 1894.

[103] PROV, 'Case Books of Male Patients, 1872-1912 Vol 8, VPRS 7399, Beggs, William, VA 2839', 1889; PROV, 'Case Books of Male Patients, 1872-1912 Vol 8, VPRS 7399, Beggs, William, VA 2839, Ref 7399', 1890.

[104] PROV, 'Case Books of Female Patients, 1862-1912 Vol J, VPRS 7400, Beggs, Agnes, VA 2839, Ref 7400', 1890.

[105] Argus, 'Police: City Court', *Argus,* 20 January, 1868, p. 6; Age, 'Inquests', *Age,* 31 July, 1872, p. 4.

[106] O'Farrell, *The Irish in Australia,* pp. 169-170.

asylums were also commonly Scottish or English and had pre-conceptions regarding the Irish character and person.[107]

The Dublin migrants arrived in Melbourne and found a space to live and work, as time progressed. Space is more abstract than place; space allows movement while place is a pause in that movement.[108] The Dubliners arrived at the space that was Melbourne and after time began their settlement and placemaking. Based upon this position, the placemaking for the Dublin migrants occurred in their homes and their workplaces and the surrounding neighbourhoods. However, the migrant's social lives also formed a part of their sense of place. Many of the sampled Dubliners attended governor levees, fancy and exclusive events for the people of Melbourne and the colony. Labertouche and Stark, both government employees and university graduates, are examples of the people who attended the levees.[109] The Stark sisters attended horse races, such as the Melbourne Cup, with society pages in the newspaper that published descriptions of the dresses.[110] The confidence of these Dubliners in attending these public events - such as the Melbourne Cup, the Governor's levees, balls, and other major occasions - reflects their urban background. For the Dubliners in the sample, they enjoyed sufficient social standing to be invited to events such as these, as well as have their names published in the newspapers.

Some Dublin migrants found solace in other groups such as the many societies prevalent in colonial Melbourne, some of which were associated with religious denominations. Labertouche and Godkin enjoyed membership of the Melbourne Freemasons, though Godkin was later removed for non-payment of fees, while Labertouche was part of the committee and served as a steward for the Grand

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[107] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 264.

[108] Y.-F. Tuan, *Space and Place: the Perspective of Experience*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1977.

[109] Australasian, 'The Governor's Levee', *Australasian,* 25 August, 1866, p. 19; Age, 'The Levee', *Age,* 27 November, 1867, p. 5.

[110] Table Talk, 'The Melbourne Cup', *Table Talk,* 8 November, 1889, p. 9.

Masonic balls.[111] Richard Eades had joined the Freemasons in Calcutta, and George Barton in Dunedin.[112] These fraternal societies became a safe place for men to meet and enjoy each other's company, while the societies' balls and events were places for the members' wives to socialise and raise the profile of the group. These societies restricted members based upon religious affiliation, with the Freemasons being rigidly anti-Catholic. The St Patrick's society, established in 1842, was open to all born in Ireland, and included non-Catholics before it became a Catholic society in the 1850s and 1860s.[113] O'Grady played a prominent part in the St Patrick's society, raising funds for the Donegal Relief Committee, as well as supporting the St Vincent De Paul orphanage in Emerald Hill.[114] No distinct Dublin society ever existed and during the mid-1800s, no secular Irish or Celtic society existed in Melbourne. Outside of the societies, family was important for the Dublin migrants and many, like other Irish immigrants, supported and assisted their families and friends throughout their lives. Henry Scott assisted his brothers in finding employment and gave them guidance and support.[115] Ross Cox was the executor of two of his sister-in-law's estates; this is despite his first wife Elizabeth McCullagh, their sister, dying young and Cox remarrying. The relationship between the Cox and McCullagh family must have been strong enough to endure the loss of their sister and Cox remarrying, to the extent that Sarah McCullagh left part of her estate to Mary Cox her brother-in-law's second wife.[116] The prevalence of family migration, along with the more common chain migration, meant that strong familial ties played a significant role. While Irish migrants also have strong familial ties, the shared experience of migrating and settling together

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[111] Freemasons Lodge of Australasia, 'Freemasons Yarra Yarra Lodge Members', 1860; Freemasons Lodge of Australasia, 'Freemasons Lodge of Australasia, Melbourne',

[112] Age, 'The Masonic Ball', *Age,* 5 November, 1856, p. 1; Argus, 'Masonic Grand Ball', *Argus,* 19 September, 1859, p. 8; Freemasons Lodge of Calcutta, 'Freemasons Lodge of Calcutta Members', 1880; Freemasons Lodge of Dunedin, 'Freemasons Lodge of Dunedin Members', 1869.

[113] P. Morgan, *Melbourne Before Mannix: Catholics in Public Life 1880-1920*, Ballan, VIC, Connor Court, 2012, p. 8.

[114] Age, 'Orphanage of St Vincent De Paul, Emerald Hill', *Age,* 27 February, 1858, p. 1; Age, 'Meeting at St Patricks Hall', *Age,* 8 June, 1858, p. 5; Kyneton Observer, 'Appeal From the Celts of Donegal', *Kyneton Observer,* 19 June, 1858, p. 3.

[115] Scott, 'Henry Forde Scott Reminiscences',

[116] PROV, 'Wills, VPRS 7591/P2, McCullagh, Sarah, Item 51/358', 1893.

had a profound impact on those Dublin migrants who migrated as a family. The urban background of the Dubliners also impacted how they socialised, found employment, and settled in Melbourne

Urban Dubliners in Melbourne

Dublin was a metropolis with urban amenities and culture which helped shape the sense of identity of these particular Dubliners and distinguished them from the more common rural Irish migrants in Australia. This urban background subsequently influenced their settlement in Australia, from their employment, where they lived and how they socialised and their participation in the community. Kevin Lynch's urban imageability has been used to analyse the urban background and settlement of the Dubliners.[117]

In Dublin the wealthier protestants lived either in the more affluent districts of Dublin or in suburbs on the outskirts of the city itself. An example of urban imageability for a wealthy Protestant group is John Evans, a doctor, and his family. Their pathway followed Westland Row where they lived; Trinity College towered as a landmark within their neighbourhood; they shopped along Great Brunswick Street, a district; the far boundary of Trinity College created an edge; and a node occurred at the intersection of Westland Row and Great Brunswick Street. Many medical professionals lived and worked along Westland Row and the Evans family made their place in this small area that incorporated Trinity College. These wealthy Protestant Dubliners sought similarities with their settlement and placemaking in Melbourne. Evans lived at Robe Street, St Kilda their pathway; a node existed at the intersection of Robe Street and Acland Street; a district developed along Fitzroy Street based around the shopping and public houses; a landmark of Hobsons Bay shimmered in the distance; the edges followed the boundaries of St Kilda, such as Fitzroy Street and the water's edge. While the bay differed from the Liffey River, the socio-economic background of St Kilda shared similarities with the area that surrounded Westland Row in Dublin, with wealthy professionals living in the area. For John Evans, finding a place in an area that felt

[117] Lynch, *The Image of the City,* pp. 45-47.

safe and secure with neighbours of a similar ilk and similarities to Dublin played a prominent part in his placemaking. The major difference was the suburban spread in Melbourne because of the availability of land and instead of multi storey townhouses, lower single- and double-storey houses dominated residential construction. The environment and architecture differed yet the societal and cultural aspects shared similarities.

An example of the merchant class from the Dublin sample is Hugh Crawley, a coal merchant, and his family, who lived and worked on Great Brunswick Street, Dublin. For the Crawley's the nodes existed at the intersections such as between D'Olier and Great Brunswick Streets. Trinity College and the Liffey River indicated the edges and landmarks of their neighbourhood. The College existed as a class barrier between the elite and more highly educated Dubliners and the merchants, while the river existed as a physical edge. Once they arrived in Melbourne, the merchants perhaps unwittingly sought a similar arrangement of business and home as that back in Dublin. The Crawley family established a sawmill and ironmongery business in Great Bourke Street, one of the main business throughfares in Melbourne, which is also where they lived. Having their business and home located together parallels their business and home in Dublin, being next door to each other. Therefore, Bourke Street became a pathway and a district, with the outlying streets of the city grid being the edges. The larger buildings under construction as well as the Yarra River stood as landmarks, with the nodes being the intersections of the surrounding streets. The apparent similarities between the Crawley's urban settlement and placemaking in Melbourne and what they left in Dublin are apparent and show they utilised their experience and knowledge they brought from Dublin almost identically in Melbourne.

The clerks and bureaucrats of Dublin also migrated to Melbourne in numbers. The Eades family is typical, with John Cranwill Eades employed as a commission agent in Dublin; he then worked in the gold office for the treasury department in Melbourne. The family lived in Montgomery Street, Dublin which constituted a pathway from their home that led to Buckingham Street and the node of the crossroads of Buckingham, Montgomery, and Amiens Street. The nearby customs house led to the edge being the Liffey River and also stood as landmarks. In Melbourne the Eades family experienced various changes as they moved up the social ladder, with the street

on which they lived serving as a pathway. The government buildings that surrounded Treasury existed as a district for John Eades where he was employed, while the landmarks of Parliament house and later St Patrick's Cathedral towered above. The edges occurred along the boundaries of their neighbourhoods, whether earlier in Collingwood or in Hawthorn after 1870. At his workplace, Spring Street provided an edge – indeed a distinct barrier - between the government and Melbourne itself. In Dublin, before the street declined into tenements, Georgian townhouses occupied by wealthier families, such as the Eades, had risen along Montgomery Street. In the colony, the parallel was the Melbourne suburb of Hawthorn, with its grand houses and the added benefit of available land, and Glenferrie Road became the major pathway, district, and node.

The Dublin working class lived in crowded tenements and slums in Dublin in The Liberties or in other working-class districts. These Dubliners worked as tailors, bootmakers, bricklayers as well as being employed in manufacturing. The working-class Dubliners in the sample struggled to find a place and settle in Melbourne. James Murphy left his family destitute and supported by the Ladies' Benevolent Society as he searched regional Victoria for work or gold.[118] Keenan worked as a tailor, and Bateman and O'Donnell worked as labourers. They all faced a life of imprisonment and petty crime, with many of their convictions based around the vagrancy and public order laws in Melbourne at the time. Despite having urban trades and experience, these working-class men struggled, in marked contrast with the middle-class merchants and professionals in the sample. The working-class women in the sample often achieved more success than the men. One was Sarah Hamilton, who migrated in 1857 as a servant and went on to marry William Rose in 1863. Marriage gave the young women an option to move out of employment and into married life, as well as to move out of the working class and into the middle class. The Protestant middle-class daughters who arrived as single women, typified by two of the Wright sisters and Margaret Young, migrated to Melbourne supported by their wealthier families in Dublin. After they arrived, they met young men who they subsequently married, usually within a year or two after their arrival. Many working-class women also married

[118] Age, 'City Police Court, Friday 15th July', *Age,* 16 July, 1864, p. 6.

working-class men, such as Mary Hamill, a Scottish Catholic migrant, who married James Murphy, she was later left destitute by him.

The Dublin migrants from the sample, whether middle- or working-class, showed an initial preference to live and work near the city of Melbourne. This was due to ease of access to Melbourne, as the city was where most of the employment was located. The Dubliners in the early years of their settlement lived in small affordable houses in the suburbs of Emerald Hill, Collingwood, and Fitzroy. As the years passed and their affluence grew, many moved into larger houses either in East Melbourne or South Yarra, or further out in St Kilda, Brighton and Hawthorn. Larger land plots and houses became common in the leafier and coastal suburbs for the upwardly mobile Dublin migrants. So, while the cultural, societal and urban influence of Dublin influenced their settlement, the ability to live on a larger plot of land in a large, often detached house appealed and constituted a significant movement away from the attached Georgian townhouses in Dublin. The urban background of the Dublin migrants permeated through their settlement with most within the sample being able to find employment in Melbourne at a level relative to their employment in Dublin. While their homes differed between the cities the neighbourhoods shared striking similarities to those in Dublin, with their neighbours and the infrastructure and facilities available.

Dubliners in late nineteenth-century Melbourne

The position of the Dublin immigrants at the end of the nineteenth century gives a picture of how their settlement in Melbourne progressed for themselves and their descendants. It is possible to take a snapshot of their position, and that of their descendants, in fin-de-siecle Melbourne (Table 3 in Appendix A).

In our sample are 111 Dublin migrants, and 39 of their descendants who were born in Melbourne. Of these 140 individuals, 83 found a level of success, ranging from stable employment to being quite successful and wealthy by the end of the nineteenth century; 14 faced some issues such as insolvency or un-employment, yet still led a relatively stable life; 14 faced prison time or being committed to an asylum so the life

they experienced in Melbourne can be fairly described as 'difficult'; 18 died soon after arrival or when very young; and of the final 11, their details have fallen from the historical record. So, in summary, just over 59 per cent of the Dublin migrants, or their descendants, achieved a level of success in Melbourne. The Dubliners often started on the goldfields but then took their urban skills and capacities into their future employment in Melbourne. This included employment in the legal sector, government civil service and other urban industries, as well as the establishment of businesses in Melbourne. Even those with criminal histories stayed in the city and behaved as urban criminals, being pickpockets or committing theft from stores and homes; they stayed in the urban environs and chose not to become bushrangers. The Dublin migrants mostly ensured their children received an education, and these children subsequently found employment in Melbourne in the law, civil service, and private enterprise.

Overall, while some of the sampled Dublin migrants fell by the wayside, whether due to financial issues that at times led to criminal activity, or by being committed to an asylum, many of them led successful lives in Melbourne. The Dubliners, like the Irish all faced discrimination. This included the common anti-Catholic prejudice, through to anti-Irish sentiments. This prejudice often focused on their look and dress which differentiated the Irish from the English. Even for the professionals, such as lawyers, their accent, the Irish brogue, was not well regarded in the Australian colonies.[119] Despite the discrimination faced by many of the Dubliners, they often rose above this. The relatively successful settlement of the Dubliners can be attributed to several factors; the urban background of the Dubliners which made their settlement a more streamlined process; the culture of the Dublin Protestants who 'assimilated' into colonial Melbourne; the high level of education for the Dubliners which led to more employment opportunities; and finally, the large number of middle-class Dubliners who brought a level of affluence with them. They possessed the knowledge and experience of an urban city and then transferred this to their new situation in Melbourne. Many used their knowledge of prior work in similar fields and found employment in Melbourne whether as a bureaucrat, a clerk, in the law or as a doctor. Others utilised their merchant and commercial knowledge from Dublin and transferred

[119] McLaughlin, *The Immigration of Irish Lawyers to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, pp. 115-116.

that with success to Melbourne. This can be seen in how many of the families, whether the initial migrants or their descendants, found success by the end of the nineteenth century. The other major factor was that Melbourne was part of the British empire so the movement from one British city, Dublin, to another, Melbourne, made the transition, settlement and placemaking a smoother process for Dublin migrants. The British control of Dublin meant that the Dubliners, whether Catholic or Protestant, had already experienced the British influence in their daily lives. Dublin and Melbourne's unique aspects differentiated them from London and other British cities, yet the administration, legal, commercial and social worlds shared similarities that crossed between the cities.

Chapter 4: Trieste a city under extreme pressure

Trieste in the early 1950s straddled the 'Iron Curtain' between East and West in a region divided. Trieste was a major port of the Austro-Hungarian Empire prior to the first world war, before being reunited with Italy after the war. This led to the standing of the port fading, as Trieste struggled to compete with other ports in Italy like Genoa. Fascism, the second world war and post-war dispute of the city between the western allies and Yugoslavia created tensions that economically and politically depressed the city. This led Trieste migrants to leave their city in large numbers to find a new life in Australia, with the hope of employment, safety and success in the aftermath of the second world war. Many thought their journey halfway around the world to be a temporary relocation, yet for most, Australia became their new home. Most of the post second world war Italian migration to Australia was of the rural-to-urban kind; the urban-to-urban migration from Trieste was atypical. We follow a sample of 20 groups of *triestini* as they make their journey to Melbourne, beginning with an account of their lives in Trieste, why and how they migrated to Melbourne and the enduring influence of their urban lives on their settlement and placemaking in Melbourne.

The rising division in Trieste

Trieste was a faded imperial city, as troops from foreign powers marched the streets. Riots and protests erupted as rising unemployment and a housing crisis faced the people of Trieste. Their city was held as a bargaining chip in the growing Cold War conflict. It was a city torn by political turmoil, as Winston Churchill famously said in 1946, 'from Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent'.[1] This Iron Curtain split the region between the western powers of the United States and the United Kingdom and the newly rising Communist nation of Yugoslavia.

[1] W. Churchill, 'Sinews of Peace Speech', 1946, <https://digitalarchive.wilsoncenter.org/document/116180>, accessed 8 December 2020

Figure 8: Photograph of Trieste showing the city as the land slopes up towards the Carso (Karst Plateau).[2]

The grand imperial buildings and piazza of the city are testament to Trieste's past as a major port of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. After the end of the first world war, Trieste and the surrounding regions reunited with Italy. After unification, the *Grand Piazza* was renamed *Piazza Unitá d'Italia,* the square of unification with Italy. Trieste expected grand plans for the old port of the Austrian empire, yet Italy did not know what to do with a port so far north with poor access to the rest of Italy, as trade with Austria and the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was insubstantial and other northern ports

[2] Free Territory of Trieste, 'Free Territory of Trieste', 1947, <http://www.freeterritorytrieste.com/statute.html>, accessed 30 June 2021 2021

possessed better access for Italy.[3] After Trieste 'reunited' with Italy, the flair and success of the mitteleuropean city began to fade.[4]

A city formerly part of Austria, with a history of being culturally Italian, now became a part of the great Italian nation. This absorption into Italy calmly glossed over the minority populations of Germans, Slovenians, and Croatians as well as other smaller minority groups.[5] The Italianisation of Italy, especially in regions like Trieste where German, Slovenian and other cultures influenced the area on such a large scale, was now intensifying. In the early years of Fascism, the German speaking population in Alto Adige had faced the full brunt of the Italianisation laws: this then shifted to the Slovenian and Croatian minorities.[6] One significant Italianisation scheme was the renaming of roads and places as well as the renaming of people who chose to Italianise their names.[7] Many Trieste citizens took up the opportunity to have their surnames Italianised: this included many successful businesspeople, including Jewish and Slovenian people. The government allowed many of the name changes, especially for the Jewish businesspeople, who were often seen as Italian Jews, many 'assimilated' and aligned more with their social peers rather than their co-religionists.[8] However, some Triestines with traditionally non-Italian surnames, such as those without a vowel on the end refused to change their surnames.[9] Trieste during this time was seen as a shining light for Fascist Italy and their irredentist ideals: this led to the suppression of minority groups by Fascist supporters in the city. In 1920, Fascist gangs set fire to the Slovenian National Home. When the Fascist regime took power in 1922, they established a program of assimilation. This led to the closure of Slovenian schools and printing presses and the forced Italianisation of surnames.[10]

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[3] Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954,* pp. 51-54.

[4] *Mitteleurope* is a German term for middle Europe, which is the regions and cities that cover the line between western and eastern Europe.

[5] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* pp. 36-38.

[6] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* p. 48.

[7] Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954,* p. 88.

[8] Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954,* p. 107.

[9] Interview with Fulvio Zanier [interviewed by B. Biasin], (Templestowe, Australia, 22 April 2021).

[10] B. Pahor, *Necropolis*, trans. M. Biggins, London, Dalkey Archive Press, 2010, pp. xi-xii.

From 1926, the Fascist regime actively enforced the assimilation of Slovenes and other minorities, with houses being searched for foreign-language literature.[11]

From 1935, the amiable relations between Italy and Germany led to more sympathies for Nazi Germany's racial policies. Prior to this, the Jews had enjoyed recognition as valuable and loyal Italian citizens.[12] In a visit to Trieste in September 1938, Mussolini spoke of a nationwide 'Jewish problem', and subsequently young Fascists organized attacks on Trieste's synagogue and provoked a climate of racial tension in the region.[13] The government appropriated many Jewish businesses, while others fled, which the Fascist government initially permitted. With the surrender of Italy in 1943, Trieste expected to face the struggle of rebuilding as the war raged on in Europe. To maintain economic and political control, the Germans created the operation zone *Adriatisches Küstenland* (Adriatic Coast) governed by Nazi administrators, forming parts of Slovenia, Croatia, and Italy with Trieste as the capital.[14] The Nazi occupation aimed to revive the memories of Trieste's special relationship with Austria before the first world war.[15] The Nazi forces headquartered in Trieste and started a repression and propaganda campaign designed to coerce the region into the greater German Reich. Local Triestines faced conscription into the engineering corps the TODT, and were forced to work in appalling conditions, ill-fed and subjected to Nazi surveillance.[16] These young men gained experience as labourers yet gathered little other employment experience in the last years of the second world war. One of these young men was Archimedes Biasin, from our Trieste sample. Prior to the Nazi invasion in 1943, Biasin worked as a photographer for Avanzo from 1941 until 1943; the Nazi's then conscripted him, when he was 17, into

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[11] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* p. 48.

[12] Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954,* p. 128.

[13] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* pp. 55-56.

[14] G. Bresadola, 'The Legitimising Strategies of the Nazi Administration in Northern Italy: Propaganda in the Adriatisches Küstenland', *Contemporary European History*, vol. 13, no. 4, 2004, pp. 427-428.

[15] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 19.

[16] Bresadola, 'The Legitimising Strategies of the Nazi Administration in Northern Italy' pp. 441-442.

the TODT Organisation as a forced labourer and soldier.[17] The Biasin family kept a copy of a photograph documenting this experience (Figure 9). After a few months Biasin defected from the Germans to the Yugoslavian partisans and eventually returned to Trieste when the city was liberated.

Figure 9: Triestine conscripts in the Nazi TODT, c. 1943-44 (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection)

During this time the Nazi's built the only extermination camp on Italian soil at a former rice husking factory, the *Risiera di San Sabba*. A crematorium was constructed, and estimates are that over 3,000 people lost their lives at the camp with thousands more being transported elsewhere.[18] Boris Pahor, the famous Triestine-born Slovenian author, was held at the camp before being transported to the concentration camps Dachau and Natzweiler-Struthhof.[19] The Zanier family from our Trieste sample lived near the *Risiera di San Sabba*, and Fulvio Zanier recalled his mother Iolanda talking about the smell of burning pork in the air at times, and how she never realised until after the war that the smell was burning human bodies.[20] As the

[17] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 147511, BIASIN Archimede born 17 June 1926; Lia (nee Spillar) born 9 January 1929; Mario born 2 March 1951 - Italian - travelled per ship CASTLE VERDE in 1954 under Intergovernmental European Migration Scheme', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1954.

[18] Hametz, *Making Trieste Italian, 1918-1954,* p. 132.

[19] Pahor, *Necropolis,* p. xi.

[20] Interview with Fulvio Zanier; Interview with Gianni Zanier [interviewed by B. Biasin], (Mt Eliza, Australia, 29 March 2021).

allied forces entered Trieste, the Nazis attempted to destroy the crematorium and all evidence of the atrocities that occurred at the camp.[21]

On 1 May 1945, the Yugoslav 4th Army liberated Trieste with the assistance of local partisan forces.[22] The Allied forces with the 2nd New Zealand division at the fore, entered the outskirts of Trieste on 2 May 1945 and the remaining German forces surrendered to them. Until 12 June 1945 Yugoslav forces controlled the city of Trieste, a period known colloquially as 'the forty days'.[23] They began a campaign of de-Fascistisation with claims of massacres against the Italians, known as the 'Foibe Massacres', where the Yugoslav forces threw people into deep sinkholes and buried them, although the extent of these massacres has subsequently been disputed.[24] In 1992, the *Foibe di Basovizza* was declared a national monument with claims of an Italian genocide, despite the fact the Germans also used the *foibe* to dispose of bodies, as well as the corpses of German soldiers being found there.[25] Denis Campana from our sample, believes from stories from his father that his *nonno* (grandfather) was a victim of the *foibe* massacres as he disappeared during the 'forty days' and his remains have never been found.[26]

Geoffrey Cox, a New Zealand senior intelligence officer, detailed the differences he perceived between the Italians and Slovenians while stationed in Trieste.

> The ordinary soldier heard the Italian case from every angle and heard very little of the Tito case. He had come, moreover, to regard the Italians as full allies, not, as did the Yugoslavs, as very recent enemies who had invaded their country only four years before. The New Zealander saw that there was an Italian majority in Trieste itself, and that there were Italians elsewhere throughout the area. And he

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[21] M. Purvis and D. Atkinson, 'Performing Wartime Memories: Ceremony as Contest at the Risiera di San Sabba Death Camp, Trieste', *Social & Cultural Geography*, vol. 10, no. 3, 2009, p. 340.

[22] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* p. 83.

[23] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* p. 84.

[24] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* pp. 90-91.

[25] S. Knittel, 'Borderline Memory Disorder: The Risiera di San Sabba and the Staging of Italian National Identity', in B. Sion (ed.), *Death Tourism: Disaster Sites as Recreational Landscape*, London, Seagull Books, 2013, p. 249.

[26] Interview with Denis Campana [interviewed by B. Biasin], (Essendon, Australia, 6 May 2021).

> argued that the Yugoslavs had, therefore, on the face of it, no final right to run the place.[27]

Throughout his account Cox displays an inherent bias of a chasm between the western world and 'barbaric and backward' eastern Europe. The 42 days of Yugoslav rule ended when a hastily drawn up compromise divided the region into two zones, the northern Zone A, which included Trieste, managed by the Allied Military Government (AMG) made up of United States, United Kingdom and New Zealand forces, with the southern Zone B managed by Yugoslav forces (Figure 10). Thus began the period of Trieste used as a bargaining chip in the Cold War, the western allies on one side and Marshall Tito and Communist Yugoslavia on the other. Former allies in the fight against Fascism and Nazism were now enemies in a growing global conflict.

