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TASMANIA AND THE OTAGO GOLD RUSH 1861–1865

Roger Kellaway

On 4 June 1861, Thomas Gabriel Read wrote to Major Richardson, Superintendent of the Province of Otago, to report that he had discovered gold.¹ In one day's work with the simplest of equipment—a spade, a butcher's knife and a tin dish—this recently-arrived immigrant from Tasmania stated that he had washed seven ounces of gold from a minor tributary of the Tuapeka River. Read's letter was published in the next issue of the *Otago Witness*. The news was sceptically received by the citizens of Dunedin. A few men, however, were attracted to the site. Their activities were investigated a month later by the Provincial Surveyor who found forty parties at work in the gully.² More importantly, he mentioned that Read and his two companions had accumulated 112 ounces of gold. This report was published on a Tuesday; the first gold arrived in Dunedin on Friday.³ Excitement swept the small provincial capital. Over the next few days, 'two or three hundred men with drays and vehicles of every description were seen rushing from town as if the place instead of themselves was infected with the "yellow" fever'.⁴

By late July, gold fever had spread to the neighbouring provinces of Southland and Canterbury. In early August, ships began to arrive from Wellington and Auckland. The news was also spreading to the Australian colonies. In Tasmania, the first mention of the discovery of gold in Otago appeared in the Launceston *Examiner* of 3 August 1861. Taking the form of a detailed letter from a Tasmanian living in Dunedin, it cautiously reported the situation as of late June and early July. There was no further development of the story nor was the report taken up by either of the southern papers despite the attribution of the discovery to 'the brother of Mr Read of Redlands'.

The next report appeared in the Hobart Town *Mercury* of 17 August 1861. It was the fourth item out of five in a summary of news from New Zealand derived from an Auckland newspaper just received in the colony. One brief paragraph noted that a gold escort had arrived in Dunedin with 500 ounces and predicted in a low key manner that the Tuapeka goldfield appeared 'likely to turn out favourably'. A similar report appeared in the *Cornwall Chronicle* of the same date. These reports also appear to have had negligible impact.

A week later, the *Mercury* again mentioned the Tuapeka goldfield.⁵ This time, the report described the reaction in Victoria following the arrival of additional news from Otago. While the editors of the *Age*, the *Argus*, and the *Herald* downplayed the prospects of the new goldfield, the Melbourne press could not hide the fact that a rush was building up. Published extracts from private letters were favourable; men were resigning good positions in order to leave at the first opportunity; and a dozen ships were waiting at the

1. *Otago Witness*, 10 June 1861.

2. *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, Vol. 4/148: Official Report on the Tokomairo Goldfields, 9 July 1861.

3. *Otago Witness*, 13 July 1861.

4. *Otago Colonist*, 2 August 1861.

5. *Mercury*, 26 August 1861 and *Argus*, 29 August 1861.

wharves ready to follow the six that had already sailed for New Zealand. The next issue of the *Mercury* featured an announcement of the imminent departure of the barque *Don Pedro II* for Port Chalmers.⁶ The advertisement was headed 'Tuapeka Goldfields' in large type. The first visible sign of gold fever had appeared in Tasmania.

The *Don Pedro II* sailed on 4 September with twenty-six passengers.⁷ A further six vessels had also declared an intention to sail for Dunedin. But intending diggers were still reluctant to commit themselves on the basis of the available information. They wanted assurance that the Tuapeka goldfield was a 'goer'. Confirmation arrived on 11 September when the brig *Reliance* returned from its normal trading voyage to Lyttelton.⁸ The Captain handed a file of New Zealand newspapers to the anxiously waiting Hobart press. The file included the *Otago Witness* of 24 August which announced the arrival of the third gold escort—this time with 5,056 ounces. Ships began to load. Men who had been holding back began to look for passage, a search that became more animated as the steamers that had carried the first wave of Victorian diggers across the Tasman returned to Australian waters carrying news of early success.⁹

The rush from Hobart was on. The *Isabella* with 65 passengers sailed on the 19th. The *Reliance* with 53 and the *Dart* with 54 followed the next day. The *Cosmopolite* sailed with 8 passengers on the 24th; the *Tyne* cleared the Derwent on the 27th with 39 and the *Daniel Watson* departed on 1 October with 46. The largest ship to leave the Derwent, the *Indus*, sailed with 299 passengers on 2 October. Four stowaways were discovered and removed before the ship sailed.¹⁰ The *Foam* (66), the *Macquarie* (18), the *Star* (9), the *Wild Wave* (20), and the *Picard* (47) also sailed for Dunedin later in October. Altogether, thirteen vessels carrying 749 passengers left the Derwent during the months of September and October 1861.

The situation was similar in Launceston. The *Tarbet Castle* was advertised for Otago on 24 August following reports from Melbourne of a rush developing. It sailed on 11 September with 60 passengers. The second departure was the small coastal schooner, *Three Sisters*, which left the Tamar on 3 October with 12 passengers. The third and fourth departures were large, London-run vessels. The *Lucknow* sailed on 8 October with 180 passengers and the *Star of Tasmania* departed on the 19th with 203 names on the manifest. These four ships carried 455 intending diggers from the northern port.

While more ships carrying more passengers sailed from Hobart, there is a possibility that interest developed earlier and was greater in the North than in the South. It was probably no accident that the first report of gold in Otago was the unsigned letter in the *Examiner* of 3 August. There had been an active migration from Launceston to New Zealand during the late 1850s.¹¹ Prominent identities in the North and Midlands such as George Anstey, Edward Meredith and William Kermode had interests in South Island sheep stations. These properties were often manned by shepherds recruited from Tasmania and stocked with Tasmanian sheep. It must be admitted, however, that the lively sheep trade of 1861 was more out of Hobart than Launceston.¹²

6. *Mercury*, 27 August 1861. Port Chambers is the deepwater port for Dunedin.

7. *Mercury*, 3 September 1861. Shipping notices appearing in the Tasmanian press have been extensively utilised. Routine information will not be formally referenced.

8. *Mercury*, 11 September 1861.

9. *Mercury*, 13 September 1861 and *Mercury*, 24 September 1861.

10. *Mercury*, 4 October 1861.

11. *Examiner*, 11 September 1858 and *Examiner*, 12 February 1859.