[27] G. Cox, *The Road to Trieste*, London, Heinemann, 1947, p. 237.

Figure 10: Map of the Free Territory of Trieste showing Zone A and Zone B.[28]

[28] A. Stok, 'Free Territory of Trieste Map', 2013, <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Free_Territory_of_Trieste#/media/File:Free_Territory_of_Trieste_Map.svg>, accessed 16 March 2021

The Free Territory of Trieste

Trieste was now literally on the border of the dispute between the western allies and the communist nations, and became one of the symbols of the conflict that led to the Cold War. The idea of the more civilised western Europe against the barbaric eastern Europe was not new, being invented by 'Western' intellectuals in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[29] Due to the uncertainty of the allied government rule with disputes over who should control zone A and zone B, the economy in Trieste stagnated. Little construction occurred, apart from post-war repair, with limited employment opportunities and unemployment rates that approached 10 per cent.[30] Within this faded imperial city, the people of Trieste struggled to find work and suitable living accommodation. Due to a housing shortage, many families lived together in small, cramped apartments. As the great powers battled through diplomacy over the city and its surrounds, the Triestines tried to get on with their lives.

[29] Sluga, *The Problem of Trieste and the Italo-Yugoslav Border,* p. 5.

[30] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 12.

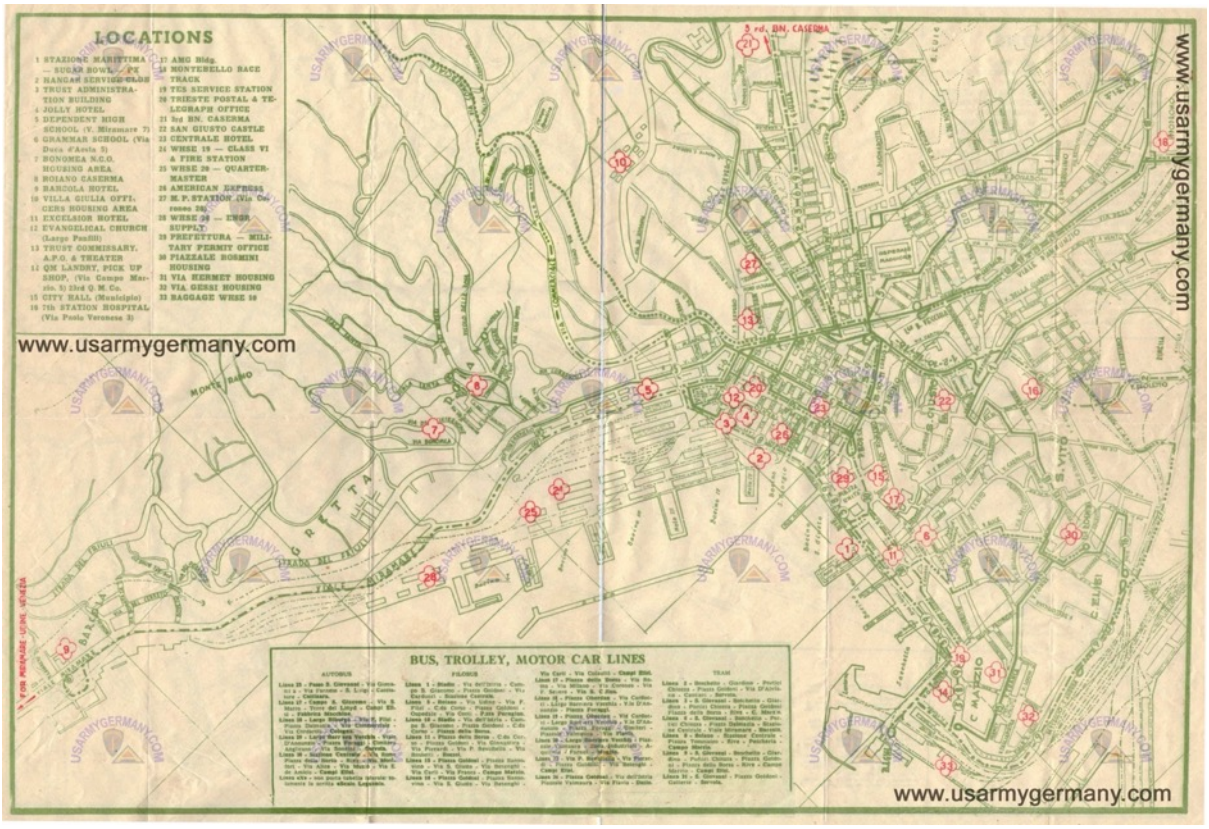

Figure 11: United States Army map of Trieste c. 1949.[31]

Many Triestines had fought for the Italian army, faced conscription in the German army, or fought with the Italian or Yugoslav partisan forces. Some of the Triestines became German prisoners of war after the Italian surrender in 1943, with both Umberto Fumi and Alessandro Zanier from the Trieste sample being interred in Rhodes. Aldo Fumi recalled that his father Umberto found the time there pleasant enough as he was a musician and the guards enjoyed evening entertainment with Fumi on his trumpet.[32] Gianni Zanier recalled his father found the guards not overly harsh as the camp was run by Austrians rather than Germans.[33] After Archimedes Biasin was conscripted into the German army and then defected to the Yugoslav partisans, he became the mayor of a small town when he was only 19, before he returned to Trieste. Another member of the Trieste sample, Egidio Guidetti, enlisted as an Italian soldier and then defected to the Italian partisans after 1943, eventually

[31] US Army Germany, 'Map of the city of Trieste with TRUST facilities', c. early 1950s, <http://www.usarmygermany.com/Sont.htm>, accessed 13 May 2021

[32] Interview with Aldo Fumi [interviewed by B. Biasin], (Hawthorn, Australia, 11 May 2021).

[33] Interview with Fulvio Zanier.

returning to Trieste after the city was liberated.[34] These young men came back to a broken city embroiled and divided by politics.

The Triestines were *cittadini* (townspeople) and this influenced their lives and their employment. Before and during the war many of the Triestines possessed some form of trade qualification, often associated with the maritime nature of the city, such as mechanic, fitter and turner, boilermaker, or other mechanical trade employment. An example from the sample is Alberto Campana who worked as an electric car welder in the city. The Campana family lived at Via Ponziana 6, Trieste, an area of three-level buildings with apartments in the hills behind the main centre of the city.[35] Another from the sample group is Marcello Pellis, a highly qualified specialised metal turner who worked within the maritime industry. Pellis started as an apprentice turner in 1942 and by 1952 was a specialised metal turner. The extended Pellis family, consisting of two brothers and their wives, who were sisters, and their three children across the two families, lived together at Via Cristoforo Columbo 14, a small neighbourhood area of multi-level apartments in the hills of Trieste.[36] Even during the declining years of the war and under AMG control, the Maritime industry played a significant economic role within the city. The industries and businesses either directly or indirectly involved in the maritime nature of the city employed many Triestines. These businesses worked on the maintenance and supply of shipping in the port, as well as shipbuilding in Monfalcone, 30 kilometres from Trieste. While employment in these industries was available, it was still limited by the economic strain the city faced, thus causing less shipping and trade to arrive in the city.

Motor mechanics was also a common source of employment in post-war Trieste. Some of this was at times related to the maritime industry, such as ship and

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[34] Interview with Angelo Giudetti [interviewed by B. Biasin], (Essendon, Australia, 6 May 2021).

[35] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 1414556, CAMPANA Alberto born 21 February 1934; Laura (nee Ciuffi) born 2 January 1937 - Italian - travelled per ship FLAMINIA departing in 1955 under Australian Italian Assisted Passage Scheme', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1955.

[36] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 1209984, PELLIS Marcello born 20 December 1923; Arles (nee Paulin) born 21 September 1925; Giorgio born 26 October 1946; Sergio born 16 January 1953 - Italian - travelled per TOSCANA under Australian Italian Assisted Passage Scheme', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1956.

truck engines, as well as general motor vehicle mechanics. The level of work was also supplemented by the AMG and the maintenance of their large number of vehicles. Umberto Fumi and Virgilio Pigo, both part of the sample group, worked as mechanics in the Free Territory of Trieste. Fumi worked as a specialized truck motor mechanic, while Pigo worked as a motor vehicle mechanic.[37] The motor vehicle support industry gave the Triestines stable employment as well as trade qualifications that could easily be transferred to Australia.

As the soldiers and partisans returned to Trieste, they also went back to their previous employment. Archimedes Biasin resumed his work as a photographer for Avanzo until 1952, after which he sought work where he could as either a photographer or as a labourer. The Biasin family lived at Scala Santa 40, Trieste, a steep winding road that climbed up the hills behind the port of Trieste. The two-room apartment was shared with Lia Biasin's parents and sister, and the Biasin family slept in the living area.[38] This untenable position of sporadic work and unavailability of suitable or affordable accommodation led the Biasin family to decide to migrate. Due to the lack of employment opportunities in Trieste following the second world war young people found employment where they could. Aldo Birsa, also from the sample, who migrated in 1954 aged nineteen, is an example of this. While of a working age, he could only find work as a general labourer for various businesses around Trieste, and was unemployed at the time of his application to migrate. With the return of soldiers and experienced tradespeople in Trieste, job opportunities were scarce for unskilled young men and women and the dream of working in Australia became an enticing prospect.

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[37] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 7679683, FUMI Umberto born 26 August 1922; Paola (nee Rumin) born 21 April 1924; Aldo born 3 February 1948; Gianni born 30 September 1949 - Italian - travelled per AURELIA in May 1956', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1956; NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 1220224, PIGO Virgilio born 6 April 1930 - Italian - travelled per TOSCANA under Australian Italian Assisted Passage Scheme', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1955; Interview with Aldo Fumi.

[38] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 147511, Biasin'; Interview with Mario Biasin [interviewed by B. Biasin], (South Melbourne, Australia, 11 July 2021).

The Allied Military Government also established the *Polizia Civile (*Civil Police), a local police force led by British Lieutenant Colonel Gerald Richardson, a former Scotland Yard officer, that employed almost 15,000 Triestine during its ten-year existence. The pro-Italian factions in Trieste saw the *Polizia Civile* as stooges of the AMG, especially due to their use of force to supress various riots and protests. The *Polizia Civile* started being demonised by the press and 'seen as an organ of opposition to Italy'.[39] After Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste was transferred to Italian control in 1954, many of these police officers lost their jobs. This led to almost 2,000 former AMG police officers to choose to migrate to Australia. One of them was Alessandro Zanier, from our Trieste sample. He and his family lived at Strada Vecchia dell'Istria 167 which was a mixed industrial and commercial district with small two- or three-room apartments in multi-level buildings. Gianni Zanier recalls his parents discussing Trieste, after their arrival in Melbourne, with much joy, even the hardships of the war.[40] Fulvio Zanier recalls the catalyst for the family to migrate focused on the treatment his father received as a *Polizia Civile* officer and the loss of work, as well as some friends who previously migrated to Australia.[41] As with many other AMG police officers, the pressure and contempt they received from pro-Italian supporters was extreme: Gianni Zanier recalled a story his father told about one night when his patrol was ambushed and they forcibly threw Zanier and his colleagues into the bay of Trieste. Zanier had never learnt to swim so it was only by having his fellow police officers with him that his life could be saved.[42]

Along with the Zanier family, the male heads of the De Marchi, the Delizza, the Bois, the Cesar and the Giudetti families from the sample also worked for the *Polizia Civile.* Giordino De Marchi worked for the police and then for the police administration as a corporal; Giuseppe Cesar was also a corporal, while Francesco Delizza and Egidio Giudetti were employed as guards. Egidio Giudetti started as a mine sweeper before he joined the police force. He told his family later that while on patrol a friend

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[39] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* pp. 25-26.

[40] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[41] Interview with Fulvio Zanier.

[42] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

stepped on a mine and died.[43] Carlo Baldassi and Luigi Bratus also worked as guards for the financial police corps, also under the auspices of the AMG. Therefore, when the AMG commenced the process of departing Trieste, employment opportunities began to dry up, a further inducement for more Triestines to emigrate. Of the eight families discussed here, all of them except the Guidetti family migrated on the *Flaminia* in 1955, which included many former AMG police guards and finance police guards, so many of the families knew each other.

In an urban environment the supply of food is of paramount importance. The butcher trade was a necessary and highly employable trade in the city. Of the sample who migrated to Melbourne, Guerino Vidotto was a qualified butcher and Angelo Giudetti an apprentice butcher before they migrated. Other prominent urban trades included that of chef, like Carlo Baldassi from the sample, or a baker, or grocer.[44]

The women in Trieste worked as secretaries or clerks for businesses or for the AMG, as well as in retail and hospitality in the city. Paola Fumi (nee Rumin) from the sample earned a place in the honour roll of her school and worked as clerk for the Trieste newspaper *Il Piccolo* before she married Umberto Fumi in 1947. Once she married, she was expected to become a housewife and raise the expected coming family. Paola Fumi had never cooked before and learnt to cook from her mother-in-law; subsequently she stayed home to raise the family first in Trieste and later in Melbourne.[45] Lucia Pigo, who married Virgilio by proxy after Virgilio migrated to Australia in 1955, worked as a shop assistant in Trieste before she migrated to join her husband in 1956.[46] Angelo Giudetti's mother worked as a maid for an American family in Trieste and then for a doctors' family after the AMG left Trieste.[47] The

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[43] Interview with Angelo Giudetti.

[44] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 1462042, BALDASSI Carlo born 21 May 1923; Bianca (nee Darini) born 11 May 1924; Adriana born 23 May 1949; Sabina born 2 September 1954 - Italian - travelled per ship FLAMINIA departing in 1955 under Italian Australian Migration Agreement', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1955.

[45] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

[46] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 7681244, PIGO Lucia born 21 May 1930 - Italian - travelled per AURELIA in October 1956', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1956.

[47] Interview with Angelo Giudetti.

expectation for women in Trieste centred generally around being a housewife, the support of their husband in his work, and raising the family. The limited employment options for women in Trieste included clerical, retail, or cleaning work.

The interest in Trieste from the western powers, especially from the United States, waned in the early 1950s as the Cold War escalated in other regions of the world and the Korean War began. In 1952, the United Kingdom, the United States and Italy signed a memorandum of understanding that asserted greater Italian influence in Zone A of the Free Territory of Trieste. The western powers agreed to the memorandum based upon the greater influence Yugoslavia was having in Zone B.[48] While the Italian economy began to grow with the assistance of the Marshall Plan, Trieste did not benefit greatly. The Italian government also actively promoted its citizens to emigrate, and Italian Prime Minister Alcide De Gasperi exhorted Italians to 'learn a new language and emigrate'; under this influence between 1947 and 1950, 20,000 Italians emigrated to Australia.[49] The uncertainty, bleak economic conditions and housing crisis led many Triestines to choose to migrate. Those that worked for the AMG as police began to be demonised by the pro-Italian press and indiscriminately tarred with being anti-Italian, so they sought a way out of their predicament. In 1954 the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM) established a quota of three thousand Triestines to emigrate to Australia.[50] The first ship to leave Trieste in March 1954 was the *Castel Verde* which transported the first 650 Triestines and their families to Australia.[51]

The mass migration of close to ten per cent of the population of Trieste, almost 20,000 people, to Australia in seven years, had a profound impact on the city and the immigrants themselves. Almost every family saw a loved one leave for the Antipodes which caused heartbreak and loss in Trieste, as well as for the Triestines that emigrated. The considerations to emigrate varied and were not only limited to

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[48] Australia Department of Foreign Affairs and Australia Department of External Affairs, 'Current Notes on International Affairs', vol. 23, no. 5, 1952, pp. 234-235.

[49] Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia,* p. 125.

[50] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 47.

[51] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 49.

economic reasons. The political and social atmosphere as well as the housing crisis influenced the decision to emigrate. Economically the city stagnated, with the AMG artificially propping up the economy of Trieste. The imminent retreat of the AMG in the mid-1950s caused job losses, as well as the loss of almost 25 million lira that the AMG spent every day in the local economy.[52] The departure of the AMG affected those directly employed by them, as well as the severe impact on small businesses in Trieste that provided services to the AMG. Politically and socially the atmosphere in Trieste was charged with the Cold War tension hanging over the city. This led to conflict between the socialist faction and Slovenian minority who sought for the city to become part of Yugoslavia, and the irredentist conservative faction who sought for Trieste to be 'redeemed' by Italy. There was also an influx of *esuli* (exiles), Italian-speaking refugees from Istria escaping Yugoslavian controlled zone B for AMG controlled zone A. The AMG and Italians welcomed the *esuli* as being anti-communist and they added to the Italian majority in Trieste. The Italian and AMG pushed the non-Italian *esuli* to migrate while they welcomed the Italian *esuli* and settled them in Trieste. The *esuli* enjoyed privileges denied to the local Triestines, with priority in the assignment of jobs and housing.[53] This caused conflict with the Triestines, who faced rising unemployment and a housing crisis, and saw the *esuli* who entered the city with jobs and housing ready for them. As the *Flaminia* readied to set sail on 16 July 1955, a truck carrying the personal belongings of *esuli* drove past symbolising the paradox of Triestines being forced to migrate as more *esuli* arrived in the city, as the *Corriere di Trieste* called 'the incessant arrival of the *estranei* (strangers)'.[54] While many either sought 'redemption' by Italy or unification with Yugoslavia, others just wanted Trieste to be left alone. The arrival of the *esuli* only amplified the already difficult housing situation in Trieste. Most Triestines belonged to extended families that lived in small two- or three-room apartments, while the government housed the *esuli* in newly built accommodation. These factors led to a generation of young Triestine men, women, and families to seek new opportunities in the Antipodes. Despite the United States and Canada often being the preferred destination of Italian immigrants, Australia was

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[52] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 26.

[53] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 17.

[54] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* pp. 56-57.

the first to enter into a migration agreement with Trieste, so Australia became not only the preferred destination, but initially the only option available.

Once the young Triestines made the fateful decision to migrate they faced an interview process to ensure their suitability as a 'new Australian'. The Australian authorities appreciated migrants from Trieste for their technical know-how and high levels of literacy.[55] Despite this, the Australian Government refused to recognise the Triestines' qualifications and wanted many hands for the increased labour required in Australia. This can be seen on the immigration documents, where generally no matter the previous employment history, most Trieste migrants were classified as suitable for general labour. Giordino Demarchi, a corporal in the *Polizia Civile* was described as follows:

> The candidate has no history of manual work. Has some notions of the English language. Ideal as a general labourer.[56]

Alessandro Zanier who worked a guard with the *Polizia Civile* from 1947 through to 1955 was classified as an ideal wood machinist as he worked previously as an apprentice carpenter, this meant that his eight years of police service was ignored while his short time as an apprentice carpenter became more important to the Australian labour market.[57] This is consistent for all the migration forms relating to our sample of Triestines, with most being categorised as general or manual labour despite their previous employment history. While Trieste lost the qualified and experienced young adult workers, Australia ignored these qualifications to add more labourers into its labour market. The broad employment knowledge and experience of the Trieste *cittadini* was reduced into the need of urban manual labourers in Australia.

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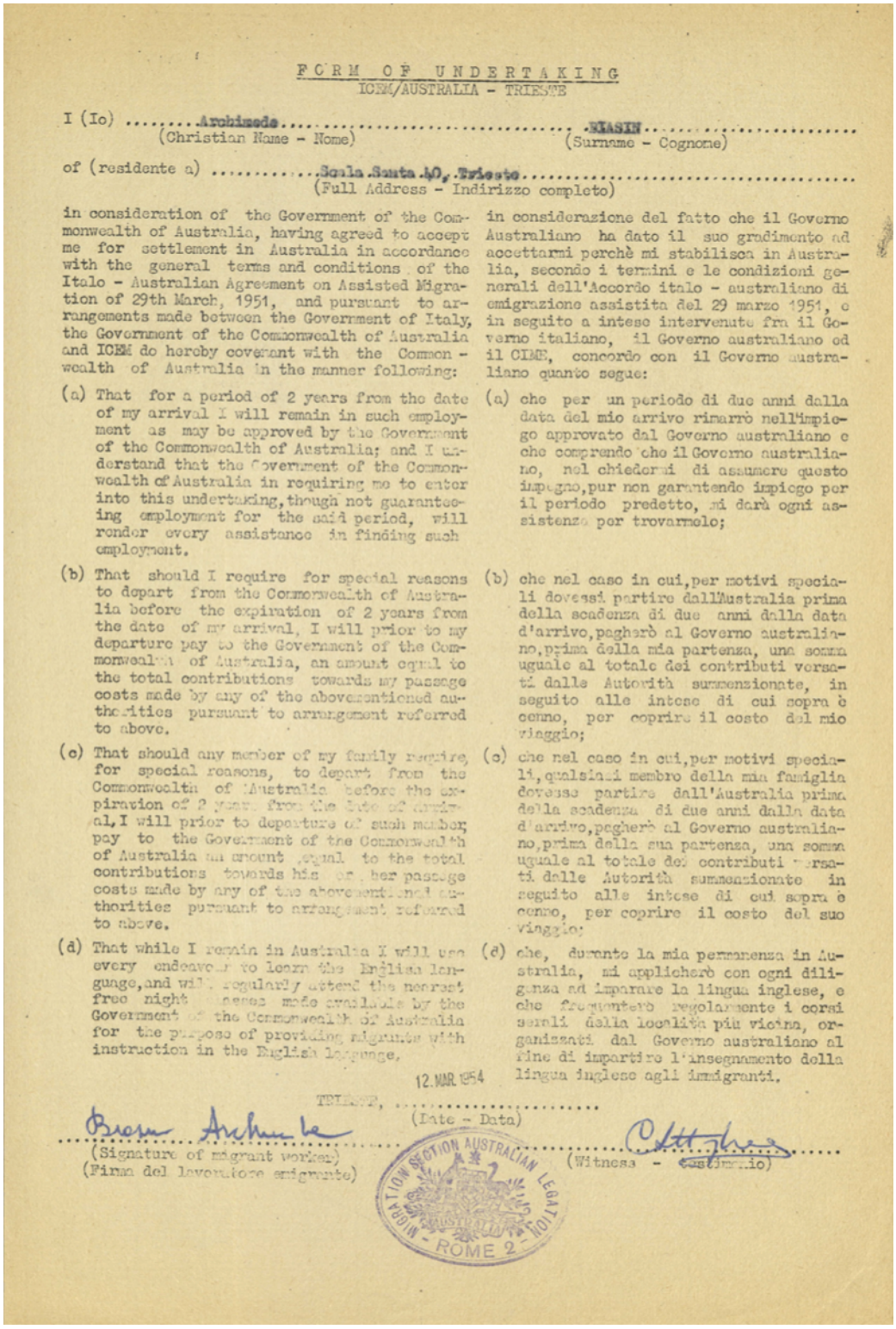
[55] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 53.

[56] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 1414452, DEMARCHI Giordano born 30 January 1922; Giuseppina (nee Scaravaggi) born 18 March 1925; Dino born 1 September 1944 - Italian - travelled per ship FLAMINIA departing in 1955 under Australian Italian Assisted Passage Scheme', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1955.

[57] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 1414516, ZANIER Alessandro born 15 November 1922; Iolanda (nee Codnig) born 8 May 1925; Fulvio born 12 January 1948; Gianni born 22 May 1953 - Italian - travelled per ship FLAMINIA departing in 1955 under Australian Italian Assisted Passage Scheme', *National Archives of Australia,* Canberra, 1955.

Every Triestine migrant under the IECM and the assisted migration program faced a requirement to sign a declaration stating that while the 'Australian government would not guarantee employment for the period of two years, they shall render every assistance in finding such employment' (Figure 12). The IECM became bewildered by the number of skilled people being allowed to depart, when Italy's interests would have been better served in keeping them in Trieste.[58] Young, urban, qualified men, women and families made the decision to migrate halfway around the world. They left a city convulsed by discord in order to face an exciting journey to a new land.

[58] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 59.



FORM OF UNDERTAKING
ICEM/AUSTRALIA - TRIESTE

I (Io) ..... Archimede ..... BIASIN .....
(Christian Name - Nome) (Surname - Cognome)

of (residente a) ..... Scala Santa 40, Trieste .....
(Full Address - Indirizzo completo)

in consideration of the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, having agreed to accept me for settlement in Australia in accordance with the general terms and conditions of the Italo - Australian Agreement on Assisted Migration of 29th March, 1951, and pursuant to arrangements made between the Government of Italy, the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia and ICEM do hereby covenant with the Commonwealth of Australia in the manner following:

(a) That for a period of 2 years from the date of my arrival I will remain in such employment as may be approved by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia; and I understand that the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia in requiring me to enter into this undertaking, though not guaranteeing employment for the said period, will render every assistance in finding such employment.

(b) That should I require for special reasons to depart from the Commonwealth of Australia before the expiration of 2 years from the date of my arrival, I will prior to my departure pay to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, an amount equal to the total contributions towards my passage costs made by any of the abovementioned authorities pursuant to arrangement referred to above.

(c) That should any member of my family require, for special reasons, to depart from the Commonwealth of Australia before the expiration of 2 years from the date of arrival, I will prior to departure of such member pay to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia an amount equal to the total contributions towards his or her passage costs made by any of the abovementioned authorities pursuant to arrangement referred to above.