12. *Otago Daily Times*, 24 November 1861. W. J. Garner, *The Amuri: A County History*, (Culverden, 1983) contains several accounts of the Tasmanian-owned properties of North Canterbury. Other important "Tasmanian" runs were located in Otago and Southland.

Letters from New Zealand to friends and family at home were the most obvious means of spreading knowledge about the discovery of gold. The *Cornwall Chronicle* noted in mid-September that rumours had been circulating about the discovery of gold in Otago before the arrival of the first formal news.¹³ This theme was taken up again a few days later when the editor disclosed that the paper had been shown 'private letters written nearly three months ago which contained quite as flattering a picture of the Otago diggings, as any which has reached us since'.¹⁴

More would have departed from Launceston if the shipping had been available. Five vessels sailed for Otago. The first, the *Tarbet Castle*, left with such rotten rigging and canvas that the Captain actually requested the port authorities in Dunedin to survey the vessel before its return to Australia.¹⁵ Failing survey, the ship remained at Port Chalmers to be used as a lighter. Another, the *Kate*, a flat-bottomed river barge 'of rather primitive structure with a most cumbrous helm', returned to port. The captain and crew had had second thoughts about the wisdom of the enterprise before leaving Banks Strait.¹⁶ Other vessels were advertised for Otago but were cancelled when it became apparent that they were not appropriate for a voyage across the Tasman.¹⁷ The shortage of suitable shipping during the month that the *Lucknow* was being refitted as a passenger ship meant that anxious diggers, unable to get a berth from the Tamar, had to travel via Hobart or Melbourne.¹⁸ Northbound movement of adult males in September and October 1861 according to Victorian immigration statistics numbered 485, almost forty percent more than normal.¹⁹

THE FIRST RUSH RECEDES

On 16 October, the steamer *Tasmania* returned to its home port following a trip from Melbourne to Otago.²⁰ On board were twenty-four disgruntled 'diggers'. Almost every ship that followed had its share of returnees. In one case, men did not even get off the boat that had taken them across the Tasman. They had been put off by shouts from a Melbourne-bound vessel that Otago was 'another Port Curtis'; this term being a byword for disaster.²¹ Others had ventured into the town but had not proceeded inland having been deterred by rumours of bad roads, high costs and uncertain returns.

Arrival and departure statistics for Dunedin during the third and fourth quarters of 1861 noted that 1,254 persons arrived from Tasmania.²² Departures for Tasmania numbered 512. This was a disproportionate percentage of returnees (40.8%) compared with Victoria (26.8%). Furthermore, no Tasmanian appeared to have returned due to early success at the diggings. The *Mercury*, somewhat embarrassed by the lack of enterprise of the Tasmanian diggers, claimed that it probably represented the degeneration of British pluck and perseverance among a population now two generations

13. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 21 September 1861.

14. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 25 September 1861.

15. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 2 November 1861 and *Otago Daily Times*, 16 April 1862.

16. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 2 November 1861.

17. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 16 September 1861.

18. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 21 September 1861 and *Cornwall Chronicle*, 3 October 1861.

19. *Statistics of the Colony of Victoria 1861*, Part 1: Population, Immigration and Emigration, pp. 12-14.

20. *Mercury*, 16 October 1861.

21. *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 17 October 1861.

22. *Otago Daily Times*, 1 January 1862.

removed from English-born parents.²³ This stereotype was reinforced by arguments raised at a public meeting in Launceston called to promote the Fingal goldfield as a rival to Otago.²⁴ One speaker noted how neighbouring colonies had a very low opinion of the energy of Tasmanians. Another described how he had prospected with four men, early returnees from Otago, at Fingal. 'They used to go to work', he said, 'at 9 and knock off at 12 o'clock for dinner, and did not do any work after 4 o'clock'.

This is an inadequate explanation. More important were other differences in the structure of the two colonies. To be successful, diggers required skills won through hard experience. Victoria was a mining colony. The Victorian census of 1861 recorded 81,747 persons employed in one facet or another of the gold mining industry. Many were independent diggers. While some Tasmanians—Gabriel Read would be one—had Victorian experience, most were novices. This fact and its implications were apparent at the time. John McBain, an early arrival at the Tuapeka goldfields, predicted in a letter to his father-in-law in Tasmania that 'old diggers from Melbourne will do better than new ones'.²⁵

The prospective digger also required capital. Firstly, there was the fare across the Tasman, typically £6 to £8 from Hobart or Launceston. Secondly, there was equipment to purchase. This ranged from spades and shovels to specialised mining tools such as the 'Long Tom'. Thirdly, funds were needed for food, shelter and firewood in a high cost environment. One suggestion, from an informed source which appeared in the letter columns of the *Mercury*, was that men should refrain from going to the diggings unless they had the fare, the necessary tools, and £20 for sustenance.²⁶

Altogether, a digger would require £35 or £40. This was a considerable sum. Inevitably, many of the diggers arriving from Australia were without adequate resources; some set off for the interior with their only provisions the ship's biscuits they had saved on the trip over.²⁷ In circumstances like these, other aspects of the differences between the two colonies came into play. Victorians had left a mining colony where many had lived rough. Over twenty-five percent of the European population in 1861 were still living in tents and crude dwellings. Tasmanians came from a colony of well-established villages and towns. Moreover, the independent digger was a declining element in the Victorian gold industry. Return meant abandoning a way of life established over the previous decade, perhaps to work as a day labourer in a company mine. Many Tasmanians had property or positions to which they could return. It is not surprising that the hardships of the gold rush impacted differently on the two groups.

Furthermore, the Tasmanian ships arrived at an unfortunate time. The site of the first discovery was full by early October.²⁸ Three thousand men worked along what was by then known as 'Gabriel's Gully'. Three thousand more worked adjacent streams such as the Waitahuna and the Woolshed. The prevailing wisdom was that the Otago goldfield was rich but limited in extent. Therefore, with no room for new arrivals, it seemed pointless to proceed inland. Men were pouring into Dunedin. Three ships from Tasmania alone landed 518 passengers on 14 and 15 October.²⁹ Lodgings in Dunedin were

23. *Mercury*, 23 May 1862.

24. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 21 December 1861.

25. *Examiner*, 24 October 1861.

26. *Mercury*, 16 October 1861.

27. *Otago Colonist*, 4 October 1861.

28. *Otago Colonist*, 18 October 1861 and *Otago Provincial Government Gazette*, Vol. 4/151: Provincial Surveyor's Report on the Tuapeka Goldfields, 26 September 1861.

29. *Otago Colonist*, 18 October 1861.

expensive and employment scarce. In these circumstances, booking an immediate return passage was perhaps a rational action.

Inevitably, many Tasmanians were stranded, unable to afford the passage home. Some sought employment in country districts where they faced discrimination from the Scottish farmers of Otago. As one disgruntled digger told the *Cornwall Chronicle* following his return to Launceston, the locals were 'clannish to a degree unknown in mixed communities', and willing to hire only those 'who can speak the Gaelic or in default of that "braid Scotch"'.³⁰ When work was found, it was poorly paid and conditions hard. James Warren of Launceston obtained work fencing, probably near Oamaru in North Otago. He complained that his bed was 'made of ferns and very few of them'.³¹ He regretted the day he left Tasmania and wanted to return. Other letters made the same point. Many of those who had stayed in Dunedin had to work for five shillings a day levelling Stewart Street and the Octagon. These were projects organised by the Otago authorities to assist distressed diggers.³²

The Legislative Assembly debated their plight on the evening of 29 October.³³ William Allison, the member for Campbell Town, proposed that the Immigration Vote be used to hire ships to bring distressed Tasmanians back from Otago. In his speech, he described how he had watched 300 fine young men, largely natives of the colony, depart on the *Indus*, and that they could not be left to starve in Dunedin. Other members concurred with his opinion. Some even argued that the scheme should be widened to include residents of other colonies who wished to settle in Tasmania. These men would be far more useful, it was stated, than the British and German immigrants brought out in the 1850s. But the Premier, T.D. Chapman, led the debate off course. Firstly, Chapman said that he had received private letters which suggested that the Otago goldfields would soon 'eclipse those of Port Phillip'. Then, he claimed to have been informed by the manager of the Tasmanian Steam Navigation Company that many of the returning diggers had in fact been warned off by the police. This mention of the colony's convict reputation led to an uproar that terminated the debate.

The spate of returns in late October and early November caused a slowing down in the movement to Otago. The 'rush' was over. But a quieter and more significant migration had begun. Vessels departed without fanfare; without the bands and cheering crowds that had characterised sailings in September and October. Passenger lists were much shorter. The composition was also different. The *Dart* sailed for Dunedin on 12 December 1861.³⁴ On board were twenty-three passengers: Ann Cochrane and five children; Jane Ireland and five children; Ann Hessel and four children; and seven others including two independent women and a husband and wife pair. The movement was clearly becoming a permanent migration. Obviously, some diggers in the first wave had found New Zealand to their liking and were arranging for their families to join them. Not apparent in the *Dart's* passenger list was the continuing movement of single males. In this, it was somewhat atypical. Vessels would frequently leave with a small complement of male passengers or perhaps with a few extra crew employed on a one-way basis. The total number of emigrants leaving Tasmania for New Zealand is not known, but it was considerable. For five years, New Zealand rivalled Victoria as a destination for

30. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 19 October 1861.

31. *Examiner*, 28 November 1861.

32. *Otago Witness*, 12 October 1861.

33. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 30 October 1861.

34. *Mercury*, 12 December 1861.

Tasmanian emigrants. It is possible that as many as five thousand people left for New Zealand with more than half remaining as permanent settlers.

THE DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEM OF THE 1860s

The Otago gold rush assumes its importance to Tasmanian history through its impact on the demography of the colony. Tasmania had been exporting population since the 1840s. At this time, emigration was balanced by the transportation of convicts to Van Diemen's Land. Outmigration peaked in the early and mid-1850s with massive population losses to Melbourne and the Victorian goldfields. Outflows, however, were matched by inflows of assisted settlers from the United Kingdom. These processes interacted to leave the colony with an unstable demographic structure, vividly evident in the Tasmanian census of April 1861. Firstly, there was a large proportion of males more than fifty years of age, a convict residual that would become an increasing burden over the next two decades. Secondly, there was a low proportion of males and females in the 20–29 and 30–39 age groups. This was a consequence of outmigration in the 1850s. Thirdly, there was an extremely large number of dependent children partly derived from the assisted immigration of young families in the 1850s and partly resulting from the marriage boom that followed the arrival of large numbers of single women, ostensibly for employment as domestic servants, during the same period.

In consequence, Bolger has argued that economic growth through to about 1875 was inhibited by an unfavourable demographic structure.³⁵ The most active group, the type of person who would take up life on a bush block on the North-west Coast, was small in relation to dependent age groups both young and old. This condition attracted attention at the time. The *Cornwall Chronicle*, discussing the population statistics for 1861, lamented that the colony was regressing 'into a community of women and children' while the Colonial Statistician in his report on the census of 1870 noted the growing numbers of people who were 'incapacitated by infancy or old age from assisting in the production of wealth'.³⁶

Eventually, according to Bolger, children brought to the colony or born as a result of the marriage boom of the 1850s would reach adulthood. Ever larger cohorts would start to pass into the economically active age groups. This demographic change, he argued, was as important as the discovery of minerals in explaining the economic dynamism of the years between 1875 and the end of the century. Migration in the 1860s is not essential to the operation of the Bolger thesis. The comings and goings of the 1850s are sufficient, but continued emigration in the 1860s reinforces the basic components within Bolger's interpretation of the relationship between demography and economy in nineteenth century Tasmania.

Knowledge about emigration from Tasmania in the 1860s is seriously deficient. In theory, the balance between the number of arrivals and the number of departures should provide an accurate measure of migration flow. Formal procedures existed for vessels arriving in and departing from colonial ports. The count of the number of passengers should have been reasonably accurate even if the details of sex, age, native place and profession required by the forms were almost never provided.³⁷ These returns, however,

35. P. Bolger, 'Figures and bodies: a demography of Tasmania at independence', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association P&P*, 24/1 (1976), pp. 2–8.

36. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 26 February 1862 and *Statistics of the Colony of Tasmania 1869*, p. viii.

37. AOT CUS36 contains scattered passenger documentation for vessels leaving Hobart. Some good data is available for the gold rush to Victoria in the 1850s; virtually nothing exists for the 1860s.

were suspect. The problem, according to a Colonial Statistician of the 1870s who was attempting the impossible task of correlating departure and arrival statistics of the various colonies, was that passenger lists were made out a day or two before the ship left port.³⁸ People who went to the wharves and 'took passage' as opposed to 'booking passage' would not appear in the departure statistics.