(d) That while I remain in Australia I will use every endeavour to learn the English language, and will regularly attend the nearest free night classes made available by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia for the purpose of providing migrants with instruction in the English language.

in considerazione del fatto che il Governo Australiano ha dato il suo gradimento ad accettarmi perchè mi stabilisca in Australia, secondo i termini e le condizioni generali dell'Accordo italo - australiano di emigrazione assistita del 29 marzo 1951, e in seguito a intese intervenute fra il Governo italiano, il Governo australiano ed il CIME, concordo con il Governo australiano quanto segue:

(a) che per un periodo di due anni dalla data del mio arrivo rimarrò nell'impiego approvato dal Governo australiano e che comprendo che il Governo australiano, nel chiedermi di assumere questo impegno, pur non garantendo impiego per il periodo predetto, mi darà ogni assistenza per trovarmelo;

(b) che nel caso in cui, per motivi speciali dovessi partire dall'Australia prima della scadenza di due anni dalla data d'arrivo, pagherò al Governo australiano, prima della mia partenza, una somma uguale al totale dei contributi versati dalle Autorità summenzionate, in seguito alle intese di cui sopra è cenno, per coprire il costo del mio viaggio;

(c) che nel caso in cui, per motivi speciali, qualsiasi membro della mia famiglia dovesse partire dall'Australia prima della scadenza di due anni dalla data d'arrivo, pagherò al Governo australiano, prima della sua partenza, una somma uguale al totale dei contributi versati dalle Autorità summenzionate in seguito alle intese di cui sopra è cenno, per coprire il costo del suo viaggio;

(d) che, durante la mia permanenza in Australia, mi applicherò con ogni diligenza ad imparare la lingua inglese, e che frequenterò regolarmente i corsi serali della località più vicina, organizzati dal Governo australiano al fine di impartire l'insegnamento della lingua inglese agli immigranti.

TRIESTE, 12 MAR 1954
(Date - Data)

Biasin Archimede
(Signature of migrant worker)
(Firma del lavoratore emigrante)

(Witness - Testimonio)

MIGRATION SECTION AUSTRALIAN LEGATION ROME 2

Figure 12: IECM form stating the obligations of the migrant and the Australian government.[59]

[59] NAA, 'Series A2478, Item 147511, Biasin'.

The journey to Melbourne

The *Castel Verde* towered above the crowded streets and port of Trieste as the ship prepared for the long journey to Australia. A new life awaited these courageous and bold immigrants as they sadly farewelled their family and friends, many not realising they would never see them again. The excitement, fear, sorrow, and joy were palpable and permeated the atmosphere of Trieste.

Figure 13: Crowds in Trieste watch as *Castel Verde* departs, 1954.[60]

Over the period of 1954 to 1961, many ships departed Trieste and carried the thousands of Triestines who sought a new life in Australia. On the ships, the families endured separation, with men in one section and women and children in another. The journeys took on average about six weeks, with the Suez Canal making the long

[60] Australian National Maritime Museum, 'Object no: ANMS0214(035), Crowds in Trieste watch as *Castel Verde* departs transporting migrants to Australia, 1953-1954', *ANMM,* 1954.

journey much shorter. The reasonably well-appointed ships possessed common areas where the migrants enjoyed singing, dancing and frivolity on board. 'Even before their arrival the Triestine as well as other non-English speaking migrants were unequivocally told to cast off their customs, traditions, language and memories and "assimilate" into the white, Anglo-Saxon and Protestant way of Australian life' according to historian Gianfranco Cresciani.[61] What follows is a list (Table 2) of the sampled Triestine migrants and the ships on which they migrated.

Table 2: List of Triestine migrants and the ships on which they migrated.

Family Name	**Family Makeup**	**Year Migrated**	**Ship**
Baldassi	Mother, father and two children	1955	*Flaminia*
Biasin	Mother, father and one child	1954	*Castel Verde*
Birsa	Single Male	1954	*Castel Verde*
Birsa	Single Female (widow)	1963	Migrated via aeroplane
Bois	Mother, father and one child	1955	*Flaminia*
Campana	Couple	1955	*Flaminia*
Cesar	Mother, father and one child	1955	*Flaminia*
Ciolli	Mother, father and one child	1954	*Castel Verde*
Del Conte	Mother, father and four children	1957	*Flaminia*
De Marchi	Mother, Father and one child	1955	*Flaminia*
Delizza	Couple	1955	*Flaminia*
Fumi	Mother, Father and two children	1956	*Aurelia*
Giudetti	Mother, Father and four children	1961	*Australia*
Pellis	Mother, Father and one child	1956	*Fairsea*
Pellis	Mother, Father and three children	1955	*Toscana*
Pigo	Single Male and then wife joined him.	1955 & 1956	*Toscana & Aurelia*
Ruan	Father separately and then mother and daughter	1956	*Fairsea & Flaminia*
Vidotto	Mother, Father and daughter	1960	*Neptunia*
Vidotto	Single Male	1961	*Flaminia*
Zanier	Mother, Father and two children	1955	*Flaminia*

[61] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 65.

The first ship, the *Castel Verde*, departed Trieste in 1954 and carried the initial Triestine migrants under the IECM scheme. The ship's passengers included some of the AMG *Polizia Civile* officers and their families, as well as other Triestine migrants who met the requirements of the IECM. The Biasin, Ciolli and Birsa families all migrated on this historic first ship. The migrants spent much of their time socialising on the long journey to Melbourne. On many of the journeys, a special event was held as they crossed the Equator when a diploma was presented to neophytes by King Neptune.[62] Upon arrival in Melbourne at Station Pier, Port Melbourne, the Biasin family disembarked; it was after six in the evening, and they found a quiet city. All the public houses, restaurants and cafes were closed. As they were used to meeting in cafes and bars near *Piazza Unitá,* this was the first of their many shocks in this new culture.

Figure 14: Crossing the Equator event with King Neptune on the *Castel Verde* 1954, showing the humour and atmosphere onboard the ship. (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection).

The *Flaminia* set sail on 16 July 1955 with 833 emigrants on board. Analysis of the immigration forms available shows that fourteen household heads on the *Flaminia* worked as guards for the *Polizia Civile,* with one being employed as the tailor for the force. Another four household heads worked as finance guards by the AMG, so nineteen households had employment with the *Polizia Civile* or the AMG just on this one vessel. Gianni Zanier recalls that his family enjoyed the stop in Colombo, yet

[62] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 62.

he and his father endured illness with a virus and seasickness.[63] The *Flaminia* experienced an accident in Fremantle and oil spilled over much of the luggage, so many migrants arrived in Melbourne with literally just the clothes on their back. The *Toscana* arrived later in 1955 and carried Favreto Pigo and members of the Pellis family. The *Flaminia, Toscana, Aurelia* and *Fairsea* continued from 1956 onwards as shuttle services between Trieste and Australia, augmented by departures form Genoa as well.[64]

Various voyages of the *Flaminia* conveyed the Ruan family in 1956, the Del Conte family in 1957, and then Guerino Vidotto in 1961. The *Aurelia* also brought Lucia Pigo and the Fumi family in 1956. Aldo Fumi recalled that the ship stopped in Singapore and then travelled via Cairns rather than Fremantle. Eight-year-old Fumi enjoyed the journey, even though his father was separated in men's quarters.[65] The Giudetti family migrated in 1961 on the *Australia*, to join family who arrived in Melbourne in 1955 and 1958. The number of ships and migrants started to abate later in the 1950s, with the last ships that carried Triestines arriving in 1961. Lucia Birsa in the sample migrated via aeroplane in 1963 as a widow to join her son Aldo in Melbourne.

After 1961, the migration from Trieste effectively ceased as the Italian Australian migration program paused due to riots at Bonegilla migrant camp, with the Italian Government not renewing its assisted migration program until 1967.[66] By this time the Italian economic miracle was apparent, and the mass migration of Italians to Australia began to slow.[67] Bonegilla migrant camp near Albury, a former army barracks converted into a migrant settlement camp, became the first home in Australia for many of the Triestine migrants.

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[63] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[64] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 60.

[65] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

[66] Pennay, 'The Bonegilla Riot, July 1961: Maintaining Favourable Impressions of the Postwar Immigration Program'

[67] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity,* p. 60.

Chapter 5: Such is the dream, Triestine settlement in Melbourne

Leaving home, outward bound, all so blurry
Pack your bags, say goodbye, in a hurry
A trail I rode, the boat I sailed, across the ocean
Searching for a better life, a bright horizon

Such is the dream of an immigrant
Such is the hope of the new arrival
Such is the bravery of those who dared
Such is the world we could share

Laying down in a single bed, brothers on the other side
Didn't matter there was no shame, no need to understand
Waking up, feeling hope, not despair
Looking for a neighbour who will always be there

Leaving there, living free, feeling grounded
Open eyes, open mind, new beginnings you will find[1]

The song's lyrics are an insightful and nostalgic view of how the Triestines, as well as many other migrants, viewed the opportunities as an immigrant in Australia. The bravery, hope and dreams of the immigrant, who struggled yet did not complain but moved on with hope in their new lives. However, the lyrics do glide over several key issues of the Triestine migration to Melbourne, such as Bonegilla, the role of women, as well as the discrimination that many migrants faced.

[1] A. Fumi, *Such is the Dream (Song),* 2019,

Bonegilla, a place of no hope, or a new beginning?

In the post-second world war mass immigration to Australia, the government sent most of the non-British immigrants to migrant camps after their arrival. Bonegilla migrant camp near Albury became the most infamous. Many of the Triestine migrants in the sample lived at Bonegilla for some time after their arrival in Australia. Some spent as few as two weeks at the camp while one family spent almost three years there. Unusually, the Triestines lived in the barracks accommodation as family units, while most migrants had their families separated with men in one section and women and children in another. The Triestines went to block 10, while the other migrants went to block 13.[2] This created a sense of community even at the beginning of their migratory experience in Australia. The culture shock of *cittadini* finding themselves in a rural environment was mitigated by the camaraderie and connection they enjoyed by being barracked together.[3] The rough and ready accommodations included converted army barracks, with no hot water, no cooking facilities and no heating or cooling. Odina Demarchi, a Triestine migrant who settled in Sydney, stayed one night at Bonegilla before her family moved to the migrant camp at Greta in New South Wales. Demarchi said the food was abundant, yet her family could not get used to the strange new dishes. Cooking in the huts was not technically permitted; however, the authorities turned a blind eye while Demarchi bought a small spirit cooker from a local shop so she could cook meals for her family. The Triestines all yearned for some home-cooked food, especially gnocchi, so Demarchi began making them on her spirit cooker over a whole day and used eight bottles of spirit fuel in the process. Demarchi says that 'gnocchi had never tasted so good, and they savoured every bite'.[4] While this occurred at Greta migrant camp, Triestine families at Bonegilla, such as the Fumi and Biasin families, also 'illegally' cooked their own food in their accommodations.[5] A semblance of family life characterised the barracks accommodation provided to the Triestine migrants at Bonegilla (Figure 15).

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[2] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 110.

[3] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

[4] O. Demarchi, 'Diary of an Immigrant from Trieste', *Italian Historical Society Journal*, vol. 12, no. 1, 2004, p. 12.

[5] Interview with Mario Biasin; Interview with Aldo Fumi.

Figure 15: Barracks accommodation at Bonegilla, 1954 showing the sparse and austere barracks, with children playing under the watchful eyes of their mothers. (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection).

Glenda Sluga described Bonegilla as a 'place of no hope', yet she clarified that this description is not the only acceptable one and there are many versions of Bonegilla.[6] For the Triestines, Bonegilla was perceived differently, precisely because the families lived together rather than being separated, and the Triestines lived in one block together, forming their own community within Bonegilla. The Triestines, like some other migrant groups, derived a sense of collective identity from their Bonegilla connection.[7] Some Triestines only lived in Bonegilla for a few weeks, so it was an entirely transitory experience, with many who saw it as an adventurous part of their migratory journey. Others spent months or even years in Bonegilla, yet even they

[6] G. Sluga, *Bonegilla, 'A Place of No Hope'*, Melbourne University History Monographs: no. 5, Melbourne, History Dept., University of Melbourne, 1988, p. xii.

[7] A. Dellios, *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre*, Melbourne, Melbourne University Publishing, 2017, pp. Ebook: Introduction, Para 16.

saw it as part of their migratory experience and while they endured undesirable aspects, it was not always viewed as entirely negative. Aldo Fumi recalled that his family spent six months in Bonegilla and how in contrast to the rest of the camp, where the men were separated from the women and children, they enjoyed being barracked together as a family.[8] The Biasin family spent nine months in Bonegilla: while they found problems with the poor quality of the barracks, the dislike of the Australian food such as mutton, and the lack of hot water, heating, or cooling, they overall enjoyed their time there. Mutton was a staple dish at Bonegilla and many other migrants recall mutton as such a common dish that they continued to have an aversion to it for the rest of their lives.[9] Archimedes Biasin worked as a photographer and earned a living by taking family portraits of the migrants in the camp, while Lia Biasin worked as an English teacher for the Italian migrants, as her proficiency in the language was better than most of the newly arrived immigrants. The family also enjoyed picnics near the lake and trips to Albury as well as hunting around the camp.[10] The Pellis family also lived in the camp for almost three years as Mario sought work; he eventually found employment where his brother Marcello worked in Melbourne.[11] For some Triestines, work was easy to find and their time in Bonegilla was very short, while for others, scarce employment opportunities meant they spent months at Bonegilla, like the Fumi family. Aldo Fumi recalled his father had employment lined up for when the family arrived in Melbourne, yet the role never eventuated so they lived at Bonegilla for six months.[12] The Triestines eventually relocated to Sydney, Geelong and Melbourne from Bonegilla and followed either family and friends or where the work was situated. For the Triestines, Bonegilla was a stepping stone in their migration to make their home in Melbourne and not a place of no hope.

[8] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

[9] Dellios, *Histories of Controversy: Bonegilla Migrant Centre,* pp. Ebook: Chapter 2, para 14.

[10] Interview with Mario Biasin.

[11] Interview with Renato Raimondi [interviewed by B. Biasin], (Essendon, Australia, 1 April 2021).

[12] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

Figure 16: Picnic at Bonegilla 1954, with signs stating the rules in place, but only in English. (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection).

Settlement in inner suburban Melbourne

The dinging and rattle of trams and the rumble of automobile motors greeted the new arrivals in Melbourne. Most Italian migration was through migratory chains, where usually a male from an Italian village established a bridgehead and established himself in employment and a place to live. He was then joined by his wife, children, relatives, and friends.[13] Most post-war Italian immigrants originated from the south, or the rural towns of the northern Veneto and Friuli Venezia Giulia regions, and these rural migrants, the *contadini,* relocated and concentrated in Australia's growing industrialised cities. The better educated and skilled migrants, such as those from Trieste, the *cittadini,* failed to have their qualifications recognised and were subsequently forced into unskilled manual work.[14] The Triestine migrants also differed from most Italian migrants in that they generally migrated as nuclear family groups from 1954 onwards. These urban Triestines enjoyed their *passeggiata* (evening walk),

[13] Castles et al., *Australia's Italians,* pp. 43-44.

[14] Castles et al., *Australia's Italians,* pp. 42-43.

where they met friends and family at the cafes and bars in Trieste in the evening, but after they arrived in Melbourne these families faced the new experience of six o'clock closing, with nary an open café, restaurant or bar in sight,

The Commonwealth Employment Service (CES) at Bonegilla was where the Triestine migrants went to look for suitable employment. The industrial sector was the Triestines' first point of entry for work and most Triestines generally experienced little trouble finding work.[15] However, the CES in Bonegilla focused on the placement of people in employment quickly, rather than taking into consideration previous experience and qualifications, and the Triestines' initial expectations about skilled employment were often not met.[16] Many migrants found work where they could, such as the Zanier and Biasin families in the Geelong suburb of Belmont. The Biasin family only stayed a few years in Belmont before they relocated to the Melbourne suburb of Essendon as more suitable employment options opened up for Archimedes Biasin. Allesandro Zanier found work initially at International Harvester, a farm machinery company, and then for the Ford Motor Company, both factories in Norlane only 10 kilometres from their home in Belmont.[17]

The policy of assimilation and lack of government support in access to employment and housing has a great impact on the migrant community in their settlement phase. The Australian Government wanted to avoid 'ethnic enclaves' and expected migrants to 'assimilate' as 'new Australians', and to live and work among Australians. The children went to school and were forced to speak English with no special classes to help them learn a new language.[18] Examples of the negative issues of assimilation are apparent within the Triestine sample. The young Triestine children entered primary school, usually Catholic schools, barely spoke a word of English and learnt the new language on the run.[19] For older Triestine children, such as Angelo Giudetti, learning English was an even greater struggle. Giudetti arrived in 1961 as

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[15] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 152.

[16] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 157.

[17] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[18] Castles et al., *Australia's Italians,* pp. 51-52.

[19] Interview with Mario Biasin; Interview with Aldo Fumi; Interview with Gianni Zanier.

an apprentice butcher, when he was fourteen years old; as he did not attend school in Melbourne this limited his ability to learn English. This experience of feeling like an outsider, led him to join the local Hells Angels chapter near the Melbourne suburb of Footscray, where he was a member for three months and was given a basic knowledge of English.[20] The older Triestine men and women eventually learnt English in their workplaces or from other family and friends.

Xenophobia permeated the lives of the Triestines and Italian migrants, and many Australians feared the 'Other' and what is different. Giorgio Mangiamele portrays this brilliantly in his movies about Italian migrant lives in Melbourne. He shows how some Australians were friendly and cared about the migrants, but many happily made fun of them, or feared their jobs being lost to the hard-working migrant. The lack of ability to speak English, and the food they ate, became a source of discrimination for people who just wanted to start a new life in Melbourne.[21] The young Triestine migrants too at times experienced discrimination as they grew up in Melbourne, and many quickly worked out ways to minimise it. Gianni Zanier recalls that because he and his brother were fairer of hair, possessed a more French-sounding surname and used Anglicised names at school - Eddie in place of Fulvio and John instead of Gianni - they faced little discrimination when younger.[22] Aldo Fumi recalled some derogatory comments, yet he felt he 'assimilated quickly, and by Grade 5 was captain of the Australian Rules team, so the discrimination was minimal'.[23] However, other young Triestines faced some form of discrimination in their formative years. Mario Biasin recalled walking home one day with his mother when a group of Australian boys accosted them and then proceeded to bend over and point at their bottoms and chant 'dagos go home!' ('Dago' was a derogatory term directed at immigrants from Italy and Greece.) The children either rose above the discrimination, ignored it, or proved themselves to be genuine 'new Australians'.

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[20] Interview with Angelo Giudetti.

[21] G. Mangiamele, *The Giorgio Mangiamele Collection (Film),* Kanopy Streaming, 2014, (The Spag 1960 (unreleased version) and The Spag 1962 (released version).

[22] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[23] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

The Triestines began their placemaking process in the rented rooms and houses of the inner north-western Melbourne suburbs of Ascot Vale, Moonee Ponds and Essendon. As Trieste was a cosmopolitan city socially built around the *passeggiata* through *Piazza Unitá,* and social gatherings in the coffee houses, the migrants transferred this social structure to Melbourne. Because the *passeggiata* was more difficult with the geographical spread of the migrants, families met socially at each other's houses. Gianni Zanier recalls that they would be

> having four to five families at their home or when they visited a home. All the children would play and there was always plenty of food as the parents chatted, and the men played cards, smoked, and drank, there was always laughter and music, such as when Umberto brought his trumpet.[24]

Without the central square or a coffee house to meet, the family home became the social centre of the Triestines' life. A typical Triestine gathering at a home would include everyone crowded around the table, sharing the exuberance of life together (Figure 17). All the Triestines would be well dressed, including the children, as required by the etiquette of the *passeggiata,* and an emphasis was placed on the social activities of sharing food and drink, and playing games and music.

Figure 17: Triestine migrants gathered at a house c. 1956. The table is covered with drinks, everyone is well-dressed and enjoying the shared community spirit. (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection).

[24] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

Despite Triestine migrants being listed as suitable for general labour by the Australian Government, the Trieste migrants eventually succeeded in finding employment related to their trade experience and qualifications. Umberto Fumi found work as a mechanic and the family rented in Ascot Vale near family friends. Fumi continued to work as a mechanic for the rest of his entire working life. Alberto Campana and Virgilio Pigo both found employment as boiler makers and welders; their superior trade knowledge made them sought-after employees. The trade of fitter and turner was a common source of employment related to the maritime economy of Trieste. Marcello Pellis was a renowned expert in the field. As the manufacturing industry grew in Melbourne, this produced a demand for unskilled labour in many factories and workplaces; however, a shortage of qualified and experienced trades in these industries soon became apparent. Unlike the Australian Government, employers valued and recognised the technical skills held by the Trieste migrants. This is where the Triestines slotted in with their superior trade experience; this led to Triestines being more employable and rarely unable to gain suitable employment. This is typified by Alessandro Zanier with experience as a wood machinist; he eventually found employment as a cabinet maker in Airport West where he thoroughly enjoyed his work until his retirement.[25] Statistical evidence of the success of Triestine migrants as compared to rural Italian migrants is unavailable due to the inability of census data to distinguish between Italian migrants from different regions or cities. Some evidence does exist to support the relative success of the Triestines as compared to the rural Italian migrants. The 1996 census indicated that 62.6 per cent of Italians in Australia earned less than $300 per week, compared with 50.8 per cent as the national average.[26] The Triestines found employment in skilled trades, while many Italian migrants found employment in unskilled labour. Skilled employment offered better salaries, therefore anecdotally indicating a higher level of employment and material well-being for the Triestines.

A popular urban trade for Triestines was butchery: qualified butchers Guerino Vidotto and Angelo Giudetti separately arrived in 1961. Their qualifications were recognised by the Australian government, unlike the earlier Triestines. Vidotto and

[25] Interview with Fulvio Zanier.

[26] Cresciani, *The Italians in Australia,* p. 142.

Giudetti both worked at Smorgons, a meatworks in Melbourne's western suburbs, which is where they met and became friends. Giudetti's uncle started his own butcher shop and later employed his nephew as a manager of the store. The urban trade of butchery was easily transferred from Trieste to Melbourne, with the lack of English being of less importance than in other trades.[27] Guerino, better known as 'Rino the Butcher', arrived as a qualified butcher and joined his sister and parents in Airport West. Rino would go on to become well known with his appearances on in the 1960s on the popular television show *In Melbourne Tonight*.[28]

Many of the women's designation on official paperwork, such as the immigration records, was listed as home duties or housewife, and some Triestine women continued in that role in Melbourne. Others found work in manufacturing, retail, or the hospitality sectors, such as the De Marchi family who ran a café and restaurant in Ascot Vale. Both Zanier brothers recalled their mother had never worked in a paid capacity while in Geelong, but once they moved to Airport West she worked at Grosby, a shoe manufacturer, for much of her life, with a short stint at a food manufacturing business, Chiko Rolls, where she could not stand the smell; she promptly returned to Grosby.[29] The women often worked to supplement their husband's income as they saved to purchase a home, although once the family was settled some women continued their employment while others returned to their lives of home duties.

Historian Adriana Nelli offers additional details on how Triestines in her sample sought the sense of the *passeggiata* and the enjoyment of meeting and socialising in the café afterwards. They in part found this in some established cafes in Melbourne such as the Legend in Bourke Street and later in cafes and restaurants owned by Triestines in Ascot Vale and Moonee Ponds.[30] During the 1950s, the Triestine men met at the Ascot Vale Hotel on the corner of Mount Alexander Road and Maribyrnong

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[27] Interview with Angelo Giudetti.

[28] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 171.

[29] Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[30] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, pp. 126 & 129-130.

Road. This was where the Triestine soccer club was formed. One Triestine, who was a young boy at this time, recalls:

> All the men sat in the beer garden drinking, smoking and talking as us children ran around and played under the bench seating. Every Sunday, almost religiously my father and I went to the pub meeting with the other Triestine boys and men.[31]

From out of these social meetings at cafes, restaurants, the pub, and people's homes, the idea of formalised clubs and societies began to form.

Finding the Dream

One common aim of the Italian and Triestine migrants in Melbourne was their desire to own their own home. In Melbourne in 1966, Italian home ownership was 82.3 per cent, comfortably above the 74.5 per cent for Australian-born household heads.[32] As the Triestine migrants settled into their work, with many employed in the same jobs for decades, they started to find their place in suburban Melbourne. Their trade skills and knowledge assisted in their initial employment, which after a few years led them to be able to purchase their first home. For the Triestines who lived in Ascot Vale, Moonee Ponds and Essendon, renting was expensive and the finances to purchase a home in these inner suburbs was out of reach for most. The older housing in these suburbs appealed less and the suburbs faced a period of decline, so many looked to build a new property with land. New house and land sites were being developed in the next ring of suburbs in the northwest of Melbourne, such as in Glenroy, Airport West, and Avondale Heights. These affordable house and land packages with land sizes around 500-600 square metres appealed to the Triestines. This was a shift from what the Triestines experienced before with shared small apartments in Trieste, to renting rooms in houses and with shared kitchen facilities in Melbourne, to now having a two- or three-bedroom house with a front and back yard. Having a home nurtured the migrant's sense of belonging and stability for the family.[33] In a letter back to family in Trieste, a Triestine child describes 'how the houses are all low and everyone has a

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[31] Interview with Mario Biasin.

[32] Burnley, *Urbanization in Australia,* p. 179.

[33] S. Supski, "It Was Another Skin': The Kitchen as Home for Australian Post-war Immigrant Women', *Gender, Place and Culture*, vol. 13, no. 2, 2006, p. 135.

garden where some people grow vegetables'.[34] Some families did find homes for themselves in Ascot Vale and Moonee Ponds, such as the Pellis families. One family lived at 163 The Parade, Ascot Vale and the other at 8 and then 7 Hopetoun Street, Moonee Ponds. Both families lived in these homes for the rest of their lives, found their place and made it their own.

Glenroy, Airport West and Avondale Heights became popular suburbs for Triestines, being well serviced by public transport. Other immigrants were moving into this area around this time - especially Italians - so the new residents felt a sense of community and place. This started from the shared experience of being immigrants, then to being Italian and finally to being Triestine. Later more Triestine migrants lived in Glenroy, such as the Vidotti family made up of Guerino and Rossana, both Triestine migrants who married in Australia and were living in that suburb by 1980. To raise their family of three children, the Zanier family built their home at 139 Halsey Road, Airport West, a weatherboard home. Many of the houses built were the eponymous yellow brick houses common in the late 1950s and through the 1960s (Figure 18).

Figure 18: 75 Augustine Terrace, Glenroy c. early 1960s, most new homes purchased by migrants in the late 1950s and through the 1960s were of this architectural design (courtesy Biasin Family Collection).

[34] M. Biasin, 'Letter to Zio and Nonno in Trieste', C. 1960.

Once the Triestines purchased their homes, whether an existing home or a new house and land package, they began to make their place and turn it into a true home for their family. This included small vegetable gardens and fruit trees such as lemons or apricots, something they could never do in their crammed apartments in Trieste or the shared housing in Melbourne. Italian migrants either built or modified their homes and signalled the geographical boundaries of their immigrant culture. The sign could be as subtle as a religious icon on the front door, to entire alterations that added Italo-Australian ornamentation to the home.[35] The Triestines followed this tradition and added symbolisms of Trieste throughout the home: this included plaques or stickers of the Triestine shield, the Alabarda, near the front door; and images of Trieste such as Castello Miramare, or San Giusto Cathedral. These images could be framed paintings, or painted plates (Figure 19), hung on the walls in pride of place and showing the cultural heritage of the Trieste migrants. The home included a good-sized kitchen, which the Triestine women made their own, with decorations and the food they prepared. The kitchen became a central gathering place for family and friends, like Lia Biasin and Laura Campana who met at each other's houses for coffee every week.[36] The furniture was generally basic, sturdy, well made for purpose but durable, with little extravagance except at times for some display cabinets.

[35] Pascoe, *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage,* p. 154.

[36] Interview with Denis Campana; Supski, "It Was Another Skin".

Figure 19: Painted plates from a Triestine home in Melbourne with images of Trieste landmarks Castello di Miramare and San Giusto Cathedral (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection)

The Triestines, comfortable in their lives and proud of their homes, were especially proud when an extravagance, such as a refrigerator, a television, or a car became affordable. The families took many photos in front of these items to show the achievement of the family in being able to afford such a luxury item (Figure 20 & Figure 21). The families maintained their transcultural ties with Trieste and shared photos and letters. Fulvio Zanier recalled the family received packages of food and clothing from Trieste and his mother sent letters to family in Trieste regularly. Lia Biasin used the thinnest paper and envelopes she could buy and wrote on both sides as the

postage was based on weight; she also sent photographs to her family in Trieste.[37] Mario Biasin also wrote letters as a young boy to his grandparents and described how he played Australian Rules football.[38] These ties continued through the years, later being transferred to telephone communication when it became more affordable. In this way the Triestine migrants maintained their cultural connection with Trieste and their family and friends. The images and letters commonly described and depicted positive migrant experiences, which were shared with family and friends back in Trieste.

Figure 20: Biasin family at Christmas in front of their television, 1964, photos such as these were sent 'home' to Trieste to show the success of their new lives in Australia. (Courtesy Biasin Family Collection).

[37] Interview with Mario Biasin.

[38] Biasin, 'Letter to Zio and Nonno in Trieste', (Biasin Family Collection).

Figure 21: Fumi family in front of the family car c. 1960 which showed pride in their ability to afford a family car. (Courtesy Aldo Fumi).[39]

Many families also either started or expanded their family once they settled in Melbourne. When they felt financially, socially, and emotionally comfortable, the Triestines increased their families and welcomed Australian-born Triestines into their families. The Zanier family added a daughter to their family in 1958, the Biasin family a son in 1964 and the Campanas started their family when their son was born in 1964.[40] There was also a sense of being Australian for some of the families, with Anglicised names being used for the newly born family members, such as Robert Biasin and Denis Campana.

Some families also planned to relocate back to Trieste, yet only a small proportion of the Triestine community did so permanently, with estimates of approximately 2,300 (about 10 per cent) Triestines who returned 'home'.[41] The Campana family in the early 1970s decided to move back to Trieste, sold their car and home and packed up their possessions. After a few weeks in Trieste, Laura Campana

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[39] U. Fumi, 'Fumi Family Next to the Family Car', c. 1960, photograph, (Fumi Collection).

[40] Interview with Mario Biasin; Interview with Denis Campana; Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[41] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* pp. 253-254.

felt unhappy and discontented, and wanted the family to move back to Australia, which they promptly did.[42] The Biasin family went to Trieste and Italy for a holiday in 1974 with their youngest son and left their eldest son behind with his young family. They indicated that they may not come back and decide to stay in Trieste; however, again after a few weeks Lia Biasin asked her husband when they could go back 'home', the first time she called Australia 'home'.[43]

With this flow of settlement and the purchase of family homes, the community nature of the Triestines began to shift. As the people spread into the suburbs, they needed a more centralised location to meet and socialise, and from this the sporting and social clubs began to form. The Triestine experience in establishing recreational clubs did not differ from other Italian associations, yet the Triestines affiliation was more strongly felt, due to their ambivalent sentiments towards Italy.[44] The short-lived *Unione Sportiva Triestina* was established in 1954 but faded into obscurity. The next club established was *Triestina Pallacanestro*, the Triestina basketball team, founded in 1954/55. The early version of *Unione Sportiva* is rarely remembered while the basketball team remains prominent in the memories of many Triestine. By 1959 *Unione Sportivo Triestina*, a new club that shared the name of the earlier failed club, was registered, wearing the traditional Trieste colours of red and white. In October 1959 an exhibition match was played at Bonegilla migrant camp between a team from Bonegilla and the newly formed Triestina team, made up of Triestine players from Melbourne. This Australian version of the Triestina club in Trieste became an expression of a defined group identity and an expression of the networks that developed between Trieste, Australia, and Bonegilla. Later they leased premises at Ormond Road, Moonee Ponds.[45] Within the *Unione Sportivo Triestina* soccer club, the San Giusto social club was formed with Archimedes Biasin serving as one of the foundation members. The social club wanted a place for families to meet and socialise, which included dances, picnics, and other events. The social club introduced the *casa,* a monthly fee paid to be distributed at Christmas as a small

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[42] Interview with Denis Campana.

[43] Interview with Mario Biasin.

[44] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, pp. 182-183.

[45] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, pp. 113 & 184-188.

savings fund. As the club grew conflict between the management of the sporting and social aspects of the club began. The San Giusto social club was concerned with the costs to maintain the soccer club and the perception that the soccer club siphoned funds from the social club. Conflict arose between the leadership of the soccer and social club, and this eventually led to the splinter organisation of the *San Giusto Alabarda Triestina* social club being formed in 1969. Renato Raimondi, a foundation member of the *San Giusto Alabarda* club, believed that the Presidents, in their hubris, did not want to lose the perks associated with their positions, such as trips to Trieste.[46] An amalgamation of financial issues, internal disputes and the intransigence of the leadership led to what became an emotional split within the Trieste community. Triestines recalled that old friends and even brothers no longer spoke to each other after the split and formation of the *Alabarda* club.[47] Biasin stayed with the original *San Giusto* social club associated with the soccer club, as he could not see how without sport the new *Alabarda* club would attract new young members.[48] Despite this Biasin still attended the new *Alabarda* social club and founded and managed the *casa* at the new club in the early 1970s.

[46] Interview with Renato Raimondi.

[47] Interview with Denis Campana; Interview with Renato Raimondi.

[48] Interview with Mario Biasin.

Figure 22: Honour board at the Trieste Social Club listing the foundation members, past Presidents, and life members as well as the crucifix to indicate those that have passed away. All people listed on the board are men. (Photo: Brent Biasin)[49]

When presiding over the *San Giusto Alabarda* social club in the late 1970s Alberto Campana envisioned a new home for the club. On 1 May 1978, he gathered the committee and foundation members of the club at 4 Willow Street, Essendon, a former knitting factory. They met upstairs and sat on bales of hay, and he proposed they purchase the premises for around $150,000 as the new clubhouse. Sixty-seven members present each provided $1,000 for the deposit which left a balance of $85,000 to be paid. The owner was happy to accept three years for the balance to be paid and Campana and two others provided their houses as guarantee for the balance. The club was able to get a bank loan for the balance and released the three brave men from the risky obligation of potentially losing their houses.[50] The club, whose name was changed to the *Trieste Social Club* in 2002, was still being operated out of these premises two decades later, with significant renovations, such as the inclusion of an elevator.

[49] B. Biasin, 'Trieste Social Club Honour Board (Photograph)', 2021, photograph, (Brent Biasin).

[50] Interview with Renato Raimondi.

The insularity of the Triestine community from the rest of the Italian migrant community can be seen in some of these clubs. The constitution of the *San Giusto Alabarda* social club required all members to either be Triestine, married to a Triestine or the children of a Triestine migrant. This insularity also appeared in the *Venezia Giulia Police Corps* (VGPF) association founded in 1972 restricted to former *Polizia Civile* officers in Trieste or some connection with a former police officer. 'Rino the butcher' was a member of this association despite not being part of the VGPF in Trieste, his father-in-law was president of the association at one time. The Zanier and De Marchi families were associated with the VGPF and remember many of their outings and events.[51] Raimondi stated that many other Triestine ironically saw the VGPF as the elite as they celebrated their Christmas dinner at the Southern Cross hotel, a prominent hotel in Melbourne in the late 1970s and through the 1980s where the hotel held grand events such as the VFL Brownlow medal, the TV Week Logie awards and Liberal party events.[52] This was a significant shift from the negative perception of the VGPF in Trieste in the mid 1950s.

Other smaller associations also formed such as the *Val Rosandra Club* established in 1964 and the *Movimento Donne Trieste* (Triestine Women's movement association) in 1989. Along with the VGPF, these two clubs no longer exist. During this time, attempts to amalgamate the clubs under one umbrella organisation, as well as attempts to reunite the *San Giusto Alabarda* club with the soccer club met with little success.[53] Over the years *Unione Sportivo Triestina* merged with other soccer clubs four times, and lost the Triestina in their name, as ethnic identities for soccer clubs were forced to be removed in the 1990s.[54] The club now plays as the *Essendon Royals* and after years where the Trieste history of the club was minimised, by the

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[51] Interview with Fulvio Zanier; Interview with Gianni Zanier.

[52] Interview with Renato Raimondi.

[53] For further information on the history of the Trieste social clubs in Melbourne and Australia please refer to Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* Chapter 4 and Nell, *Addio Trieste,* Chapter 7.

[54] L.M. Danforth, 'Is the "World Game" an "Ethnic Game" or an "Aussie Game"? Narrating the Nation in Australian Soccer', *American Ethnologist*, vol. 28, no. 2, 2001, p. 373.

2020s was happy to promote that history again, with discussions to have the *Trieste Social Club* more officially associated with the soccer club once again.

The Triestine migrants initially struggled with isolation, this was especially true for many of the women. Suitable employment was sought until the Triestines found a house to buy and make it their home. The settlement and placemaking with the purchase of their own home, which most of the sample did by the 1960s, occurred parallel with the establishment of their own club; this later led to the establishment of more clubs and associations. The Triestine community now found their place and established their identity within their homes as well as with their clubs and associations.

Urban Triestines in Melbourne

Trieste was a maritime city with urban amenities and a cosmopolitan culture that distinguished the Triestines form the rest of Italy, especially the rural Italians of the north, the *contadini*. This urban background influenced their settlement in Australia, ranging from their employment where they lived, how they socialised and their participation in the community. Lynchian methods the image of the city of Trieste and the urban background of the Triestines.

The most obvious urban element for Triestines is the node of *Piazza Unitá*, the central square that comprises the administration buildings, the shipping offices, and some of the banking offices, as well as the Viennese inspired cafes and coffee houses that surrounded the square. Because the piazza was a central location in Trieste, this identified the area as a district for the Triestines. This is where the people met, chatted, shared a coffee, and conducted the main business of the city. The pathways were the streets that led from their homes and workplaces to the square, as the Triestines conducted their *passeggiata* during the evenings. From *Piazza Unitá* the main landmarks are easily identifiable: the Adriatic Sea itself, as well as *Castello di'Miramare* in the distance. The other relevant districts are the port itself that included

the fisheries as well as commercial trade, the train station and supporting industries.[55] *Campanilismo*, a town's parochialism usually centred around the ringing of the bell tower, does not directly relate to the urban and cosmopolitan nature of Trieste. The port, and the sounds of the port, is Trieste's *campanilismo* while also a symbol and source of its urban and cosmopolitan background.[56] The Triestine image of their city, the memories, and meanings, are centred around the port, the employment it offered, the coffee beans imported to be roasted and then consumed at the Viennese coffee houses, and the multitudes of Triestines who left the city for Australia where they farewelled their family and friends.

Once in Melbourne, the Triestines started their settlement in small sections of houses, often rented from other Italians. Union Road, Ascot Vale was a prominent pathway and district, with Triestine businesses, such as Demetrio's espresso café ran by the DeMarchi family, as well as other restaurants and cafes.[57] This also became a node where people met and socialised in the cafes and restaurants. Another node was the Ascot Vale Hotel where the Triestines met and socialised and where the idea of the sporting club *Unione Sportivo Triestina* was established.[58] As the Triestines settled and purchased their own homes their image of the city moved further outwards towards Essendon, Glenroy, and the surrounding suburbs. For Biasin and Campana who lived in Glenroy, the pathways became the streets they lived on with easy access to the bus which ran along Augustine Terrace. The shopping strip in Glenroy became their district, with the sporting club at Ormond Park being a node, as well as the *San Giusto Alabarda* club later in Willow Street, Essendon. The Triestine social node moved from their homes, cafes in Union Road and the Ascot Vale hotel to their sporting and social clubs. The edges occurred in different parts of the city, around their homes and the shopping district, as well as surrounding the social and sporting clubs.

The Triestines' being *cittadini* profoundly influenced their settlement in Melbourne, in how and where they found employment, how they socialised and how

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[55] Lynch, *The Image of the City,* pp. 47-48.

[56] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 57.

[57] Nelli, *1954, Addio Trieste*, p. 178.

[58] Interview with Renato Raimondi.

they eventually found their place in Melbourne. Their urban background shaped their placemaking, with their initial settlement in inner-suburban Melbourne surrounded by the urban amenities of public transport such as trams, as well as cafes and restaurants to meet and socialise. They were also proud of being *cittadini* and were often contemptuous of the *contadini.* For instance, comments from Archimedes Biasin 'from the *nord* (north), not the *sud* (south)', or jokes about visitors to Trieste from Udine, who dressed as peasants, and brought their own sandwiches with them so they didn't spend any money in Trieste.[59]

The next generation moves on

The young children who migrated with their parents, or those born in Melbourne, initially turned their back on the Triestine community. As Marcus Lee Hansen said, the first-generation cling to the old ways: in the Triestine case they formed both sporting and social clubs and often lived near other Triestines and formed a community based on their shared experience of being migrants from Trieste. The second generation then moves more towards the host country.[60] For the Triestine migrants, this meant the young children and those born in Melbourne moved away from the Trieste sporting and social clubs and became more involved in the general society of Melbourne. This included where they worked, playing Australian Rules football, instead of soccer and how they socialised with their growing network of friends outside the Triestine community. The young Triestine migrants in the sample, such as Mario Biasin, Gianni Zanier and Aldo Fumi, kept few Triestine friends from their youth, with most of their friends being Australian born.[61] They socialised with young Australians, slowly and surely becoming 'new Australians' themselves.

As the young Trieste migrants of the 1950s and those born in Melbourne in the late 1950s and early 1960s started work and married, they moved away from involvement in the Trieste community and social clubs. Many moved out to the eastern and south-eastern suburbs in a significant shift from the north-western corridor of most

[59] Interview with Aldo Fumi.

[60] Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History,* pp. Kindle, paragraph 1, chapter 3.

[61] Interview with Mario Biasin; Interview with Aldo Fumi; Interview with Gianni Zanier.

of the Trieste migrant settlement. Many also married outside the Triestine and Italian community, such as Mario Biasin, Aldo Fumi, and both Zanier brothers. This contrasts with the Triestines who migrated as teenagers and then married within the Italian and Triestine community. Guerino Vidotti, aged fourteen when he migrated from Trieste, married fellow Triestine Rosanna Ruan, aged thirteen when she migrated.[62] Enrica Pellis aged twelve when she migrated, married Renato Raimondi from Lombardy aged fourteen when he migrated.[63] The younger Triestines 'assimilated' into Australian society more readily than their teenage compatriots who sought the comfort of the familiar. As they started families and followed their employment, the focus moved towards their new lives as Melbournians rather than as Triestine migrants. Both Biasin and Zanier played Australian Rules for the rural Powelltown Football Club, keeping some of their Triestine childhood friends, yet demonstrating little direct involvement in the wider Triestine community. Many of this generation, in a shift from their parents' era, owned their own businesses. Biasin started Metricon Homes with his business partner George Kline, a Jewish immigrant; Fumi studied as a town planner while he also performed as a musician, this eventually led to his own music promotion business; Gianni Zanier ran his own jewellery supply business; Denis Campana has run a construction company; Dino De Marchi started his own law firm, and his brother Ralph De Marchi has owned a real estate agency: these are just a few examples of this generation's expansion into being self-employed business owners.

Once the 'baby boomer' generation settled into their work and found a place for their families, they began to look back with nostalgia at their childhood. They sought a greater understanding of being Triestine; many travelled to Trieste with their families and formed connections with family and friends in Trieste. This also included more involvement with Triestines and the community in Melbourne as well. Denis Campana became the president of the *Trieste Social Club*, in this he followed in his father's footsteps, as well as being the first president not born in Italy. Ralph De Marchi became the treasurer of the club. In 2020, a third-generation Triestine aged only 18 became a committee member. The club altered its constitution to allow anyone to become a member and removed the limitation of a direct Triestine connection. Biasin,

[62] Interview with Angelo Giudetti.

[63] Interview with Renato Raimondi.

Fumi and the Zanier brothers all began regularly to meet with some other Italian migrant friends for lunch to catch up and reminisce. Biasin amplified his transcultural ties with Trieste when he purchased the local Triestina soccer club and saved the club from bankruptcy and an ignominious end; the club again became a symbol of unity for the city. Many of the Triestines in the sample travelled to Trieste numerous times, found old family, and kept their transcultural ties alive.

The interest and return of the 'baby boomer' generation to the Triestine community, as well as family holidays to Trieste also ignited the interest in the third generation, the grandchildren of the brave Triestines who chose to start a new life in Australia. The final stage of Hansen's formula was that the third generation then seeks an understanding of their family's immigrant roots. In the case of the Trieste migrants this can also be expanded back to the young migrants who became 'new Australians' and then later in life sought out their immigrant roots and past. These grandchildren began to seek, as Hansen predicted, a greater understanding of their roots and why their family chose to migrate.[64] This extends from the frequent asking of questions, to family history research, to involvement in the Triestine community and maintaining connections with family in Trieste.

Triestines with a home and a community

After they found their home and settled down with their family, the Triestines lived their lives working hard and socialised at the various social and sporting clubs. While few became very wealthy, they enjoyed a level of comfort as working-class homeowners. 'They lived with dignity, if not in opulence, their dreams of a better future for their children realised at the price of their social, cultural and psychological dislocation'.[65] It is possible to construct a list of the Trieste migrants, their occupations, where they lived, their age in 1980, when they naturalised, and the year they passed away where applicable (Table 4 in Appendix B).

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[64] Hansen, *The Immigrant in American History,* pp. Kindle, paragraph 1, chapter 3.

[65] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 197.

The older generation who made the decision to migrate to Australia were all in their early 50s to early 60s by 1980. The men still worked mostly in working-class employment, such as fitter and turners, carpenters, machinists, and butchers, one was a technician, and one ran a restaurant. The men followed on from their trade experience in Trieste and continued similar urban trades in Melbourne. On the electoral roll, the women were mostly listed as 'home duties', with a few employed as machinists or in factories. Sixteen of the twenty families lived in the north-western suburbs from the inner suburbs of Ascot Vale, Moonee Ponds and Brunswick to the next ring of suburbs of Glenroy, Pascoe Vale and Fawkner. The *Trieste Social Club* in Essendon sat in the middle of these suburbs, with easy public transport access from all the north-western suburbs. Most of the older generation also became naturalised as Australian citizens from the early 1960s through to the early 1970s. The Giudetti family never naturalised until Angelo Giudetti decided to become a citizen in 2015.[66] The decision to become Australian citizens indicates how being an Australian became an important part of their lives, and a step in their placemaking in Melbourne. The Triestines created a community spread across the north-western suburbs with the social club situated in the middle, as the moved towards becoming Australian-Triestines.

The upward mobility of the second generation is apparent in Italian migrants in Australia, and many achieved higher levels of education and middle-class employment than their parents.[67] The Triestine migrants also followed this path as the young Triestines and second generation moved away from the working-class trades and towards middle-class employment, such as lawyers, business owners, draftsmen and clerks. Many also moved across the city to the outer eastern and south-eastern suburbs, a distinct shift from the suburbs of their childhood. They not only emotionally moved away from their Triestine past, but they also physically moved away, which created a gap between their past and their Australian present and future.

The Triestines' urban experience enabled them to find suitable employment, purchase a home and give their children the support and education they needed. They

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[66] Interview with Angelo Giudetti.

[67] Ricatti, *Italians in Australia: History, Memory, Identity,* p. 109.

were never wealthy, but comfortable and able to afford some luxuries in their lives. Their children, forced to assimilate, became 'new Australians', and moved away from the working-class trades into professional employment and business ownership. The older Triestines met for coffee and drinks, socialised at the sporting and social clubs, and slowly saw their numbers dwindle as the years progressed. This led to the younger Triestines to acknowledge their ties to Trieste and the community and actively seek their immigrant roots and past as their parents passed away.

The broad and varied factors that influenced the Triestines to migrate included economic, social, and political reasons, especially in the case of the VGPF. Once in Australia, most experienced a period at Bonegilla, a difficult time, yet often viewed in a much less negative light than the multitude of other migrants who transited through the camp. This was mostly due to the Triestines being barracked together and as families, rather than ethnically mixed with separate accommodations for men and women that generally occurred. The difficult, isolating early years in Melbourne seemingly impressed the idea that migrating could have been the wrong decision as they shared small houses not dissimilar to their experience in Trieste. They interspersed isolation with fun and frivolity as the young Triestines and their families associated freely at each other's homes and enjoyed the exuberance of life. As their lives and careers settled, the families followed the great Australian dream and purchased their own homes with land. From cramped apartments in Trieste, they moved to shared houses in Melbourne, and finally to a two- or three-bedroom home with internal plumbing and bathrooms, and a front and back yard for their children. This occurred parallel to the growth of the sporting and social associations where the community kept in touch and enjoyed each other's company. The Triestines being *cittadini* profoundly influenced their migratory experience: despite their ethnicity and lack of English they made their place, found employment, and created a unique community in Melbourne. The urban nature of their employment experience as well as trade qualifications, while not recognised by the Australian Government, achieved recognition by Australian businesses, and the Triestines became long-serving and loyal employees mostly in Melbourne industries dominated by the working class. They passed this work ethic onto their children, many of whom established successful businesses of their own. So, while their ethnicity and the act of migration exerted a profound effect on these Triestines, with their start in Bonegilla, as well as their initial

settlement and working life, their urban background made their experience unique and distinct from the more common rural-to-urban Italian migrant.

The Triestines found their place in Melbourne to the extent that, most Triestines saw themselves as Australians who are from Trieste, except for the Zaniers and Giudetti who saw themselves as Triestines who lived in Australia. Members of the *Trieste Social Club* use sayings such as 'Australia is the greatest country in the world' and 'Australia did more for me then Italy ever did' and 'thank fuck for Australia'. These Triestines feel that Australia and Melbourne gave them an opportunity to establish their place and home for themselves and their families. They honour and respect their past as Triestines, with symbolisms of Trieste at their homes, attendance at the *Trieste Social Club*, and speaking the local Triestine language. They also keep transcultural ties with their family and friends in Trieste with phone calls, messages as well as the transfer of remittances. Despite this, they see themselves as Australians, proud to be citizens and to call Australia their home. They will always be Triestines, yet are Australians as well, who maintain their transcultural connection to Trieste.

Chapter 6: Urban migrants

When a comparison of two groups a century apart is conducted, there are differences that must be acknowledged. The most obvious is the expanse of time between the groups: the world of the 1850s differed immensely from the world of the 1950s. Revolutions, wars, famines and two global conflicts irreversibly changed the political and social fabric of the world from the mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century. Rapid advancements in technology occurred, from communication and transportation to the weapons of war, to general household appliances such as refrigerators and televisions. This rapid technological progression changed the way people lived a century apart, yet the urban migrant experience still shares similar factors that cross the span of time. The ethnic and language difference is also important; the Irish and Dubliners spoke English, yet ethnically their accent, dress and some physical attributes marked the Irish out as different. The Italians and Triestines spoke Italian, and were of southern European ethnicity so they looked different and behaved differently to Anglo Melbournians. In colonial Melbourne, the Irish faced discrimination as outsiders and a position as the 'Other' which bears striking similarities to the southern Europeans being the outsiders and the 'Other' in post-second world war Melbourne.