Arrivals in the period April 1861 to February 1870 numbered 37,169; departures numbered 39,501. This gave a total population loss of 2,332. There was a slight gain of males (+477) and a major loss of females (-2,809). On a year by year basis, the outflow was at its maximum between 1861 and 1863, the period when the movement to New Zealand was at its height. The significance of New Zealand as a destination is also suggested by more detailed breakdown of these data. The flows from Hobart, a port where passenger movements were more directly influenced by the 'New Zealand factor' than Launceston, reveal an even clearer correlation with the gold rush with a loss of adult males for each year between 1861 and 1865. The departure pattern for adult females and children lagged behind that of the males. The opinion of the Immigration Department was that this represented a movement of families to join husbands in New Zealand or the mainland.³⁹ Once again, the New Zealand element was alleged to dominate as the deficiency was largely created by the excess of departures over arrivals at Hobart.

A second method of determining migration involves the comparison of the population actually recorded at a census with the population predicted for the census. The predicted population is determined by adding natural increase to the total population recorded at the previous census. Any difference is attributed to migration across the intercensal period. If Tasmania had retained its entire natural increase between April 1861 and February 1870, the population would have been 104,127. The census found only 99,328. This was a loss of 4,799 persons over the nine years: twice the value suggested by the shipping returns.⁴⁰ It also had a different structure. The loss of males (-2,953) exceeded that of females (-1,846). This method suggests that one person in twenty had apparently left the colony. The resulting breakdown by sex also appears to be more in line with conventional patterns of intercolonial migration, especially migration to a gold rush destination.

A third method used to unravel the structure of migration is cohort analysis. This starts with the age-sex pyramid for 1861. The initial population is then systematically aged over the intercensal period. In the absence of appropriate life tables, actual events as recorded in the annual statistics have been used. Deaths are subtracted from the relevant cohort as they occur. Births, less infant and child deaths, are added to form the 0-4 and the 5-9 cohorts. Step-by-step, the initial pyramid is converted into the pyramid that would have occurred in 1870 given a migration-free environment. The actual age-sex distribution for 1870 is then compared with the predicted pattern. Immigration has occurred if more persons are found in any cohort than the model predicts. Emigration is assumed to have occurred if the residual is negative.

38. The deficiencies in the shipping returns are discussed in the *Statistics of the Colony of Tasmania* for 1878, p. viii; 1879, p. vii; and 1882, p. 65.

39. *JPP-HA 1864*, Paper 61: Immigration Report for Half Year to 30 June 1864.

40. G. Blainey, 'Population movements in Tasmania 1870-1901', *Tasmanian Historical Research Association P&P*, 3/4 (1954), pp. 62-70. Blainey's estimate of emigration in the 1860s being 'nearly five thousand' is frequently cited in the literature.

Table 1: Estimated Migration By Age Cohort 1861–1870

<u>cohort</u>	<u>males</u>	<u>females</u>
00–04	+776	+737
05–09	+771	+856
10–14	+191	-19
15–19	-784	-547
20–29	-1,244	-907
30–39	-529	-1,049
40–49	-933	-696
50–59	-865	-395
60–69	-112	-78
70–79	-37	+27
80–89	+99	+34
<u>90+</u>	<u>+36</u>	<u>-9</u>
all ages	-2,631	-2,046
ages 10+	-4,178	-3,639

The all-age migration totals in table 1 are in line with the results obtained using the population accounting method. The under-estimate of 322 males and the over-estimate of 200 females are not unexpected given the many potential sources of error present in the method. For instance, the assumption that the mean age of each cohort was the middle age is known to be incorrect and probably led to the eccentric results for the 70+ cohorts. This state of approximate balance, however, is achieved through the immigration of large numbers of children. This seems unlikely given the outmigration of persons likely to be parents of young children.

It seems more rational to assume that no child migration has occurred. It is possible to balance the data in another fashion. The migration term of the 0–4 and 5–9 cohorts can be reduced to zero through finding an additional 3,140 births. These would be available if 10.4 percent of births occurring between the two censuses were not registered. This value is almost identical to the estimate in Queensland for the rate of unregistered births in the early 1870s.⁴¹ If one accepts this adjustment, then intercensal migration loss would be given by the 'ages 10+' term. Outmigration would total 7,817 persons made up of 4,178 males (8.4%) and 3,639 females (8.9%). The highest rates were for males 20–29 (18.0%), females 30–39 (16.0%) and males 15–19 (15.4%). This is a massive loss of population. One Tasmanian in twelve appears to have left the colony during the decade. The methods, however, are conservative. For instance, significant child outmigration would have occurred. The pattern by age and sex is also logical.

The contemporary record spoke frequently about the loss of population. For instance, the *Cornwall Chronicle* commented in February 1862 that 'the exodus from Tasmania has been fast and furious. We will guarantee it that no citizen of Launceston can look around him and not miss within the last six months, two, three, four, or even more private friends or known householders'.⁴² The time frame mentioned covers the first rush to Otago. The colonial authorities were also concerned about the rate of population loss. Special tallies of empty houses were made in 1862 and 1865 to supplement the census.⁴³

41. F. Jones, 'Fertility decline in Australia and New Zealand 1861–1936', *Population Index*, 37 (1971), p. 302.

42. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 26 February 1862.

43. *JPP-HA 1866*, Paper 57: Empty Houses; *Census of 1861*; and *Census of 1870*.

The results presented a dismal picture. In 1865, almost a quarter of dwellings in Hobart were without tenants. The rate of unoccupancy had doubled since 1861. The level of unoccupancy was lower in Launceston but the proportional increase from 1861 to 1865 was higher. The number of empty houses fell in both cities during the second half of the decade. These trends, like the arrival and departure statistics, are suggestive of the role played by the Otago gold rush in the migration experience of the 1860s.

SCALE OF MIGRATION TO NEW ZEALAND 1861–1865

The scale of movement from Tasmania to Otago is impossible to trace through official statistical sources. Only once was New Zealand mentioned as a specific destination in the Tasmanian statistics. This was in 1861, accompanying a calculation of population change between the census in April and the end of the year.⁴⁴ It was specifically noted that the colony had lost a large number of people on account of the discovery of gold in Otago. After deducting those who had returned, it was concluded that the colony had suffered a net loss of 797 persons to New Zealand; 460 from Hobart and 337 from Launceston. Otherwise, the annual arrival and departure statistics were provided on the basis of three locations: the United Kingdom, British Colonies, and Foreign Ports. This was a completely irrelevant breakdown. Almost all movements were in the second category. Travel to and from New Zealand was grouped with, and inevitably obscured by, movements across Bass Strait.

New Zealand statistics were no better. They reported arrivals and departures in terms of the 'Australian Colonies'. Persons coming from Tasmania were lost among the much larger numbers arriving from Victoria and the smaller numbers coming from New South Wales, South Australia and Queensland. In addition, arrivals were as stated by the ship's manifest rather than by formal count. As previously discussed, these manifests were seriously deficient. One suggestion was that perhaps one-third of arrivals at Otago were missed by the system.⁴⁵

Dunedin newspapers periodically published more detailed breakdowns obtained directly from the Customs Department. For instance, the *Otago Witness* of 16 November 1861 printed a return of passenger arrivals at Otago between 1 July and 30 October on a port by port basis. Ships from Hobart had landed 598 passengers while 404 persons had arrived directly from Launceston. While the 1,002 Tasmanians were only a fraction of the 11,002 recorded as arriving from Melbourne, Tasmanians exceeded the 840 who embarked from ports in New South Wales. The return for the year 1861 on a colony by colony basis was printed in the *Otago Daily Times* of 1 January 1862. Total arrivals from Tasmania were reported as 1,287 with all but 33 occurring in the second half of the year.

These data are also available for 1862. In later years, reports in the Dunedin press follow the format of the official statistics thereby losing the Tasmanian component within the total Australian flow. The *Otago Daily Times* reported arrivals from Tasmania in 1862 as 436.⁴⁶ This was a minute fraction of the 20,044 who arrived from Victoria and significantly less than the 1,819 from New South Wales. Departures for Tasmania numbered 380. Otago apparently lost 55 adult males and gained 95 adult females and 16 children: a net flow of only 56 persons. On the strength of these data, it would appear that

44. JPP-HA 1862, Paper 4: Statistics of Tasmania 1861, Table 6: Population at 31 December 1861.

45. *New Zealander*, 2 October 1861.

46. *Otago Daily Times*, 17 January 1863.

the rush to Otago was over. There is strong evidence, however, that these records were significantly understating the movement of Tasmanians across the Tasman. One interpretation of the admittedly deficient Tasmanian departure statistics would be that 1862 was a peak year for departures from Launceston. Hobart followed in 1863.

Four factors appear to have played a role in hiding the number of Tasmanians travelling to New Zealand. Firstly, many Tasmanians preferred to travel via Melbourne in order to use one of the regular steamers that crossed the Tasman to Dunedin. They would therefore appear in the New Zealand statistics as arriving from Victoria. Steamships were faster, safer and more comfortable than sailing vessels. The advantage of sail was price; an advantage eroded as fares declined from the levels which had prevailed in September and October 1861. At the height of the rush, passage between Melbourne and Otago on the Tasmanian-owned steamer, *City of Hobart*, was £8 10s. By February 1862, the fare had fallen to £4 10s.⁴⁷ Another pound came off the fare in 1863, providing further incentive for persons to travel by this route.⁴⁸

Victorian data on passenger arrivals strongly suggest that Tasmanians were using Melbourne as a transit point. Larger than normal numbers arrived from Tasmania in March 1862, September and October 1862, March 1863 and possibly September 1863. These are all months related to peaks in flows across the Tasman caused by developments on the goldfields. The same was true in the reverse direction. The Melbourne-Launceston steamers, the *Royal Shepherd* and the *Black Swan*, occasionally had to delay their departure from Port Melbourne in order to connect with an inbound steamer from Dunedin.

Secondly, Tasmanian trade and the associated opportunities for passenger bookings became increasingly focused on Southland. By late 1862, gold had been discovered in the headwaters of the Clutha. The well-known goldfields of the Queenstown-Arrowtown district date from this time. Invercargill was well situated to tap the trade of the new goldfields using a cart road to Kingston and then a steamer on Lake Wakatipu. In turn, the sailing vessels of the Tasmanian fleet were competitive with Victorian steamers as they could trade with Invercargill itself. Large ships had to use the deepwater port at Bluff but vessels with a draught of less than 10 feet could sail up the New River estuary to wharves in the town.⁴⁹ This saved the cost of lighterage. These two factors led to almost forty percent of Tasmanian-New Zealand trade in 1863 being landed at a Southland port.⁵⁰ Most was shipped direct to Invercargill.

Passenger data for Southland ports are available only on the basis of 'Australian Colonies'. Arrivals between 1861 and 1865 numbered 4,359. The Tasmanian proportion is unknown but would have been considerable. Boats left Hobart and Launceston almost weekly for Invercargill during 1863. The close ties can also be seen by two events during the Southland financial crisis of 1864. One was the 'Launceston Letter', a scurrilous attack on Southland and its finances which appeared in the correspondence column of the *Cornwall Chronicle*.⁵¹ The anonymous author was allegedly the Invercargill business partner of the Launceston merchant to whom the letter was addressed. The other was the

47. *Mercury*, 13 February 1862.

48. *Mercury*, 12 February 1864.

49. *Southland Gazette*, Vol. 2/30: Report on Southland Railways, 20 October 1864.

50. New Zealand trade statistics for 1863 valued imports from Tasmania at £389,010. Invercargill received £131,018, Bluff £5,082, and Riverton £8,329.

51. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 16 July 1864.

Select Committee of the House of Assembly on Immigration from New Zealand.⁵² This committee recommended the provision of financial assistance to allow up to 1,000 Tasmanians 'who were suffering in New Zealand from want of work to return home'.⁵³ Most of the evidence was presented by men recently returned from Southland or by ships' captains trading with Invercargill.