Cities profoundly influence the culture, environment, and experience of their residents. This includes the type of employment, their leisure and cultural activities, and their social life. Dublin in the 1850s and Trieste in the 1950s, despite being a century apart, are analogous in many ways. They housed similar populations of more than 200,000, densely occupied over a small area. While the architectural styles of the cities differ, the multi-level buildings and grand government and official buildings are found in both cities. The city halls, railroad stations, banks, opera houses, theatres and museums contribute to the aura of urban elegance. These buildings provide the scaffolding for political, economic, and cultural life in a city.[1] The grand buildings in 1850s Dublin included the Four Courts complex, Dublin Castle, Trinity College, and

[1] Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History,* p. 478.

many other grand government buildings; in Trieste, the grand Austrian imperial buildings harkened back to their former influential past. The residential Georgian town houses, later subdivided into tenements in Dublin, compare well with the multi-level buildings made up of many small apartments in Trieste. The geographical features of both cities differ yet similarities were still evident: the Liffey River is a landmark that divided Dublin, while the Bay of Trieste is a landmark as well as a defined edge of the city. Trade in Dublin centred on the river and Dublin expanded outwards from the river and the customs house; while Trieste centred on the bay, and Trieste expanded from the water up the sloping hills towards the Carso. The commercial heart of both cities was a place where residents worked in associated trades and industries, as Dubliners and Triestines migrated to Melbourne they brought this urban experience and knowledge with them.

Melbourne differed from both Dublin and Trieste in the greater suburban sprawl that became part of Melbourne's growth. The commercial and administrative district of Melbourne was centred on the Hoddle grid, and most Melbournians lived in the inner suburbs in the 1850s and expanding suburbs further out by the 1950s. The suburban sprawl occurred due to the availability and affordability of land in Melbourne and continued into the twenty-first century as the density was dispersed over a greater land area. Families sought affordable land with a spacious home so the suburbs sprawling outwards from Melbourne held appeal.[2] From living in multi-storey houses and apartment buildings to low level houses on their own land in Melbourne, the switch was profound for both the Dubliners and the Triestines. The Dublin migrants lived in semi-detached and detached housing in the inner suburbs. The Triestine migrants became part of the post-war suburban spread in Melbourne: they bought 'house and land' packages in the north-western suburbs, comprising weatherboard, or brick veneer houses with front and back yards. The availability of transportation infrastructure influenced the movement outwards into the suburbs. By the 1880s, Melbourne's network of railways and tram lines linked the city with the suburbs.[3] In the 1950s the railway and tram network expanded even more as the suburbs grew further outwards. The ease of transportation from the suburbs to the city made the

[2] Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History,* p. 798.

[3] Clark, *The Oxford Handbook of Cities in World History,* p. 766.

choice to settle in the suburbs an easier one. Both groups of migrants found a home and made their place and found neighbourhoods that visually and environmental differed from Dublin and Trieste, but socially and culturally made them feel at home. As their settlement progressed, they established or joined formalised social and sporting groups to expand their sense of place.

The urban experience of Dubliners and Triestines crosses the barrier of time. They worked within the city in occupations related to an urban locale; in Dublin this included merchants, lawyers, doctors, clerks as well as trades such as tailors, painters, and other related urban occupations. In Trieste, the trades related to the maritime position of the city, such as mechanics and fitter and turners, as well as subsidiary occupations related to the Allied Military Government such as the police force, and other urban trades like butchery. They socialised within the city, whether shopping along the commercial districts along Great Brunswick Street in Dublin or attending a café in *Piazza Unitá* in Trieste. With an entirely urban based daily life, the sounds of the trains, the yells of merchants or dock workers and the pedestrian nature of the city permeated through both. As urbanites, both groups lived in multi-level housing did not grow their own food, rather they purchased from the butchers, bakers, and grocers in the city. Their work life was in their urban trades and professions, which gave them leisure time in their cultural and cosmopolitan cities.

In Melbourne, the Dubliners utilised their urban skillset to find employment and establish businesses. The professional class found employment in medicine such as Evans and Marston, the law with Barton and Haverty, and the civil service with Labertouche, Godkin and Eades. The rising merchant class in Dublin transferred those skills to Melbourne and established businesses to support the growth of Melbourne, such as Crawley, Alcock and O'Grady. The tradesmen found employment in Melbourne like Stark as a painter. Limited employment opportunities existed for women and most married, with a few unmarried women being teachers. The Triestines transferred their trade knowledge and skills to Melbourne and found work related to their trades. Examples include Zanier as a wood machinist, Campana and Birsa as boilermakers, Delconte and Fumi as mechanics and Giudetti and Vidotto as butchers. Most of the Triestine women stayed at home, yet some worked in factories or in restaurants or cafes. The urban employment experience allowed the Dubliners

and Triestines to find suitable employment related to their prior experience as well as trade and professional knowledge. This made their settlement process simpler and led to their placemaking in their homes, societies, and community. In Melbourne, they generally did not grow food, with some Triestines having a small vegetable patch and a fruit tree or two. Therefore they, like all urbanites, bought their food from the butchers, bakers, and grocers.

Dublin deteriorated into a city of tenements and slums, and Trieste became economically depressed with both cities being faded examples of a more glorious past. Dublin in the 1850s was a city reeling from the impacts of the 'Great Famine,' as well as experiencing the repercussions of the Union of 1801 and the loss of the Irish parliament. Confessional rivalry divided the city, between the Catholics and Protestants, as well as within the Protestants between the Church of Ireland and Dissenters. Political rivalry also created divisions between pro-union and republican elements in Ireland and Dublin. Famine refugees flooded into the city and caused a housing crisis with grand Georgian townhouses being transformed into tenement slums. Trieste in the 1950s struggled with the post second world war situation as well as the reunification with Italy post the first world war which had a negative impact on Trieste's economy. Severe political rivalry bubbled throughout the city between the socialist faction and conservative pro-Italian faction with a small number in favour of an independent Trieste. Riots occurred in Trieste between the groups, and the city at times felt like a Cold War powder keg. Trieste residents also faced a housing crisis and multiple families crowded into small two- or three-room apartments as the *esuli* entered the city, further intensifying the housing crisis. The historical and recent issues the city faced created a traumatic and difficult situation for the residents which influenced their psyche and made the option to migrate more attractive. While the time span, as well as the local issues differed, the impact on the cities and their residents revealed striking similarities: historical impacts that detrimentally influenced both cities; rivalry within the city, being religious and political; and finally, a housing crisis deepened by new arrivals. These factors influenced the citizens as well as those who migrated away from these two cities and influenced their settlement in Melbourne.

Aspects of the confessional and political rivalry in Ireland and Dublin were transposed into colonial Melbourne. When the Victorian colonial government passed

the secular education acts, the battle for funding has been described 'as a full-scale "religious war" and long-lasting debate raged in colonial Melbourne.'[4] Catholic Irish also faced difficulties in achieving high political office in Australia, though three Irish Catholics became Premiers of Victoria. The apparent success of the Catholic Irish in Victoria came at a high price of ferocious anti-Irish and anti-Catholic backlash and damaged the careers of the three Premiers.[5] The Protestant Dubliners seemingly assimilated and integrated with the Anglo colonial society more easily than the Catholic Dubliners. The Triestines did not openly bring the political rivalry to Australia, as most sought an escape from the political turmoil. The social divide affected the Triestine community on a greater scale and the social and sporting clubs suffered bitter divisions that led to additional social clubs being established over the years.

Socially the two sets of migrants sought a sense of their home in their settlement in Melbourne. Family dominated both groups and the support and safety of their families, from having a home, to education and comfort became important. For the Dublin migrants, this meant having a suitable home for their families, usually in the inner suburbs, with servants to ensure the comfort of their family. The children gained an education at the state schools or the various denominational schools in Melbourne at the time. The Triestines bought family homes and their children attended Catholic primary schools before they moved to state high schools. The Dublin migrants sought societies and groups that matched their own values and ambitions. Labertouche and Barton joined the Freemasons, both being ambitious Protestant migrants in Melbourne. Catholics found their association with the St Patricks Society with O'Grady being one of its prominent members. The women assisted in the organisation and attended the balls, such as the Masons ball, or the Governors levees, providing their opportunity to be out and socialise. Many also attended the horse races at Flemington featured in newspaper articles that described the dresses that the women wore. Being a less coherent group of migrants, the Dubliners, with a mix of Protestants and Catholics, gravitated towards groups that represented their culture. The Protestants mixed with other Protestants, and often outside the Dublin and Irish Protestants, while the Catholics more often congregated with their co-religionist, being mostly Irish. The

[4] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 275.

[5] Malcolm and Hall, *A New History of the Irish in Australia,* p. 278 & 280.

Triestines set up sporting and social groups to maintain their community spirit and cohesion. Despite being a more cohesive group, with the Triestines all being Catholic, though not overtly devout, and of similar socio-economic background, defined splits within the community still occurred. This started with the official split of the *San Giusto Alabarda* club from the *Unione Sportivo Triestina* sporting club in 1969. Further splits occurred with the creation of the VGPF former police officer's society in 1971, with the existence of three major Triestine clubs in Melbourne by the 1970s. Dubliners divided more on sectarian lines, while Triestines split on prior employment as well as with internal disputes at the clubs. Despite these divisions, the importance of social interactions for these urban migrants was apparent.

For urban dwellers, local cultural, social, welfare and community support play a significant role. This local support crossed the barrier of time for the Dubliners and Triestines. Examples of Dubliners include: Ross Cox, who while head teacher at the local school in Port Melbourne utilised the support of the local mothers to appeal to the colonial government for more funds for the dilapidated school; O'Grady, with the St Patrick's Society, raised funds locally to support the peasantry in Donegal; and appeals to the community and charitable spirit of the neighbourhood. The Triestines made the decision to buy a factory in Willow Street for the *San Giusto Alabarda Social Club:* to do this they raised the funds for the deposit from the members of the club and together as a community they purchased the factory. These are examples of urban activity whereby migrants aimed to gather the support of the local community, utilising their prior urban experience.

The ethnicity of the migrants was profoundly different, yet both experienced treatment as outsiders. The Dubliners 'assimilated' in Melbourne as they spoke English and understood the British system, especially the Protestant Dubliners. The Catholics faced greater persecution and even a cultured urban Catholic Dublin migrant faced prejudice. The barrier of language did not exist, yet the 'Irish brogue' became a clear distinction, despite this they bridged the cultural differences over time as the Irish and Dubliners became part of Melbourne society. While the Irish accent and portrayals in the media such as *Punch* magazine, placed the Irish as ethnically different, they shared many similarities with the English. The Triestines not only spoke a different language, but their local language also differed from other Italians as well.

They also mostly looked southern European, with dark hair and darker skin, with Italian names, like Mario, Aldo, and Alberto. Physically the 'Other' and despite being urbanites from a cosmopolitan city, they did not belong as Italians and 'dagos'. Despite this, the Triestines also 'assimilated' and embraced Australian culture and recreational activities, such as Australian Rules football.

Education plays a more significant role in cities then in regional areas. The higher level of education for Dubliners compared with the rest of Ireland is clear in the literacy levels. In Ireland nationwide in the 1841 census, 47 per cent of the over five population could read, while in Dublin, 74.4 per cent of Dubliners over five could read.[6] Even the working class and those whose lives degenerated into crime possessed the ability to read and write, as indicated in the prison records of Bateman, Keenan and O'Donnell.[7] Atypical among Italian migrants being urban dwellers, *cittadini,* and not peasants, *contadini,* the Triestines were well-educated and not illiterate, and employed in urban occupations.[8] Education played a significant role in the Triestines' ability to learn English, as well as transfer their skillset to their employment when in Australia. Some 74 per cent of the post war southern European migrants in Melbourne had less than seven years of formal education.[9] From nineteen records available for passengers from Trieste on the *Castel Verde* in 1954 where the women's education history is recorded, we learn that five experienced less than seven years education, seven had at least seven years education, and seven enjoyed more than seven years of formal education. This indicates that 26 per cent had less than seven years education compared with 74 per cent for southern European migrants in Melbourne.[10] The more highly educated and literate urbanites from Dublin and Trieste eased into their new lives in Melbourne, built on the foundation of their higher levels of education.

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[6] Dickson, *Dublin,* p. Ebook: Chap 7 7/143; Gibney, *A Short History of Ireland, 1500-2000,* p. 171.

[7] PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 5151, Keenan, Patrick'; PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515, Bateman, Francis'; PROV, 'Central Register of Male Prisoners, VPRS 515, O'Donnell, George'.

[8] Cresciani, *Trieste Goes to Australia,* p. 1.

[9] Burnley, *Urbanization in Australia*.

[10] The immigration records for the *Castel Verde* are available from the National Archives of Australia. Nineteen of the available records had the education history of the wives who migrated to Melbourne.

As the Dubliners and Triestines assimilated over time, their cultural heritage was whittled away as they became citizens and residents of Melbourne. A distinct difference between the two groups is the transcultural connections over time. The Dubliners never established distinct Dublin societies or groups and due to the tyranny of distance, lacked communication back to Dublin. Some Dubliners eventually settled throughout the British empire, in places such as New Zealand, India, and London, which indicated transnational ties within the empire having a more profound influence then Dublin itself. Most of the Dublin migrants settled in Melbourne and their past as Dubliners barely influenced their settlement. The older Triestines established sporting and social clubs, with membership limited to Triestines, whether by heritage or marriage. They wrote, telephoned, and sent remittances back to Trieste and shared photographs of their new lives in Melbourne. The younger Triestine migrants and those born in Melbourne drifted away from their Triestine heritage and the Trieste clubs slowly lost members as time progressed. This generation eventually sought a greater understanding of their immigrant heritage and reignited the transcultural ties with Trieste. This included reconnections with family in Trieste, travel to the city, and reinvigoration of the *Trieste Social Club*. The Dubliners' assimilation was to such an extent that their origins as Dubliners and even as Irish, was subsumed by the dominant Anglo culture. The Triestines started down the assimilation path, yet eventually turned back to their cultural heritage.

The most profound impact on Dubliners' and Triestines' settlement and placemaking in Melbourne was their urban background. They found employment with relative ease, which led to a safe and stable homelife for their families. The Dubliners followed their experience in the urban professions, merchant occupations and trades of the city; similarly, the Triestines utilised their trade experience to find employment in the various trade industries in Melbourne. While being part of the Irish and Italian migratory streams in Melbourne, their urban background made their experience a unique aspect of their migration and settlement experience. The understanding of an urban environment coupled with their experience in urban professions and trades made their urban background a preeminent aspect of their migratory experience. The urban factors of the Dubliners and Triestines parallel each other despite the breadth of time between their migrations.

Chapter 7: Conclusion

The unique nature of urban-to-urban migration is an important part of global migrations, especially as the world increases in urban population, with over half the world now living in cities. Analysis and comparison of the urban migrations of the past gives insights into how urban migrants settle and find their place.

The comparison of migrants from Dublin in the 1850s and Trieste in the 1950s has revealed the importance of their urban background on their placemaking and settlement. The influence of their urban experience in their employment is profound as most within the sample found employment related to their experience in Dublin and Trieste. Their urban background is also apparent in their social and community interactions. They each became involved in local groups and societies, or in the case of the Triestines, started their own. Dublin in the 1850s and Trieste in the 1950s are examples of a small subset within the Irish and Italian migratory streams, but significant proportions of Dublin and Trieste populations at that time. This comparative method can be expanded to include other migrants such as those from Saigon after the conclusion of the Vietnam war. These three cities were all controlled by a foreign power in their past, faced trauma from famine to war and many people left the city for Australia and Melbourne in a relatively short period of time. As the urban population of the world and subsequently urban-to-urban migrations increase, the understanding of past migrations can make the settlement of these new migrants easier to manage, easing them into the multicultural society of Melbourne.

As an example, Lagos is a growing megalopolis with a population over 20 million with rural Nigerians flooding into the city looking for opportunities.[1] Lagos has higher literacy rates than the rest of Nigeria, better access to water resources, more mobile phones, and more households with a vehicle. However, Lagos has massive disparities in wealth ‘with millionaires and billionaires who share the city with people

[1] E. Egbejule, 'Lagos is a Country', 2020, <https://www.theafricareport.com/28089/lagos-is-a-country/>, accessed 23 August 2021 2021

who live in indescribable squalor'.[2] The people of Lagos work in commerce, manufacturing, finance, and the informal sector, all related to urban employment. As more people of Lagos choose to emigrate, their prior urban experience and knowledge will influence their migration, same as it did for the Dubliners and Triestines. By understanding the prior urban migrations to Melbourne and Australia, and the systems, structures and policies that may have assisted their migratory experience, these systems, structures, and policies can be introduced to assist the ever-increasing number of urban migrants. These systems could include community support for newly arrived migrants built around local support and including members of their community. This would ensure the migrants have a support structure to assist with housing, employment and education. While many conservative pundits focus on migrants forming ethnic enclaves to the detriment of assimilation, this ignores the benefits and need for migrants to have a safe and familiar community to initially settle into.[3] These 'ethnic enclaves' provide the community spirit, support and services that newly arrived migrants desire. The focus should not be on their apparent lack of 'assimilation', but rather the vibrant community that becomes an addition to the multicultural society of Australia.

Migration history and policy looks at the movements of migrants across the world. The focus of migratory movements and settlement of migrants is the ethnicity, socio-economic and geographical concerns. The subset of urban migration history is relevant in understanding the modern flows of migration which increasingly is urban-to-urban migration as the global urban population grows. In Australia, the migration streams from urban centres have slowly increased throughout history. After the covid-19 pandemic, migration to Australia is likely to increase again with a majority being urban migrants. Through analysis of prior urban migrations, policy makers can understand the unique nature of these migrants and the required support structures that differ from rural-to-urban migrants.

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[2] D. Pilling, 'Nigerian Economy: Why Lagos Works', 2018, <**https://www.ft.com/content/ff0595e4-26de-11e8-b27e-cc62a39d57a0**>, accessed 23 August 2021

[3] A. Bolt, 'There is no 'us', as migrants form colonies', *Herald Sun,* 2 August 2018, https://www.heraldsun.com.au/blogs/andrew-bolt/there-is-no-us-as-migrants-form-colonies/news-story/919f583813314a3a9ec8c4c74bc8c091#

Appendix A: Sampled Dublin Migrants Register

Table of Dublin migrants at the end of the nineteenth century

Table 3: List of Dublin migrants and their descendants' position in the late nineteenth century.

Family Name	Name	Born	Died	General information
Alcock	Henry Upton	1823 Dublin	1912	Ran a successful and respected billiard table business.
Armitage	George Henry	1819 Dublin	1874	Was declared insolvent, joined NZ military before joining sons in QLD.
Armitage	Anne	1821 Dublin	1854	Died soon after arriving in Melbourne
Armitage	Henry	1843 Dublin	1925	Relocated to QLD running a sawmill, married Fanny Gosely
Armitage	Frances	1845 Dublin		Unknown
Armitage	Edward	1848 Dublin	1947	Relocated to QLD running a sawmill, Married Bridget.
Armitage	Mary Anne	1850 Dublin	1855	Died soon after arriving in Melbourne
Barnier	George	1830 Dublin	1868	Rail porter lost his arm in an accident and died a few days later.
Barnier	Susan	1861 Melbourne		Unknown
Barnier	Georgina Maria	1866 Melbourne		Unknown
Barnier	Charles	1867 Melbourne		Unknown
Barnier	Georgina	1868 Melbourne	1868	Died aged two months
Barton	George Elliot	1826 Dublin		Barrister, MLA, NZ Bar, retired to London.
Barton	Anna Agnes	1855 Melbourne		Relocated to NZ and then London with family
Barton	Elliot Lestrange	1856 Melbourne		Barrister and solicitor in NZ
Barton	Edward Gustavus	1858 Melbourne		Prominent engineer
Bateman	Francis	1831 Dublin		In and out of jail for numerous offences.
Beggs	John Henry	1827 Dublin	1894	Supreme court clerk, before getting committed and dying at Yarra Bend Asylum
Beggs	Mary	1860 Melbourne	1914	Married Patrick Keligher and moved to NZ.
Beggs	Catherine	1862 Melbourne	1945	Potentially committed and died at Beechworth
Beggs	William Henry	1864 Melbourne	1914	Bootmaker, was committed to Yarra Bend
Beggs	Agnes	1872 Melbourne	1899	Committed to Yarra Bend where she died

Family Name	Name	Born	Died	General information
Boake	Henry	1838 Dublin	1895	Carpenter and manufacturer owned land in Moorabbin
Boake	William Barcroft	1827 Dublin	1915	Married Isabell Caroline Frances Wright, died in Kew.
Boake	Elizabeth			Married John H Thomas.
Brady	Joseph Martin	1830 Dublin	1887	Engineer and Architect
Brady	Jemima	1830 Dublin		Died sometime before 1879 as Martin remarried
Brady	John	1857 Dublin		Unknown
Byrne	William Frederick	1824 Dublin	1900	House and land agent, bootmaker and draper
Byrne	Maria	1835 Dublin	1901	Richmond
Byrne	William Henry	1855 Melbourne	1923	Married Annie Farrelly, civil servant.
Byrne	Mary	1860 Melbourne	1861	Died aged one
Byrne	Arthur Joseph	1862 Melbourne	1862	Died aged five months
Byrne	Margaret Jane	1864 Melbourne	1895	Hawthorn
Byrne	Frederick Patrick	1867 Melbourne	1920	Lived in South Melbourne
Campion	Henry	1805 Dublin	1875	Auctioneer and bailiff
Campion	Anne	1808 Dublin	1880	Home duties and lived in Emerald Hill.
Campion	Anne	1832 Dublin	1897	Committed to Yarra Bend asylum, died at Ararat asylum of septic poisoning
Campion	Phoebe	1833 Dublin	1901	Married John Finlay a wealthy cattleman, lived in St Kilda
Campion	Emily	1834 Dublin	1909	Married James Scott had a few children, lived in Caulfield
Campion	Sophia	1835 Dublin	1921	Married William John Hare, had three children lived in Ballarat
Conry	Ellen	1804 Dublin	1886	Died at son in laws house in Caulfield
Conry	Ellen Teresa	1842 Dublin	1872	Married Titus Raynor and had four children
Conry	Julia	1845 Dublin	1927	Married her sisters widow Titus and had a few children, lived in Elsternwick.
Cox	Hannah	1802 Dublin	1862	
Cox	Jane	1823 Dublin	1897	Died at the old colonist home.
Cox	Ross	1832 Dublin	1894	Married Elizabeth who died young and remarried Mary. School inspector and wrote under the non-de-plume Luke Smyley for Melbourne Punch
Cox	William	1837 Dublin	1861	Married Rosa Webb and was editor of the Christian reformed and master of a school in St Kilda
Cox	Wellington	1840 Dublin	1858	Died aged nineteen
Cox	Sarah	1842 Dublin	1934	Married Thomas Southern relocated to regional Victoria and had eight children died in Elwood

Family Name	Name	Born	Died	General information
Crawley	Hugh	1796 Dublin	1853	Started a sawmill and passed away of dropsy.
Crawley	Hannah	1796 Dublin	1877	
Crawley	Hannah	c. 1820s Dublin		Married Frederick Farrell who was a road engineer.
Crawley	Mary Alice	1830 Dublin	1898	Married Thomas Anthony a timber merchant.
Crawley	John William	c1830s Dublin	1903	Engineer for the road board.
Crawley	Gertrude	1834 Dublin	1854	Died shortly after arrival in Melbourne
Crawley	Adelaide	1837 Dublin		Unknown
Crawley	Martha	1839 Dublin	1898	Married John Maxwell
Eades	John Cranwill	1806 Dublin	1875	Worked in the gold department at treasury.
Eades	Louisa	1809 Dublin	1862	
Eades	Christiana Louisa	1832 Dublin	1901	Married William Jones, had five children and moved to Corop.
Eades	Arthur William	1835 Dublin	1872	Committed to Carlton asylum and died there.
Eades	Adelaide	1837 Dublin		Married George Wragg
Eades	Richard	1841 Dublin		Unknown
Eades	Isabella	1843 Dublin		Married William Henry Herbert
Eades	Caroline	1848 Dublin	1928	Married Francis Neale
Evans	John Tyrell	1801 Limerick	1864	Doctor and public vaccinator in Melbourne
Evans	George Sexton	1827 Limerick	1896	Engineer and was contracted with his brother-in-law to build the Geelong-Ballarat railway.
Evans	Charles Molloy	1827 Limerick	1914	Lived at St Sidwells, Caulfield
Evans	Catherine Anna	1832 Dublin	1890	Married George Willis. Died at her brother George Evans house in Sandringham and left her estate to him.
Evans	Elizabeth Anna	1836 Dublin	1897	Married George Evans business partner William Merry.
Evans	Louisa Drury	1840 Dublin	1913	Married John Mitchell and lived at Kangaroo Flat.
Godkin	James Joseph	c. 1820s Dublin	1894	Clerk who embezzled money, spent 7 months in prison. Later continued as a clerk privately.
Hamilton	Sarah Ann	1840 Dublin	1903	Married William Rose.
Haverty	Margaret	1830 Dublin	1895	Died in Camberwell was living with her surviving children
Haverty	James Joseph	1823 Limerick	1870	Crown solicitor died on circuit in Castlemaine
Haverty	Mary	1861 Melbourne	1938	Died unmarried lived with her brother James
Haverty	Elizabeth	1863 Melbourne	1963	Died aged six months
Haverty	Thomas Joseph Ignatius	1864 Melbourne	1897	Attended St Patricks and Xavier college, worked as a clerk at the crown solicitor's office.
Haverty	James Joseph	1867 Melbourne	1946	Died unmarried in Hawthorn worked for Victorian insurance company

Family Name	Name	Born	Died	General information
Haverty	Patrick	1870 Melbourne	1870	Died aged eleven months
Hayden	John	1835 Dublin		Went to prison for paedophilia sentenced to seven years hard labour.
Keenan	Patrick	1831 Dublin	1872	In and out of prison, died in prison with an abscess on his brain.
Labertouche	Peter Paul	1825 Dublin	1907	Secretary of railroads in Melbourne, relocated to London after retirement
Labertouche	Pauline	1860 Melbourne		Unknown was listed as unmarried in a colonial gentry book in 1891.
Labertouche	Unnamed	1861 Melbourne	1861	Stillborn
Labertouche	Ethel Adelaide	1862 Melbourne		Married Augustus Loftus's son of the NSW Governor
Labertouche	Zoe	1864 Melbourne	1866	Died as a child
Labertouche	Raymond	1866 Melbourne	1866	Died in infancy
Labertouche	Guy Neale	1871 Melbourne	1915	Attended Scotch College and then joined the military, died in India during the first world war.
Ledwidge	Peter	1809 Dublin	1880	Ran a victualler business in Ballarat, died in Melbourne.
Ledwidge	Julia	1815 Dublin	1898	Lived in East Melbourne
Ledwidge	S J	1823 Dublin		Brother of Peter, butcher in Ballarat and was declared insolvent.
Ledwidge	Louisa	1835 Dublin		
Ledwidge	Simon	1837 Dublin	1920	Married Agnes Mary Lott then Eliza Cooper and then Bedelia Rogers, lived in Prahran.
Ledwidge	Annastea	1841 Dublin		Married Thomas Platt
Ledwidge	Josephina	1843 Dublin		Married Ben Allen France
Ledwidge	Mary	1847 Dublin		Married Joseph Henry Bland
Ledwidge	Julia	1852 Dublin		Married Jessie Thomas Smith.
MacNally	Elizabeth	1842 Dublin	1879	Married Emmanuel Matthieu, died relatively young aged 37.
Marston	George Carlington	1833 Dublin	1902	Married Catherine Grigg and ran a successful chemist business.
Mathews	Sarah	1810 Dublin	1874	Died in Elsternwick
Mathews	Emma	1834 Dublin	1856	Died on *Ocean Monarch* of cholera
Mathews	Ellen	1839 Dublin		Married William Plummer a wealthy gentleman.
Mathews	James	1841 Dublin		Unknown
McCullagh	Charlotte	1825 Dublin	1891	Married Henry Phipps a JP and attorney, left her estate to her sister Sarah. Ross Cox was the executor of the estate
McCullagh	Sarah	1830 Dublin	1893	Left her estate to Ross Cox and his wife Mary and their children.
McCullagh	Elizabeth	1833 Dublin	1861	Married Ross Cox and died of premature confinement.

Family Name	Name	Born	Died	General information
McKiernan	Richard William Ormsby	1835 Dublin	1867	Clerk, lived in Carlton, Williamstown and Fitzroy
McKiernan	Ormsby Horatio	1867 Melbourne		Singer, moved to Sydney and then England.
Murphy	James	1833 Dublin		Was found to have deserted his family in 1864
Murphy	Mary	1857 Melbourne		Unknown
Murphy	John	1858 Melbourne	1859	Died aged one
Murphy	Ann Eliza	1859 Melbourne		Unknown
Murphy	Fanny	1860 Melbourne	1861	Died aged one
O'Donnell	George	1823 Dublin	1874	In and out of prison, died in a boarding house aged 45.
O'Grady	John	1820 Dublin	1858	Wine and spirit merchant died after falling from his horse.
O'Grady	Mary			Unknown
Rooke	Thomas	1808 Dublin	1862	Merchant, Emerald Hill.
Rooke	Eliza	1811 Dublin	1890	Bowen Terrace, St Kilda.
Rooke	William Henry	1841 Dublin	1876	Lived at Emerald Hill
Rooke	Frederick	1842 Dublin	1892	Clerk living at Hawthorn, estate of £1,080, 16s, 4d at his death
Rooke	Thomas	1846 Dublin	1910	Bowen Terrace, St Kilda. Left estate of £4,815 to his sister Sophia.
Rooke	Robert	1852 Dublin	1898	Bowen Terrace, St Kilda.
Rooke	Sophia Georgina	1855 Dublin	1922	School teacher, left estate of £8,244 17s, 3d.
Scott	Anna	1833 Dublin	1893	Married John Simpson and had a few children
Scott	Louisa	1835 Dublin	1854	Married captain Vincent died in childbirth.
Scott	Samuel	1836 Dublin	1918	Oversaw regional parishes.
Scott	Benjamin	1837 Dublin	1875	Married Sarah Morton was a school master.
Scott	Henry Forde	1840 Dublin	1912	Chaplain for Melbourne Gaol and Melbourne Hospital
Scott	Edward	1844 Dublin	1887	Ran a failed school and continued as a teacher.
Stark	Malcolm Alexander	1814 Dublin	1860	Painter
Stark	Ellen	1814 Dublin	1880	Lived with her children
Stark	Malcolm Bannan	1849 Dublin	1896	Attended St Patricks college and Melbourne University. Law clerk at county court.
Stark	Annie V	Dublin		Was a private music teacher.
Stark	Mary Helena	1854 Dublin	1891	Was a teacher who fought her classification by the Victorian government all the way to the privy council.
Wright	Jane	1840 Dublin	1913	Married Reginald William Bell and lived in Hamilton.
Wright	Emily Louisa	1842 Dublin	1889	Married David Potts and had three children, lived in Warrnambool.

Family Name	Name	Born	Died	General information
Wright	Teresa	1844 Dublin	1881	Died in Bathurst NSW
Young	Margaret	1839 Dublin	1912	Married Thomas Carter and had eight children. Died in St Kilda with an estate of £274, 4d.

Dublin migrants from the sample

Alcock Family

- Migrated to Melbourne 1853 on the *Africa*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Henry Upton Alcock**
  - Born 1822 Dublin.
  - Trained as a carpenter.
  - Started the successful business Alcock Billiard Tables.
  - Lived in Russell Street, Melbourne in 1860
  - Lived at Orrong Road, Prahran in 1899.
  - Died 1912 in Melbourne.

Armitage Family

- Lived at 8 Heytsebury Street, Dublin 1850.
- Migrated to Melbourne 1853 on the *Prince Arthur*
- Catholic
- Lived at Canvas Town in Melbourne, before moving to Emerald Hill.
- **George Henry Armitage**
  - Born 1819 Dublin.
  - Worked as a commission agent for the Argus Assurance Company in Dublin
  - Worked as clerk in Melbourne
  - Remarried Anne Griffin in 1854.
  - Was declared insolvent in 1862.
  - Joined the NZ military and relocated to Waikato in 1864.
  - Moved to Queensland in 1871 to be with his sons
  - Died in 1874 in Queensland.

- **Anne Armitage**
    - Born 1821 Dublin.
    - Died in Melbourne 1853 shortly after arrival.
- **Henry Armitage**
    - Born 1843 Dublin.
    - Relocated to Queensland.
    - Married Fanny Gosely, a widower in Queensland 1903
    - Died in Queensland 1925 was considered a pioneer.
- **Frances Armitage**
    - Born 1845 Dublin.
    - Further details unknown.
- **Edward Armitage**
    - Born 1848 Dublin.
    - Relocated to Queensland
    - Married Bridget in Queensland
    - Died in Queensland 1943.
- **Mary Anne Armitage**
    - Born 1850 Dublin.
    - Died in Melbourne 1855 aged 5.

Barnier Family

- Migrated to Melbourne in the 1850s
- Protestant
- **George Barnier**
    - Born 1830 in Dublin to a Huguenot family.
    - Rest of family migrated to Sydney
    - Married Eliza Kilbee in 1861 in Melbourne.
    - Worked as a train porter.
    - Had a tragic accident in 1868 and later died from his injuries.
- **Susan Barnier**
    - Born 1861 Melbourne.
    - Further details unknown.
- **Georgina Maria Barnier**

        - Born 1864 Melbourne.
        - Further details unknown.
- **Charles Barnier**
    - Born 1867 Melbourne.
    - Further details unknown.
- **Georgina Barnier**
    - Born 1868 Melbourne.
    - Died 2 months old in 1868.

Barton Family

- Migrated to Melbourne 1852 on the *Serampore*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **George Elliot Barton**
    - Born 1826 in Dublin.
    - From a wealthy family of business owners in Dublin
    - Attended Trinity College.
    - Practised as a barrister in Dublin.
    - Practised as barrister in Melbourne
    - Married Jane Campbell in 1854.
    - Elected to the Legislative Assembly in the seat of North Melbourne in 1859.
        - Member of the Conventionists party.
    - Lived at Williams Road, Prahran in 1862.
    - Left Melbourne for Otago in 1862 chasing gold.
    - Practised as a barrister in New Zealand.
    - Lived in Dunedin in 1866.
    - Joined the Freemason in Dunedin in 1869.
    - Relocated to Wellington in 1877.
    - Relocated to London by 1881.
    - Died in London 1899.
- **Anna Agnes Barton**
    - Born 1855 Melbourne.
    - Relocated to New Zealand and London with her family.

- **Elliot Lestrange Barton**
    - Born 1856 Melbourne.
    - Relocated to New Zealand and practised as a barrister there.
- **Edward Gustavus Barton**
    - Born 1858 Melbourne.
    - Became a prominent and well-regarded engineer.

Bateman Family

- Migrated to Melbourne 1852 on the *Jane Pratt*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Francis Bateman**
    - Born 1831 in Dublin.
    - Faced numerous public disorder and criminal charges.
    - In and out of prison.
    - Last recorded as being imprisoned for six months in 1865.

Beggs Family

- Migrated to Melbourne 1853 on the *Erasmus*
- Catholic
- Lived at Moore Street, Dublin.
- **John Henry Beggs**
    - Born 1827 in Dublin.
    - Worked as a supreme court clerk.
    - Married Catherine Fitzmaurice in 1859.
    - Was found to be a drunkard and failing to support his family in 1864.
    - 1865 faced charges for an assault.
    - 1873 discovered hapless in a house and committed to the Yarra Bend asylum.
    - Disputed being committed in 1876.
    - Died 1894 at Sunbury Asylum and was found to have chronic kidney and bladder disease.
- **Mary Beggs**
    - Born 1860 Melbourne.

    - Relocated to New Zealand.
    - Married Patrick Keligher in 1891.
    - Family managed hotels in Otago.
    - Died 1914 in Dunedin.
- **Catherine Beggs**
    - Born 1862 Melbourne.
    - May have been committed.
    - Died 1945 at Beechworth.
- **William Henry Beggs**
    - Born 1864 Melbourne.
    - Committed to Yarra Bend Asylum in 1889 with delusional mania.
    - Discharged in 1890.
    - Recommitted in 1890 for chasing his mother and sister with a knife.
    - Later discharged and worked as bootmaker.
    - Died 1914 in Melbourne.
- **Agnes Beggs**
    - Born 1872 Melbourne.
    - Committed to Yarra Bend Asylum in 1890 with religious mania.
    - Died 1899 of tuberculosis at Yarra Bend Asylum.

Boake Family

- Migrated in the 1850s
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- Lived at Dawson Street, Dublin.
- **Henry Boake**
    - Born 1838 Dublin.
    - Married Mary Belough, a widow, in 1861 in Melbourne.
    - Lived in Richmond in 1870.
    - Worked as a teacher in 1875.
    - Worked as a carpenter in 1889 while living in Camberwell.
    - Died in Melbourne 1897.
- **William Barcroft Boake**
    - Born 1827 Dublin.

    - Lived at Dawson Street, Dublin.
    - Married Isabell Wright in 1870 in Melbourne.
    - Died 1915 while living in Kew.
- **Elizabeth Boake**
    - Born in Dublin
    - Married John Thomas in 1874.

Brady Family

- Migrated in 1858 on the *Columbia.*
- Catholic
- **Joseph Martin Brady**
    - Born 1830 in Dublin.
    - Lived in Bendigo.
    - Architect and engineer.
    - Remarried Ellen Dinihan in 1879.
    - 1880 declared insolvent.
    - Died 1887 in Melbourne.
- **Jemima Brady**
    - Born 1830 Dublin
    - Died prior to 1879 in Melbourne
- **John Brady**
    - Born 1857 Dublin
    - Further details unknown

Byrne Family

- Migrated in 1855 on the *Blue Jacket*
- Catholic
- **William Frederick Byrne**
    - Born 1824 Dublin.
    - Married Maria Roberts 1835 in Dublin.
    - House and land agent, bootmaker and draper in Melbourne
    - Lived at Emerald Hill, then Fitzroy, then Richmond.
    - Died 1900 in Melbourne

- **Maria Byrne (nee Roberts)**
    - Born 1835 Dublin.
    - Died 1901 in Richmond
- **William Henry Byrne**
    - Born 1855 in Collingwood
    - Married Annie Maria Farrelly in 1878
    - Lived in Carlton and Surrey Hills
    - Had five children
    - Worked as a civil servant
    - Died 1923 in East Melbourne
- **Mary Byrne**
    - Born 1860 in Emerald Hill
    - Died 1861 aged 1
- **Arthur Joseph Byrne**
    - Born 1862 in Emerald Hill
    - Died 1862 aged 5 months
- **Margaret Jane Byrne**
    - Born 1864 in Fitzroy
    - Died 1895 in Hawthorn
- **Frederick Patrick Byrne**
    - Born 1867 in Richmond
    - Lived in South Melbourne
    - Died 1920 in Fitzroy

Campion Family

- Migrated to Melbourne 1856 on the *Saldanha*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- Lived at 34 Seville Place, Dublin
- **Henry Campion**
    - Born 1805 Dublin
    - Baptised at St Nicholas Within
    - Married Anne Durham in 1830
    - Signed the William Smith O'Brien petition

    - Worked as an auctioneer in Dublin
    - Worked as a bailiff in Melbourne for the county court
    - Lived in Collingwood and Richmond
    - Died 1875 in Prahran
- **Anne (Ann) Campion**
    - Born 1808 in Dublin
    - Died 1880 in Emerald Hill
- **Anne (Annie) Campion**
    - Born 1832 in Dublin
    - Committed to Yarra Bend asylum in 1868
    - Died 1897 at Ararat asylum
    - Inquest found she died of septic poisoning
- **Phoebe Campion**
    - Born 1833 in Dublin
    - Married John Finlay at Emerald Hill (from Killcranney, Ireland)
    - Lived in Emerald Hill
    - Had seven children
    - John was one of Melbourne's wealthiest businesspeople
    - Died 1901 living at "Shirley" Alma Road, St Kilda
- **Emily Campion**
    - Born 1834 in Dublin
    - Married James Scott in 1862
    - Had six children
    - Died 1909 at "Barwon" Claremont Ave, Malvern
- **Sophia Campion**
    - Born 1835 in Dublin
    - Married William John Hare (from Belfast) in 1877
    - Had three children
    - Lived in Hotham, NSW and Ballarat
    - Died 1921 at Ballarat with an estate of £122 1s.

Conry Family

- Migrated to Melbourne approximately 1852

- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Ellen Conry**
    - Born 1804 Dublin
    - Widow of Thomas Conry solicitor in Dublin
    - Lived at Lower-Dominick Street Dublin
    - Died 1886 at her son-in-law's home in Caulfield
- **Ellen Teresa Conry**
    - Born 1842 in Dublin
    - Married Titus Ralney Raynor in 1862
    - Had four children
    - Died 1872 in St Kilda
- **Julia Conry**
    - Born 1845 in Dublin
    - Married her sisters widow Titus in 1875
    - Had Had four children
    - Died 1927 in Malvern
- **Kate Conry**
    - Married Hugh Egerton in Adelaide in 1859
    - Stayed in Adelaide

Cox Family

- Migrated to Melbourne 1855 on the Hero
- Some of the family migrated before this time
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Hannah Cox**
    - Born 1802 in Dublin
    - Widow of Ross Cox former chief clerk of the Dublin police
    - Lived just outside Dublin in Beggarsbush
    - Died 1862 in Melbourne
- **Jane Cox**
    - Died in 1897at the Old Colonists home, North Fitzroy
- **Ross Cox**
    - Born 1832 in Dublin

        - Married Elizabeth McCullagh in 1860 in Melbourne
        - Elizabeth died in 1861.
        - Married Mary Haskell in Kyneton in 1861
        - Had six children
        - Lived in Hotham, Emerald Hill and Prahran
        - Was head teacher at Nott Street School, Sandridge
        - Later was a school inspector
        - Wrote for the Melbourne Punch under the nom-de-plume Luke Smyley
        - Died 1894 in Prahran
    - **William Cox**
        - Born 1837 in Dublin
        - Married Rosa Webb in 1858 in Richmond
        - Editor of the Christian Reformer
        - Master of the National School in St Kilda
        - Died 1861 in St Kilda
    - **Wellington Cox**
        - Born 1839 in Dublin
        - Died 1858 in Collingwood
    - **Sarah Cox**
        - Born 1842 in Dublin
        - Married Thomas Southern in 1863
        - Had eight children
        - Died 1934 in Elwood

Crawley Family

- Migrated to Melbourne in 1852 on the *Martin Luther*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- Lived at Great Brunswick Street, Dublin
- **Hugh Crawley**
    - Born 1796 in Dublin
    - Owned a coal supply business in Dublin
    - Supplied coal to the poorhouses
    - Ran a sawmill and ironmongers in Great Bourke Street, Melbourne

    - Died 1853 in Melbourne
- **Hannah Crawley**
    - Born 1796 in Dublin
    - Died 1877 in Melbourne
- **Hannah Crawley**
    - Born late 1820s in Dublin
    - Migrated separately from the rest of her family
    - Married Frederick Farrell in 1859 in Hawthorn
    - Moved to Gisborne
    - Had seven children
    - Lived in Prahran
    - Frederick was a civil engineer, architect and surveyor
- **Mary Alice Crawley**
    - Born 1830 in Dublin
    - Migrated separately from the rest of her family
    - Married Thomas Anthony in 1855 in Melbourne
    - Had ten children
    - Lived in Prahran
    - Died 1898 in East Melbourne
- **John William Crawley**
    - Born early 1830s in Dublin
    - Migrated separately from the rest of her family
    - Married Sara Ann Maxwell in 1856
    - Purchased land in Prahran in 1857
    - Worked as an engineer for the Roads Board
    - Had six children
    - Lived in Malvern, Prahran, Warracknabeal and Warrnambool
    - Received an annual retirement sum of £1,184, 3s, 4d which was questioned in parliament for how high it was
    - Died 1903 in Warrnambool
- **Gertrude Crawley**
    - Born 1834 in Dublin
    - Died 1854 in Melbourne

- **Adelaide Crawley**
    - Born 1837 in Dublin
    - No further information available
- **Martha Crawley**
    - Born 1839 in Dublin
    - Married John Maxwell at All Saints church in St Kilda in 1862
    - Had three children
    - Died at Invermay Grove, Auburn
    - Probate of £704 was granted

Eades Family

- Migrated to Melbourne in 1853 on the *Argo*
- Church of Ireland or Presbyterian
- Lived at 12 Montgomery Street, Dublin
- **John Cranwill Eades**
    - Born 1806 in Dublin
    - Worked as a commission agent in Dublin
    - Worked for Treasury in the gold office in Melbourne
    - Had a salary of £400 per annum in 1856
    - Lived in Emerald Hill, Collingwood, South Yarra and Hawthorn
    - Retired in 1871 with an annual pension of £175
    - Died 1875
    - Probate of £143 was granted
- **Louisa Eades**
    - Born 1809 in Dublin
    - Had another child in Melbourne
    - Died 1862
- **George Eades**
    - Born 1830 in Dublin
    - Lived at Emerald Hill with his family
    - Had miners' rights in 1856.
    - Moved to Calcutta
    - Died in Calcutta in 1862

- **Christiana Louisa Eades**
  - Born 1832 in Melbourne
  - Married William Jones at St Peters, Eastern Hill
  - Had five children
- **Arthur William Eades**
  - Born 1835 in Dublin
  - Charged with drunkenness in 1865
  - Imprisoned for one month for vagrancy in 1868
  - Committed to Carlton Lunatic Asylum in 1870
  - Died at the Asylum in 1872
  - Coronial inquest found a scratch on his chest but deemed he died of apoplexy
- **Adelaide Eades**
  - Born 1837 in Dublin
  - Married George Wragge in 1863
- **Richard John Eades**
  - Born 1841 in Dublin
  - Worked for Francis and Co. in Elizabeth Street, a shipping agent with a salary of £200 per annum in 1856
  - Relocated to Calcutta and worked as a tea planter
  - Married Mary Eleana Sarah Fairweather in Calcutta in 1877
  - Joined the Freemasons in Calcutta in 1880
  - Had one daughter
  - Died in Calcutta in 1884 at the Kamar Kucher Tea Estate
- **Isabella Eades**
  - Born 1843 in Dublin
  - Married William Henry Herbert 1862 in Melbourne
  - Had at least one daughter
- **Jane Eliza Eades**
  - Born 1843 in Dublin
  - Married Richard Bradford in 1866
- **Caroline Eades**
  - Born 1848 in Dublin

- Married Reverend Francis Neale in 1866 in St Kilda
- Had at least one Daughter
- Died 1928 in Ascot Vale

Evans Family

- Lived at 34 Westland Row, Dublin
- Migrated during the 1850s
- Church of Ireland
- **John Tyrell Evans**
  - Born 1801 in Limerick, Ireland
  - Worked as a doctor in Dublin
  - Married Jemima Sexton who died in 1844 in Dublin
  - Listed as a qualified medical practitioner in Victoria in 1855, 1856, 1857 and 1861
  - Married Elizabeth Windsor in 1855
  - Lived at Robe Street, St Kilda
  - Appointed the public vaccinator for the district of Dromana in 1863
  - Died 1864
- **George Sexton Evans**
  - Born 1827 in Limerick, Ireland
  - Married Augusta
  - Had creditors to pay in Melbourne in 1854
  - Started a business with his future brother-in-law William Merry
  - Won the contract to build the Geelong-Ballarat railway in 1860.
  - Many issues with building railway
  - Sued the Victorian Government for breach of contract in 1863
  - Business partnership was dissolved in 1864
  - Led to George being declared insolvent in 1872
  - Paid a small dividend to his creditors in 1873
  - Lodged a patent for an improved nail making machine
  - Lodged a patent for spark catcher for locomotives in 1881.
  - Had at least three children
  - Lived at East Melbourne and Elsternwick

    - Died in 1896
    - Family continued litigious action against the Victorian government in 1910.
- **Charles Molloy Evans**
    - Born 1827 in Limerick, Ireland
    - Died at St Sidwells, Caulfield in 1914
- **Catherine Anna Evans**
    - Born 1832 in Dublin
    - Married George Willis in 1857
    - Died in 1890 in Sandringham
    - Left her estate to her brother George
- **Elizabeth Anna Evans**
    - Born 1836 in Dublin
    - Married William Robert Merry (George's business partner) in 1867
    - Had at least one son
    - Died 1897 in Elsternwick
- **Louisa Drury Evans**
    - Born 1840 in Dublin
    - Married John F.H Mitchell in 1883
    - Relocated to Kangaroo Flat
    - Died in 1913

Godkin Family

- Most likely migrated to Hobart before arriving in Melbourne prior to 1860
- May have lived at 13 Earl Street North, Dublin
- Catholic
- **James Joseph Godkin**
    - Born 1820-1825 in Dublin
    - Married Margaret Mary McCann in 1862
    - Was declared insolvent in 1863
    - Had the Spence brothers chasing debt
    - Lived at Moray Street, Emerald Hill in 1865
    - Managed hotels in Melbourne

- Appointed clerk and landing waiter at Warrnambool in 1866
- Appointed acting paymaster and receiver at Warrnambool in 1867
- In 1868 embezzled £200 from the customs house at Warrnambool
- In Police Gazette in 1868 listed as 40 or 45, 5 feet 9 inches, strong build, respectable appearance, straight nose, large mouth, discoloured teeth, dark hair rather grey and thin on top, beard, whiskers and moustache all grey, shaggy eyebrows, dark, fiery and restless eyes, blotched and ruddy complexion from drink, peculiar and swaggering gait and restless manner when speaking.
- Arrested in 1868 in Hamilton and was found hiding in some bushes
- Faced Warrnambool court looking dejected and was dismissed from public service
- Pleaded not guilty 17 November 1868
- Appeared in front of the chief justice of the supreme court on 18 November 1868
- Found guilty and sentenced on 20 November 1868, sentenced to 7 months simple imprisonment due to a glowing reference from his former boss
- Lived at South Melbourne in 1871
- Tried to manage hotels again
- Declared insolvent again in 1880 with debts of £171 9s and assets of £30.
- Wife Mary died 1885
- Applied to be candidate for auditor in North Melbourne but lost the election
- Died 1894 in North Melbourne

Hamilton Family

- Migrated in 1857 on the *Grand Trianon*
- **Sarah Ann Hamilton**
    - Born 1840 in Dublin
    - Listed as a servant on passenger list
    - Married William Rose in 1863 in St Kilda

- Had nine children
- Her husband William worked as tailor
- Sarah died in 1903 in St Kilda