Thirdly, there is the problem of crew. Boats carrying livestock to New Zealand offered an opportunity for men to work their passage. As crew, they would not appear on the passenger lists. The loss of the brigantine, *Creole*, in August 1863 provides one illustration of the importance of this hidden emigration. A ship of 130 tons would normally have a crew—captain, steward and seamen—of nine or ten. The *Creole* had a crew of eighteen. Eight men had been hired to handle the 12 horses, 200 sheep and 40 bullocks that made up part of the cargo.⁵⁴ There were only thirteen passengers. The unknown question is how many persons went to New Zealand in this fashion. The number could be considerable. The two voyages of the *Creole* prior to its final trip were to Invercargill. Both involved passengers and livestock. Judging by its final voyage, the forty recorded passengers could have been augmented by another twenty working their passage as grooms.⁵⁵

The mix of livestock and passengers was a dangerous practice. The *Otago Daily Times* suspected that the reason for the loss of the *Creole* was a lack of watertight integrity, with hatchways left open to circulate air to the decks below.⁵⁶ This is probably not true; the weather in Bass Strait at the presumed time of the ship's foundering was such that all hatches would have been shut.⁵⁷ It points towards another problem, however. It was illegal for passengers and horses to be carried on the same vessel. On several occasions, Tasmanian vessels were fined in Dunedin for breaking this regulation.⁵⁸ Cart horses were one of the major items of trade across the Tasman. The economics of trans-Tasman shipping made it easy for shipowners to overlook technical aspects of the Passenger Acts. These were in any case easy to evade. One or two male fare-paying passengers on a ship carrying livestock could be placed on the ship's articles. As phantom crew, they would not appear in either the departure or the arrival statistics.

Finally, there is a suggestion in the Victorian data on population movements across Bass Strait that a further process was in operation.⁵⁹ Many Tasmanians were resident in Victoria both as a result of the gold rush of the 1850s and from the normal interplay between Melbourne and Tasmania. During the early 1860s, the northwards flow dropped slightly, a possible hypothesis being that the attraction of New Zealand reduced numbers opting for Victoria but that persons seeking passage to Otago from Melbourne kept the numbers reasonable. The return flow of passengers from Victoria to Tasmania almost completely dried up. The collapse in passenger traffic between April 1862 and June 1865 was so great that it almost certainly represented some aberration in the system of

52. JPP-HA 1864, Paper 100: Report of the Select Committee on Immigration from New Zealand.

53. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 3 August 1863.

54. *Mercury*, 23 October 1863 and *Examiner*, 17 August 1863.

55. *Examiner*, 5 March 1863 and *Examiner*, 6 June 1863.

56. *Otago Daily Times*, 14 October 1863.

57. M. J. Dowsett, 'The last voyage of the *Creole*: an imaginary account', *Tasmanian Ancestry*, 15/3 (1994), pp. 136–140.

58. *Mercury*, 12 October 1861, *Hobart Town Advertiser*, 16 October 1861 and *Examiner*, 26 October 1861.

59. *Statistics of the Colony of Victoria*, Part 1: Population, Immigration and Emigration.

collecting data. A second hypothesis exists, namely that the magnet of Otago was so great that movement to alternative destinations collapsed. Tasmanians who had already proved restless via a sojourn on the mainland would find it easy to proceed to Dunedin. A small and biased sample of cemetery records from Dunedin also identifies this process. Five of the 29 native-born Tasmanians identifiable as gold rush migrants gave Victoria as the colony in which they had resided before coming to Otago.

While no figure can be placed on the total number of persons who left Tasmania for New Zealand, it was clearly considerable. I am arguing for a movement of the order of five thousand persons. I am also arguing for about half remaining in New Zealand as permanent settlers. The evidence for large-scale emigration is strictly inferential. No coherent statistical data set has survived, if indeed one was ever collected. This is not unusual. The New Zealand historian, Rollo Arnold, used the term 'the invisible immigrant' in discussing massive Australian emigration to the bush frontier of the North Island in the opening decade of the twentieth century.⁶⁰ The Tasmanian during the Otago gold rush is likewise an almost invisible figure.

The 1,204 diggers involved in the 'rush' of September and October 1861 are the visible component in the movement to Otago. But the more important emigration occurred between 1862 and 1865. For these years, the data is widely scattered. My argument for five thousand is based partly on the statistical and anecdotal evidence already discussed, partly on the scale of trade and shipping between Tasmania and New Zealand, and partly on the need to explain the size of the Tasmanian-born population found in New Zealand by the census of 1886.

Tasmanian statistics reported the value of exports to New Zealand between 1861 and 1865 as £667,526: one seventh of total export trade. In 1863, New Zealand was a more important market than Victoria. Half of the trade by value covered shipments of timber, horses and fruit from Hobart and oats, horses and flour from Launceston. The other half of the trade covered a wide variety of colonial produce, colonial manufactures and entrepot goods. Inevitably, a large number of ships was involved. New Zealand shipping statistics report 532 vessels arriving from Tasmanian ports between 1862 and 1865, the maximum being 203 arrivals in 1863.⁶¹

The movement of goods facilitated the movement of people. It is not possible to find a monthly shipping summary that does not include vessels leaving for New Zealand. Most carried passengers as well as freight. For instance, eleven vessels sailed for New Zealand from the Derwent between 26 April and 20 May 1862.⁶² The monthly summary for June listed seven departures, the number having fallen away with the approach of winter.⁶³ All but four of these eighteen vessels carried passengers. The number of passengers tallied from the daily shipping columns gave a minimum of 114 individuals. The number cannot be more accurately stated as ships like the *Tamar* used the 'and family' system of recording children.

60. R. Arnold, 'Dynamics of the invisible: on the trail of New Zealand's trans-Tasman influx 1900-1908' in A. J. Jones (editor), *Under the Southern Cross*. (Hamilton, 1983), pp. 70-78.

61. *Statistics of New Zealand* Table 10: Number, tonnage and crews. . . inwards shipping.

62. *Mercury*, 23 May 1862. The *Omega* was probably irrelevant, however being an American vessel which put into Hobart but with Dunedin its planned destination. The cargo was described as 'Yankee notions'. No passengers were mentioned when it departed. The destination of the *Wee Tottie* was unclear being listed alternatively as Nelson (NZ) or Guam. With one passenger, the effect is negligible.

63. *Mercury*, 23 June 1862.

The number is also likely to be understated for reasons previously noted. The four to one balance between cabin and steerage passengers reported in the press is suspect. The *Mercury* published the passenger lists on the date the ship was cleared. This occurred a day or two before sailing: a situation which biased the record towards persons who booked accommodation in the cabin. Furthermore, men were likely to have been employed on a one-way basis on the *Wild Wave* to handle its cargo of 16 horses. Another complexity was illustrated by the schooner, *Flying Squirrel*. This vessel was cleared for New Zealand though it was merely moving down river to Oyster Cove. The *Flying Squirrel* normally carried passengers. It is not impossible that travellers could have joined the ship before its real departure after it had taken on a cargo of timber at Dr Crowther's sawmill.