Haverty & Costello Families

- Migrated during the 1850s
- Costello family lived at Moore Street, Dublin
- Catholic
- **James Joseph Haverty**
  - Born 1823 in County Cork, Ireland
  - Listed as a gentleman from Dublin
  - Married Margaret Mary Costello in 1859 at St Francis Cathedral in Melbourne
  - Lived at 45 Three Chain Road, Emerald Hill in 1865
  - Worked at the Crown Solicitors Office as a clerk and prosecutor
  - Official title was Crown solicitor clerk (3rd class)
  - Lived in Hawthorn in 1870
  - Had a yearly salary of £485
  - Died 1870 while on circuit in Castlemaine
  - Inquest found he died of natural causes
  - Parliamentary papers in 1874 stated that his widow Margaret would receive nine months' pay being £363, 15s
- **Margaret Mary Haverty (nee Costello)**
  - Born 1830 in Dublin
  - Married James Joseph Haverty in 1859 in Melbourne
  - Listed as sister of Mrs Michael Moran on the Central Hotel, Melbourne
  - In 1894 lived in a weatherboard house that she owned in Camberwell
  - Died in 1895
  - Probate valued her real estate at £700 and personal assets at £284
  - All her children lived with her
- **Mary Agnes Haverty**

    - Born 1861 in Emerald Hill
    - Never married
    - Lived with her brother James in Camberwell in 1903
    - Later lived in Hawthorn with her brother James from 1909 until 1938
    - Died 1938 in Hawthorn
    - Left an estate of £3,640 to her brother James
- **Elizabeth Esther Haverty**
    - Born 1863 in Emerald Hill
    - Died aged six months
- **Thomas Joseph Ignatius Haverty**
    - Born 1864 in Emerald Hill
    - Attended St Patricks College with a third class in history in 1875
    - Moved to St Francis Xavier College and in 1881 passed matriculation with credit and the civil service examination
    - Worked as a clerk in the Crown solicitor's office like his father
    - Died in 1897 aged 33 in Camberwell where he lived with his brother and sister
    - Probate of £265 was granted in 1898
- **James Joseph Haverty**
    - Born 1867 in Boroondara
    - In 1882 passed his matriculation and his civil service examination and attended St Francis Xavier College
    - Lived in Camberwell with his brother and sister
    - Lived in Hawthorn with his sister
    - Worked as an accountant and secretary
    - Manager of the Victorian Insurance Company
    - Member of the Melbourne Rotary Club
    - Died 1946 in Hawthorn
- **Patrick Haverty**
    - Born 1870 in Hawthorn
    - Died aged eleven months

Hayden Family

- Migrated in 1857 on the *Caroline Middleton*
- Catholic
- **John Hayden**
    - Born 1835 in Dublin
    - Worked as a tailor for Abraham Levi
    - Lived in a cottage in the backyard of the Levi House
    - Convicted of raping the Levi's ten-year-old daughter and infecting her with a sexually transmitted disease
    - Sentenced to seven years hard labour
    - Prison record stated that the following, height 5ft 7¾ in, sallow complexion, black hair, brown eyes, medium nose, medium mouth, medium chin, lower right eyelid disfigured, and knock knees.
    - After his release in 1871 no further information has been found

Keenan Family

- Migrated in 1853 on the *Marco Polo*
- Catholic
- **Patrick Keenan**
    - Born 1828 in Dublin
    - Worked as a tailor
    - In and out of prison for petty offences and theft with fines ranging from 10s to 40s
    - Prison record stated that Keenan was 5ft 3in, sallow complexion, light brown hair, brown eyes, large nose, medium mouth, medium chin, long visage, medium forehead and can read and write
    - Sentenced to 18 months hard labour in 1862 for pickpocketing
    - Sentenced to 12 months prison in 1864 for pickpocketing
    - Sentenced to 12 months prison in 1865 for pickpocketing
    - Sentenced to one month prison for robbery in 1866
    - Released from prison in 1866 but charged with intent to commit a felony and associating with disreputable characters. Sent back to prison for two months.
    - 1867 charged with stealing books and sent to prison for seven days

- 1867 sentenced for stealing trousers and sent to prison for three months
- 1868 sentenced to six months prison
- Additional six months later in 1868
- 1870 remanded for being a rogue and a vagabond
- Keenan would dress as a clergyman and situate himself around bridges and pickpocket his unsuspecting victims
- Sentenced to six months prison
- Argus described Keenan as bearing a strong resemblance to portraits of Bismarck
- Released in 1871
- Died in 1871 while imprisoned
- Inquest found he had an abscess the size of an egg on his brain
- Called an old class of convict and served eight previous convictions for various offences

Labertouche Family

- Migrated in 1852 on the *Formosa*
- Lived with his family at 36 Buckingham Street, Dublin
- Church of Ireland
- **Peter Paul Labertouche**
  - Born 1825 in Dublin
  - Attended Trinity College in 1842 and graduated in 1847 with a BA
  - Farther Abel owned ships and was a public notary
  - Worked as an auditor in Melbourne for two companies in 1854
  - 1854 joined the Freemasons in Melbourne
  - Was heavily involved in the Grand Masonic Balls over the years
  - Attended many government levees from 1854 right through his career in Melbourne
  - 1858 appointed secretary for roads and bridges
  - 1859 married Eleanor Annie Scales at Christ Church, Brunswick
  - Had six children
  - Lived in Brunswick

    - Joined the railways board as secretary in 1871
    - 1873 had one of his hands blown off during a hunting accident
    - Lived in East Melbourne
    - Worked as a civil servant until he retired
    - Had Labertouche Creek, Labertouche Caves and the town of Labertouche named after him.
    - Left Melbourne with Eleanor on the *Barbarossa II* and relocated to London
    - Died in Kensington, London 1907
    - His brother George Evans lived in Sydney, but performed as an actor in Melbourne in 1864
- **Pauline Labertouche**
    - Born 1860 in Melbourne
    - Listed as unmarried in a colonial gentry book in 1891.
- **Unnamed Labertouche**
    - Born 1861 in Melbourne
    - Stillborn
- **Ethel Adelaide Labertouche**
    - Born 1862 in Melbourne
    - Married Augustus Pelham Loftus the son of the Governor of New South Wales in 1885
- **Zoe Labertouche**
    - Born 1864 in Melbourne
    - Died in 1866 aged two
- **Raymond Labertouche**
    - Born 1866 in Melbourne
    - Died as an infant
- **Guy Neale Labertouche**
    - Born 1871 in Melbourne
    - Attended Scotch College
    - Joined the military
    - As a Lieutenant was appointed aide-de-camp to the governor
    - Served in India and achieved the rank of major

- Was killed in action in 1915 during the first world war

Ledwidge Family

- Migrated to Melbourne in 1855 on the *Gipsy Bride*
- Lived at 124 Upper Dorset Street in Dublin
- Catholic
- **Peter Ledwidge**
  - Born 1805 or 1809 in Dublin
  - Worked as a victualler in Dublin
  - Signed the William Smith O'Brien Petition
  - Lived in Ballarat and ran a Butcher business
  - Relocated to Melbourne
  - Died 1880 in Melbourne
- **Julia Ledwidge**
  - Born 1815 in Dublin
  - Lived in Ballarat
  - Admitted to Melbourne hospital in 1878 after falling down the post office stairs
  - Died 1898 in East Melbourne
- **S J Ledwidge**
  - Born 1823 in Dublin
  - Most likely Peter's brother
  - Ran a butcher shop in Ballarat
  - Was declared insolvent in 1858
  - Absolved of his debts in 1867
- **Louisa Ledwidge**
  - Born 1835 in Dublin
  - No further information
- **Simon Ledwidge**
  - Born 1837 in Dublin
  - Baptised at St Michan's Dublin
  - Married Agnes Mary Lott in 1864
  - Agnes was also from Dublin and migrated on the *Maori*

        - Agnes died 1867
        - Remarried Eliza Cooper in 1868
    - **Annastea Ledwidge**
        - Born 1841 in Dublin
        - Married Thomas Platt in 1860
    - **Josephina Ledwidge**
        - Born 1843 in Dublin
        - Married Ben Allen France
    - **Mary Ledwidge**
        - Born 1847 in Dublin
        - Married Thomas Joseph Moore in Ballarat in 1868
    - **Julia Ledwidge**
        - Born 1852 in Dublin
        - Baptised at St Michan's Dublin in 1852
        - Married Jessie Thomas Smith

MacNally Family

- Migrated prior to 1862
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Elizabeth MacNally**
    - Born 1842 in Dublin
    - Daughter of Patrick MacNally esquire of Dublin
    - Married Emmanuel Victor Matthieu
    - Had at least two sons
    - Witness in the Oakleigh scandal case
    - Died 1879

Marston Family

- Migrated prior to 1859
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- Family lived at 21 The Strand in Dublin
- **George Carlington Marston**
    - Born 1833 in Dublin

    - Married Catherine Ann Grigg from Cornwall at St Pauls in Melbourne
    - Worked as a chemist in Collingwood
    - Had at least four children, two who died young
    - Lived in Kew at 'Wimba Cottage'
    - Died in 1902

Mathews Family

- Migrated in 1856 on the *Ocean Monarch*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Sarah Mathews**
    - Born 1810 in Dublin
    - Husband Frederick was a music professor who died before they migrated
    - Died in 1874 in Elsternwick
- **Emma Mathews**
    - Born 1834 in Dublin
    - Caught cholera on the *Ocean Monarch*
    - Died on board in May 1856
- **Ellen Mathews**
    - Born 1839 in Dublin
    - Married William Plummer a JP from Warrnambool at St Pauls, Melbourne
    - Had at least three children
    - William was a former member of parliament
    - Lived at Brighton East
    - William died in 1879 and left an estate of £22,950 to Ellen
    - In 1880 lived in McKinnon
- **James Mathews**
    - Born 1841 in Dublin
    - Further information unknown

McCullagh Family

- Migrated separately in the 1850s
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- All daughters of William McCullagh of Dublin
- **Charlotte McCullagh**
    - Born 1825 in Dublin
    - Married Henry Phipps at St Pauls, Melbourne
    - Henry was a deputy grand master of the Oddfellows and laid a foundation stone at Manchester Hall in Melbourne
    - Henry was a JP and died 1880
    - Died 1891 and left her estate to her sister Sarah, Ross Cox was the executor of the estate
- **Sarah McCullagh**
    - Born 1830 in Dublin
    - Migrated on the *Hero* with members of the Cox family
    - Never married
    - Died in 1893 in St Kilda
    - Left her estate to her friend Mary Cox and former brother-in-law Ross Cox and their children
- **Elizabeth McCullagh**
    - Born 1833 in Dublin
    - Married Ross Cox in 1860
    - Died 1861 of premature confinement

McKiernan Family

- Migrated during the 1850s
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **Richard William Ormsby McKiernan**
    - Born 1835 in Dublin
    - Married Ann Watts in 1863 at St Marks, Fitzroy
    - Had a daughter who died after three days in 1864
    - Lived in Carlton in 1864
    - Worked as a clerk
    - Lived in Williamstown

        - Died 1867 and lived in Fitzroy
        - Ann remarried Peter Robert Mansergh in 1877 and had a few more children
- **Ormsby Horatio McKiernan**
    - Born 1867 in Melbourne
    - Moved to Sydney and worked as a singer there in 1898
    - Moved to Surrey, England and worked as a singer
    - Died in England in 1916

Murphy Family

- Migrated prior to 1855
- Catholic
- **James Murphy**
    - Born 1833 in Dublin
    - Married Mary Hamill in 1855, a Catholic from Edinburgh, Scotland
    - Had four children
    - In Victorian Police Gazette in 1864 for deserting his wife
    - Listed as a bricklayer, aged 30, 5 ft 6 in, fair complexion, sandy whiskers, light brown hair, slight scar on right side of upper lip. Wore a flannel jacket, plaid vest and moleskin trousers.
    - Claimed to have gone to Sandhurst and found in Echuca
    - Had to pay a surety of £25 to support his family or face six months prison
    - His wife and children were receiving 2s 6d a week from the Ladies' Benevolent Society
- **Mary Murphy**
    - Born 1857 in Melbourne
    - Further information unknown
- **John Murphy**
    - Born 1858 in Melbourne
    - Died 1859 aged one
- **Ann Eliza Murphy**
    - Born 1859 in Melbourne

    - Further information unknown
- **Fanny Murphy**
    - Born 1860 in Melbourne
    - Died 1861 aged one

O'Donnell Family

- Migrated in 1854 on the *Africa*
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- **George O'Donnell**
    - Born 1823 in Dublin
    - In and out of prison and received numerous fines for public order offences and drunkenness
    - Sentenced to 14 days prison and hard labour in 1857
    - In 1859 was violently assaulted and ended up at Melbourne Hospital
    - Sentenced to three months prison and hard labour in 1861
    - Prison record states the following, 5ft 8in, dark complexion, black hair, grey eyes, large nose, large mouth, broad chin, heavy eyebrows, long visage, medium forehead and could read and write. Scar on upper lip, chin, and left eyebrow
    - Sentenced to two months prison in 1862
    - Sentenced to two months prison in 1863
    - Sentenced to three months prison as a rogue and vagabond in 1870
    - Sentenced to 12 months prison as a rogue and vagabond later in 1870
    - Record stated he had an ugly scar on the side of his head, crown of his head, several on the back of his head, top of forehead, two scars over right eyebrow, several over left eyebrow, bridge of nose, left side of upper lip, left side of chin, lost several upper front teeth, scar inside lower right arm, right elbow disfigured.
    - Relocated from Melbourne Gaol to Pentridge in 1871
    - Sentenced to nine months hard labour in 1872 for stealing a watch

    - Died 1874 at Russell's boarding house, Melbourne
    - Coronial inquest found he died of apoplexy

O'Grady Family

- Migrated prior to 1857
- Lived in Montgomery Street and had a wine and spirit business in Henry Street, Dublin
- Catholic
- **John O'Grady**
    - Born 1820 in Dublin
    - Ran a wine and spirit business and owned hotels
    - Member of St Patricks Society
    - Raised money for and was on the committee for the St Vincent De Paul orphanage in Emerald Hill
    - Made an honorary secretary at St Patricks Society to raise funds for the Donegal relief fund
    - Died 1858 after falling from his horse and lived at East Melbourne
    - Inquest found he died of a fractured skull after his fall
- **Mary O'Grady**
    - Received probate from her husband John in 1859
    - Further information unknown

Rooke Family

- Migrated in 1855 on the *Rienzi* except for Thomas who arrived earlier
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- Lived at 19 Westmoreland Street, Dublin
- **Thomas Rooke**
    - Born 1808 in Dublin
    - Worked as a cutler and surgical instrument maker in Dublin
    - Lived in Emerald Hill
    - Worked as a merchant in Melbourne
    - Died in 1862 of acute inflammation
- **Eliza Rooke**

    - Born 1811 in Dublin
    - Died 1890 at her family home, ‘Bowen Terrace’, St Kilda
- **William Henry Rooke**
    - Born 1841 in Dublin
    - Died 1876 in Emerald Hill
- **Frederick Rooke**
    - Born 1842 in Dublin
    - Married in 1866 at St Peters Eastern Hill, Ellen Catherine Kelly whose father was from Rio, Brazil
    - Had eight children
    - Worked for Victorian Railways
    - Lived at Emerald Hill in 1867
    - Lived at Collingwood in 1869
    - Lived at Fitzroy in 1876
    - Lived at Richmond in 1884
    - Died in 1892 at his residence ’Chimo’ in Hawthorn
    - Probate of £1,080 16s 4d was granted in 1892
- **Thomas Rooke**
    - Born 1846 in Dublin
    - Died 1910 at ‘Bowen Terrace’ St Kilda
    - Left his estate to his sister Sophia of £4,815
- **Robert Rooke**
    - Born 1852 in Dublin
    - Died 1898 at ‘Bowen Terrace’ St Kilda
- **Sophia Georgina Rooke**
    - Born 1855 in Dublin
    - Worked as a schoolteacher
    - Died in 1922 and left an estate of £8,244 17s 3d

Scott Family

- Migrated separately on the *Falcon* in 1853 and the *Indian Queen* in 1854
- Protestant (Church of Ireland)
- Lived at Mount Pleasant Street, Dublin

- Mother Anna died in 1845
- Father Benjamin died in 1847
- **Anna Scott**
    - Born 1833 in Dublin
    - Attended girls' college in London
    - Married John Joseph Simpson at St James Cathedral in 1854
    - Spent time on the goldfields
    - Had at least six children
    - Lived in Hotham in 1865
    - John died 1892 in Fitzroy
    - Died 1893 in Surrey Hills
- **Louisa Scott**
    - Born 1835 in Dublin
    - Attended girls' college in London
    - Married Captain John Vincent at St James Cathedral
    - Died in 1854 in childbirth
- **Samuel Scott**
    - Born 1836 in Dublin
    - Attended the Blue Coat school in Dublin
    - Started life in Victoria on the goldfields
    - Worked as a school master
    - Graduated from Moore College in Sydney in 1872
    - Ordained a deacon in 1872
    - 1873 ordained a priest in Melbourne by the bishop of Melbourne
    - In. charge of parishes of Sunbury, Benalla, Heathcote, Eaglehawk, Yarraville and Steiglitz
    - Died 1902 in Seymour
- **Benjamin Scott**
    - Born 1837 in Dublin
    - Attended the Blue Coat school in Dublin
    - Married Sarah Morton in 1868 in Moolap
    - Had at least two daughters
    - Ran a failed school with his brother Edward

        - Worked as a teacher
        - In 1870 applied to work as a teacher in Tasmania
        - Died 1875 lived in Eltham
    - **Henry Forde Scott**
        - Born 1840 in Dublin
        - Attended the Blue Coat school in Dublin
        - Started on the goldfields as a fourteen-year-old
        - Worked as a school master
        - Joined the Anglican church in the 1860s
        - Married Jane Eliza Scott in 1863
        - Preached at St James Cathedral
        - Was the chaplain for Melbourne Gaol
        - Worked in the 'slums' of Melbourne
        - Worked as chaplain for the Melbourne and Women's hospitals
        - Wrote journals about his early life in the colony and work as a chaplain in approximately 1902, also wrote letters detail his family past to one of his distant relatives around this time
        - Died 1912 in Camberwell
    - **Edward Scott**
        - Born 1844 in Dublin
        - Sent to a family to nurse after his mother died
        - Arrived in Melbourne in late 1850s
        - Started a failed school with his brother Benjamin
        - Registered as a teacher in 1863, ID 1846
        - Died in 1887 in Footscray
        - Coronial inquest found he died of natural causes

Stark Family

- Migrated to Melbourne by 1856
- Catholic
- Lived at D'Olier Street, Dublin
- **Malcolm Alexander Stark**
    - Born 1814 in Dublin
    - Worked as a painter

- Married Ellen Bannan in 1838 at St Andrews church
- In 1848 signed the William Smith O'Brien petition
- Advertised French paper hangings in local Dublin papers
- 1850 Dublin guide listed as living at 10 D'Olier Street and business at 15 Fleet Street, Dublin
- 1851 a fire occurred near his home and Malcolm assisted in fighting the fire with his ladders, he was subsequently praised for his efforts in the local papers
- In 1851 was paid for work completed in poor houses in Dublin
- Lived at Chetwynd Street, North Melbourne in 1856
- Worked as a painter and decorative finisher
- Died in 1860 in North Melbourne of consumption

- **Ellen Stark**
  - Born 1814 in Dublin
  - Struggled financially after her husband died in 1860
  - Had a terracotta pot stolen from her home in 1870
  - Lived with her three children
  - Died 1880 in North Melbourne
- **Malcolm Bannan Stark**
  - Born 1849 in Dublin
  - Educated at St Patricks College
  - Attended Melbourne University
  - Attended the Governor's Levee in 1866
  - Passed law part 1 and part 2 examinations at Melbourne University in 1867
  - Attended the levee for the Duke of Edinburgh in 1867
  - Passed law part 4 examination at Melbourne University in 1868
  - Appointed acting clerk at petty session court in Hotham in 1874
  - Appointed registrar of the county court, clerk of the court of mines and acting clerk of petty sessions in 1874
  - Lived at 2 Walworth Terrace, North Melbourne in 1882
  - Worked for the crown law department for over 20 years
  - Died 1896 in North Melbourne

- **Annie V Stark**
    - Born in Dublin
    - Worked as a piano teacher
    - Attended the Melbourne Cup in 1887 and 1889 and had her dress mentioned in the newspaper
    - Left the colony after her brother died in 1896 and sold her personal effects including a piano
- **Mary Helena Stark**
    - Born 1854 in Dublin
    - Worked as schoolteacher in North Melbourne
    - When the *Public Services Act* (1883) was passed Mary was classified as a class five teacher
    - Mary, and other teachers disputed their classification and legally took the fight up with the government
    - Faced less than flattering reviews by school inspectors
    - Supreme court found in favour of Mary
    - Victorian Government appealed to Privy council
    - Privy council found in favour of Mary
    - Died 1891 in North Melbourne

Wright Family

- Migrated in 1861 on the Shackamaxon
- Father Thomas Wright of Dublin
- Protestant
- **Jane Wright**
    - Born 1840 in Dublin
    - Married Reginald William Bell in 1862
    - Died 1913 in Hamilton
- **Emily Louisa Wright**
    - Born 1842 in Dublin
    - Married David Potts in 1863 at the Wesley Church, Melbourne
    - Had at least three children
    - Died 1889 at Warrnambool

- **Teresa Wright**
    - Born 1844 in Dublin
    - Died 1881 in Bathurst, NSW

Young Family

- Migrated prior to 1860
- **Margaret Young**
    - Born 1839 in Dublin
    - Daughter of James Young of Dublin
    - Married Thomas Carter Morgan in 1860 in Richmond
    - Had eight children
    - Died 1912 in St Kilda
    - Left and estate of £272 4d survived by her children and husband

Appendix B: Sampled Trieste Migrants Register

Table of Trieste migrants position as of 1980.

Table 4: List of Trieste migrants position as of 1980.

Name & Age in 1980	Occupation	Suburb	Additional Information
Carlo Baldassi, 57	Cook	Northcote	Naturalized 1960, Died 1979.
Bianca Baldassi, 56	Home duties	Northcote	Naturalised prior to 1963, Died 2011.
Adriana Baldassi, 31	Unknown	Unknown	
Sabina Baldassi, 26	Unknown	Unknown	
Archimedes (Archie) Biasin, 54	Fitter and turner	Glenroy	Naturalised prior to 1967, died 2007.
Lia Biasin, 51	Home duties	Glenroy	Naturalised prior to 1967, died 1996.
Mario Biasin, 29	Business owner	Wantirna	Naturalised 1967.
Robert Biasin, 16	Student	Glenroy	Born in Australia
Aldo Birsa, 46	Boilermaker	Avondale Heights	Naturalised 1962.
David Birsa	Student	Avondale Heights	Born in Australia
Lucia Birsa	Home Duties	Avondale Heights	Aldo's mother, naturalised 1969, died 1972.
Giovanni Bois, 50	Carpenter	Glenroy	Naturalised prior to 1963, died 2009
Licia Bois, 48	Home duties	Glenroy	Naturalised prior to 1963,
Mauro Bois, 27	Builder	Eastwood NSW	Naturalised prior to 1977, moved to NSW.
Luigi Bratus, 61	Car Assembler	Coburg	Naturalised 1962, died 2000.
Alma Bratus, 59	Machinist	Coburg	Naturalised 1962, died 2008.
Tatiana Bratus, 35	Sales assistant (1963)	Unknown	Naturalised 1962
Susanna Bratus, 25	Unknown	Unknown	
Alberto Campana, 46	Boilermaker	Glenroy	Naturalised 1965, died 2000.
Laura Campana, 43	Home duties	Glenroy	Naturalised 1965,
Denis Campana, 16	Student	Glenroy	Born in Australia.
Giuseppe (Joseph) Cesar, 58	Press Setter	Fawkner	Naturalised 1961, died 2013.
Lucia Cesar, 56	Machinist	Fawkner	Naturalised 1961.
Dario Cesar, 36	Clerk	Craigieburn	Naturalised 1961.
Mihael Cesar	Unknown	Fawkner	Born in Australia.
Otello Ciolli, 55	Machine operator	Sunshine	Naturalised 1962, died 1984.
Giuseppina Ciolli, 59	Home duties	Sunshine	Naturalised 1962
Roberto Ciolli, 35	Salesman	Ashburton	Naturalised 1962
Mario DelConte, 66	Motor Vehicle finisher	Dandenong	Naturalised 1968, Died 1986
Angela DelConte, 65	Home duties	Dandenong	Naturalised prior to 1972, died 1995.