There is nothing unusual about these months. There was no mention in the press of heightened activity due to some development on the goldfield. An outward flow of sixty persons a month from Hobart over 1862, 1863 and 1864 produces just over two thousand emigrants. Another two thousand from Launceston and via Melbourne would be easily achievable. An emigration of this scale, if not larger, is also needed to explain the number of Tasmanians resident in New Zealand.

The New Zealand census of 1886 was the first to report Australian birthplace on a colony by colony basis. Tasmania ranked third with 2,923 (28.5%). This proportion is well out of line with the Tasmanian share of the Australian population. Furthermore, the Tasmanians were almost certainly remnants of the gold rush years. There are no alternative explanations for the numbers involved. There were two sizeable movements of population from Tasmania to New Zealand independent of the gold rush. One occurred in 1863 with the recruitment of 158 men as military settlers by the Auckland Militia.⁶⁴ Many are known to have returned. The other involved the departure of 660 Tasmanians to New Zealand in 1874 and a further 317 in 1875. Many appear to have remained. This migration was a response to the expansionist policies pursued in New Zealand at a time when the Tasmanian economy was severely stressed.⁶⁵ The numbers involved are derived from an improved set of statistics on intercolonial population movements introduced by Tasmania in 1873. At other times, flows were marginal and after 1880, normally in the favour of Tasmania. It is clearly impossible for the numbers involved in post-1873 migration to provide an explanation for the number of Tasmanians recorded in New Zealand in 1886.⁶⁶

Further proof for the remnant nature of the Tasmanian-born population is seen in detailed tables that appeared in the *Statistics of New Zealand* between 1909 and 1915.⁶⁷ Tasmanians accounted for 21.6 percent of the deaths of all Australian-born residents of New Zealand during these seven years. The proportion changed with age. Tasmanians represented 18.7 percent of deaths in the 50 to 59 age group, 32.7 percent of deaths in the 60 to 69 bracket and an astounding 47.2 percent of deaths of the Australian-born over

64. F. Glen, *For Glory and a Farm*, (Whakatane, 1984), chapter 5: Tasmania's Rifles, pp. 29–35.

65. *Mercury*, 7 January 1874 and *Mercury*, 30 April 1874.

66. The intercensal period 1881 to 1891 according to Tasmanian statistics saw 4,280 persons arrive in Tasmania from New Zealand and 3,071 leave Tasmania for New Zealand. The net flow in favour of Tasmania of 1,209 reflected the improved economic situation of the 1880s. The New Zealand-born population recorded in April 1891, however, was only 963; up from 335 in 1881.

67. *Statistics of the Dominion of New Zealand*, Population and Vital Statistics: Birthplaces and ages of persons who died.

seventy. While all age groups above 50 could have participated in gold rush immigration, active diggers would have been at least 60 and more probably 70 years of age by 1910.

The average Tasmanian-born component of the Australian-born population aged 50+ was 29.9 percent. If this proportion of the Australian-born residents of the two southern provinces of Otago and Southland at the time of the gold rush census of August 1864 were Tasmanian, then the Tasmanian-born population would have numbered 1,700. A figure of somewhere between 40 and 50 percent would be more likely considering the age profile of the Tasmanian-born compared with the Victorian-born. This would place the Tasmanian-born component of the gold rush population at somewhere between 2,200 and 2,800. Furthermore, many Tasmanian emigrants during the gold rush period would not have been of Tasmanian birth and therefore would not enter into consideration in the birthplace data.⁶⁸ The above numbers could be easily doubled to account for Tasmanians with other places of birth.

THE GOLD RUSH MIGRANTS

The Otago gold rush clearly had significant demographic impact on Tasmania, but it is not possible to fix any precise value on the scale of the emigration. Likewise, no data set has survived which can fully define the character of the emigration. Nevertheless, there is evidence to suggest that it was a far more broadly-based migration than would be expected from a gold rush. All age groups, all classes and all intentions were present.

Cemetery records in Dunedin provide the basis for a small sample of Tasmanian emigrants.⁶⁹ It is not a representative sample being biased by age and religion. Nevertheless, it provides evidence of the wide pull of the Otago gold rush. The first 'Tasmanian' entry was William Henry Firth who died, aged 27, of fever on 4 March 1862. Firth was English-born so was identified as a Tasmanian on the basis of his previous colony of residence, and as a gold rush migrant by the number of years in Otago. Fifty-three entries were identified as gold rush migrants.

In terms of birthplace, the Tasmanian-born (29) accounted for slightly more than half, a number possibly biased by the role of child mortality. The others came from England (11), Scotland (10), Ireland (1), Germany (1) and the South Seas (1). The relatively high number from Scotland and the abnormally low number from Ireland are probably artefacts of the data. As Dunedin grew from little more than a village-scale capital of a Presbyterian colony into the largest city of New Zealand, Anglicans, Roman Catholics and Jews became numerous enough to be allocated separate sections of the public cemetery. Details of burials occurring in these sections were not entered into the registers maintained by the Dunedin Council. Whether Tasmanian Scots preferentially selected Otago cannot be determined.

Age was another parameter provided by the cemetery record. The youngest gold rush immigrant was Mary Proctor, child of James Proctor, who died at the age of nine months of consumption. The oldest was Philip Morrison, who apparently emigrated to Otago aged 96 and died three years later at 99. Scattered data, principally criminal convictions,

68. The Tasmanian census of 1861 did not collect birthplace data. Extrapolation from data contained in the censuses of 1857 and 1881 support an estimate of 45% for the Tasmanian-born proportion of the colonial population.

69. Burial Registers for the Southern Cemetery (from 1860) and from the Northern Cemetery (from 1870) held by the Dunedin Public Library. There were many other Tasmanian entries which were discarded as either not gold rush migrants or where length of residence was not available.

can fill out the age structure of the Tasmanian immigrants bulking up the sample to 80 individuals. Thirty-nine were males between 15 and 50. This was only marginally typical of a mining population. Once again, it may be an artefact of the data sources. Men who decided to settle in New Zealand and brought over their families tended to concentrate in Dunedin. This increased the probability of their being picked up by the cemetery and other records, although the more likely explanation is that the patterns indicated by birthplace and age simply reflect the widespread nature of the emigration to Otago from Tasmania. The sample, although small and artificial, produces a breakdown by age and sex similar to the total emigration from Tasmania.

All types of people went to Otago. Tasmanian society in the 1860s can be divided into three groups: convicts and former convicts, free settlers, and the native born. Convicts are perhaps the most noticeable in the historical record. Men and women with Van Diemen's Land connections frequently appeared before New Zealand courts. The first serious breach of the peace at Tuapeka involved a character known as 'Hobart Town Jack' who threatened another digger with a knife during an argument, while the first major incident of bushranging, the West Taieri stickup, involved a group of men with Vandemonian backgrounds.⁷⁰ The fact that some fled New Zealand through Hobart was probably of no relevance. Jem Burns, Henry Garrett and Mick McLoughlin had far longer criminal associations with Victoria and New South Wales than with Tasmania.

The Otago Provincial Government tried to legislate against the entry of former Tasmanian convicts in 1861 and again in 1864.⁷¹ Both Ordinances were struck down by the central government as being beyond the legislative authority of the Province. Nevertheless, press and magistrates in New Zealand continually produced a flow of witty comments about the 'bar sinister on Tasmania's shield' and the 'delightful characters' which were developed by 'a lengthened residence in Tasmania'.⁷²

When the *Indus* sailed from Hobart, the dock was thronged with 'the wives and female relatives of those who have taken passage in her'.⁷³ It was the same when the *Lucknow* sailed from Launceston. Three to five thousand people had assembled 'to bid their friends and relations adieu and good luck'.⁷⁴ Crowds like these are suggestive of a movement of people with long ties to the colony. Established residents and the native born allegedly predominated. 'Young men', it was said, 'brought up to useful trades, as for instance blacksmiths, carpenters, saddlers, painters etc'.⁷⁵ The passenger lists also suggest the nature of the emigrant. There were small clusters of men with the same surname, perhaps brothers or cousins, leaving as a party. Many bore well-known Tasmanian family names.

Scarcely any of the men involved in the 1861 rush appear to have intended to depart permanently. Whilst some were on record as believing that 'they couldn't be worse off anywhere than they had lately been in Tasmania', the dominant aim, according to a correspondent covering the departure of the *Lucknow*, was to return after a few months with sufficient gold to buy a small farm or a business.⁷⁶ Fairly typical was the comment

70. *Mercury*, 13 September 1861, *Otago Daily Times*, 19 November 1861 and *Otago Daily Times*, 20 February 1862.

71. *New Zealand Parliamentary Debates: Legislative Council*, 19 July 1867 and 6 August 1867.

72. *Invercargill Daily Times*, 13 March 1863 and *Otago Daily Times*, 5 January 1865.

73. *Mercury*, 30 September 1861 and *Mercury*, 2 October 1861.

74. *Examiner*, 8 October 1861 and *Cornwall Chronicle*, 9 October 1861.

75. *Examiner*, 12 September, 1861.

76. *Cornwall Chronicle*, 9 October 1861.

made by the lawyer acting for John Asbury, proprietor of the 'Emu Tavern', before the Mayor's Licensing Court in December 1861.⁷⁷ Asbury was one of several Hobart publicans who had taken 'a trip to the diggings to try to make a fortune, and who would be back by Christmas'. He had left his wife to manage the tavern.

There were four types of emigrant to Otago. The first group could be termed the 'temporary digger'. These were men whose intention was to give the diggings a try for a limited period and then return to family and property in Tasmania. John Asbury would have been typical. Men leaving for a season were also common in 1862 and 1863. News of the discovery of an additional goldfield would see one or two ships leave Hobart and Launceston with lengthy passenger lists. These would be dominated by single men. This temporary emigration had no demographic impact.

Men without ties to Tasmania had no incentive to return. Most would have joined the mass of diggers moving from goldfield to goldfield. These could be termed the 'digger' component. As the gold rush waned, they tended either to settle in New Zealand or to move on to another Australian colony. A few drifted back to Tasmania in the middle and late 1860s. Despite the large numbers and the critical age groups involved, the demographic impact was relatively insignificant. These were men, it was said, of 'wandering habits'.⁷⁸ They would not have remained in Tasmania. The Otago gold rush merely provided another destination for time-expired convicts and footloose immigrants of the 1850s. Some of their characteristics and destinations are seen in the columns of the *Otago Police Gazette*. Not all involved were criminals. Requests received by the police for information on the whereabouts of missing persons were also numerous.

The significant demographic impact came from 'family emigration'. Family emigrants came from those sectors of society most vital for the future of the colony. The division into two categories, 'gold rush' and 'urban', is perhaps somewhat artificial. Gold rush family emigration involved men who went to Otago with the intention of spending a season at the diggings, who found New Zealand to be more attractive than Tasmania, and decided to remain. Some sent for their families. Others returned home to settle their affairs and organise a more permanent departure. The changing nature of passenger lists from single men to women and children from December 1861 has already been noted. Very few of the family emigrants appear to have continued with mining. A search through marriage registers held by public libraries in Otago and Southland shows an overwhelmingly urban orientation among the population with Tasmanian links.

The final type of emigrant was similar to the above except that Dunedin rather than gold was the magnet. Dr C. G. Casey of Launceston would be an example. Dr Casey spoke to his friends at a dinner held in his honour shortly before his departure for Dunedin in December 1863.⁷⁹ The decision, he said, was caused by a sense of duty to his family, a belief that Dunedin will 'open to them prospects which Tasmania does not at present afford'.

This statement, although by a professional man, could have been made by anyone. The 1860s were difficult years in Tasmania. 'Junius', writing in the *Examiner* of 4 June 1864 outlined the situation:

77. *Mercury*, 3 December 1861.

78. *JPP-HA 1864*, Paper 100: Report of the Select Committee on Immigration from New Zealand, evidence of Dr E.S. Hall.

79. *Examiner*, 5 December 1863.

Every ship that leaves our shore takes away some of our native-born or immigrant artisans who can find no work for their industry. Our manufactures are declining; our farms overrun with thistles are being converted into sheep-walks; trade languishes; universal gloom prevails; and helpless, bitter despair is stamped on every countenance.

The appraisal was colourful but fair. New Zealand briefly replaced Victoria as the destination of preference for persons discontented with the economic stagnation of Tasmania. The gold rush set the context but the destination for this type of emigrant was not the goldfields of Central Otago but the rapidly growing city of Dunedin and the town of Invercargill.