Name & Age in 1980	Occupation	Suburb	Additional Information
Rinaldo DelConte, 43	Mechanic and fitter	Avondale Heights	Naturalised 1968.
Franco DelConte, 40	Unknown	Unknown	
Rosa DelConte, 33	Unknown	Unknown	
Fabio DelConte, 31	Clerk	Belgrave Heights	Naturalised prior to 1972
Mario Delconte	Student	Avondale Heights	Born in Australia
Giordano De Marchi, 58	Restaurant owner	Moonee Ponds	
Giuseppina De Marchi, 55	Waitress	Moonee Ponds	Naturalised prior 1972.
Dino De Marchi, 36	Lawyer	Glenroy	Naturalised 1966.
Ralph De Marchi, 23	Unknown	Moonee Ponds	Born in Australia
Francesco Dilizza, 50	Unknown	Pascoe Vale	
Vanda Delizza, 47	Home duties	Pascoe Vale	Naturalised prior to 1980.
Henry Dilizza	Hairdresser	Pascoe Vale	Born in Australia
Umberto Fumi, 58	Mechanic and fitter	Brunswick	Naturalised 1961.
Paola Fumi, 56	Home duties	Brunswick	Naturalised 1961, died 2021
Aldo Fumi, 32	Music manager	Brunswick	Naturalised prior to 1972.
Gianni (John) Fumi, 31	Draftsman	Moonee Ponds	Naturalised prior to 1972.
Angelo Giudetti, 33	Butcher	Footscray	
Mario Pellis, 57	Labourer	Ascot Vale	Naturalised 1963, died 2009.
Alice Pellis, 58	Home duties	Ascot Vale	Naturalised 1963, died 1990.
Enrica Raimondi (nee Pellis), 35	Home duties	Moonee Ponds	Naturalised 1963, married Renato Raimondi.
Marcello Pellis, 56	Specialised turner	Moonee Ponds	Naturalised 1963, died 2002.
Arles Pellis, 55	Home duties	Moonee Ponds	Naturalised 1963, died 2015.
Giorgio Pellis, 34	Unknown	Moonee Ponds	
Sergio Pellis, 27	Tutor	Essendon	Naturalised 1963.
Virgilio Pigo, 50	Boilermaker	Pascoe Vale	Naturalised prior 1963, died 2017
Lucia Pigo, 50	Home duties	Pascoe Vale	Naturalised 1964, died 2016.
Giordino Ruan, 60	Technician	Coburg	Naturalised prior 1963, died 1981.
Angela Ruan, 57	Home duties	Coburg	Naturalised prior 1963.
Rossana Vidotto (nee Ruan), 37	Home Duties	Glenroy	Married Guerino Vidotto
Guerino Vidotto, 43	Butcher	Glenroy	Naturalised prior to 1967.
Alessandro (Alexander) Zanier, 58	Wood Machinist	Airport West	Naturalised prior to 1972.
Iolanda Zanier, 55	Factory worker	Airport West	Naturalised 1968.
Fulvio (Eddie) Zanier, 32	Draftsman	Airport West	Naturalised prior to 1977.
Gianni (John) Zanier, 27	Jeweller	Springvale South	Naturalised prior to 1972.

Trieste migrants from the sample

Baldassi Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at via dell'Istria, 89, Trieste
- Lived at 68 Derby Street, Northcote in Melbourne
- **Carlo Baldassi**
    - Born 1923 in Trieste
    - 1937-1939 worked as an apprentice pastry chef
    - 1939-1940 worked in a small kitchen
    - 1940-1941 worked as a pastry chef
    - 1941-1942 worked in a small kitchen
    - 1942-1943 worked as a kitchen boy
    - Married Bianca Darini in 1947
    - 1950-1955 worked a guard for the Finance Corps
    - Worked as a cook in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1960
    - Died 1979
- **Bianca Baldassi (nee Darini)**
    - Born 1924 in Trieste
    - Naturalised prior to 1963
    - Home duties
    - Died 2011
- **Adriana Baldassi**
    - Born 1949 in Trieste
    - Further information unknown
- **Sabina Baldassi**
    - Born 1954 in Trieste
    - Further information unknown

Biasin Family

- Migrated in 1954 on the *Castel Verde*
- Lived at Scala Santa 40, Trieste

- Lived in Bonegilla migrant camp for six months 1954
- Rented at 38 Watson Avenue, Belmont 1954-1956
- Rented at 4 Napier Crescent, Essendon 1956-1959
- Owned 75 Augustine Terrace, Glenroy 1959 onwards
- **Archimedes Biasin**
    - Born 1926 in Trieste
    - 1940-1944 worked as a photographer
    - 1944-1945 forced labour
    - 1945-1952 worked as a photographer
    - Married Lia Spillar in 1949
    - 1952-1953 worked as a photographer
    - 1954 unemployed
    - Worked in a foundry
    - Worked as a fitter and turner
    - Naturalised prior to 1967
    - Died 2007
- **Lia Biasin**
    - Born 1929 in Trieste
    - Home duties in Trieste
    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1967
    - Died 1996
- **Mario Biasin**
    - Born 1954 in Trieste
    - Attended Catholic primary school
    - Attended Glenroy Tech
    - Naturalised 1967
    - Married Glenda Mitchell in 1971
    - Had four children
    - Worked at Board of Works
    - Qualified as an accountant
    - Worked as an accountant
    - Started Metricon Homes with business partner George Kline

    - Owns part of Melbourne Victory Football Club
    - Purchased Triestina Football Club in Trieste in 2016
- **Robert Biasin**
    - Born 1967 in Melbourne
    - Had two children
    - Worked at Herald and Herald Sun newspapers in printing factory
    - Worked as a security guard

Birsa Family

- Migrated in 1954 on the *Castel Verde*
- Lived at Strada per Longera 61, Trieste
- Rented at 28 Cambridge Street, Armadale
- Rented at 187 The Avenue, Coburg
- Lived at (owned?) 9 Lacy Street, Avondale Heights
- **Aldo Birsa**
    - Born 1934 in Trieste
    - Worked in odd jobs in Trieste
    - Worked as a boilermaker in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1962
- **Lucia Birsa**
    - Aldo's widowed mother
    - Born 1897 in Trieste
    - Home duties in Trieste
    - Migrated via aeroplane in 1963
    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1968
    - Died 1972
- **David Birsa**
    - Born in Melbourne
    - Student in 1980

Bois Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*

- Lived at Via Caprin 3, Trieste
- Lived at 2 Glenroy Road, Glenroy
- **Giovanni Bois**
    - Born 1930 in Cormons, Italy
    - From 1950 worked at a guard in the Polizia Civile
    - Married Licia Orlando in 1952
    - Worked as a carpenter in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1963
    - Died 2009
- **Licia Bois**
    - Born 1932 in Trieste
    - Home duties in Trieste and Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1963
- **Mauro Bois**
    - Born 1953 in Trieste
    - Naturalised prior to 1977
    - Moved to NSW
    - Worked as a builder

Bratus Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at Piazzale Giarizzole 5, Trieste
- Lived at 12 Champ Street, Coburg
- **Luigi Bratus**
    - Born 1919 in Trieste
    - Worked as a carpenter for various firms from 1937-1946
    - Married Alma Riccobon in 1944
    - Worked as a guard for the Finance Corps from 1947-1955
    - Worked as a car assembler in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1962
    - Died 2000
- **Alma Bratus**
    - Born 1921 in Trieste

    - Worked as a machinist in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1962
    - Died 2008
- **Tatiana Bratus**
    - Born 1945 in Trieste
    - Worked as a sales assistant in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1962
- **Susanna Bratus**
    - Born 1955 in Trieste

Campana Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at Via Ponziana 6, Trieste
- Lived at 10 Norfolk Street, Yarraville
- Lived at 3 Golf Links Road, Glenroy
- **Alberto Campana**
    - Born 1934 in San Donà di Piave, Venezia
    - 1948-1951 worked as an apprentice welder
    - 1952-1954 worked as an electrical motor vehicle welder
    - Married Laura Ciuffi in 1955
    - Worked as a boiler maker in Melbourne
    - Former president of the *San Giusto Alabarda social club*
    - Naturalised in 1965
    - Died 2000
- **Laura Campana**
    - Born 1937 in Trieste
    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1965
- **Denis Campana**
    - Born 1964 in Melbourne
    - Owns a construction business
    - Current president of *Trieste Social Club*

Cesar Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at Via di Romagna, 146, Trieste
- Lived in Fawkner in Melbourne
- **Giuseppe (Joseph) Cesar**
    - Born 1922 in Trieste
    - 1947-1955 worked as a corporal in the *Polizia Civile*
    - Married Lucia Cozzi in 1943
    - Worked as a press setter in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1961
    - Died 2013
- **Lucia Cesar**
    - Born 1924 in Trieste
    - Worked as a machinist in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1961
- **Dario Cesar**
    - Born 1944 in Trieste
    - Worked as a clerk in Melbourne
    - Lived in Craigieburn
    - Naturalised 1961
- **Mihael Cesar**
    - Born in Melbourne

Ciolli Family

- Migrated in 1954 on the *Castel Verde*
- Lived at Via del Veltro, 69, Trieste
- Lived at 1 Shirley Street, St Albans
- Lived at 50 Warwick Road, Sunshine
- **Otello Ciolli**
    - Born 1925 in Rome, Italy
    - Married Giuseppina Arfilli in 1947
    - Worked as mechanic until 1943
    - 1943-1945 worked as a baker for United States military

    - 1945 relocated to Trieste and worked for his father's horse stable
    - Worked as a machine operator in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1962
    - Died 1984
- **Giuseppina Ciolli**
    - Born 1921 on Grambettola, Italy
    - Home duties in Trieste and Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1962
- **Roberto Ciolli**
    - Born 1945 in Trieste
    - Naturalised in 1962
    - Worked as salesman
    - Lived in Ashburton

DelConte Family

- Migrated 1957 on the Flaminia
- Lived at Strada Vecchia dell 'Istria, 185, Trieste
- Lived at 30 Stuart Street, Dandenong
- **Mario DelConte**
    - Born 1914 in Trieste
    - Worked for various banks in Trieste
    - Married Angela Prodan circa 1936
    - Worked as a motor vehicle finisher in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1968
    - Died 1986
- **Angela DelConte**
    - Born 1915 in Pinguente (Istria)
    - Home duties in Trieste and Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
    - Died 1995
- **Rinaldo DelConte**
    - Born 1937 in Trieste
    - Worked as a mechanic in Trieste

    - Worked as a mechanic in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1968
    - Lived in Dandenong
    - Lived in Avondale Heights
- **Franco DelConte**
    - Born 1940 in Trieste
- **Rosa DelConte**
    - Born 1947 in Trieste
- **Fabio DelConte**
    - Born 1949 in Trieste
    - Worked as a clerk
    - Lived at Belgrave Heights
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
- **Mario DelConte**
    - Born in Melbourne
    - Son of Rinaldo

De Marchi Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at Guardiella, 936, Trieste
- Lived in Moonee Ponds in Melbourne
- **Giordino De Marchi**
    - Born 1922 in Trieste
    - Worked as a corporal in the *Polizia Civile* in Trieste
    - Married Giuseppina Scaravaggi in 1941
    - Owned a restaurant in Melbourne
    - Lived in Moonee Ponds
- **Giuseppina De Marchi**
    - Born 1925 in Fara Olivana con Sola (Bergamo)
    - Worked as a waitress in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
- **Dino De Marchi**
    - Born 1944 in Trieste

    - Was a major in the Australian army
    - Served in Vietnam
    - Lived in Glenroy
    - Owns a law firm in Melbourne
- **Ralph De Marchi**
    - Born 1957 in Melbourne
    - Lived in Moonee Ponds
    - Owns a real estate business
    - Current treasurer at *Trieste Social Club*

DiLizzi Family

- Migrated 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at via Fontenella, 105, Trieste
- Lived at Pascoe Vale in Melbourne
- **Francesco DiLizzi**
    - Born 1930 in Maresego, Yugoslavia
    - Married Vanda Fait in Trieste prior to 1955
    - 1953-1955 Worked as a guard for *Polizia Civile*
- **Vanda DiLizzi**
    - Born 1933 in Muggia, Italy
    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1980
- **Henry DiLizzi**
    - Born in Melbourne
    - Worked as a hairdresser

Fumi Family

- Migrated in 1956 on the *Aurelia*
- Lived at Guardiella Timignano, 1651, Trieste
- Lived at 78 Francis Street, Ascot Vale
- Owned 535 Victoria Street, Brunswick West
- **Umberto Fumi**
    - Born 1922 in Trieste

    - Worked as a truck mechanic in Trieste
    - Married Paola Rumin in 1947
    - Worked as a mechanic in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1961
- **Paola Fumi**
    - Born 1924 in Saloga, Italy
    - Worked as a secretary at *Il Picolo* newspaper in Trieste
    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1961
    - Died 2021
- **Aldo Fumi**
    - Born 1948 in Trieste
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
    - Worked as a town planner
    - Performed as a musician and wrote songs
    - Started a music management and promotion business still operating today
    - Lives in Hawthorn
- **Gianni Fumi**
    - Born 1949 in Trieste
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
    - Worked as a musician
    - Worked as a draftsman
    - Lived in Brunswick

Giudetti Family

- Migrated 1961 on the *Australia*
- Lived in Footscray in Melbourne
- **Angelo Giudetti**
    - Born 1947 in Trieste
    - Worked as a butcher in Trieste
    - Worked as a butcher in Melbourne
    - Joined the Hells Angels for three months to learn English

    - Managed butcher shops
    - Managed pizza shops
    - Naturalised circa 2016
    - Volunteers behind the bar at *Trieste Social Club*

Pellis Family

- One family migrated on the *Toscana* in 1955 and the on the *Fairsea* in 1956
- Lived together at via Cristoforo Columbo 14, Trieste
- **Marcello Pellis**
    - Born 1923 in Trieste
    - Mario Pellis is his older brother
    - Worked as a specialised fitter and turner in Trieste
    - Married Arles Paulin in 1946
    - Worked as a specialised fitter and turner in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1963
    - Lived in Moonee Ponds
    - Died 2002
- **Arles Pellis**
    - Born 1925 in Aquileia, Italy
    - Older sister, Alice married her brother-in-law Mario
    - Ran a small café with her sister in Ascot Vale
    - Naturalised 1963
    - Died 2015
- **Giorgio Pellis**
    - Born 1946 in Trieste
    - Lived in Moonee Ponds
- **Sergio Pellis**
    - Born 1953 in Trieste
    - Worked as a tutor in Melbourne
    - Lived in Essendon
    - Naturalised 1963
- **Mario Pellis**
    - Born 1923 in Trieste

    - Marcello Pellis is his younger brother
    - Worked as driver in Trieste
    - Married Alice Paulin in 1943
    - Worked as a labourer in Melbourne
    - Naturalised in 1963
    - Lived in Ascot Vale
    - Died 2009
- **Alice Pellis**
    - Born 1922 in Aquileia, Trieste
    - Younger sister, Arles married her brother-in-law Marcello
    - Ran a small café with her sister in Ascot Vale
    - Naturalised 1963
    - Died 1990
- **Enrica Pellis**
    - Born 1945 in Trieste
    - Married Renato Raimondi, foundation member and later president of *Trieste Social Club*
    - Naturalised 1963

Pigo Family

- **Virgilio Pigo**
    - Born 1930 in Grado, Gorizia, Trieste
    - Worked as mechanic in Trieste
    - Migrated on the *Toscana* in 1955
    - Married Lucia di Bari via proxy in 1956
    - Worked as a boilermaker in Melbourne
    - Lived in Pascoe Vale
    - Naturalised in 1964
    - Died 2017
- **Lucia Pigo**
    - Born 1930 in Zonguldak, Turkey
    - Worked as a sales assistant at a clothing store in Trieste
    - Migrated on the *Aurelia* in 1956

    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1964
    - Died 2016

Ruan Family

- Migrated in 1956 on the *Fairsea* and the *Flaminia*
- Lived at via Rigutti, 7, Trieste
- Lived at Coburg in Melbourne
- **Giordano Ruan**
    - Born 1920 in Trieste
    - Married Angela Longo in Trieste prior to 1943
    - Worked as a technician in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1963
    - Died 1981
- **Angela Ruan**
    - Born 1923 in Rovigno, Yugoslavia
    - Home duties in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1963
- **Rossana Ruan**
    - Born 1943 in Trieste
    - Married Guerino Vidotto in Melbourne
    - Lived in Glenroy

Vidotto Family

- Migrated in 1961 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived in Pascoe Vale
- **Guerino Vidotto**
    - Born in 1937
    - Worked as a butcher in Trieste
    - Worked as a butcher in Melbourne
    - Appeared on *In Melbourne Tonight* as ‘Rino the Butcher’
    - Married Rossana Ruan in Melbourne
    - Member of *Trieste Social Club*

Zanier Family

- Migrated in 1955 on the *Flaminia*
- Lived at Strada Vecchia per l'Istria, 167, Trieste
- Lived in Belmont, then Airport West in Melbourne
- **Alessandro Zanier**
    - Born 1922 in Sevegliano, Udine, Italy
    - Married Iolanda Cognig in 1946
    - Worked as a wood machinist apprentice
    - Worked as a guard for the *Polizia Civile*
    - Worked as a factory worker in Geelong
    - Worked as a wood machinist in Melbourne
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
- **Iolanda Zanier**
    - Born 1925 in Trieste
    - Worked in a shoe factory in Melbourne
    - Had a daughter in Melbourne
    - Naturalised 1968
- **Fulvio Zanier**
    - Born 1948 in Trieste
    - Worked as draftsman
    - Conscripted in Australian army and fought in the Vietnam war
    - Started an import business
    - Lived in Airport West
    - Lived in Templestowe
    - Naturalised prior to 1977
- **Gianni Zanier**
    - Born 1953 in Trieste
    - Lived in Springvale South
    - Worked as a jeweller
    - Naturalised prior to 1972
    - Lived in Brighton

Appendix C: Ethics

Ethics approval

Brent Biasin <brent.biasin@live.vu.edu.au>

Quest Ethics Notification - Application Process Finalised - Application Approved

- Robert Pascoe <robert.pascoe@vu.edu.au>
- Dianne Hall <dianne.hall@vu.edu.au>
- Brent Biasin <brent.biasin@live.vu.edu.au>
- quest.noreply@vu.edu.au <quest.noreply@vu.edu.au>

quest.noreply@vu.edu.au Wednesday, March 17th 2021, 14:36:21 AEDT

To: Dianne, Robert, Me

Dear PROF ROB PASCOE,

Your ethics application has been formally reviewed and finalised.

» Application ID: HRE20-206
» Chief Investigator: PROF ROB PASCOE
» Other Investigators: ASPR DIANNE HALL
» Application Title: Comparison of the urban migrant experience in Melbourne of immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961
» Form Version: 13-07

The application has been accepted and deemed to meet the requirements of the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) 'National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007)' by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee. Approval has been granted for two (2) years from the approval date; 17/03/2021.

Continued approval of this research project by the Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee (VUHREC) is conditional upon the provision of a report within 12 months of the above approval date or upon the completion of the project (if earlier). A report proforma may be downloaded from the Office for Research website at: http://research.vu.edu.au/hrec.php.

Please note that the Human Research Ethics Committee must be informed of the following: any changes to the approved research protocol, project timelines, any serious events or adverse and/or unforeseen events that may affect continued ethical acceptability of the project. In these unlikely events, researchers must immediately cease all data collection until the Committee has approved the changes. Researchers are also reminded of the need to notify the approving HREC of changes to personnel in research projects via a request for a minor amendment. It should also be noted that it is the Chief Investigators' responsibility to ensure the research project is conducted in line with the recommendations outlined in the National Health and Medical Research Council (NHMRC) 'National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Human Research (2007).'

On behalf of the Committee, I wish you all the best for the conduct of the project.

Secretary, Human Research Ethics Committee
Phone: 9919 4781 or 9919 4461
Email: researchethics@vu.edu.au

This is an automated email from an unattended email address. Do not reply to this address.

Ethics information to participants

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

You are invited to participate

You are invited to participate in a research project entitled: Comparison of the migrant experience in Melbourne of immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961.

This project is being conducted by a student researcher Brent Biasin as part of a Master of Research at Victoria University under the supervision of Chief Investigators Professor Robert Pascoe and Associate Professor Dianne Hall from the Institute of Sustainable Industries and Liveable Cities (ISILC)

Project explanation

A comparison of the migrant experience in Melbourne of immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961. The data on the Dublin migrants will be acquired through archival research. The data on the Trieste migrants will be acquired through archive sources and oral history interviews. This information will be collated and the key common features, such as employment, place of residence, association with clubs and societies will be compared between the two migrant groups.

What will I be asked to do?

Be involved in an oral history interview about your experience as a Triestine migrant in Melbourne. Interviews may be as long as two hours depending on how the interview proceeds and how much information is shared. The interviews will either be face to face or via video conferencing software such as Zoom. If necessary, a secondary interview may be conducted if further information is required, the original interview was cut short, or personal sources such as photos, letters or diaries are to be shared. A full transcript of the interview will be sent to you to view and remove any information you do not wish to be shared within the project.

What will I gain from participating?

The involvement in a study on the migrant experience of Triestine immigrants in Melbourne, therefore allowing the unique experience of Triestine migrants to be shared.

How will the information I give be used?

The oral history interviews will be used to gather information about how Triestine migrants experienced Melbourne and their sense of place as migrants in Melbourne. This will then be used in comparison with Dublin migrants from the 1850s in Melbourne. If you wish your details and information to remain confidential all steps will be taken to ensure that all identifying information remains confidential, however while every measure will be taken you may still be able to be identified within the Triestine community,

What are the potential risks of participating in this project?

Minimal risks, some discomfort if the questions bring up uncomfortable experiences from the past. If the discomfort becomes excessive a break from the interview will be arranged. If at any time a participant wishes to leave the study they can do so. The interview may make a participant feel weary and breaks, or shortened interviews will be arranged. In relation to Covid-19 all risk mitigation measures as recommended by the state and federal health authorities will be followed, otherwise video conferencing will be used to ensure any Covid-19 risks are entirely removed.

How will this project be conducted?

Oral history with face to face interviews, or video conferencing interviews will be conducted. The information gathered will be utilised to understand how Triestine migrants experienced Melbourne as well as their sense of place in Melbourne. This will then be used in comparison with Dublin migrants from the 1850s in Melbourne.

Who is conducting the study?

Institute of Sustainable Industries and Liveable Cities, Victoria University

Chief Investigator: Professor Robert Pascoe – Phone: 0418 173 815 – Email: robert,pascoe@vu.edu.au
Student Researcher: Brent Biasin – Phone: 0402 037 295 – Email: brent.biasin@bigpond.com

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the Chief Investigator listed above.
If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

Ethics informed consent form

VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

CONSENT FORM FOR PARTICIPANTS INVOLVED IN RESEARCH

INFORMATION TO PARTICIPANTS:
We would like to invite you to be a part of a study into a research project entitled: Comparison of the migrant experience in Melbourne of immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961. This project is being conducted by a student researcher Brent Biasin as part of a Master of Research at Victoria University under the supervision of Chief Investigators Professor Robert Pascoe and Associate Professor Dianne Hall from the Institute of Sustainable Industries and Liveable Cities (ISILC). Oral history interviews will be conducted with Triestine migrants in Melbourne to gain an understanding of their experience in Melbourne and their sense of place in Melbourne. This information will be used in comparison with Dublin migrants from the 1850s. The risks associated include mild discomfort as some of the questions may bring back painful memories, participants can take a break from the interview, or leave the study at any time if they wish. The risk of tiredness from the length and time of the interview may occur, breaks and shortened interviews will be arranged. Finally, covid-19 risk where all risk mitigation procedures will be made as per the state and federal health advice, or video conferring interviews conducted.

CERTIFICATION BY PARTICIPANT

I, "[Click here & type participant's name]"
of "[Click here & type participant's suburb]"

certify that I am at least 18 years old and that I am voluntarily giving my consent to participate in the study: Comparison of the migrant experience in Melbourne of immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961, being conducted at Victoria University by: Brent Biasin

I certify that the objectives of the study, together with any risks and safeguards associated with the procedures listed hereunder to be carried out in the research, have been fully explained to me by:

Brent Biasin

and that I freely consent to participation involving the below mentioned procedures:

- Oral History interview between one to two hours depending on how much information is shared, either face to face or via video conferencing software
- Secondary interview if required to gather further information as well as view or collect personal sources such as photos, letters or diaries.
- A full transcript of the interview will be sent to view and remove any information you do not wish to be shared with the project.

I certify that I have had the opportunity to have any questions answered and that I understand that I can withdraw from this study at any time and that this withdrawal will not jeopardise me in any way.

I have been informed that the information I provide can be kept confidential if I wish to do so.

Please keep all information provided confidential: ☐

I consent for the use of photographs or other forms of family memorabilia for the research project: ☐

If any memorabilia or photographs are to be directly printed within the thesis further consent will be acquired.

Signed:

Date:

Any queries about your participation in this project may be directed to the researcher
Professor Robert Pascoe – Chief Investigator
Phone Number – 0418 173 815

If you have any queries or complaints about the way you have been treated, you may contact the Ethics Secretary, Victoria University Human Research Ethics Committee, Office for Research, Victoria University, PO Box 14428, Melbourne, VIC, 8001, email Researchethics@vu.edu.au or phone (03) 9919 4781 or 4461.

Interview questions

Project: Comparison of the migrant experience in Melbourne of immigrants from Dublin 1851-1861 and immigrants from Trieste 1954-1961

Interviews with Triestine migrants who migrated to Melbourne between 1954-1961. Prompts and questions below are a guideline with a preference for open ended questions that invite conversation.

- Introduction about the project, what is involved and what the participants can expect from their involvement.
- Prior research will be conducted to know when and on what ship the Triestine migrated to Melbourne, as well as where the families lived in Melbourne, this will be discussed with the participant.
- This will lead to the following prompts for discussion
    - What was the family life like in Trieste?
        - Can include working life, social life and other aspects of life in Trieste. This can also lead to why the family migrated.
    - What was ship life like on the journey over?
    - Did your family have to live in Bonegilla Migrant camp initially?
        - This will lead into what life was like in Bonegilla, especially life for urban migrants in a rural setting.
    - Family life and where the family lived.
        - Occupations of parents, whether house was rented or owned, how the family socialised, education of the children.
    - Involvement in social and sporting clubs
        - Triestina football club and San Giusto Alabarda social club.
    - Socialising with Triestines
    - Catholic church involvement
    - Contact with relatives back in Trieste
        - Relocation or plans to relocate back to Trieste.
    - Naturalise as Australian citizens

- If younger first generation or second-generation migrants, where did you live when you moved out of the family home.
    - Did they marry within the Triestine or Italian community?
    - What career did you have?
- Any further questions that the interview may illuminate, such as conscription during the Vietnam war, patriotism to Italy or Australia, or connections back to Trieste.

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